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ABSTRACT

The relationship between the secondary education system and wider political, economic, and sociocultural developments in Africa is examined. Special emphasis is given to the problems of political ideology and education in Zambia; but as Zambian socialist ideology and educational history show similarities to other African nations, the author's interpretations may be applied to other areas. Discussion focuses on the processes of ongoing decolonization in Africa's education systems by a movement from an oppressive, authoritarian system introduced by former colonial powers to a system emphasizing freedom and self-reliance. Chapter 1 analyzes the philosophy of educational innovation from the perspective of the teacher and from African socialism. Chapter 2 outlines key areas of change in order to make Zambian socialism work throughout the educational system. Chapter 3 examines the current neocolonial system of school management and provides a strategy for innovation in light of socialist objectives. Chapter 4 remarks on how the processes and conditions for the democratization of school management in general equally apply to the subsystem of classroom management. Chapter 5 provides a strategy for revising extracurricular activities to meet socialist goals. (Author/DE)

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

&

EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

(draft)

Eerste Hambaken 16
Den Bosch
The Netherlands

Tom Draisma

September 1975

A paper prepared for the Education Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat, London, England.

African socialism and educational practice corrections

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AFRICAN SOCIALISM AND EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

(draft)

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Introduction

The idea to write this booklet grew out of a correspondence, in 1973, with Mr. J.H. Eedle, then working in the Education Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The writing, spread out over spare moments during the last two years, has given me much pleasure. It made me reflect on eight years of teaching practice in Zambia.

The relationship between the (secondary) education system and the wider political, economic and socio-cultural developments in society were not particularly stressed during the short teacher training courses I took in the Netherlands (1962/1963) and at what was then called the University College of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1964). Most presentday teacher training courses haven't improved much in that respect.

To see my teaching experience in perspective required quite a bit of study. This booklet is an attempt to combine study and practice into, I hope, a readable brochure for educational administrators and practising teachers.

The first chapters are entitled "Education and liberation" and "Changing the school". They have a slight theoretical bias. The following chapters deal with school management, classroom management and extra-curricular activities. These are the more practical chapters. All five chapters however take their starting point from the realities of school life. Theoretical insights are used to clarify and interpret educational and administrative practice. This seemed the natural approach for one who is a teacher himself.

Theoretically-minded readers may well object that the bits of theory are somewhat unconnected, and that the integration of theory and practice leaves room for improvement. This is fair criticism from their point of view! 1)

Finally, I would like to invite readers to send me their critical comments on this booklet. A fill-in sheet for that purpose has been inserted at the back, after the notes.

Eerste Hambaken 16
Den Bosch
The Netherlands

Tom Draisma

September 1975

1) From 1st January 1975 I am working on a research project entitled "The Secondary schools' contribution to national development in Zambia: policy analysis, evaluation and innovation". For this project I have developed a more consistent theoretical framework. Details available on request.

1.1 The expatriate professor and the teacher

A few years ago an expatiate science professor at the University of Zambia visited a number of rural secondary schools. In one of them, he found a promising ex-student engaged in down to earth activities, such as digging vegetable gardens, rearing pigs and tending chickens. The teacher worked side by side with his students who, with a little help, had organised themselves into an agricultural co-operative.

It was difficult to see to what extent these activities were meant as efforts to improve the school's diet, as training in the running of a co-operative, as Young Farmers' Club activities or as Agricultural Science lessons. For the teacher and his students all these came together in their sweating on the land. Hard work, productive efforts, the science of seeds, manure and chicken food, participatory democracy, self-reliance, it was all there, and it was theirs. But the professor pulled his hair in exasperation.

His immediate problem may have been how the teacher would give marks for the pupils' individual achievement under this system of learning, and how, based on the term's marks, the teacher would work out each student's graded position in class. But the professor's chief criticism was related to the requirements of the agricultural science syllabus as prepared by the Cambridge Overseas Examining Board in England. To him agricultural science, with the stress on science, was an academic examination subject. In his view, the subject could best be taught by a teacher behind the demonstration desk of a school laboratory.

The professor has since left the country, but the goals and methods of Agricultural Science as a school subject are still hotly debated within the Zambia Agricultural Education Association, ZAGEDA.[1]

1.2 Decolonizing the mind

The story above is but one of the very many, that illustrate the the differences of opinion on education in Africa as it exists today. The range in educational thinking in Africa is collossal indeed. At one end of the scale one finds the concepts of people in white-controlled Southern Africa, who advocate and implement an education for serfdom. The main objective, openly stated or unconsciously present, is to mould the vast African population into a shape compatible with the position of servant in a white-designed and white-controlled world.

At the opposite end of the scale are the ideas of those who envisage an education, that will liberate man from the shackles of (neo-) colonial domination, and enable him to realize his full potential as a member of the community. The inspiration for this thinking is derived from African hopes and ideals, as for instance expressed in Tanzania's Arusha Declaration[2] and Zambia's Humanism[3], and more specifically, in President Nyerere's analysis and proposals in his Education for Self-Reliance[4].

The range in educational THINKING may be very wide indeed, this cannot be said of educational PRACTICE. In many African countries the school system shows a striking similarity with that of white-controlled Southern Africa. Granted, there are differences. Especially as regards the payment of fees, which in many African countries has been abolished, the determination to attain universal basic education, the provision of further and higher education and of various types of adult education, the abolishment of racial discrimination in education, etc.[5]

Yet, on the whole, in independentAfrica as in Southern Africa, the education provided constantly reminds one of Paulo Freire's characterization of 'banking education'. 'Banking education' is a system of education under which packages of knowledge are deposited by a knowing teacher in the minds of ignorant, receptive students. 'Banking education' is a world-wide phenomenon. It was practised in China before the Cultural Revolution, it is widespread in Latin America, in Africa, but also in the socalled advanced countries of Europe. Where 'banking education' is used, the relationship between teacher and student bears a close resemblance to that between oppressor and oppressed. In fact, Freire sees 'banking education' as the mirror of an oppressive society which favours this approach to bringing up the young. 'Banking education' can be summed up in Freire's own words, as follows[6],

> 'the teacher teaches and the students are taught;
> the teacher knows everything and the students know nothing;
> the teacher thinks and the students are thought about;
> the teacher talks and the students listen-meekly;
> the teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined;
> the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply;
> the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher;
> the teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it;
> the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students;
> the teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the students are mere objects.'

Thus, under 'banking education', student activity largely consists of receiving, filing and storing the deposits of knowledge handed down to them by the teacher. To learn then means to receive, to memorize, to repeat. While students can become real experts in filing all the information they get, baffling their teachers, obtaining high marks for exams, in the process it is humans themselves, who are filed away through the lack of real communication, creativity and curiosity, says Freire.

In Africa, 'banking education' is still widespread, both North and South of the Zambezi. The common features in African education from Cairo to Cape, can be accounted for by realizing, that on the whole formal education was introduced by the former colonial powers. It is equally understandable that many African leaders and educationists have criticized the continuing colonization of African minds by the education systems inherited from Europe.

Understandably, those countries which have been more succesful than others in lessening their dependence on the former colonial power, have been freer in their attempts at educational reform. Among the francophone countries of Africa, these are Algeria, the Congo People's Republic and Guinea. Among the anglophone countries they are Tanzania and Zambia. In this category mention should also be of the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, where the liberation movements are quite succesful with an origial mixture of literacy training, political education, vocational guidance and military training.

But even in the countries mentioned here, it has proved to be tremendously difficult to carry out the much needed reforms. Most innovations that have been introduced or are being introduced, are still subject to further experimentation. And those that have been institutionalized to a greater or lesser degree, still show all sorts of teething problems.

Tanzania, which has clearly entered the phase of implementing far-reaching reforms, is facing several kinds of resistance to change. And the liberation movements are hampered by a great lack of manpower and resources, and of untied aid. All in all, one must conclude that the decolonization of Africa's education systems has begun, but on a rather low key-note.

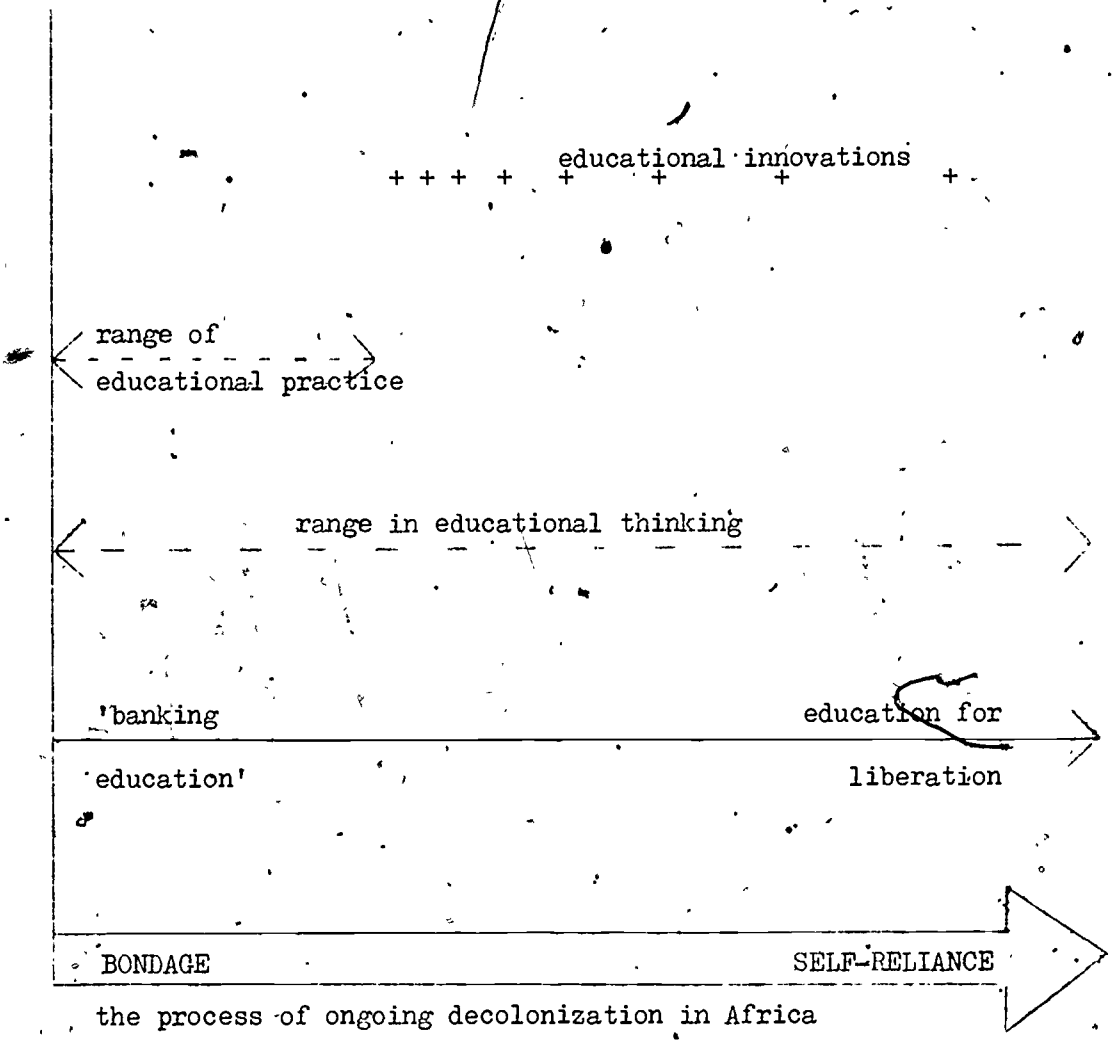


fig 1 Education and decolonization in Africa

In fig. 1 the process of ongoing decolonization is indicated by a movement from 'bondage' to 'self-reliance'. Education must follow suit and move from banking education to an education for liberation. This process is foreseen in present-day educational thinking, but educational practice is still largely confined to 'banking education'. Educational innovations by which real strides are made towards decolonizing the mind of the young, are as yet few.

I.3 Perspectives on innovation.

I.3.1. Possible perspectives.

Educational innovation can be viewed from various standpoints. The classroom teacher, the inspector, the curriculum designer, the administrator, the planner, the research worker, the economist, the social scientist,

the politician, all have their own opinion on what changes, if any, should take place, and on how these ought to be implemented. Fig. 2 lists these professionals together with the subjects they are likely to stress, when dealing with innovation.

profession	focus of innovation
teacher	materials and methods adapted to the pupils' background and prospects
inspector	guiding teachers in the use of better materials and methods
curriculum designer	develop syllabuses and materials suited to African conditions
administrator	new patterns of management
planner	planning of physical facilities and resources in line with enrollment
research worker	(varies widely, e.g.) overcoming teacher resistance to change
economist	synchronization of manpower planning and educational planning
social scientist	education as a tool for social change
politician	education as an instrument for achieving politically desirable goals.

fig. 2 The focus of educational innovation varies with someone's profession.

The figure is not meant to be comprehensive; it lacks detail and in places is arbitrary. For instance, what the economist thinks about education, depends on his thinking on development, which in turn will be determined on his background: capitalist or socialist. So the table just illustrates how each profession has its own priorities in the process of change. The different emphases being laid by different professions can easily result in a lack of coherance in planning change, and in fact this is exactly what is happening today. Different disciplines and different departments do their utmost to implement what they see as desirable changes, without bothering too much about the efforts of others in their respective spheres. This is abundantly clear when surveying the large number of institutions, departments, organisations and companies, that are involved in one or another kind of formal education, adult education, vocation training, in-service courses, etc. The flurry of activity is all too often coupled with an absence of coordination, lack of cross-fertilization, duplication of effort, contradicting goals and a general vagueness about the role of education in Africa's social revolution. No wonder, that the professional workers involved, are at times caught by a feeling of bewilderment.

What is it all leading up to? In what direction are we moving? What are the basic educational goals we are aiming to achieve? Only to a point can educators themselves give the answers to such probing questions.

For the questions are a reflection, not just on the state of education, but on the state of flux and movement and, at times, bewilderment of society itself. To give a concrete example: teachers, inspectors and curriculumplanners cannot hope to solve the problems associated with the teaching of agricultural science, and other practical subjects for that matter, unless they receive clear guidance from policymakers and political leaders about the direction into which society is moving, about the aims of national and rural development and about the role of formal education in society. Clarity here will produce clear and purposeful education. In contrast, contradictions and muddled thinking in and about society, will produce contradictions and muddles at school.

In the following paragraphs the subject of educational innovation will be briefly looked at from a. the perspective of the teacher,
b. the perspective of development
c. the perspective of African Socialism.

1.3.2 The teacher's perspective on innovation

It is worth having another look at the sweating teacher of the story told under 1.1. When asking him how he perceives educational change in Africa, the chances are, that he would present us with the following list of priorities, in that order:

1. the need to re-define the content offeducation (syllabuses, textbooks, aids) in the light of national development needs.
2. the need to replace the stifling system of 'banking education' by locally developed methods of teaching and learning. Methods that do justice to available resources and to African socialist values, such as self-reliance, communal efforts and participatory democracy.
3. the need to overhaul the whole management system of running schools and education departments in order to bring the entire process of education in line with African socialist values.

fig. 3 A teacher's set of priorities.

This is quite an assertion. Most teachers today would not have this coherent view on reform. In Zambia for example, a large proportion of secondary school teachers are expatriates on contract. The greater part of this group completes only one tour of service. Apart from other reasons, their short stay alone virtually precludes this group from contributing a great deal to educational innovation. Where they do contribute, their activities are usually confined to the use of new courses and materials as prescribed by their head of department or by the Ministry of Education. For instance, the evaluation and subsequent introduction of modern science and mathematics courses in most African countries, would have been impossible without the co-operation of many teachers in this category. But, of course, questions of cultural bias in 'new maths' courses are hardly raised. And teachers do not usually discuss the socio-political implications for Africa of scientific and technological developments in the industrial nations. Syllabus reform has been accepted by all but the most conservative teachers, exactly because it has not differed too much from similar changes at home.

yet, if changes are confined to curriculum reform of this type, the system of 'banking education' will continue to colonize the new generations. For education to be geared to society in Africa, more fundamental changes must be made. Hence the wider concerns indicated by priorities 2 and 3 in fig. 2.

There is also the general teacher resistance to change. A massive amount of research evidence indicates that the teaching profession is among the most conservative the world over. African teachers too dislike the disruptive effect that new curriculum, new textbooks, new exam regulations and experimental try-outs have on their daily routine. To get used to a new syllabus once, is one thing. To accept that the new syllabus will not last for half a century like the old one, but will be subject to continuous change and adjustment, requires an altogether different frame of mind. Change itself becomes a feature of education. And for this we have not been prepared at college.

In most countries teachers are civil servants. There is a strong parallel between teachers' values and attitudes, and those found in civil service. Like teachers, civil servants have been politically neutral in their approach to their work; their routines were fixed; passed on by the 'old hands' to the newcomers. During the Independence struggle, civil servants remained aloof from the nationalist movement. Like teachers, civil servants are now faced by the twin-challenges posed by the political orientation of society and the constant need for change.

The need for change confronting the civil service on a whole, and the teaching profession in particular, cannot be attributed to a single cause. There is a whole spectre of factors all playing their part. Such factors are for instance: the 'impact of science and technology', the 'need for development', the 'adaptation to African conditions', the demand for greater 'democracy', 'increasing efficiency', etcetera. The overriding factor necessitating change is however of a political/ ideological nature. Teachers and civil servants are called upon to view their work in the context of the ongoing African revolution. The clearer the perspective on this revolution in a particular country, the more purposeful and effective the changes in the education are likely to be.

1.3.3 Educational Innovation in the perspective of development.

Looking at education from the point of view of development forces teachers and administrators to look outside the narrow walls of existing educational institutions. In itself a positive trend. The past decade has seen a tremendous number of research studies, international conferences and national and local experiments approaching educational innovation from the point of view of 'development'. A wealth of valuable experience and documents has been the result. A brief and incomplete list is given in Appendix A. There are a number of reasons which explain why the impact on education systems has nevertheless been comparatively small.

a. There exists a variety of development models, each model having its own, often widely different, educational consequences.
b. Development can be defined in different ways. Education for development means different things in different countries.
c. Educational innovation has been hampered, consciously and unconsciously, by continued western domination over Africa in the political/economic/social/ religious spheres of life.
d. Lack of ideological clarity in determining development goals, which would enable the planning of education in line with development.
e. Lack of resources and trained manpower set aside specially for educational innovation.

It is factors such as these that show, that 'education for development' while providing an important focus for innovation, cannot be considered in isolation from questions about the ideology adhered to or being developed by the political leadership of any African nation.

1.3.4 Educational innovation from the perspective of African socialism.

1.3.4.1. In the continuing process of liberation from Western colonialism, many African leaders and political parties have formulated, and continue to develop pragmatic political theories, in order to explain the political situation, to justify their actions, and to present their aspirations. In the context of this paper, such a political theory will be called ideology. This term can be used pejoratively or, as I use it here, descriptively. A useful definition is provided by Paul E. Sigmund: 'Ideology is an action oriented belief system in explaining the world, justifying action, limiting political choices and creating social solidarity'[8]

The three best-known ideologies operating in Africa are:
a. Capitalism and (neo)colonialism
b. Apartheid (a derivation from a.)
c. African socialism.
Capitalism and neo-colonialism are present in many forms throughout the continent. They manifest themselves blatantly, for instance in the continued economic exploitation of Africa's vast natural and human resources by the multinational corporations, and by the political domination of the industrialized nations over an emerging African and Pan-african leadership in most, if not all international forums and organisations. More subtly, it is present in the many forms of social, cultural and religious colonialism by which the former colonial masters consciously and unconsciously, continue to impose their fancied superiority on the people[9].

Education in Africa is certainly one field where covert neo-colonialism is practised freely. Think of the European Examining Boards, the foreign syllabuses, the imported textbooks, the western publishing trade, the flooding of the continent with audio-visual equipment and technological hardware, the high proportion of expatriate teachers above the primary levels, the many posts of inspectors, curriculum developers, education lecturers, researchers, advisers etc. that still have to be africanised, think of the educated Africans, who have taken up education jobs, but who, having been ground in the colonial system, are at a loss when it comes to overhauling that same system, think of the agencies and experts who, to speak with Kaunda, 'keep announcing from the roof-tops of their metropolitan centres what is best for Africa, and how Africa should go about solving all the numerous ills (most of which are colonial relics) confronting her on both a collective and individual basis'[10].

In opposition to the ideology of capitalism and neo-colonialism, African leaders and political scientists in various regions of the continent are developing the ideology of African socialism. Because of differences in colonial history, oppression, economic independence, etc., African socialism is not a coherent body of thought. African socialism as professed in Senegal differs from that of Guinea, that professed in Kenya from that of the Congo Peoples' Republic. Sympathizers as well as critics may question the Africanness or the socialist quality of the African socialism as proclaimed in this or that country, fact is that the term has been coined and that African leaders and theorists will develop their own ideology to guide their countries' ongoing liberation struggle.

My work-experience has been confined to Zambia, enriched with some insights gained about the situation in the neighbouring countries. (Tanzania, the liberated areas of Angola and Mozambique, and, in contrast, white-ruled Southern Africa). This paper therefore refers to the problems of ideology and education in their Zambian context. However, as Zambian Humanism is a branch of African Socialism, sharing characteristics with the thinking elsewhere, and as Zambia's educational history is similar to that of other African countries, I hope my notes may also be of interest to workers in the education field in other countries.

Zambian Humanism. A fairly comprehensive formulation of Zambian Humanism as a political theory can be found in "Humanism in Zambia and a guide to its implementation", a classic policy speech by President Kenneth Kaunda in 1967. Since then others have begun to contribute to its development and propagation. Certain features are now receiving greater emphasis, notably the concepts of participation at grassroot level and of self-reliance. Major characteristics are:

- Zambian Humanism is in direct opposition to pre-independence colonialism, to any other form of imperialism by foreign powers, and to the ideology of Apartheid and related ideologies that operate in neighbouring white-ruled countries.
- inequalities, exploitation of man by man and capitalist tendencies will be progressively eliminated.
- economically, the ideal is to move towards ownership and control of the country's natural resources by the people for the people.
- as a political theory it aims at facilitating Zambia's entrance into the modern world, while at the same time regaining and/or preserving important values of traditional society.
- the new Zambia which is being shaped shall be a MAN-CENTRED society.
- great value is attached to self-reliance and initiative from below.
- Zambian Humanism is a philosophy in development, just as Zambia is a society in development. To become fully operational requires the participation of the people in both extending the theory and implementing it.

1.3.4.2 Kaunda on education

The educational consequences of Zambian Humanism.

Given the characteristics of Zambian's philosophy, it would be possible to design a national education system in line with it. Humanism would provide the frame of reference within which educational goals, the contents of the education process, the teaching methods and the management of the overall system at various levels, can be defined. In reality the problem is not so much of designing an entirely new system as one of changing an existing system inherited from the former colonial masters. Given the traditional conservatism of the education business and the continuing cultural domination by Europe as outlined above, this has resulted in an open conflict between the values, attitudes and behaviours as instilled by the formal education system and those propagated by the country's political leaders and by social practitioners outside the education system.

On the whole, educators have concentrated their efforts on adapting the teaching of existing school subjects to African conditions, and on introducing a greater variety of practical subjects. Perhaps with the scarcity of finance and personnel, coupled with the ideological vagueness of the first few years after independence, this was the best that could be done. Unfortunately few bold steps have been taken in Africa to integrate the curriculum with the wider community of which the school should be and can be a part. Beyond the area of curriculum reform little thought has been given to methods of teaching and learning

and even less to ways and means of running a school. Both classroom and school management all too often have retained their colonial character of 'banking education'. By the present ways of teaching pupils and managing schools, elitist and individualist values and behaviours are inculcated in those of today's youth, who are selected to provide most of tomorrow's leadership.

The task ahead is to completely reform this system so as to give pupils fuller opportunity to learn and practise collective efforts in their studies, to practise participatory democracy in their own school with its various structures and institutions, and to engage in productive work and community work while still at school. This is a theme which has been hammered by President Kaunda for years. If the sweeping changes during the last decade in Zambia's political and social institutions and in its economic structures, all of which could be anticipated from policy statements, are anything to go by, then we in the teaching profession can expect far-ranging innovations affecting our daily work. For let us consider some of President Kaunda's pronouncements on education.

1964 1."I remember as a schoolboy, that I used to go to the house of a certain master at the school, who came to teach us from South Africa. As I swept his floor and dusted his books I would hear him talking about the sufferings of his own people in South Africa and how the only solution would be a political solution. When I went to Mufulira as a teacher and boarding master at the school there, I very soon found that my best subject in teaching was civics. (.....) At that time, even as now, I was a great believer in self help. My civics lessons did not finish in the classroom, I would persuade young boys, who had no school fees, to make their own little gardens to grow cabbages to sell in the market and find money. All the time I was becoming more and more oppressed by the sufferings I saw round about me." [11]

1966 2."Youth is characterised by idealism, enthusiasm and elasticy of mind. It is the rising generation whom we must imbue with the spirit of African unity. The young people of Africa are likely to have a more sophisticated outlook upon international affairs than their elders." [12]

1967 3."In schools, students should be taught the importance of collective effort in the context of principles of Zambian Humanism". [13]

1967 4."The target that students must aim at is to be able to produce their own vegetables, table birds in the form of chickens and ducks, their own eggs and, where possible, their own milk and beef. This will mean that each and every student will participate in the production of the items mentioned and this will now be part of the BASIC training of every young man and woman in Zambia.

Finally, it will be necessary for the Ministry of Education to formulate a new curriculum which will include this type of training as basic from primary to secondary schools and, indeed, for those University students who want to specialize in this field." [14]

1969 5."Only teachers filled with the spirit of humanism can create a humanist society". [15]

6."Our education system is not merely a Government Department nor a factory for training manpower. It is the cradle of humanism. It is where the search for a true understanding of Man must begin. Only men and women who have this great vision are fit to be teachers". [16]

7. "We cannot afford to become slaves to an education system conceived by other minds in other days. We must choose our own principles, and be prepared to face our people, if necessary with some hard choices. We must entertain bold ideas for the development of the system and be prepared for experiment". 17

8. Discipline
"It is a sign of failure when discipline has to be enforced by the one-sided action of the teacher". 18

9. "I believe the time has come to consider actively involving our children in the educational process. Education for humanism presupposes the full humanity of those who are being educated. Our children enter school as human beings. A school system which fails to recognise this principle is not educating people for humanism". 19

10. "May I say that these changes (i.e. the introduction of worker participation in industry) would have been completely unnecessary if we had an educational system that prepared the nation as a whole for this type of participatory democracy". 20

11. "I want this conference to give some thought to devising means by which pupils in our schools and the students in our colleges and university can become active partners in determining the nature and execution of the educational process". 21

1971 12. "We are tiring of foreign 'advisors' and experts who, day in day out, keep announcing from the rooftops of their metropolitan centres what is best for Africa. (.... .....)
The time has come for all young African countries to engage in serious appraisals of their existing educational systems with a view to overhauling them entirely and gearing them to the needs of the countries involved". 22

13. "We have therefore decided that (.....) the philosophy of humanism should be incorporated into the curriculum of the courses being organised at various educational institutions in the country". 23

14. "Through humanism and participatory democracy we are endeavouring to create a situation in which no single individual or group of individuals shall have a monopoly of political, economic, social or military power; no individual or group of individuals shall be allowed to possess a monopoly of any form of power by which they can influence the direction or pace of development in the nation in pursuance of their own interests to the exclusion or detriment of the majority of the people.

Politicians can have a monopoly of political and bureaucratic power. Industrialists and business men can have a monopoly of economic and financial power. Soldiers can have a monopoly of military power. Technocrats and intellectuals can have a monopoly of knowledge or intellectual power. (. . .....)". 24

15. "Another aspect of the quality in education is how to rid ourselves of the inferiority complex which is still a widespread cultural law. A lot of Zambians still find it difficult to stand up and be counted with the rest of the 99% of the Zambian society. Intellectually a lot of us are not in Zambia, in terms of values our base is elsewhere. I hope that this is by default and that it is a passing phase". 25

16. Dr. Kaunda said youth must pause to reflect on what was wrong with the present organisation of Zambian society in terms of attitudes, abilities and response. 26

17. The president said he would not have accomplished his mission, if he died without seeing the people of Zambia practise participatory democracy. He added that since he views this very strongly he has discussed it with the Minister of Education, Mr. Wesley Nyirenda, to see if participatory democracy could be taught to children in schools in order for them to grow with it. 27

18. Dr. Kaunda said to implement participatory democracy (in the schools) experiments similar to the workers committees should be conducted. 28

1972 19. He added he had never subscribed to the idea that the army, the police and the civil service should not be politicised. People must not think emotionally but politically. (... .....)
Dr. Kaunda said the Minister of Education had been working on a new scheme under which students, including primary school pupils will be made to participate in running their institutions. 29

20. "Those under-graduates who participated recently in the registration of villages (.....) understand the fundamental need for a mental, social and cultural revolution among the majority of our people in order to open the gates even wider to economic and social advancement. Cadres for carrying out our multi-dimensional revolution must come from our educational institutions (.....)". 30

21. Over-dramatisation of (student-)discontent would in future be more than adequately met by a dramatic exercise of lawful authority. To achieve this, the Minister of Education and Culture with his staff, together with student bodies at all levels, would work out how students' creative participation in national life could be maximized. Dr. Kaunda added that the National Service was an important instrument of youth development in the Zambian revolution. It was particularly important in improving community services which helped rural reconstruction. 31

1973 22. "All Zambians must take political education very seriously in order to help us determine our new course and new responsibilities"(under the Second Republic: of the One Party Participatory Democracy; note by T. D.). 32

23. "We must go all out to our people and intensify the programme of political education". 33

2. Changing the School

2.1. the frustration of sub-innovators

Any scheme adopted in order to make Zambian Humanism work throughout the education system, will of necessity result in drastic changes. In this second part of the paper, some key areas of change in the secondary education system will be outlined. We would do well to realize from the start, that the secondary school is a society in itself: a complex whole made up of people of human goals, human relations and human activities, kept in shape by a number of administrative and physical structures. Unless a view of this whole system is taken, errors of judgement and all sorts of frustration due to compartmentalization are likely to be made.

Many people in the education field have realized that things must change, and have worked hard to innovate in their own particular sub-field: teaching methods, curriculum reform, classroom management, running hostels, extra-curriculum activities, etc. As these innovators have been active in a limited field, they will be referred to as sub-innovators. Invariably sub-innovators have become frustrated on discovering, that in changing old ways, one can only go so far, after which one hits upon a wider but rigid framework within which one is working. Sub-innovators then realize that, by and large, the overall system only permits changes of detail. As soon as the system itself is threatened, the persons responsible for its maintenance (and dependent on it for their living) will be tempted to put a halt to the experiments, or at least make them ineffective.

The host of small-scale experiments that have been carried out in Zambia since independence, and which covered almost every aspect of "school", have prepared experimenters and sub-innovators for the next stage:
to tackle the system in its entirety, guided by both the experience gained and the philosophy of Zambian Humanism as outlined above.

2.2 A "Total Look": the systems approach

To facilitate the study of the overall structure of the secondary school, I will use elements of the systems approach, as it has been developed over the last four decades.[34,35] For our purposes, the advantages of the systems approach are threefold:

a. It provides a conceptual framework within which both the school society as a whole, and the various sub-systems or aspect-systems can be analyzed.
b. The systems approach is necessarily multi-disciplinary. Consequently, it is well-suited to the integration of the contributions from different disciplines and work-experiences, as well as of different members of the school-community, be they managers, administrators, students or teachers.
c. Taken as a tool by itself, the systems approach is ideologically neutral, and therefore in principle acceptable to both sub-innovators and custodians of the status-quo.

Of course there is a danger involved too: namely of solving problems in a technocratic way. This could lead to elitism, and the blocking of real participation by all involved. In the west educational technology, which is now closely related to the systems approach in education, has become a new powerful specialization with its own experts, its own supporting industries and its own propaganda machinery. Significantly the efforts there are to a large extent aimed at what happens in the classroom, rather than at questioning

the wider educational objectives and the underlying socio-political assumptions. That is to say that mainly sub-systems and aspects thereof are analyzed, rather than the elitist capitalist society itself. Africa must avoid this trap and study education within the framework of the overall socio-political development. The educational thinking needed for such a fundamental approach is readily available in the writings of ex-teachers such as presidents Kaunda and Nyerere. It is now up to teachers, administrators and planners to put such thinking into practice, systematically.

2.3 Systems: Definitions

2.3.1 A system is a combination of interrelated elements forming an organized whole.

2.3.2 Society is a social system which is organized for the attainment of human goals.

2.3.3 A social system is made up of the following categories of components:

- people
- natural resources, money and equipment
- ideas

2.3.4 A sub-system is a system which is part of a larger system.

2.3.5 An aspect-system is a system of which only a limited number of relationships are considered, e.g. the financial aspect-system, the social aspect-system, the information aspect-system.

2.3.6 System concepts
Elements (or components): the smallest units for a particular systems analysis.
Attributes: characteristics of elements.
Relationships: concepts which describe the effects elements have on each other.

2.3.7 A model of a real life system is a simplified system, concrete or abstract, derived from the system, and used for purposes of analysis and/or experimentations. A model therefore is a system for the study of a more complex system. If a model is designed to study only one or a few aspects of the real life system, it can be regarded as an aspect-system.

2.3.8 Pictorial representations of models and of systems are aids enabling us to visualize the models and systems under study. Such pictorial representations can be graphs, charts, flow charts, photographs, block-diagrams, etc.

2.4 The Education System.

2.4.1 Pictorial representations.

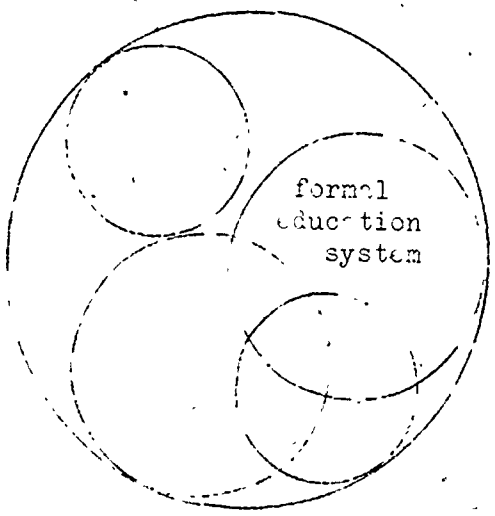


fig. 4.

Fig. 4 shows the education as a sub-system of society. The diagram shows a number of other sub-systems, some of which are in some way or another related to the education system, e.g. the political organisation of society, the church, traditional society. We distinguish between internal and external relationships of the formal education system. The external relationships are between the education system and its environment.

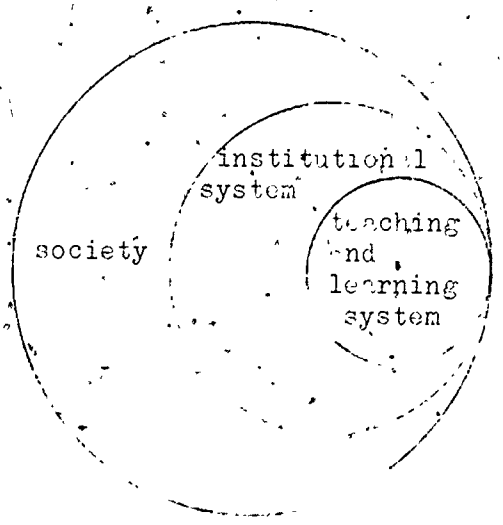


fig. 5.

Fig. 5 is a variation on fig. 4, at once detailing the education system a little further, and summing up the environment in "Society". The three circles touch in one point, showing that apart from the links between society and the teaching and learning system via the institutional system, there are also direct relationships between teaching and learning processes and society.

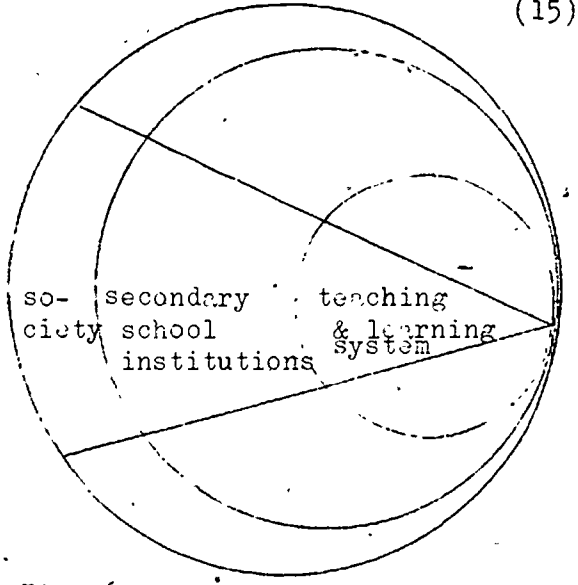


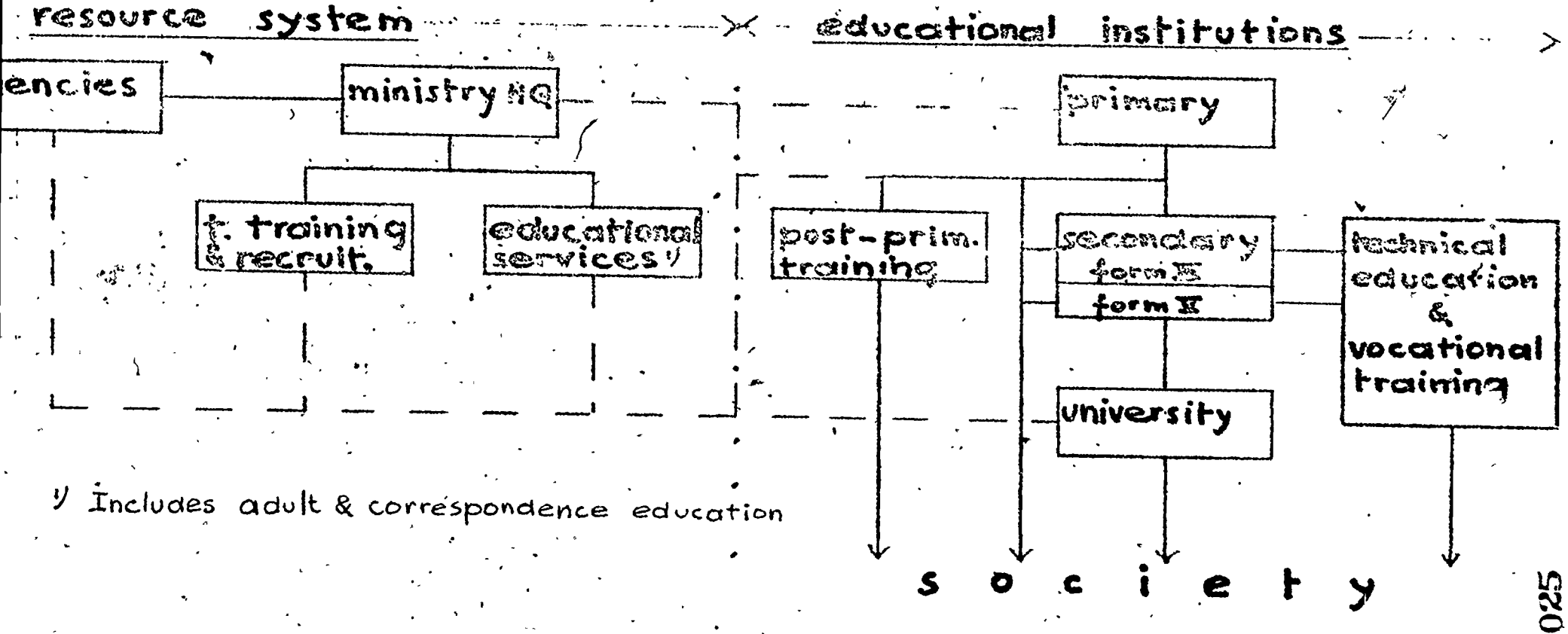
fig. 6.

Fig. 6 shows the secondary school system as a sub-system of the education system at large. Apart from the internal relations of the secondary education system, which will be discussed later, there are the external relations with society, with the institutional system of which it is a part, and with the wider world of teaching and learning (the educational profession).

Fig. 7 is a block diagram showing the secondary school system as a sub-system of formal education in Zambia, as administered by the Ministry of Education. Pre-school education (a local council responsibility) and various other forms of education (health education, literacy training, in-service training by para-statals and training schemes by other ministries and agencies are excluded here). Apart from the other institutional systems shown, the Ministry of Education is responsible for some of the adult education work in Zambia, and it also has a correspondence education unit. In the SNDP, these are grouped under Educational Services, which otherwise caters for a wide variety of services to the institutional system.

In contrast to the preceding diagram, fig. 7 conveys an impression of a complex but efficiently organised system. Block diagrams such as these reflect the static state of organizations in a static society. The formal education system appears as a world of its own, usurping massive amounts of personnel and resources purely for the maintenance of the status quo. Example: of the total recurrent cost of education in Zambia, 55% to 60% are spent on teacher salaries and benefits. If the extra's paid by overseas governments to their nationals on top of their Zambian salaries, are included, the proportion of funds spent on salaries is even higher.[36]

The relations with other sub-systems within the formal education sytem, are like equally many ropes tying the secondary system down to its past functions. Only a fraction of the total amount of finance, and number of personnel employed in the formal education system are spent on solving the problems concerning the relation between society and school. Yet it's here where the real problems lie.



y Includes adult & correspondence education

00025

fig 7: ZAMBIA: THE FORMAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

2.4.2 The (Secondary) School: models of change.

The need for changing the secondary school system arises, as we have seen, from the fact that this system is completely out of step with Zambia's political, economic, social and cultural development. But how does one go about solving the problems, planning change and implementing it? Huberman in a stimulating UNESCO overview of educational innovation [37] distinguishes three models of change namely:

a. the research and development model (R & D)
b. the social interaction model
c. the problem solving model.

As Huberman states [38], the R&D model of logically proceeding from basic research through applied research and experimentation to adoption of innovations is still too futuristic in educational planning. Almost nowhere have changes been the result of a careful and comprehensive programme of research and planning. The other two models are very relevant to the African situation. Fig.8 pictures the three approaches side by side [39].

R & D	Problem-solving	Social interaction
1. Invention or discovery of innovation	1. Translation of need to problem	1. Awareness of innovation
2. Development (working out problems)	2. Diagnosis of problem	2. Interest in it
3. Production and packaging	3. Search and retrieval of information	3. Evaluation of appropriateness
4. Dissemination to mass audience	4. Adoption of innovation	4. Trial
	5. Trial	5. Adoption for permanent use
	6. Evaluation of trial in terms of need satisfaction	

fig. 8 : Three models of the change process.

As Huberman points out, the social interaction model is the most natural of the three, focussing as it does on the teaching profession as a whole, rather than primarily on researchers and developers, as does the R & D model, or on the change agents/problem solvers and their relations with the ordinary teachers. Although most innovations occur as result of some mixture of the three models, it would be right to say that in Africa the introduction of innovations has relied more on the methods of the S.I. model than on those of the two others. The explanation of this state of affairs consists of a combination of factors, some of which are set out below:

a. The approach through human relations is closer to the "African way of life". Several writers, including President Kaunda, have asserted that Africa's contribution to the world could well lie in the sphere of improving human relations.
b. The model does not depend on the availability of funds to the same extent as do the other two (especially the R & D). This applies especially to the initial stages of studying and evaluating innovations, a large part of which is handled by grass-roots educators such as teachers, members of teachersassociations and inspectors of education. By and large, model 3 deals with the adoption and/or adaptation of innovations that have been introduced elsewhere. Pure educational research, as required under the R & D model, and to a lesser extent, the problem-solving model, is something most African countries would lack the funds and the African personnel for.
c. The type of 'Banking Education' as described in part 1 of this paper, did not call for African research into African education. At the most, African education copied the innovations advocated in Europe and America. Perhaps R & D and Problem Solving could not be paid for by Africa, but this last factor made them also superfluous for Africa.

So although as a model the third approach to innovation may be closer to the African personality, this same approach at the same time is a mark of continued domination by the former colonial masters. As a result, many of the innovations suggested for and introduced in Africa have not solved African problems as perceived by progressive Africans. Among these innovations are:
- The introduction of modern mathematics syllabuses[40] and modern science syllabuses[41], developed in the West after Russia's surprise launching of the first Sputnik.
- The propagation of programmed learning and educational technology as solutions to Africa's education problems[42].
- The introduction of a-political adult literacy programmes, aimed at speeding up rural development.
- The expansion of the formal education system at the expense of technical and vocational training.
- Curriculum development which in most countries left the so-called a-political education system intact.

Quite clearly, educational innovation brought about through processes of social interaction, has led to unsuitable reforms in Africa. This is not surprising considering the system of social interaction in operation. It showed, and often still shows, the following characteristics:
- The interaction system is strongly hierarchical
- Information in the form of directives passes from top to bottom
- Information on problems at the school level are communicated from the bottom to the top
- The majority of persons in the system are expatriates from Europe, interacting within the confines of a western middle-class reference system.
- In their perception of both problems and their solutions, teachers and other educationists were consciously and unconsciouslyselective, exactly because of their frame of reference.

- Africanization of the teaching staff and/or of the higher professional and administrative levels does not necessarily shift the centre of innovation from Europe to Africa, as many educated Africans have adopted the same reference system as their expatriate predecessors[45].
- Parallel to this social interaction system, and re-inforcing it, are communication, distribution and recruitment systems through which research findings, educational reforms, resources, equipment, personnel, etcetera, flow from Europe to Africa.

2.4.3 Education and Problem Solving in Zambia.

Today we are witnessing a shift from the social interaction model to a combination of problem solving and social interaction models. That is to say, the problems associated with formal education in Africa have become so great, and so fundamental, that they can no longer be ignored. Hence, educational innovation in Africa will increasingly be geared towards solving African problems, instead of towards adopting western reforms. Any solutions, that will be, or have been proposed and tried out, are likely to be disseminated through the methods of social interaction, making use of existing channels of communication, and existing platforms. The combination of models can readily be shown in the form of a flow chart, fig. 9.

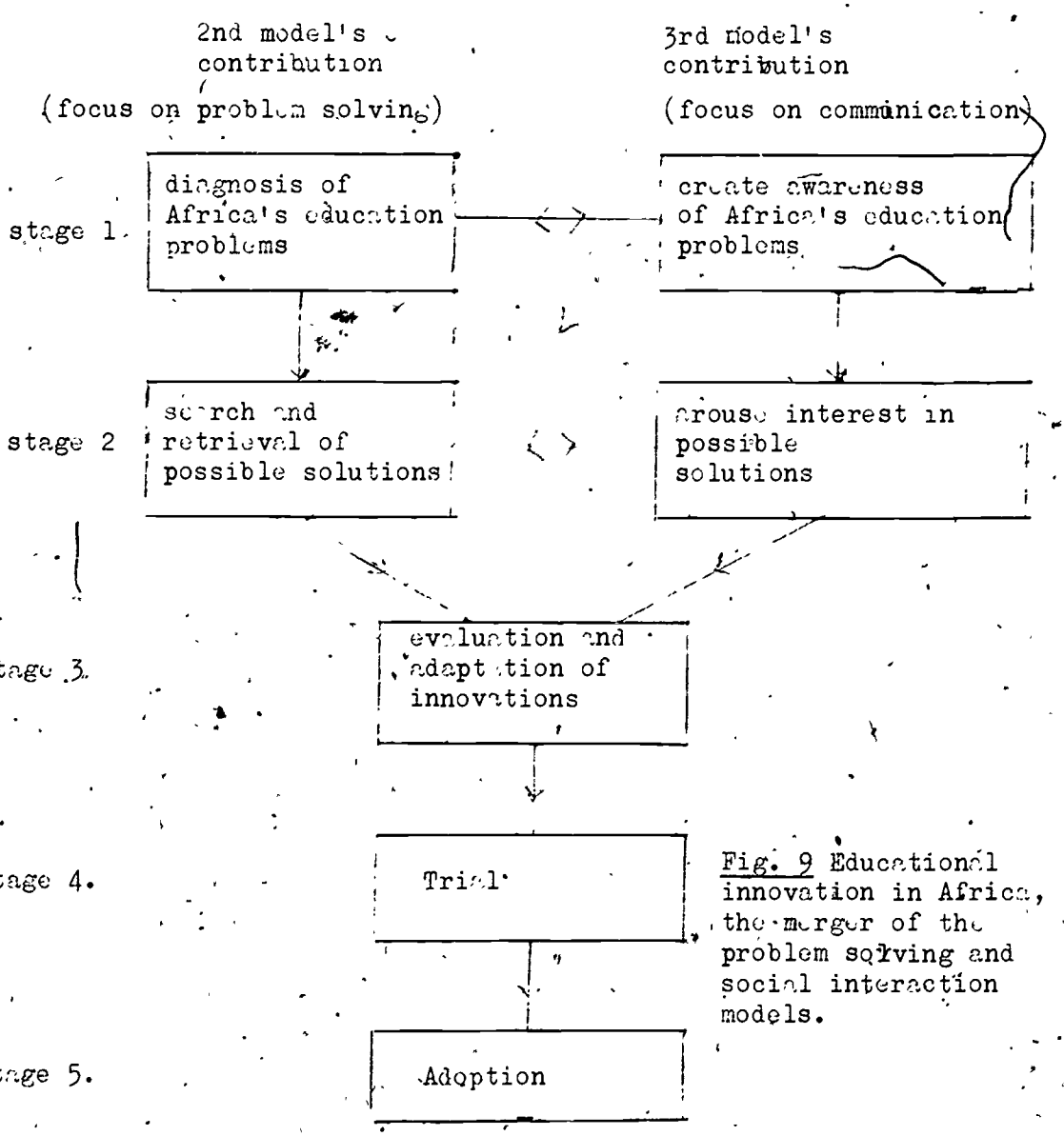


Fig. 9 Educational innovation in Africa, the merger of the problem solving and social interaction models.

Fig. 9 signifies a shift from copying western innovations in education to the study by educationists of the real issues confronting African countries today. In terms of the systems approach, it means that the proper environment of African education is beginning to be taken into account. See fig. 4 to 6 of paragraph 2.4.1. In paragraph 2.4.4 this environment will be summed up in a checklist of important developments.

2.4.4 The environment of the education system, main issues.

For most, if not all, African countries the main problems and challenges can be stated as follows:

a. Politically: the move from an elitist colonial system of government to a system of self-government based on participation by the masses.

b. Economically: (i) the move from a peripheral position within the world capitalist system to a position of economic self-reliance, and (ii) the move from a class-divided society to a more egalitarian society.

c. Socially: the move from western social structures, values, attitudes and behaviours to structures, values, attitudes and behaviours as defined and developed by progressive Africans and African organisations.

d. Culturally: the move from cultural colonialism in its many forms, towards re-establishing an African cultural identity.

e. Theologically: the move from western-based and partly colonial christian thinking to a "black theology", which combines Africa's religious past and an African interpretation of the bible into an African theology of liberation.

Any educational innovation which does not refer to these fundamental issues is not worthy of that name.

2.4.5. The Systems approach applied to school management.

A systems approach to innovations at the secondary level could be based upon the following three elements:

a. A detailed analysis of the present system in all its aspects.

b. A search for innovations that would help towards meeting the main challenges facing society today (see section 1.3.4 and the checklist under 2.4.4).

c. The try-out and implementation of innovations according to the model pictured in fig. 9.

In the following chapters, as an illustration, this approach will be followed for a sub-system of the secondary system. The sub-system selected is the management system of the secondary school. It is in fact an aspect-system dealing primarily with human relations.

3. Overhauling school management.

3.1. Why school management?

The reasons for selecting this particular sub-system, instead of for instance the financial aspect-system or the curriculum aspect-sytem are three-fold:

a. Current patterns of school organization provide an outstanding example of implicit colonial domination over Africa's younger generations.

b. School organization is comparatively self-contained at the

local level. Individual schools and teachers have a greater amount of latitude in initiating reforms in patterns of management than in financial matters or in the curriculum.

c. Innovations require only very modest funds for their impletation.

School management has been referred to as an aspect-system. The reason for this is that management deals with relationships between system elements. School management will be treated under three separate headings:
- school management in general, from ch. 3.2.
- classroom management ch. 4.
- "extra curricular activities" ch. 5.

Management can be defined as the activity of organizing people, ideas and resources in order to achieve specified goals according to plan. From this definition follow a number of key management functions[45], or aspect-systems, namely:

planning
organization
control
communication

fig. 10 Functions of school management.

3.2 School management in general

3.2.1 Analysis of the current system.

The present secondary school is geared towards achieving one goal: to get as many students as possible through the formal exams. The greater part of the school's activities in the areas of planning, organization, control and communication is centred around this one objective. That this should, in practice, be the chief objective of school is accepted almost without question by staff, students and the general public. Other educational objectives are recognised by some to exist, but they receive grossly insufficient attention.

As we have seen in 3.1, school management can be sub-divided according to the function of specific acts of management. In addition, a sub-division according to field of operation can be made.

academic field
extra-curricular field
boarding field

fig. 11 Fields of school management.[45b]

(In terms of systems theory, these fields of school management are aspect-systems of the management aspect-system of the secondary school system).

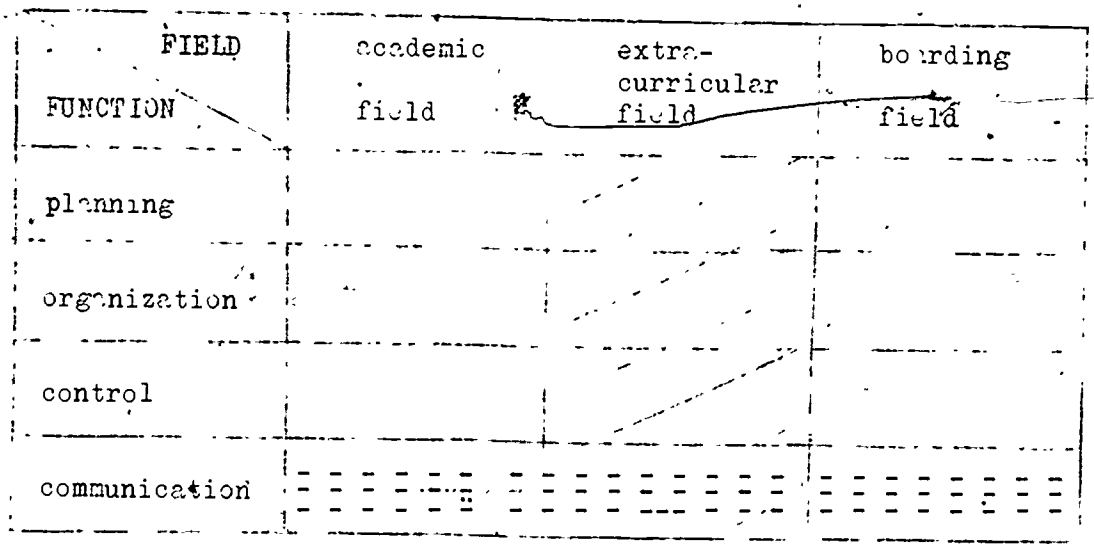


fig. 12 Function/Field matrix for school management.

Fig. 12 suggests a pattern for the systems analysis of school management. The matrix defines twelve areas for micro- research. Indeed, research into these areas has hardly begun. In addition, vertical as well as horizontal analysis can be made. These can be further defined on the basis of the results from the micro-research indicated. In fig. 12, a horizontal analysis of communication as well as a vertical analysis of the extra-curricular field have been indicated.

Of the four management functions (see figures 10 and 12) communication stands out as one which more than the others impinges on the remaining three. A study of a school's communication system can therefore reveal a great deal about the systems of planning, organization and control used, besides providing insights in the patterns of communication that exist at school.
Therefore, my analysis of the present system of school management will concentrate on this communication system.

3.2.1.1 The formal communication system.
The formal communication system can be divided into the following aspect-systems (see fig. 12):[45c]

The „academic" aspect-system of communication
The „extracurricular" aspect-system of communication
The „boarding" aspect-system of communication

Within one secondary school it are the same members of the school population communicating with each other in accordance with one of these aspect-systems of the formal communication system. The main difference between the three concerns the content of the messages being communicated, for instance, subject-matter from the Zambian History Syllabus (academic field), information on poultry farming for the Young Farmers Club (extra-curricular field), or end of term arrangements for the students hostels (boarding field).
Another difference between these three communication systems lies in the different roles that one and the same member of the school may play in the different communication systems. A student may

be an ordinary member of a civics class, football captain of the school team and wing monitor in a hostel. A teacher can be head of the geography department, driver of the school lorry and assistant house-master of one of the hostels. Despite these differences between the three communication systems, we should recognize their basic similarity, namely a pronounced hierarchical structure. Figures 13 to 15 represent realistic models of the communication systems at school. Naturally, there are variations from school to school. And the designation of people's roles may also vary. (E.g. what are called house captains in one school may be labelled house prefects in nother, the Headmaster may be referred to as principal, etc.)

About these three communication charts, representing the academic (fig.13), the extra-curricular (fig. 14) and the boarding (fig.15) fields, the following general observations can be made:

a. At most schools such charts do not exist and new staff and students are often at a loss as to the right channel of communication they are supposed to use.

b. Compared with the communication charts as developed in traditional management theory, fig. 13-15 are different in that the traditional distinction between staff and line position[46, 47, 48, 49] does not exist. That is to say, all members of the school community take part in the execution of the school's main tasks. The only persons who occupy some sort of supportive/advisory function are the 'master on duty', who at most schools acts as the Principal's eyes and ears for one day during a given period on a rota basis, and the House Masters of the boarding hostels. This could point to a hiatus in the control or feedback function of school management, namely when it is not compensated for by other means. And as we shall see, the obvious alternatives such as brainstorming during routine meetings and creating sub-commitees, are not often used. Hence reflection on the human relationships at school is sadly lacking.

c. Under the traditional hierarchical 'tree of authority', members of an organization accept orders from and are responsible to one and only one superior. This concept of 'unity of command' is no longer a holy principle in modern organization theory. However, at the secondary school the complete opposite often leads to chaos and indiscipline. It is only natural that within each field, 'academic','extra-curricular', and 'boarding', one individual exercises authority over different people and/or is responsible to different superiors. As long as one is aware of the different roles taken in these different fields, 'multiple command' normally causes no problems. More serious is the uncertainty <u>within</u> the 'academic' and 'boarding' communication systems.

Fig. 13 shows that the Principal has direct access to all levels of the system, including that of the individual student. It is up to him to decide which tasks to delegate to which level. If we take the channels as two-way lines of communication, fig. 13 would seem to represent a very open system with many interconnections between the levels in the hierarchy. Superficially the consulting hour operated by most heads of school during specific times of the week, appears to underline this openness.

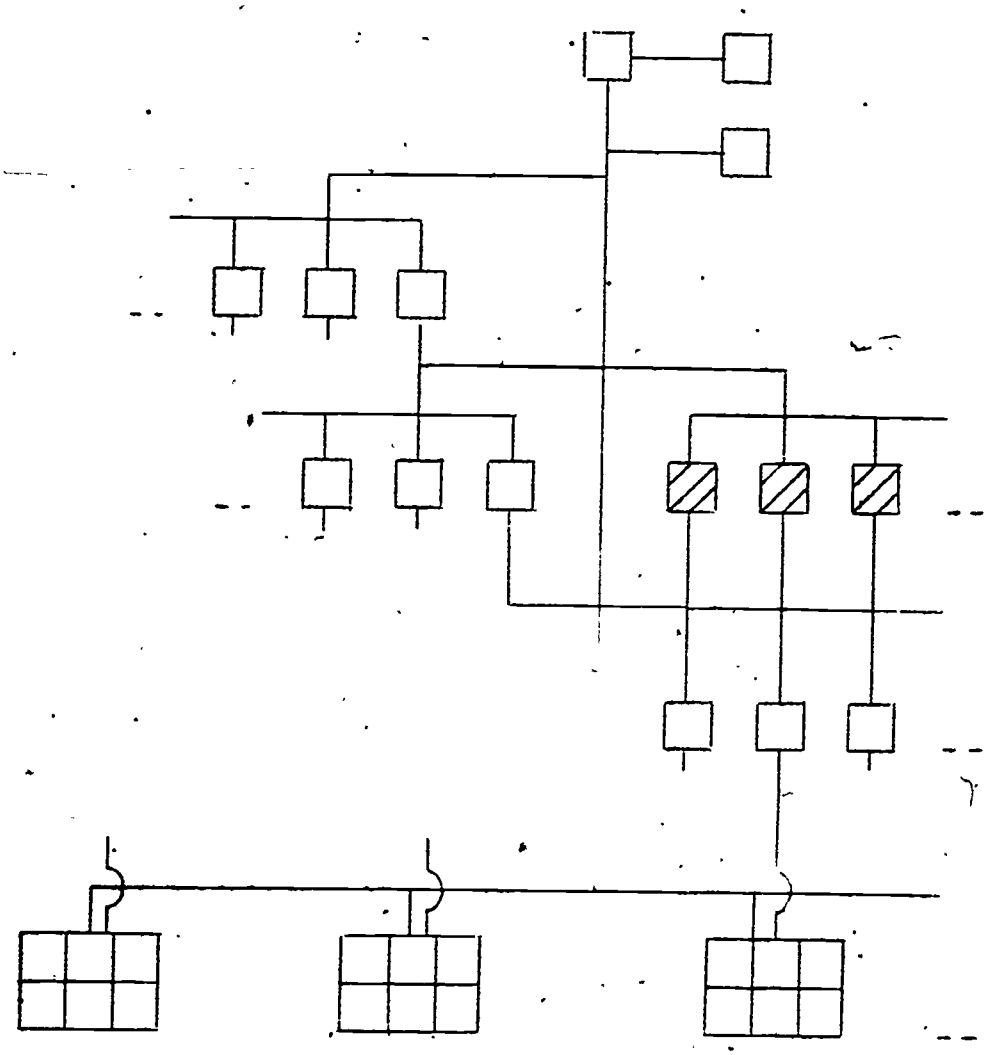


fig. 13 Chart representing the 'academic' communication system

KEY

- one person
- group of persons (school classes)
- persons or groups omitted for the sake of clarity
- communication channel (with branch)

staff
- level 1 Principal & Master on Duty.
- level 2 Vice-principal
- level 3 Heads of (subject)Departments
- level 4 ☐ subject teachers and ▨ form masters

students
- level 5 form monitors
- level 6 student classes

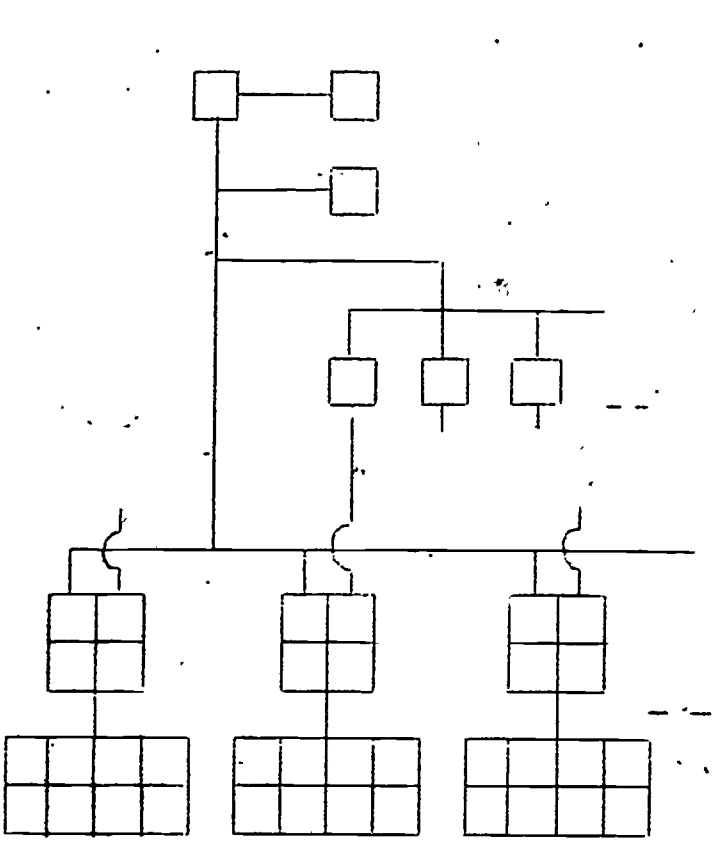


fig. 14 Chart representing the 'extra curricular' communication system

KEY

- one person
- committee of school society
- members of a school club/organization
- – – persons or group omitted for the sake of clarity
- communication channel (branching)

staff
- level 1 Principal & Master on Duty
- level 2 Vice-Principal
- level 3 teacher-counsellors of school societies

students
- level 4 committees of school societies
- level 5 members of school societies

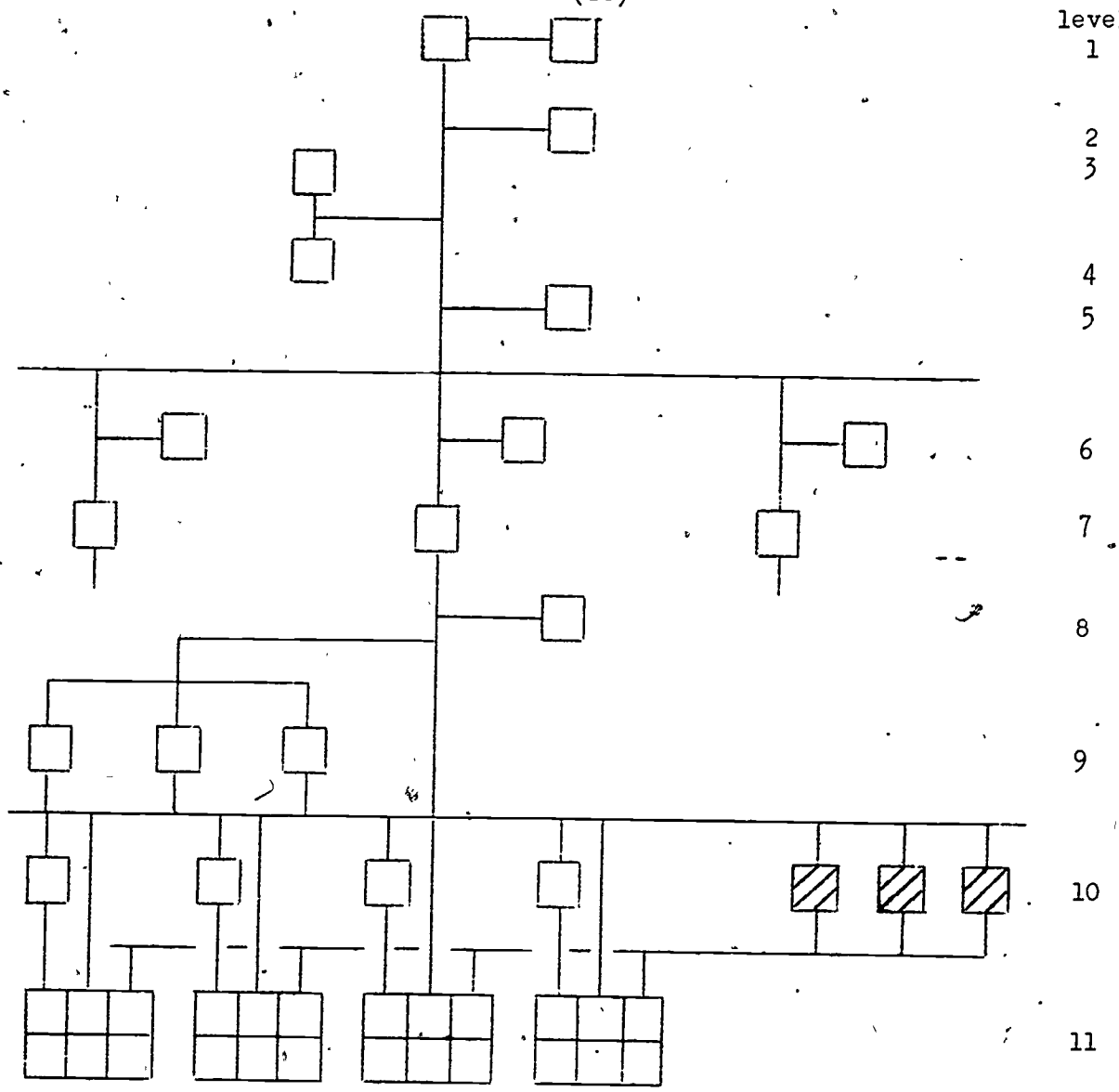


Fig. 15 Chart representing the 'boarding' communication system

KEY

- one person
- group of persons (one dormitory wing)
- group or person omitted for the sake of clarity
- communication channel, branching

staff	level 1	Principal & Master on Duty
	level 2	Vice-Principal
students	level 3	School Captain/Vice Captain
staff	level 4	Boarding Master
	level 5	House Masters
students	level 6	House Captains
	level 7	Vice House Captains
	level 8	Prefects
	level 9	Dormitory Wing Monitors; other house leaders (soccer captain, garden foreman etc.)
	level 10	dormitory groups (wings)

However, the system permits a great measure of arbitrariness. The higher you are in the hierarchy, the more choice you have in deciding your channel of communication. The lower down you are, the greater the chance that the channel selected will be judged to be the wrong one by the superior chosen. E.g. a pupil may approach the head master with his problem, only to be advised to use the correct channel and see his form monitor or his form master. Likewise, a subject teacher is not always sure whether to consult a colleague, his head of department, the vice-principal or the principal. One more example: cases have been known of the school authorities (Principal and vice-principal) sending home a whole class of troublesome students without consulting the form master of this class.

The formal communication system points to a position of the principal which at once is extremely powerful and extremely difficult. Some have found their own ways of sharing responsibilities with other members of staff, while others accept their position and regard attempts towards greater participation from below as a threat to their authority. None of them have received any formal management training, and supportive services are restricted to circulars from the Ministry of Education, the occasional bit of personal advice from an Inspector, and exchanges within the Association of heads of school which exists in some countries, e.g. in Zambia.

The built-in arbitrariness of the communication system inhibits the flow of information from the bottom upwards. To a large extent the formal communication system in the academic field is operated as a tool in the hands of those occupying the top levels in the hierarchy. As a result information flows from the top down, thus reinforcing the authoritarian organizational structure and frustrating democratic school management and student participation. Information which does flow upwards often travels through informal channels. There is a striking parallel here with staff-student relationships in the classroom. Under the widely used methods of 'banking education', bits of subject matter flow from the knowing teacher to the ignorant students.

d. What strikes one in the boarding communication system (fig. 15) is the comparatively large measure of power in the hands of students. In most school hostels, the top executive is the House Captain, who occupies a position similar to that of the principal in the academic system. There exists great variation in the position and authority of House Masters/Mistresses from school to school. In some they have great executive powers, in others they have a mainly advisory capacity. In most boarding schools, they live away from the boarding area.
Large variations also exists in the position of prefects. In some schools, they function primarily in the boarding area, in others they also have surveillance and disciplinary functions in the classroom area. Top student leaders like the school captain and his deputy figure quite high in the communication system. During a school crisis the principal will often consult the school captain immediately after seeing the vice-principal. The character of communication with student leaders is strongly influenced by their status within the school organization. Normal practice is that

they are appointed for one year by the principal after consultation with house masters and the outgoing student leaders, rather than democratically elected by the student body. Therefore they tend to represent the principal's authority rather than the interests of the ordinary student.

3.2.1.2 Meetings at school

In this section, some attention will be paid to the various meetings that take place at school. This is part of the analysis of the present system, throwing light both on organization as another function of school management, and on the communication system. Most formal meetings taking place can be read off from the communication networks of figs. 13, 14 and 15.

General meetings

participants frequency	subject(s)	chaired by
a. All Staff twice per term to once per week.	General matters, such as - school rules - discipline - student behaviour - punishments - punctuality - roll calls - school assembly - teacher on duty functions Academic matters - time table - form teachers responsibilities - daily routine - tests & exams - homework - grading & streaming, etc. Extra curricular activities - funds - staff counsellors - transport - sports, etc. Boarding matters - arrangements concerning beginning & end of term - food situation - funds - house masters/mistresses - student leaders, etc.	Principal, in his absence the vice-P.
b. Prefects meeting weekly to once per term	subjects depending on the school's tradition e.g. - boarding matters only, or also - discipline - school rules, punctuality, dress etc. - punishments - individual students, etc.	Principal or Vice-P. on more occasions: School Captain.

Academic meetings

participants frequency	Subject(s)	chaired by
a. Heads of Dept. once to thrice per year.	- allocation of funds - time tables - allocation of periods - use of teachers in more than one dept. - tests and exams	Principal or Vice-P. or a senior head of dept.
b. Subject teachers within one dept.	- allocation of teaching loads - allocation of classes - distribution of books - examination syllabuses - teaching syllabuses - equipment - tests & exams - keeping of records	head of dept.
c. Form masters/ mistresses	do not usually meet as a group.	
d. Forms of students. irregular	- election or appointment of form teacher, form monitor - cleaning of classroom - behaviour of members of the class - grievances - test & exam arrangements	form teacher

Similar tables can be drawn up for meetings in the fields of 'extra curricular activities' and 'boarding'.

General observations on school meetings

a. Subject orientation. In most school meetings, participants occupy themselves with routine matters, at the expense of basic educational objectives. To give one example from the host of instances available: discipline is discussed at almost every single staff meeting. But more often than not the discussion centres around how to make students conform to school rules, and what sanctions to use if they don't. Only very rarely will the school staff discuss what they understand by discipline, and which pedagogical objective they pursue when advocating greater discipline. Proverbial British discipline, sometimes caricatured as robot-like obedience to a system of rules laid down from above, is not much different from "befehl ist befehl" discipline as exercised in the schools and armies of other western countries. However, it contrasts rather strongly with progressive African notions of discipline, which place greater value on self-discipline, self-reliance and on an internal code of behaviour.

Student assessment, interschool and interhouse sports are also dealt with as routine matters, in which it is the results, in the form of scores, that count. Professional matters such as methods of teaching, staff-student relationships, the coun-

selling role of fonm teachers and house masters/mistresses, the objectives of education, leadership education for students, the educational function of community oriented projects, are among the list of seldom discussed subjects.

b. Public versus closed meetings.

Most meetings at school are closed meetings, attendance being regulated by one's membership of the level(s) in the hierarchy concerned. That is to say that staff meetings are not attended by students or student representatives. Neither are prefects' meetings attended by members of staff other than the principal, nor by ordinary students. Agenda's of these and other meetings are not usually posted on the school's public notice boards, nor are minutes publicized afterwards. It is true that those in attendance are often directed to communicate decisons to the groups or individual(s) concerned. A good principal will also use the regular school assembly to provide full information about matters of general concern. But these last two approaches even if used to the full, are extremely authoritarian and a far cry from the participatory democracy which should govern the school.

c. Administration of meetings.

Very few people in the school, if any, have received any formal training in how to conduct meetings. As a result meetings are often run inefficiently. This also applies to the preparation and follow up of meetings. Joint preparation of meetings, advance circulation of the agenda, the taking and publication of minutes (or decision lists) are comparatively rare, even for staff meetings. These factors inhibit participation during the meeting and make checks on the implementation of decisions difficult. This latter job usually falls to the chairman of the meetings (Principal, School captain, Head of Department, House Captain, etc.), at once adding to his burden of work and to his authority within the system.

This sad state of affairs is all the more serious when considering the objectives of student organizations. Apart from the objectives related to the specific activities of the club or association, the transfer of skills in the area of managing organizations and conducting meetings as a very basic objective, receives little or no attention. The schools' failure in this field is tragic indeed.

3.2.1.3 School management: schedules, guidelines, rotas; forms.

When analysing a school's management system, a great deal can be learnt from the various printed and duplicated schedules, blanks and guides in use at a particular school. What follows is not a comprehensive checklist, but a fairly complete list of the various blanks, guides and overviews that are or have been in use at Munali School, Lusaka, Zambia.

a. Schoolmanagement generally: guides, forms, rotas.

description	when issued	distribution
application forms	prior to selection	potential new students
student's school number	upon selection into school	
school rules	annually	staff, school capt. school & staff notice boards

continued on page31 ------>

continued:

description	when issued	distribution
Ministry circulars	-	staff noticeboard, Principal's file for consultation by staff
daily school routine	annually	staff, staff, school & house noticeboards
school calender	each half term	staff, staff & school noticeboards, school capt., club secretaries
Guide for teachers on duty	annually	staff
teacher on duty rota	once per term	staff, staff & school noticeboards
scale of demerit marks (punishment points)	annually	staff, staff notice board
demerit slips	to students when breaking rules	a limited number of blanks to each teacher
merit slips	to students for meritorous(?) work	a limited number of blanks per teacher
end of term procedure telephone message blanks	end of term to members of the school	staff, house captains telephone operator

b. Academic field: guides, forms, rotas

description	when issued	distribution
application forms	-	upon receipt kept in confidential school files by students' school no.
selection exam results (grade 7, form 3)	after exams to each student	kept in school files by students school no.
form lists of students' names per form	beginning of each school year	staff, for marking and other purposes
list of form masters & room allocations	each term	staff, staff and school notice boards
guide for form masters/ mistresses	to new form masters/mistresses	form masters/mistresses
time table for each form	each term	form master, form monitor, form notice board
time table blanks for completion by individual teachers	each term	teachers
daily attendance register for each form	annually	form master/mistress concerned
absentee book for each form	each term	form monitors, to be handed to subject teacher at beginning of each period
rules concerning classroom furniture	to new form masters	form masters/mistresses

continued overleaf →

description	when issued	distribution
guide to the use of the library library rules	to new teachers	staff; staff & library notice boards. library prefect(s), library notice board
examination syllabuses per subject	on publication by Ministry HQ and/or to new staff	all staff, for their own teaching subjects, sometimes to exam forms
teaching syllabuses per subject (schemes of work)	on completion by head of dept. or subject staff	staff in the dept. concerned, Principal's file
record of work	-	to be kept by each subject teacher on work completed
teaching notes	on publication by Teacher Associations Inspectorate	staff concerned
textbooks	each term	to students, by subject teacher
exercise books, pencil ruler, ballpoints	beginning of the year and on production of a full book, used up pencil etc.	students, on arrival at school or when book is full.
mathematical equipment	each term	to students by maths teacher
examination timetables	prior to exams	staff, staff, school & and form notice boards
prize list	once a year, usually on the occasion of the open day/prize day	staff, House Captains, staff & school notice boards
report forms, to be completed one for every student	end of term	subject teachers (marks & comment) form teacher (marks & comment on behaviour) house master (comment on behaviour) club counsellors (comment on activities) Principal (comment); on completion: to the parents, copy is kept on the school files

c. extra curricular activities

description	when issued	distribution
list of school clubs/ societies/activities	beginning of the year	staff, staff &school notice boards
list of club counsellors & sports coaches on the staff	as and when an up-dated version is required	staff, staff and school notice boards
section on extra-curricular activities, see list o. students report form	end of term.	to parents, copy is kept on the school's files
school magazine	once or twice a year	all members of the school community; parents; friends and contacts of the school
house magazines	irregularly	staff & students attached to the partilar dormitory house
club constitutions and rules	a duplication	(new) members
club circulars	by some of the student groups	members, staff, notice boards etc.
farming notes	on publication	YFC, Agr. Sc. students, etc.

d. boarding field: guides, forms, rotas

description	when issued	distribution
House membership list	beginning of the school year	House Masters/Mistresses House Captains
roll call book	beginning of the school year	House Masters/Mistresses
roll call and reporting rules	beginning of the school year	staff, House Captains
roll call report forms	each term, for ude after each House roll call	House Masters/Mistresses
furniture inventory	each year.	House Masters/Mistresses
rotas for House duties (cleaning, vegetable garden, dining room etc)	each term or half term	House Captain, House officials, House notice boards

Observations

The four lists on one school's paperwork form a precipitation of the main routine activities and procedures in that particular school. The lists describe the position as per January 1970. Since then some forms may have been withdrawn from circulation, and others may have been introduced. When analyzing the list, it should be remembered that not all the life and work within the school community can be caught in bureaucratic paper work. That is to say that once again we are dealing with an aspect-system o

the school (management) system. More specifically an administrative aspect-system to support the four functions of school management listed in fig. 10. The lists are an impressive testimony to the administrative and organizational capability of the local secondary school.
Without this administrative support, no staff would be able to maintain order and discipline. Efficiency in this field eliminates uncertainties and ambiguities, and, positively, provides a feeling of security to all people in the school. In this way at least one source of frustration, indiscipline and even school riots is ruled out. This would be true, regardless of whether the administrative support is tied to a closed autocratic organization and communication system as is the case here, or to a school organized as an open participatory democracy. Administrative support in the form of blanks and rotas etc. is a necessary instrument for both.

The contents of the lists reveal some of the major pre-occupations of the present secondary school, the chief ones being the preparation through 'banking education' (Freire) of students for scholastic examinations, and the control of student behaviour through an elaborate system of rules, competitions, reporting procedures and sanctions. These observations help to make the formal communication system discussed under 3.2.1.1 a lot more concrete. We have already seen that its structure is hierarchical. We now find that the content of a great part (the greater part?) of the messages communicated is either about foreign subject matter, or students' ranking in scholastic and sports competitions, or obedience to 'the school authorities'.

3.2.2 Summary Analysis

The analysis of the secondary school system has focussed primarily on School Management, the Communications Systems, school meetings, and the use of forms and schedules. This analysis exemplifies the ideological considerations made in chapter 1. The reader only needs to compare the final observations of the last paragraph (3.2.1.3) with Paolo Freire's description of 'banking education' given on p.2, with the key concepts of African Socialism and Zambian Humanism (p.), and with President Kaunda's statements on education (pp. 9-11), in order to realize that secondary education in Africa is indeed a bastion of (neo-)colonialism, totally unsuited to meet the challenges posed by the environment, as listed under paragraph 2.4.4, p.20.

3.2.3 Innovating School Management

3.2.3.1 Introduction. The educational reforms which are called for will also encompass the School Management aspect-system, which as we have seen, is a key area in need of change. In this section 3.2.3, a realistic sequence of innovations is suggested.

3.2.3.2 A first statement of objectives

a. to increase the participation of students in the running of their school
b. to increasingly replace competitive efforts by co-operative efforts
c. to increasingly replace individual efforts by communal activities until a better balance is struck.
d. to foster initiatives "from below"

e. to increasingly replace discipline through force, rules and sanctions, by self-discipline and self-reliance.

At a later stage such a first statement of objectives needs to be rephrased in operational terms, so that their attainment or partial attainment can be measured.

3.2.3.3 Strategy

a. Start from the position in which teachers & students find themselves today. That is to say:
   - Use existing awareness of the need for drastic change.
   - Do not ridicule teacher resistance to change, but meet it by supplying the facts necessitating change. Contact with new facts and new interpretations of facts are of paramount importance in inducing people to change.
   - Different schools within one country are in different positions within the process of innovation. The strategy should recognise different starting positions and also permit different rates of change.

b. The process of change from autocracy to participatory democracy should itself utilize the methods of participation, communal effort, and self-reliance. This presupposes a strategy choice for the model of problem-solving through social interaction as discussed under 2.4.2 and 2.4.3.

c. Time scale. The full sequence of innovations suggested below would require a period of three to five years for their implementation. This period appears to strike a realistic balance between the urgency with which drastic change is required and the gradual fashion by which institutions, of necessity, change. A revolutionary change overnight could only be achieved by strong centralized measures. But that approach would defeat the objectives.

d. Adequate provisions must be made for the retrieval and making available of general information and research findings relating to the innovation of school management. Such information should be distributed to and exchanged among all those engaged in implementing innovations.

3.2.3.4 Innovation by the people at school

In fig. 1 , educational innovation was presented as the process leading from 'banking education' to 'education for liberation'. Within that process, school management innovation is the process from autocratic school management to a participatory democracy. In this section I will attempt to formulate a practical guideline, which could be adapted by staffs of schools to suit their own needs.

For practical purposes, management innovation can be split up in phases. Fig. 13 shows a possible division in such stages. They will be briefly discussed on the next page.

a. put management innovation on the agenda

b. define/improve/streamline the existing management system

c. create greater openness

d. towards representative democracy

e. new organs within the structure

f. participatory democracy

fig. 13 Phases of school management innovation

a. Put management innovation on the agenda.
In this first phase, the objective is (i) to make teachers and students sensitive to the discrepancy between the objectives of African Socialism and the traditional school management, and (ii) to create an awareness of the needs for change. Although supportive organizations (Inspectorate, Ministry of National Guidance, Association of Heads of schools, Teachers' Union, etc.) have a role to play here, the decision to innovate the system should be taken by the people involved at the local school level. The role of the outside bodies is to give the go ahead (HQ), to furnish information, to encourage, advise, and co-ordinate. Management innovation can be put on the agenda in various ways:
- literally, by putting it on the agenda of staff meetings
- by instituting a working party, composed of staff, perhaps including senior students, to study how the system can be brought in line with the demands for participatory democracy
- by launching an essay competition on the subject. Two categories, one for staff, one for students.
- by having it discussed in the relevant student organisations (SCM, Humanism Club, Current Affairs Association, Debating Club, etc.)
- by inviting a guest-speaker on the subject
- by creating a simple documentation system on the subject
- . ...etc,

b. Define/improve/streamline the existing management system.
Only in few cases will management innovation as defined here, turn bad management into efficient management, for the obvious reason that under bad management the innovation of management will be managed badly too. A well-run school, no matter the style of management, is more likely to have the confidence and the administrative capacity needed for the introduction of participation, than a school where staff and students have adopted a kind of laissez faire attitude towards one another, or a school plagued by unruly behaviour and indiscipline. Hence the need to examine the existing system and where necessary increase its effectiveness before and during the preparation of the next stage.

Insecurity related to channels of communication has been mentioned as a possible cause of indiscipline. Another such cause is bad staff-students relationships. Perhaps this latter cause is a case where increased administrative effectiveness does not pay. In this event, a new start could be made exactly by getting round the table and talk innovation straight away, jointly.

c. Create greater openness.

Keeping in mind the eventual joint running of the school by all its members, a further step in that direction is to create as much openness as possible about all aspects of school life, so that staff and students can begin to adopt a wider view on education and its relation to society. This openness is desired for all functions of school management (planning, organizing, control, communication) and should cover the fields of management as defined earlier (academic, extra-curricular, boarding), as well as the aspect of external relations of the school, notably those which involve the school in the development of the local and regional community.

Some methods through which greater openness in the system of school management can be created, are listed below, in an as yet incomplete checklist. Naturally, the list can not be slavishly followed. Each school should consider its own ways of opening up. The checklist centres on aspects discussed before: the formal communication system; meetings at school; guides/rotas/schedules.

- loosening up the "correct channels".
  It is in the nature of the hierarchical communication system that information passes from the top down rather than from the grass-roots level up. In this phase of 'opening up', it is important to stress that communication is a two-way affair. The top levels tend to insist on the use of the right channels by the people lower down. The minimum effort to be made is to specify what these channels are, and for what 'messages' they should be used. This could be done by using a teaching version of the communication chart(s). Next, especially in extremely authoritarian schools, a display of tolerance by the top level people is needed when occasionally students or teachers do not use the "correct channel". Each student and each teacher can cite examples where their superiors have themselves used the wrong approach, without having been corrected by anyone.

- Attention should be paid to the informal communication system, and to a link between the formal and informal system. This can be done by strengthening and emphazing the counseling role of Form Teachers and House Masters/Mistresses, These members of staff often have the confidence of their students, but not always the time to listen to them. This time must be created through management. E.g. by reducing their teaching load by one period a week, in exchange for a consulting hour.

  All meetings taking place should be included in the school announcements. Students have a right to know when the staff, or the House Masters/Mistresses, the Heads of Departments, the prefects, etc. will meet. The best announced meetings are usually those of school societies, because these address themselves to a large membership and/or to the whole community at school. In contrast, staff meetings, prefects' meetings, and the like are often held on the quiet, and always behind closed doors.

- Agendas of meetings should be prepared, duplicated beforehand,

and as a rule posted on the school's notice boards. Participants of the meeting should help prepare the agenda (minimally: suggesting items; maximally: prepare the entire agenda, on a rota basis).

- Minutes of meetings should be prepared, duplicated and posted on the school notice boards. As a practical alternative, minutes could sometimes be made in handwriting, and a summary in the form of a wall-paper, posted on the main notice board.

- A number of simply-worded guides on the phased change-over to participatory democracy should be added to the school's inventory of guides and paper forms. Existing forms and rules must be examined in the light of the objectives set out under 3.2.3.2, and the necessary action taken. E.g. a committee composed of staff and students should be charged with studying the system of school rules and come up with a report plus proposals

- The school magazine, and where they exist, House Bulletins, should occasionally carry items on the running of the school.

- Information in readable form should be distributed to parents and others in the environment system of the school system (party branch committes, local and regional development committees, interested individuals, etc.).

- Parent participation. Despite various difficulties and negative experiences, particularly in secondary education, further efforts should be and can be made to open the schools to the parents and gradually increase their participation. (Granted, this is not primarily a management task. The ultimate answer lies in overhauling the school system and make it serve socialist goals. In that case cannot but function in the parents own situation)

d. Representative democracy.

Under "banking education" people owe their position in the hierarchy to appointments opposed to elections. This has serious consequences for the relationships within the school. I shall never forget a discussion I once had in the middle of the night with a group of school prefects. As a House Master I was conducting a leadership course for the group of form 4 students from among whom the new prefects and other House officials were soon to be chosen. Out of interest a number of outgoing prefects from "my" house and some other houses had come along to attend a session. From one thing came another and we remained talking until long after "lights out". I had charged that the prefects acted as the policemen of the staff. That they oppressed their fellows instead of representing them and fighting for them. As a result the prefects are hated by other students and they know it. Would it be possible, I asked, to exchange the position of "policeman" for that of "trade unionist"? At that point one prefect burst out saying that they had not chosen to be policemen. They were appointed by the staff, and not elected by their fellows as trade union leaders are. He went on saying that it was difficult to refuse an appointment. For one thing, the the staff expected obedience. For another, students were almost "bought" into the position of prefect by offering them all kinds of perks and privileges.

In the thinking of progressive African leaders, representative democracy is regarded as a phase on the road to true participation. It is a phase most schools have not yet reached.

Principals are appointed by the Ministry of Education. They are not elected for a specific period by their fellow teachers. (Within the British system, this latter procedure was proposed by the British Liberal Party, several years ago). The Vice-Principal is appointed by the Principal or by the Ministry, not elected by and from among his fellow teachers. Form teachers are appointed by the Head and not elected by the students. The same applies to House Masters and Mistresses. Student leaders are usually appointed too, from the School Captain, down to Form monitors and Wing monitors.

During the stage of innovation discussed here, as many as possible of these "office bearers" should be democratically elected. (At a later stage some of these positions may have to be abolished altogether and new ones introduced)

The advantages of elections are manifold. I am listing some of them as experienced by teachers and schools who have taken such steps:

- students (and staff) learn what representative democracy means in practice
- students (and staff) acquire skills related to voting procedures (defining the qualities of a good representative, judging potential candidates, submitting names of representatives, the technicalities of running elections, voting bad representatives out of office)
- gradually there will be a change in the role and role perception of both electorate and elected. When election of prefects is introduced, students still perceive a prefect as an oppressor. When given a chance to choose their own oppressor, they will tend to elect a weak personality ~~with whom~~ they think they can play around. If this prefect is now made to behave as a representative, answerable to the top, students will realize their mistake, and vote him out of office next time.
- the system of elected leaders is very effective when combined with an efficient system for preparing meetings, as discussed before. If the agenda of a meeting is published beforehand, items can be discussed by the group involved, and representatives given a mandate by their electorate. After the meeting he will report back, and later his report can be checked through the published minutes. This combination of effects will hasten the process of change in role perception.

e. New organs within existing structures.

(i) Schoolmanagement generally.

Various secondary schools in Africa have experimented with new organs created to increase the amount of teacher and student participation in the school. Since the late sixties, much experience has been gained, but a great deal of this has subsequently been lost due to fast changes in staffing and an abysmally weak professional communication system. Some of the new organs introduced follow experiments elsewhere in the world. Examples are various forms of school councils and school parliaments, comprising representatives from staff and students, or similar organs exclusively run by and for students, with an advisory function to the Headmaster, and with limited executive power. In most western countries, Sweden being a notable exception, the experience has been rather disappointing when measured against the level of participation and conscientization

reached. This is, no doubt, due to the ideological and other societal constraints operating on the school system. In some progressive African countries, the prospects for making participatory democracy come true through the creation of new councils and committees at the school level, are brighter than in Europe. Administratively, this kind of democratization entails the decentralization of decision making, a process which is already underway in society at large in the African countries discussed here.

My own experience in Zambia with a school council and various committees created to increase teacher and student participation in running the school, has convinced me of the importance of this phase in school management innovation. NOT as a final goal, BUT as a halfway station to grassroots socialism. It would therefore be worthwhile to systematically collect information on the experiences gathered by those schools that have made progress in this direction. Some key questions to be asked are:

- Are members elected or appointed? By whom?
- To what extent do councils and committees have executive powers, besides their advisory function? In what areas?
- Are they answerable to "the top" or to their constituants, or to both?
- How is attention divided over "content" (e.g. school rules, agricultural production, curriculum, community projects) and "process" (are activities organised so as to provide maximum opportunity for participation, leadership training, is the intrinsic educational and formative function of "process" recognised as such and has this recognition led to the formulation of clear educational objectives?)

(ii) The school's contribution to local development.

An even more fertile area for the introduction of new organs within the existing local school's structures, is provided by the initiatives of many schools to play a small role in the development of the locality or region in which the school is situated. Existing student organizations, such as the Young Farmers' Clubs and the Student Christian Movement, have become less inward looking and a number of school branches are running projects in the local neighbourhood. New clubs and societies are mushrooming. The nature of the activities run by all these clubs, is such that the teacher is hardly in a position to play a dominant role. And if (s)he is pushed into it, (s)he should resist. At his/her best, the teacher should act as a resource person, an older friend, to the students. It is the latter who do the main job. There are fewer barriers between them and the local people, than between teacher and community, especially in the case of expatriate teachers.

Needless to say, that students must be given full scope to participate in the planning and administration of such projects. These form part of the learning environment provided by the school. For a more thorough treatment of this subject, the reader is referred to Chapter 5 of this paper. For school management, which is the subject discussed here, an important spin-off of community projects consists of improved staff-student relationships. In Chapter 1 these relationships have been described as those between dominator-dominated, or even oppressor-oppressed. On that basis no joint community action is possible. Conversely, by engaging in such action, both teacher and student, consciously or sub-consciously, dissociate themselves from the traditional pattern and learn to respect each other as

human beings. In that new situation, both are learning from their joint-experience, from the local community, and from each other.

Joint community action thus becomes a powder keg under the systemm of "banking education". This is vividly illustrated by a brief look at socalled "discipline problems". Under "banking education" discipline problems are associated with a refusal on the part of the students to obey the school rules, and/or the staff who made those rules. The first answer by the powers that be, is usually the imposition of sanctions. "Discipline" is assumed to have returned if the culprits comply with punitive measures and therefore conform to the "system". Until the next eruption.

Alternatively, discipline may get out of hand completely, punishment is sabotaged, classes are boycotted, and stones start flying. Whichever is the case, in such situations of crisis, it is often those teachers and students who participate in social action of one kind or another, who play a mediating role in the conflict. It is not their discipline which is crumbling, but an 'alien' system: Their own principle is a kind of self-discipline based on mutual respect and understanding. It is a superior kind of discipline, which cannot be enforced by regulations and sanctions. Although community-centred activities are but a partial answer in the quest for a new type of school, there can be no doubt that the committees initiating such activities provide a great training ground for practising participation and fo stering understanding between staff and students. These more human relationships have a spill-over effect on all other aspects of school life, including schoolmanagement and classroom management.

f. Towards participatory democracy at school.

(i) Let us not be too idyllic about 'participatory school'. Most societies would not tolerate it in their midst. In the centuries-long debate on the role of education in society, most writers have argued that school cannot spearhead social change. Rather, education is an instrument through which the existing society is preserved and perpetuated. And true enough, school reacts very slowly to changes in society. There are and have been many experimental schools the world over, providing socialist, anti-authoritarian, progressive or liberal education for their students, but these schools have remained experiments in the fringe of society. Their impact on entire school systems has as yet been small. Initiators of such experimental schools have remained sub-innovators of a sort (see 2.1, p.12). Their work will come to full fruition when society at large will give a greater place to participation and self-determination in other spheres of life at local and regional levels.

It follows that the growth of participatory processes at school has the best chances in a society which itself can be seen to be moving towards greater participation. Educational innovation is then part of the more complex innovative processes within society at large. If that is the case, education could perhaps fulfil a spearhead function and prepare learners for tomorrow's world instead of yesterday's. Another reason why participation is not making much headway in schools, is because its nature and function are misunderstood. Those opposing participatory practices often equate participation with self-management of a community by the members of that community. This conception of self-management is then translated for the school-situation, after which these opponents of participation conclude

that most students are too lazy, selfish, incompetent, etc., etc., to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of this 'revolutionary' system. And many headmasters would say the same about some of their staff. It is unfair to stretch the concept of participation so as to confuse it with the much more demanding concept of self-management.
A further remark on the nature of participation must be made. Participation often appeals only to the minority of people who already possess skills of communication and interaction, and who already have an insight in the subject about which decisions must be taken. Hence, if not properly introduced, participatory processes can foster elitism instead of eliminating it. The educated people, the socially mobile, the leaders of the community, and similar privileged people are the first to familiarize themselves with the practice of participation.
So in order to bridge the gap between the leaders and the led, between the haves and the have-nots, between teachers and students, participation should be seen as a means rather than an end. Participatory processes are the instruments, the teaching and learning methods, by which people are both encouraged and enabled to better realize their potentials as a community and as individuals.

For the school, and especially for the staff, the challenge now is to go beyond representative democracy and the introduction of new organs at the school level, as discussed under d. and e. The challenge is to make each student, each teacher, each auxillary member of staff, feel responsible in one way or another for what goes on at school in the academic, extra-curricular and boarding fields. This itself is a big pedagogical task, just as demanding, if not more, as the formal teaching of subject material prescribed by the various syllabuses. Fortunately, participation does not have to be created in a vacuum. If measures such as discussed under a. to e. have been introduced, then these form natural stepping stones to greater participation and awareness. There are no general recipes here. The prescription of participation from above would defeat the essence of the process. This is not to say that the central administration has no task here! The ministry of education would in consultation with the education profession, decide on the general framework within which the development towards participation should be realized.
At the same time we must learn to accept that each school within agreed limits should have its own movement towards participation, decided on by teachers and pupils of that particular school. Headquarters, teacher organisations, the association of Heads of Schools, the University's institute of education, etcetera, are resource centres, providing information, encouragement and guidance, and co-ordinating the overall-development. The phase discussed here, can then be summed up as follows:

1. the ministry of education would set the scene for participatory democracy at school by providing an overall framework.
2. within that framework, individual schools would be given sufficient latitude to establish their own position within the general movement, and to take specific steps, dependent on the quality and confidence of staff and student leadership, know-how, school climate.
3. Various central institutions, including the ministry itself would function as resource centres, coordinating communication, providing vacation courses, adapting teacher training courses, providing advice and encouragement. These are relatively routine approaches, which should now also be used to support the movement towards participatory democracy in schools.

(ii) Participation, the Curriculum and National Development.
In this chapter on school management neither the function of the curriculum nor the explicit and implied objectives of the formal education

system, nor the objectives of national development have been disoussed. In fact however, the reform of school management cannot be divorced from curriculum development. And both are dependent on the seriousness with which a government meets the fundamental issues outlined under 2.4.4 (the environment of the education system; main issues). There is little point in transferring to teachers, students parents and the local and regional community, and the lower party organs, responsibility for running a school, if that school does not through its programmes, curriculum, produotive activities and skill transfer respond to local socio-economic development needs.

School management reform and the overhaul of curricula are thus mplementary movements within the wider struggle for political and socio-economic liberation. Unlike as in the case for the achievement of political independence, or the nationalization of foreign-owned industries, there are fewer models for the drastic educational reforms needed. A country attaining political independence, or wishing to nationalize foreign interests, learn from the experience with these developments gained elsewhere, experience which is available in abundance, and of a wide variety. In education, in contrast, few countries have as yet dared to introduce drastic departures from the past. The Kenyan "Harambee schools", Botswana's "brigade system", and similar experiments in Latin America and Asia are important innovative practices, but to a large extent they take place alongside the futher development of formal "banking" education. The nearest to fulfilling a model function come those countries in which educational reform is part of the wider political revolution, such as Cuba, Tanzania and especially the People's Republic of China. The succes of their educational reforms is directly linked to the advances made in the political, economic and social spheres. The educational innovations in these countries are gaining increasing recognition as models for other third world countries. They derive their appeal only partly from their apparent success, but perhaps even more from their point of departure: Cuba, Tanzania and China suffered from the same "banking system" of education (described in section 1.2), as do all other countries in the world.

4. Some notes on class-room management.

4.1 Introductory remarks.

Class-room management as a well defined system of universally applicable methods of organizing teaching and learning activities does not exist. The variety in contexts and in methods used simply is too great. This is the general impression one gets when surveying the wide literature on pedagogy, teaching methods, school reform, didactic experiments, progressive schools, and so on. However, when taking "banking education" (see ch.1) as the point of departure, the subject looses much of its pluriformity. Class-room management under the conditions that prevail in presentday formal education is a depressingly monolythic body of knowledge, skills and techniques. Team teaching, group learning, open schools, discovery learning, project work, social enquiry, self-pacing, continuous and self-assessment, etcetera, take on the character of deviations from established routines, experiments in the margin, approaches suitable for non-formal education. Teachers the whole world over are being accused of encouraging rote-learning, memory work, competition, individualism, exam-consciousness, and so on. In the process we are being blamed for killing initiative, resourcefulness, creativity, cooperative approaches to problem solving, group solidarity and self-reliance.

Even educational researchers, who supposdly belong to the same professional field as teachers, are knownto be critical of what goes on in the school. Often they regard teachers as the custodians of the status quo,

and saboteurs of educational innovation. This view appears to be supported by a number of facts, such as:
- research into teacher attitudes towards innovation;
- newly trained teachers usually receive little support to practise new approaches and methods ('Forget your training, this is how we do things here');
- teachers' unwillingness to open 'their' school to 'inquisitive' research workers and parents of their pupils.[51]

From my own experience as a teacher, I am inclined to agree with these and similar generalizations about the teaching profession. At the same time, the criticism of much of what teachers do to children would remain superficial if it is not placed in a wider social framework. For centuries the role of education has been to introduce and to adapt the young to the existing society, to pass on the dominant values of society, and to teach those basic skills which would facilitate the absorption of the young into the economic life of society. That is to say, education is shaped by society, rather than that society is shaped by education. In the words of Heinz Enlau, who wrote a stimulating paper on the subject, "I think we have to think of politics, broadly conceived as including both government and societal happenings, as the independent variable and of education as the dependent variable".[52]

'Banking education' (see section 1.2) and the authoritarian system of school management (see sections 3.1 and 3.2) were not invented by the teaching profession alone. Rather, they have been developed over time as means by which society initiates young people to their place in social and productive processes.
In capitalist societies especially, educational attainment and level of schooling are largely determined by one's social class position. Working class children grow up to become tomorrow's working class. Obedience, unquestioningly carrying out of orders, one-way respect for authority, absence of real participation are some of the values and factors prevailing in their future places of work in factory, company, department and farm. Education has developed so as to precondition them to accept this lowly life. Higher levels of education, experimental schools, liberal education, stress on creativity and initiative, etcetera, are to a large extent the prerogative of the higher and middle classes.[53]

The relationship between education and society indicated above is not always recognised as such by the teachers themselves. Large scale teacher training and increased professionalization have turned teaching into a typical middle class occupation with its own values and attitudes, not unlike those of the civil servants (see section 1.3.2 and note 7). Parallel with this process, the education profession has developed its own educational objectives. These are related to the teachers' class position and are partly in conflict with the actual processes of socialization and selection in aid of maintaining the existing stratified society. The conflict is particularly pronounced in the area of non-cognitive objectives. Most teachers will say that non-academic objectives are far more important than passing examinations. The development of character, reliability, independent thinking, creativity, leadership capabilities, social skills, inquisitiveness, moral integrity, appreciation of beauty are some of the oft-quoted non-academic objectives of the formal education system. Yet, while intricate examination systems have been

designed to test the extent to which academic objectives have been reached, little or no procedures exist to check whether the other objectives are being attained. In fact, the few studies that have been carried out, all point to the fact that the non-academic objectives are lofty ideals which are not being attained, or even worse which are not really strived after by the teaching profession. In 1973, UNESCO devoted a large part of the third issue of its International Review of Education to the subject, and the general feeling with which one is left is one of depression.[54] In his wide-ranging survey of several dozen studies devoted to the attainment of non-academic objectives (mainly in various western countries), John Raven concludes that:

- "(....) it is unlikely that teachers can expect to achieve their goals in the realm of character development (....)"
- " not only do schools and universities very often fail to achieve their objectives in this area, but that they have actual negative effects" (....)
- "these findings would seem to leave the educational system wide open to the charge of being primarily a system of restrictive practices".[55]

Raven then calls on educationists to develop courses aimed at developing real human resource capacities such as the ability to cope with today's physical and social problems.[56] Raven, Kratwohl and De Landsheere[57] do not write from a socialist perspective. Their non-academic educational objectives run largely parallel to the ideals of european liberal education. Although there is an overlap with the goals expressed in the writings of Kaunda and Nyerere, one misses in their* work the stress on communal values, collective effort, and political consciousness. The work of Raven and the others contain various references to the influence of society on education as a dependent variable. For a socialist, these references would point to the need of social reform or a socialist revolution in society itself. Ironically, the solutions proposed by the writers are in the form of exhortations to teachers, parents and educational researchers to devote more time and energy to educational reform. However, in the developing countries, the conviction is growing that educational reform must be preceded by a social revolution.

This is the order of events in countries such as Cuba, North Korea, China, Tanzania, and more recently Guinea-Bissao and Mozambique. If educationists are impressed by the educational reforms in these countries and want to learn from them, then they should first be prepared to learn from these countries' wider socio-political and economic revolutions. After all, educational thinking and educational objectives in the countries mentioned are to a large extent derived from their socialist ideology.

The foregoing introductory remarks are meant as a cautionary note before tackling the subject of class-room management. What happens in the class-room is largely determined by outside forces. The teacher has some freedom, but not much, in making changes in the ways he conducts, and is expected to conduct, his work in class. The remarks made on conditions for the democratization of school management generally, see section 3.2.3.4 f., equally apply to the sub-system of class-room management.

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* that is, Raven's, Kratwohl's and De Landsheere's work.

4.2 The reform of class-room management

4.2.1 A thorough treatment of class-room management might consist of the following steps:

- analysis of the present system
- formulation of new objectives based on African socialist / Zambian humanist thinking
- outlining possible strategies to achieve the new objectives
- planning and implementation of innovation.

I.e. a similar procedure as that followed in chapter 3 for school management. However, space in this paper does not permit this procedure. Instead only some general remarks will be made.

4.2.2 Point of Departure: Zambia

The point of departure in the following sections will be the situation in Zambia. That means that the extent to which the observations apply to other countries will vary. Even within Zambia, the conditions prevailing in school vary from school to school, and from class-room to class-room within one and the same school. These remarks then qualify the following generalizations on how the socio-political system impinges on the teachers' management procedures in class.

a. Zambia is one of a minority of developing countries that have developed their own ideology. See section 1.3.4.1. This is an essential, though by no means sufficient, precondition if a country is to develop towards self-reliance, participatory democracy and distribution of power, wealth, and knowledge.

b. This ideology, although in a state of development itself, has been presented by president Kaunda in sufficient detail so as to base educational reforms on it. See section 1.3.4.2.

c. The real impact of Zambian Humanism on actual political, economic social and cultural development is, and is likely to remain, a matter of much debate. While Zambia has gone much further in institutionalizing its version of African socialism than many other countries have, post-independence development at the same time has seen the emergence of an increasingly powerful middle-class, which obstructs further implementation of humanist objectives.[58]

d. In education the institutionalization of Zambian Humanism has not yet begun. Despite clear wishes of the President (see quotes 3,4, 5,9,10,13,17,19,21 in section 1.3.4.2), the secondary school system has virtually remained a copy of the British education system as developed for capitalist conditions in Europe. Locally conducted research into teachers' attitudes, objectives, conditions of work, etc. does not refer to the need to reshape education, but operates within a western educational frame of reference.[59, 60]

e. The secondary education system is generally seen as an instrument for manpower planning.[61]

4.2.3 Inputs for the reform of class-room management.

The following inputs, some of them inducing others constraining the reform of class-room management, can now be distinguished.

a. ideological desirability.

Teachers intending to introduce participatory and communal approaches to class-room management need to be fully conversant with the policy statements of President Kaunda and the United National Independence Party. These policy statements provide some of the justifications for change, and serve as a point of reference for individual teachers or small groups of teachers.

b. Experience with democratization of schools, socialist reforms, liberal education, etc., elsewhere in the world.
The institutionalization of Zambian Humanism in industry has been started at a faster pace than in education. It is interesting to note that the Zambian leadership has been keen to learn from developments in other parts of the world. Some examples:
(i) Nationalization of basic industries has been a well-known socialist principle for years.
(ii) Prior to the introduction of worker participation in industry under the new industrial relations act, extensive studies have been made of the systems of worker participation in Yugoslavia and West-Germany.
(iii) The present emphasis on UNIP committees in industries and corporations appears to be fashioned on the Chinese experience of organised Party involvement in economic production.

A similar process of cross-cultural fertilization in education will have a beneficial effect on educational reforms, and would lessen the dependence on the British system. And indeed, the growing group of non-British expatriate teachers in Zambia (from Ceylon, the Scandinavian countries, Russia, Holland, and other countries still) represent a reservoir of experience that could be put to much greater use. The diversification of recruitment channels is a deliberate policy of the Zambian government. Teachers from these countries should therefore feel encouraged to play an active part in changing the British system at the level of the local school. Equally important: all teachers at school need to be prepared to learn from their colleagues in countries such as Tanzania, Peoples' China and Cuba, which have been independent a bit longer than Zambia and made real progress in the reform of "banking education".

c. Structural inputs supporting changes in class-room management are:
(i) the Curriculum DEvelopment Centre, Lusaka
(ii) the inspectorate of the Ministry of Education
(iii) the professional teacher associations which now exist for virtually all school subjects
(iv) the Zambian National Union of Teachers (ZNUT), which e.g. has its own curriculum committees composed of teacher-members.
(v) the School of Education, University of Zambia.

Although the activities of these organizations are not all that radical, and cannot be until the time that some basic decisions are made at the policy level, their importance should not be underestimated. Individual teachers and groups of teachers wanting to change the climate of class-room management resulting from "banking education", will find support from the staff of the named organs. (Unfortunately the teacher professional organisations, and the curriculum committees of the ZNUT have up to now had to work without full-time staff, and depend on the voluntary labour of members).

Teachers should be (made) conversant with the kind of support they can receive from these 'structural inputs for change'. Moreover, active teacher participation in the work of these institutions and organisations not only benefits the teacher in his class work, but also ensures that innovations are planned with the real conditions of secondary schools in mind.

d. System inertia

Under this heading, can be grouped together all inputs of the system of class-room management that obstruct effective change. Such inputs are: teacher resistance to change, pupil expectations about teaching methods, lack of motivated personnel, absence of relevant information, shortage of funds, established and 'proven' ways of doing things, the rigid foreign controlled exam-system, inadequate facilities for teacher re-training, etcetera.

4.2.3 Checklist

The sections 4.2.4 to 4.2.6 provide checklists of ideas that teachers, by themselves, but preferably in groups at each school, might try out in their classes. They are incomplete, and inventive teachers will be able to add many more items to the list. Most of them have in one form or another been tried out succesfully by the writer and/or his colleagues at Munali Secondary School, Lusaka, The lists present approaches to class-room management under present-day conditions. To critics they may appear as a far cry from the drastic changes needed to turn secondary education into a better instrument of development. I present them here as a series of relatively simple measures to help teachers bridge the gap between 'banking education' and a truly liberatory education system. The checklists then do not give THE answer. Rather, they provide some of the beginnings to some answers. The checklists follow the division of class-room management into the functions of planning, organization, control and communication, as discussed in chapter 3, sections 3.1 and 3.2.1 (see fig. 12).

4.2.4 the planning of class-room management

a. Define/improve/streamline existing planning system.
(compare section 3.2.3.4 paragraph b. on school management generally).
- does each teacher have a copy of the examination syllabus for his subject?
- are schemes of work per subject and per Form (Class) available?
- are teachers required to make brief lesson plans and/or keep a record of work done for each lesson?
- are subject department meetings held regularly to coordinate work and discuss progress?
- are stocklists of textbooks and equipment kept up to date? Are new orders placed well in time? (Exercise books, chalk, ball-points, etc.).
- are tests set regularly?
- are tests prepared thoughtfully, with questions covering a variety of learning objectives (e.g. recognition and recall of facts, application of facts, problem solving, creative thinking).
- etcetera.

b. Increase the level and the amount of cooperation and participation of teachers already grouped in subject departments (e.g. civics department, agricultural science department, mathematics department).
- share the jobs mentioned under a. among all teachers involved.
- enable teachers to occasionally watch each other's lessons (e.g. one 'free' period per month).
- invite a colleague to teach one or two lessons in your class, on a subject he likes to teach.
- teachers teaching parallel streams should plan courses together, exchange tests, etc.

- discuss objectives of syllabi, teaching methods, marking procedures, with a view to avoid 'banking education', rote learning, etc.
- discuss classroom procedures and teaching methods with a view to maximize student participation. (see the list under 4.2.4 d).

c. Increase inter-departmental cooperation:

- the need for teachers of different subjects to get together and discuss each others' problems, as well as the subject matter they expect 'the other side' to have covered by a given time, has been stressed for many years, not least by the inspectorate and the various teachers' organisations. When subject matter for different disciplines is defined in separate syllabuses, there will always be the tendency to follow the one prescribed syllabus without bothering too much about what colleagues in other departments are doing. This leads to friction, e.g. when the scienoe teacher uses mathematical formulae not yet covered by his maths colleagues. This point of coordination, purely from the point of view of efficient planning, therefore needs to be stressed over and over again. Inter-departmental co-operation can, and should, go much further than that, as will become clear from the points that follow.
- note making to replace note taking.
- students' insistence on being given 'notes' by the teacher is widespread in Zambia, and indeed all over Africa. This insistence is partly justified by the rapid turnover of staff, unsuitable textbooks and sometimes absence of any texts whatsoever. As a result teachers spend much time dictating subject matter, writing notes on the blackboard for copying and, if money allows, preparing duplicated handouts. Of these three, the last is the least damaging, as the handouts can easily be integrated in a meaningful approach to teaching and learning. Nevertheless, students' insistence on notes does form one of the main pillars of 'rote learning' and 'banking education',

  So teachers should enable students to make their own notes, summaries, checklists, test questions etcetera, on the subject matter learnt, as part of the process of learning (and teaching). For the individual teacher, the introduction of note making without the co-operation of colleagues is bound to fail. The best way is to make it a routine either of a subject department or of a group of teachers teaching one particular class, e.g. the entire form I or form III intake (i.e. start with the new arrivals in the lower secondary or upper secondary school). Assessment of students' knowledge and skills should now be widened to include the skill of making notes, summaries, etc. A marking scheme could be worked out in consultation with the language department.

- many secondary schools have developed their own orientation programmes for the new form I classes at the beginning of the school year. The emphasis is on the acquisition of various language and communication skills. A 'note making project' as described earlier, could easily develop from such an orientation course. There are other ways in which such inter-departmental co-operation can be followed up: project education, team teaching, and various forms of group work. Pre-requisited on the teachers' part are: (i) the will and motivation to depart in a modest way from conventional class-room teaching by occasionally, e;g. twice a year, work out a joint inter-departmental project.
  (ii) the availability of some reference material in the form of

books and subscriptions to a number of relevant teachers' journals. These can either be acquired for the school's staff library (if it exists) or by individual teachers.
Another useful advice is to 'keep it small'. It is better to gain experience with a simple and short subject than to fail because the first attempts have been too ambitious.

- Simple forms of team teaching and project education should not only be used to improve the learning from books and prescribed syllabus material. An effort should be made to make the students' own environment the subject of study. How this can be done should be left to the teachers co-operating in such a joint exercise, whereby students must be given as much latitude as possible to participate. Focal points that lead themselves readily to project work are of course the school farm, the daily newspaper (even if it arrives a week late!), and rural life in the school's region.

- Teachers would do well to discuss the contribution of such projects to the intellectual, social, political and emotional development of the pupils. This discussion should be "put on the agenda" right from the start. Otherwise the danger exists to concentrate too much on intellectual achievement.

4.2.5 The organisation of class-room management.

a Introduction.

The previous section was devoted the planning of class-room management, especially those aspects which called for joint efforts by teachers, and for socially desirable approaches. Little attention was paid to class-room management as exercised by the individual teacher. How should he or she direct learning in class? What kind of working relationship should be established? Which procedures should be established for teaching, learning, testing, marking, the setting of homework and other assignments, etc. Some of these questions will be dealt with in this section. Of special importance are practices which are relevant in the context of African Socialism and Zambian Humanism. It is equally important to signalize which routines act as barriers to socialist/humanist approaches.

In brand new schools in socialist countries such as Guinea-Bissao, Cuba, North Korea, it is possible to develop socialist ways of class-room management. This is stimulated by the educational infrastructure, and by the community's participation in the running of schools. In most African countries, the starting position is quite different, with a more pronounced reliance on 'Banking Education'. This in itself is a limiting factor. A more important inhibition in many countries is the absence of policy-based guide lines issued by the educational administrators. In Tanzania and Mozambique, both educational policy and accompagning guide lines exist. In Zambia, policy pronouncements exist (see section 1.3.4.2), but planning and implementation are still awaited. In other countries, various forms of community or self-keep schools spring up besides the formal education system, embodying at least some of the ideals of participation and social relevance. In other countries still, 'Banking Education' almost reigns supremely. So, again, no recipes can be given. These should be evolved by progressive teachers and educators for their own situation, and with as much consultation and participation by the community.

The hints that follow have been written with the Zambian situation in mind, and with the aim to contribute a little to the discussion on the subject.

b. Starting position.

The effectiveness of class-room management in Zambia is largely measured in terms of the exam results obtained by a teacher's students. Schools with a high pass rate in the British controlled Cambridge School Certificate Examinations are praised in public, while those with low pass rates are sometimes rebuked. Within individual schools, an intricate system of 'management for exam results' has been developed. In some it operates like a well-oiled machine. Other schools are less succesful, and are advised to tighten discipline and do better. 'Management for exam results' can be summed up in a number of key procedures to be followed by the individual teacher. I do recognise that the following listing is a caricature of what the upbringing of young people is all about. But I do not think it is a caricature of what actually happens in schools. Granted, much good can be said of some, but not all, extra-curricular activities (see ch.5), but these remain 'extras': by and large it is the results that count.

Management for exam results:

- translate the British examination syllabus into a 'teaching syllabus' or 'scheme of work'. This scheme of work must be carried out 'on schedule', lest the class 'gets behind'.
- for each lesson, draw up a short lesson plan.
- keep note of the work covered.
- regularly test classes on the 'knowledge gained' by setting weekly monthly, half-termly, and end-of-term tests to individual students.
- students should complete tests and exams individually. Helping each other is penalized by loss of marks. Students handing in identical homework assignments are more often accused of cheating than praised for co-operative effort. Group assignments are rare.
- A students work is marked not against his/her own ability, but against his/her colleagues' efforts.
- at end of term, each teacher is to compute average marks per student per subject, and the 'position' of students relative to their fellows' position. (the pupil with top marks has position one, the 'next best' position two, and so on).
- end of term mark schedules, showing name, mark and position, are posted on class-room notice boards.
- discovery learning, enrichment material, etc. are by and large the prerogative of the brighter students or classes, as it is here that they can be incorporated without upsetting the 'scheme of work'. The socalled duller classes are condemned to rote learning.
- those failing in the rat-race to the top (e.g. about 80% of primary school leavers, and roughly half of those sitting for the secondary school-leaving exams), are commonly referred to as 'drop outs'.
- at the end of the year, non-exam classes sit for end-of-year exams. Exam classes take 'mock exams' prior to their last term at school.
- the last term of examination classes is preferably devoted to review and memorization of textbooks and notes, and to the 'real life' training using past examination papers.

c. Pre-conditions for innovation.

In section d., a checklist of recommended changes in the classroom management of individual teachers will be given. Before reaching that list, it should be realized that the proposed departures from 'Banking Education' have the best chance of success when a number of pre-conditions are satisfied. In the absence of such requirements, departures form existing practice will be extremely hard to introduce.

Some of these pre-conditions are:

- teachers and students need to have established a sound relationship of mutual respect.
- the teacher must be willing to learn from the students (e.g. by inviting suggestions on teaching methods, on marking procedures, on the term's programme).
- while the teacher may be critical of the present curriculum and examinations, he/she must be committed, and known to be committed, to train students to the best of his/her ability within the present system.
- innovations (e.g. group assignments, project work) should not be introduced as new approaches to further social objectives, but as measures also aimed at improved learning and better performance in exams, in addition to fostering social goals.
- the critical teacher should be aware that many colleagues share his/her criticism of the present system of 'banking education', as do many others in the educational establishment. His/her criticism should be constructive and directed at the right bodies, i.e. the staff meeting, the teachers' union (ZNUT), teachers' subject associations, the inspectorate, the curriculum development centre and related bodies. There are also the channels through which innovations introduced by the individual teacher or school must be brought to the attention of the profession.

d. Recommended changes: a first checklist.

(Note: I do not for a moment suggest that these recommendations would apply to all teachers in all schools. Some items are of a purely commonsense nature and are being practised by many teachers as part of their routine. What I do hope is that some of the following suggestions may be of some help to some teachers. Secondly I hope that colleagues will feel challenged to improve and extend the list by adding their own experiences.).

- A teacher should see to it that all his/her students have a copy of the examination syllabus.
- At the beginning of each term, the teacher should discuss the term's programme with each class. In senior classes the programme should be in the form of proposals to which students may add their own. In cases where the teacher has a choice regarding the division of a number of topics over a number of lessons, students should participate in making the choice. The aim of making the term's programme subject of discussion, is to encourage students to feel responsible for this programme as theirs, and not the teacher's.
- Other choices. In the course of preparing and teaching lessons, teachers take a multitude of decisions, consciously and subconsciously. These choices concern method (e.g. 'chalk and talk', demonstration by the teacher, practical by the students, 'read and report' assignment, work cards, role play plus discussion, written exercises etc.), student activity, selection of homework, setting of tests (today or next week), etc. The earlier students participate in making these choices, the better.

- tests must not be used for the sole purpose of obtaining percentage marks for individual students, not for grading students from 'best' to 'worst'. Some measures help to depart from this practice, such as:
  + use a test to gage teacher effectiveness, and to pinpoint topics the teacher didn't get across well. Such tests should be followed by a session devoted to the topics concerned.
  + Give marks that are related to both effort and the number of correct responses.
  + Set and mark group assignments, giving each individual the mark obtained by his/her group.
  + If possible refrain from calculating 'positions in class'.
  + Use tests as a teaching device: start a lesson by setting a short multiple-choice test, responses to be recorded by placing ticks on a standard response form; mark the test as students come forward to hand in their answer sheet, using a pre-cut masking sheet; let students correct their faulty responses; end the lesson by a class-room discussion on the most difficult items (especially effective in maths and the sciences).
- develop materials for the efficient assimilation of factual subject matter, such as:
  + review notes with simple exercises or questions
  + a teacher- or department-made 'databank' with multiple-choice questions arranged by syllabus topic, and each question typed or written on a separate card.
  + use programmed learning for selected topics. The potential for a selective use of programmed learning and intermediate educational technology has remained virtually untapped. For reports on my own work in this area, while teaching at Munali secondary school, see the notes. [62]
  + incorporate a revision schedule in the scheme of work for each class.
- increase student responsibility in class by: arranging for them to help fellow students and to share in the marking of tests and homework.

The foregoing items can be applied to improve the traditional teacher/class relationships, as well as make learning both more interesting and effective. The next set of items may help to put ideals of co-operation and joint effort into practice.

- regroup the desks in the class-room. Instead of 40 single desks arranged in five rows of eight desks each, let students work in pairs, in threes or in fours by making work units out of two or more desks.
- regularly, set group assignments
- try out setting different assignments to different groups, and let each group report back to the class.
- increase the blackboard space in the class-room to facilitate group reporting of findings. The same applies to pinboards for self-produced and other posters, newspaper cuttings, write-ups, etc.
- when working with groups, let students evaluate the work of their fellows.
- good written work from groups or individuals should be incorporated in the notes handed to other students (e.g. next year's classes).
- techniques such as role play, panel discussion, debate should be utilized regularly in those subjects that lend themselves to this treatment. Once a teacher is on the look-out for such opportunities

he will find them in abundance, regardless of his teaching subject.
- In all this work, which is heavily dependent on increased student interaction, with the teacher in the role of counsellor, students should share in evaluating the work of their fellows.

Next some notes on resources.
- With the shortage of good local textbooks, a teacher would do well to develop his own little 'resource centre' of clippings, pamphlets, booklets, magazines. This 'data bank' can be kept in a cupboard, on a shelf or even in an old suitcase. A resource centre organised on a subject department base may be even better.
- Clippings are best preserved by glueing them on standard size papers or thin cards. Sheets of 25 cm. by 38 cm. can be stored in standard metal drawers (expensive) or in strong cardboard boxes.
- Students can play a part in collecting information by scanning newspapers, writing to ministries, the government printer, etc.
- In order to make the information stored accessible, an alphabetically arranged card index of subjects, and where to find information on them, should be made. Alternatively, or initially, teachers may classify the material using the Dewey Decimal System (used in most school libraries) and arrange the information in numerical order.
- Teachers should subscribe to a newspaper and always have the latest copy, even if it arrives a week late, on their desk. Use it as much as possible for examples, illustrations, subjects for compositions, comprehension exercises, arithmatic and statistics, etc. Relevant articles must be cut out and stored. This could be done by pairs of students on a rota basis.
- A helpful tool for teachers is formed by job-cards or work-sheets on selected topics. The time spent on preparing and revising them is well spent: once a series of cards is ready, the set can be used without much further preparation, by parallel classes, and again in later years. The use of work sheets should be combined with group work. This also cuts the number of required cards, as only one card is needed for every two to four students, plus a few extra to facilitate the rotation of jobs,(i.e. exercises, experiments, assignments).
- Whenever possible, make use of information, data gathered by clubs and societies such as Young Farmers' Clubs, Geography Clubs, Literacy Clubs, etc., and/or ask them to investigate relevant questions.

e. Time.

Question: where do teachers find the time to put some of these ideas into practice?

Answer: by arranging routine work as efficiently as possible (see first batch of items in this checklist), by re-using materials and tests for parallel or next year's classes, by exchanging self-made teaching kits, job-cards, etc, with colleagues, by gradually, as time permits, developing standard approaches to an increasin number of topics, by continually refreshing the mind through attending colleagues' lessons, reading teachers' periodicals attending holiday-conferences, and lest but not least, by encouraging active participation by students.

5. Extra-curricular activities and local development.

5.1 Extra-curricular activities as an aspect-system of the school system.

5.1.1 Elements of the extra-curricular system.

In paragraph 3.2.1, the extra-curricular activities were identified as an important aspect of the secondary education system, besides the 'academic' and 'boarding' aspect systems. In order to come to grips with the extra-mural activities and their various functions, we need to survey this field, and bring some order in the multitude of activities grouped together under this title.

The planning of the extra-curricular system
The organization of the extra-curricular system
The control of the extra-curricular system
The communication within/about the extra-curricular system

fig. 17: the management functions of the extra-curricular aspect system. (compare fig. 12 & paragraph 3.2.1)

If we approach the subject from the point of view of school administration, then a division into management functions, as proposed in paragraph 3.1 will prove useful, see fig. 17 above. Generally speaking, an organized purposive approach to extra-curricular activities is lacking. All four functions, from planning to communication, are found wanting. There are various reasons for this, the main one being the low priority attached to extra-curricular activities, when compared to the academic rat-race for examination results. This low priority makes itself felt in many ways:

- lack of recognition of valuable projects
- lack of attention by the educational authorities
- lack of funds [63]
- lack of manpower (e.g. teacher-and student-hours)
- lack of interest

There are of course individual schools where the situation is much better. Unfortunately, information on such schools or on well-planned activities is scarce, and circulated rather informally among teachers in cyclostyled form.[64]

On the whole therefore, extra-curricular activities will continue to take place in an atmosphere of hobbyism and do-goodism, unless drastic changes are introduced.

a. Planning.

In the vast majority of secondary schools, balanced planning of the system of extra-curricular activities does not take place. The number and the variety of such activities is almost entirely dependent on the interest of individual staff members. As a result the emphasis may be placed on certain types of activities, while others, equally important ones, are neglected. E.g. too much sport too little community service, or: too many social and cultural activities, too little productive work. And yet, every school has a great deal of freedom to plan its own extra-curricular activities so as to provide both recreation and a sound environment for development-oriented education.

Because no coherent planning exists, little attention is being paid to the objectives of the school's extra-curricular activities. As a result each teacher strives to attain his/her own aims, sometimes by manipulating the students. For an illustration, let us look at two contrasting ways by which a soccer master may approach his work. One approach is to aim for the best scores in the inter-school competition, first at the local level (for the towns), then at district level, next at provincial level, and possibly, "if we can make it"; at the national level. To attain this goal, the teacher would rule the team with iron discipline, set up a strict training programme (with punishment for late arrivals), select players, fix matches with other teams, arrange for referees and linesmen, book transport well in time, publicize results, etc. When the teacher's contract ends, he disappears and the level of activity which depended on his energy and drive, drops to an all-time low.

Another soccer master may have entirely different ideas. His aim is to help students run their own soccer club. From this overall aim, other, more specific objectives can be derived; such as: let students draft a club constitution with aims, activities, regulations, membership and all that included. Have an elected committee, with secretaries and/or sub-committees for various tasks (training, arranging of matches, training for prospective referees, fundraising etc.), Apart from the recreational and competitive aspects, the school soccer club may thus function as a learning ground for a much wider group of people. Apart from developing technical soccer skills, a host of other skills can be practised, such as organisational skills (conducting meetings, arranging match programmes, raise funds for shirts, etc.) and administrative skills (writing letters, making telephone calls, typing training schedules, running a notice board etc.).

Planning as envisaged here, must include discussions and decisions by staff and students on the aims of extra-curricular activities, see paragraph 5.1.2. In addition, it will be necessary for each school to analyze its present system. Once such an analysis has been made, it and the statement of objectives can be put side by side, and planning, tailored to the school's varied resources, can start. For analysis, also see paragraph 5.1.3.

b. The organisation of extra-mural activities.

Extra-mural activities can be grouped into six broad categories. The categories are no watertight compartments, but they overlap. E.g. a stamp collectors' club provides both recreation and cultural development.

(i) recreation: sports, indoor games (table-tennis, nsolo, chess, draughts), scouting, library, etc.

(ii) cultural activities: drama club, debating society, photographic club, school choir, school newspaper, etc.

(iii) religious activities: student christian movement (SCM) and similar youth movements, sunday services, bible study, student-run sunday schools, etc.

(iv) school subject societies: geography club, radio technology club, young scientists, history club, mathematics club, etc.

(v) social and political development activities: most important, but mostly lacking: student participation in school management; next: activities by clubs such as literacy clubs, United Nations clubs, referee association, debating society, young farmers' clubs, nutrition clubs, etc.

(vi) productive work: school farm, young farmers' clubs, school-initiated co-operatives, building brigades, etc.

The organisation of activities is usually in the hands of an elected student committee, assisted by one or more staff counsellors. The way students handle their responsibility and the extent to which staff members usurp power, differs from school to school, and from club to club in the same school.
Little attention is paid to the overall organisation of extra-mural activities. As a minimum, schools keep a running calender of planned activities so as to avoid clashes, coupled with a booking system for central facilities (e.g. a football pitch, the school hall). When extra-curricular activities blossom to the extent that the academic programme is thought to suffer (e.g. through neglect of homework) principal and staff may put a limit to the number of activities a student can take part in (as happened at the school I worked at). In most cases however, opportunities for extra-mural activities are scarce, the scarcity being felt more acutely at boarding schools than at day schools. To this should be added that activities are distributed very unevenly over the six categories mentioned. The least attention is being paid to productive work, and to social and political development activities.

c, The control of extra-mural activities.
The word control, borrowed from management literature and first used in section 3.1, stands for evaluation and, if need be, corrective action. When the evaluation of the overall system of extra-mural activities reveals serious gaps or errors, attempts can be made to rectify the situation. Control in this way is not exercised in the majority of schools.

d. Communication within and about the system of extra-mural activities.
Within many effectively run school clubs, communication flows freely and frequently. It is a condition for well-run activities. The communication channels are fairly traditional, i.e. hierarchical, as illustrated by fig. 14 of paragraph 3.2.1.1. But as soon as the entire system of extra-mural activities is considered, communication is as a rule, badly organised, for reasons given above.

5.1.2 Towards new objectives
In paragraph 3.2.3.2 new objectives were formulated for school management. If extra-curricular activities are to be reformed, new objectives for these activities must be worked out too, in part derived from the broader objectives already stated. This process appears to have begun, as is illustrated by the new style school fund (see note 63) and by directions on district sports bodies and traditional games, given by the UNIP Central Committee.[65] The process of establishing new goals has so far been rather fragmentary and slow. The objective of having students engage in productive work has been formulated by President Kaunda as long ago as 1967 (see quotation number 4 in paragraph 1.3.4.2). The recently launched 17.5 million Kwacha rural reconstruction programme of the Zambia National Service represents an ambitious attempt to integrate learning

with productive work.[66a]
However, the initiative comes from outside the Ministry of Education, and the programme is primarily aimed at unemployed primary school leavers. Unless also at secondary schools, productive work is integrated within the curriculum, the new scheme could in fact underline the notion that manual work is for 'dropouts' only and not for those who are succesful in climbing the educational pyramid.

Administratively, it should be easier to include, as was done in Cuba, three hours of productive work in the curriculum of an established institution such as the secondary school, involving, in Zambia, a total school population of around 70,000 (1975; increasing by about a few thousands each year), then to create an entirely new system of training camps, resettlement schemes and co-operatives, under conditions marked by bottlenecks and teething problems, catering for over 40,000 new recruits each year.(Of 95,000grade six pupils sitting form I examinations in 1974; some 20,700 were found places in secondary schools, while the great majority of the remaining 74,300 youths joined the ranks of the unemployed).

While the policy makers, and the leadership of the ZNS must be given credit for evolving the rural reconstruction programme, the question remains why the relatively simpler scheme of reorganising the extra-curricular activities of the secondary school, and especially the productive work component, is hampered by lack of action. One answer suggested here is,the absence of clear policy objectives on this aspect of school-life.

A similar judgement would seem to apply to the fifth category of extra-curricular activities: social and political development. Together with productive work, these are the most neglected activities. Objectives for the remaining categories (i to iv) are, certainly by expatriate teachers, given in terms of "to provide opportunities for recreation, personal growth and character building" i.e. in terms of elitist liberal education. Here too, there is a widely felt need to move to new objectives, in conformity with the school's environment as spelt out under 2.4.4.

5.2 Analysis of the Extra-Curricular system.

5.2.1 sub-tasks of the analysis.

The situation regarding extra-curricular activities as described under 5.1 points to the need for a detailed analysis of this aspect system of the school. Such an analysis would be useful for any school to make for its own information and planning. At the levels of educational administration, planning and policy making, a broader analysis is needed to reflect the varied national picture. The analysis could consist of the following sub-tasks:

- survey the present extra-curricular system
- create a platform for discussing possible innovations (covering own school only, or own school plus selected other schools, or the whole country).
- list the pressures for and against change
- relate the schools' extra-curricular system to the colonial history and present state of voluntary organisations in the country.

In sections 5.2.2 to 5.2.5 these sub-tasks will be outlined in a little more detail.

5.2.2 A survey of the extra-curricular system

This survey should be as factual as possible. In section 5.1 a classification of six different categories of extracurricular activities has been given. For each category the activities engaged in by staff and students should be listed. The number of staff and students involved, the total time spent on each activity per person per week are important data to be collected too. Each group initiating this kind of survey should, of course, adapt the idea to suit its own circumstances. For instance, it may be decided to restrict the survey to social action activities, with a view to improve that much neglected area first of all. This is what was done at Chipembi Girls School[64].

A different idea, which I used on one occasion, is to collect the relevant information by having a team of students draw up a questionnaire, with which they then approach a random sample of their fellow students. If done this way, the whole exercise may be carried out as part of the mathematics lessons (practical statistics), while at the same time furnishing important information. A third approach yet, would be calling a meeting of students involved in various activities, and letting each student report on his/her club's activities. The duplicated reports can be put together to make up the body of the survey report. With this method, the convenors could again decide to focus attention on community and production oriented activities, if this is the area in which greater efforts and coordination are called for.

5.2.3 Create a platform for discussing possible innovations.

The survey will almost certainly point to underdeveloped areas in the extra-curricular activities. Before making hasty decisions to go in for this or that type of action, some time should be devoted to considering possible alternatives and improvements. Here the experience of other schools may be relevant. But even within the school, people often don't know of each others experiences. At our school, both the Students' Christian Movement and the Boy Scouts had their own literacy project, in a neighbouring village and a high density urban compound respectively. Due to the low priority attached to social service in the school, these activities were relatively unknown by non-participants among students and staff. Even the students running the projects only knew of their own project! At the initial stage, the students of the SCM had considerable difficulties explaining and justifying their literacy work to the suspicious husbands of illiterate housewives. (Most men were employed during normal working hours, and the students (males only) carried out their teaching during free afternoons) The Scouts' however, from their own experience, knew the solution to the problem. They had in the preparation stage, approached the local Party leaders, and planned their project in consultation with them. This approach made the project more into a joint project, whereby the students did not have to introduce themselves or to launch a recruitment drive by themselves.

In such a situation, at the school level, it needs some authority, be it the principal, the school council, a couple of staff counsellors, who has to arrange for all those concerned to meet and exchange experiences. Once such a platform has been created, students will teach their fellows about the importance of planning with the people, instead of for them.

The danger of paternalism in community service by the school received considerable emphasis at the Commonwealth Regional Youth Seminar held in Nairobi, 1969. The conference report "Youth and Development in Africa"[66b] in its section "The role of the formal school", contains a balanced paragraph on improving the links between the secondary school and the surrounding community.

5.2.4 List the pressures for and against change

Listing the pressures for and against changes can be very illuminating for those who want to introduce new ideas. At the local school level, the list would contain the main bottlenecks (e.g. lack of funds, pressure of the examination system, time table, lack of support by Headquarters, lack of contact with people living nearby, lack of fertilizer, lack of motivation, etc.). For a national analysis, such a listing would need to be supplemented by an analysis of the position, or rather, the range of positions, taken by the people concerned at various levels, e.g. along the lines indicated by figure 17. This figure is as yet very rough, and based on my impressions as a participant observer, and not on detailed empirical study. This detailing would be necessary before the scheme can be used to draw valid conclusions and/or to base policy recommendations on.

A second cautionary note must be made regarding the freedom of actors at various levels. It is sometimes argued that this freedom is constrained by some innate inertia of the education system itself. Systems analysts in particular are prone to ascribe characteristica to organizations which should instead be ascribed to the people manning the organization. (e.g. striving after the attainment of certain goals, maintaining an equilibrium with the environment, safeguarding survival). Next it is argued that when facing such a 'living' organization, the individual is quite helpless if he wants changes introduced.

Of course, within each organization we find established procedures, organizational ethics, patterns of communications, etc., but all these are the result of human activity, and can be changed by subsequent action. Hence the choice for "actor level" in fig.18 , in preferance of organizational level. Thirdly, fig. 17 still refers to the extra-curricular sub-system. No drastic changes can be effected unless other sub-systems (academic, boarding) are overhauled as well. Fourthly, fig.18 does not include information about the types of changes that could be made. That is to say, it must be used together with the list of innovations drawn up (see b. above).

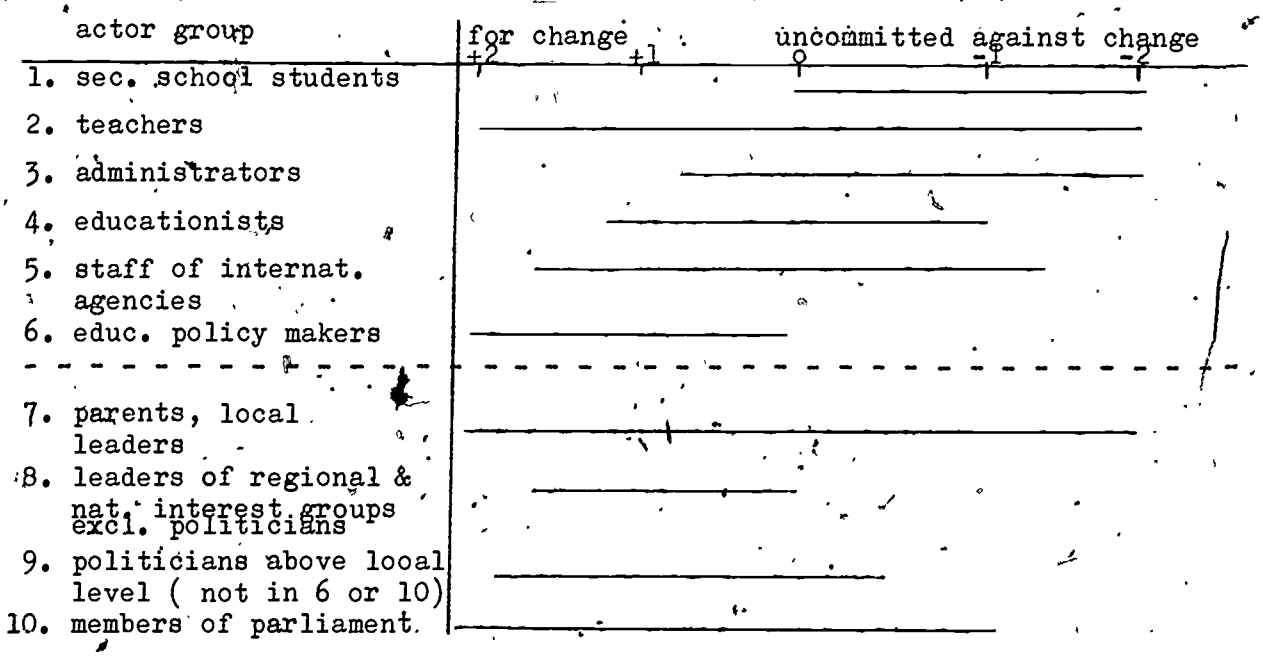

fig. 18 pressures for and against changing the extra-curricular system, as exerted by various actor groups.

5.2.5 Extra-curricular activities and voluntary organizations in Zambia.
Voluntary organizations are a touchy subject in Zambia. They have existed in the country for many decades, and have largely been formed on the initiative of expatriates in Church missionary work, in business and in the colonial and now government administration. This is not the place to give a full description of the dozens of clubs and associations, spread over most of the categories listed under 5.1. Some generalized statements can be made, which apply to a lesser or greater extent to most of these societies, be they sports clubs, service clubs (Rotary, Junior Chamber, Round Table), cultural clubs or welfare organisations (red cross, nutrition clubs, etc., etc.).

a. Their membership is largely drawn from the higher income groups
b. nearly all have at one stage or another been exclusively white, if not in principle, than certainly in practice
c. there is a gradual tendency towards greater Zambian membership, usually without changing the upper-middle class values and etiquette I.e. the appeal to Zambians to join and participate in running these clubs is directed at persons in the higher income brackets.
d. the work of service and welfare clubs in the field of health, education and general welfare, has kept its stigma of do-goodism and paternalism.
e. because of their origin, and the values and attitudes of their members, the clubs have never attempted to mobilise the mass of the people, just as they have never supported the case of the politically deprived people in Southern Africa. Appeals in the past by president Kaunda and minister Aaron Milner, for the service clubs to give humanitarian aid to the liberation movements, have fallen on deaf ears.

Despite the critical views of many Zambians on the majority of the voluntary organizations, their work in aid of the destitute has often been praised by Government officials. They do provide some welfare services at the local level which, if it weren't for their activities, would not have materialised for some time to come.

It should be realized that many community service activities by school clubs were initiated by expatriate teachers in the past. Much of this work share the same base of affluence from which it originates, and the same philosophy of providing social services for the have-nots (rather than stimulating social development by the people).

An area which is in bad need of research, is formed by African-initiated voluntary movements after the advent of colonialism in Zambia, and their impact on present-day developments. In his "Reaction to Colonialism" Meebelo describes " the first stirrings of popular discontent" (with the system of forced labour), occurring as early as 1896 in the North-East of Northern Province. [67] He also deals with the origins of voluntary organisations such as the Native Welfare Organisations formed by the early African intelligentsia from as early as 1923, the Watch Tower Movement and the birth of the political parties ANC and UNIP. [68]

Despite the variety presented here, these early organisations share a political consciousness which made them oppose white rule in their country and mobilize the masses of the people. In present-day Zambia, several voluntary organisations exist which have been influenced by this indigenous experience. (Notably the trade unions and UNIP itself). Furthermore, several of the european initiated

societies have undergone a process of politicization which has made them more African and egalitarian in outlook (e.g. the Student Christian Movement; in contrast to the Scripture Union).
A few organisations, such as Social Action in Lusaka, and the Zambia Helpers Society, have succeeded in combining elements of the Expatriate and the indigenous approach, and have become very worthwhile initiators of social development, with a keen eye for people's participation and good communication with UNIP . (The importance of such links with the country's major change agent is overlooked by many of the voluntary groups, especially at the local and regional level.)

Given this situation, those who hope to turn the school into a local development agency, should perhaps stop pinning their hopes on clubs that have been derived from the expatriate tradition, (nutrition clubs, literacy clubs, sewing clubs, etc.), and pay more attention to possibilities related to community service camps, the Zambia National Service, and the new rural construction scheme. Other questions deserving attention are the schools' links with UNIP, with, in a few cases, development committees, a nearby co-operative, the Boma, etc.

5.2.6 Much voluntary work is class-based.
An analysis as suggested in foregoing paragraphs would open people's eyes to the class-based origins of much voluntary work in Zambia, including many of the extra-curricular activities of the secondary schools. In my opinion, extra-curricular activities will start to be really meaningful the moment they stop being an 'extra', handed down to the poor from a position of affluence. This would mean to include community service and productive work in the curriculum, giving these activities a substantial amount of time within the schools' time table. It would imply a different system of student assessment whereby students (or preferably teams of students) would receive workpoints for production and social development activities, just as happens now for the traditional teaching subjects. Student selection for jobs, positions of responsibility, further training or further formal education would also be based on a similarly broad assessment of his/her capacities, including political consciousness and community orientation. (Instead of chiefly on individual exam points as happens at present.).

Whether a development along these lines is feasible in Zambia, depends to a great extent on two factors. Firstly, are the policy makers prepared to design strategies for implementing the clear educational ideals of Zambian Humanism? Secondly, to what extent can the progressives at the various actor levels (see fig. 18) work together in an alliance for educational change? These two factors will be briefly discussed in the final section of this chapter.

5.3 From policy to strategy, from strategy to action

5.3.1 Some recent policy decisions
In recent times, a number of policy decisions have been announced, which could have a great impact on the extra-curricular system.
a The Ministry of Education has set up a general purpose fund to replace the old sports fund in all schools. Funds for the old school fund were collected by the school from their students on a semi-compulsory basis. The funds would be released by the Ministry of Education.[69] One of the intentions of the new fund is to provide a source of money, which can be used to initiate small development projects in the school's locality.

To what extent this new measure will facilitate the initiation by the school of an agricultural co-operative in which, circumstances permitting, also school leavers and/or villagers could participate, remains to be seen. One of the barriers blocking such schemes has always been the fact that any school's finances must be administered from the Ministry of Planning and Finance in Lusaka, which had a claim to all profits made by a school's productive activities. It means that profits made could not be reinvested in expansion, neither could part of the profits be paid to the schoolboy-members of the cooperative, thus robbing the scheme of two key-incentives. At the moment of writing, I do not know whether the new style school fund will give schools the greater financial freedom necessary to begin to function, in a small way, as a local development agency. Especially agricultural science teachers have been known to have pleaded for greater administrative and financial support for projects in agriculture.[70] Needless to say that finance is not the only bottleneck. The agricultural science syllabus itself presents another, emphasis as it lays on a cognitive approach to the subject.[71]

b The Government has launched a massive rural reconstruction programme, costing K 17,5 million a year, aimed at involving all unemployed school leavers in training courses and rural development projects. The programme is to be administered by Zambian National Service[72]. The plan would involve 42,400 people a year. Implementation has already started and several camps are in full operation. The daily newspapers have reported on various teething problems.

c The Central Committee has directed the Minister of Labour and Social Services to set up district sporting bodies, in order to revive and promote all sports in the country, including traditional games such as nsolo. The project is part of a youth mobilisation programme the Party and Government are embarking on.[73]

d In February, Mr. Andrew Mutemba of the Central Committee announced that UNIP would start a scheme for unemployed youths and school leavers between 12 and 16 years, who would not qualify for the Zambia National Service Programme[74]. (which takes in older youths).

e After several years of lipservice being paid to the need for schools to produce part of their own food requirements and/or running costs, schools are now in effect having to engage in productive work. To begin with, they will have to raise ten percent of their exploitation costs, so I have been told.[75]

These policy decisions can be taken as signs that the Government is determined to change the elitist character of the secondary school. There are strong signs that other measures effecting the entire formal education system will be introduced in due course. In April 1975, Mr. Sundie Kazunga, then Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, announced that the whole system and structure was being reviewed. And he added "I am firmly convinced that the system of education which we inherited from the colonial era and which we have perpetuated under the false belief that it is relevant education for a developing country, is not suitable for Zambia".[76]

At the level of policy making and evaluation, criticism of the present system has never been so widespread. Among those who have expressed similar opinions are Dr. Rugumayo[77] of the University's

institute of Education, former minister of education Mr. John Mwanekatwe,[78] Professor Lameck Goma, University Vice Chancellor [79], Varsity Corner [80], Mr. Shiyenge Kapini of the Zambia National Union of Teachers [81], Members of Parliament [82], and several Cabinet Ministers [83].

A further indication that changes are in the offing may be seen in the study tours to, and the agreements on cooperation in the the fields of mass mobilization and political education with countries such as Guinea [84], Cuba [85] and China [86], which are part of a fairly recent emphasis by the political leadership on nationwide political education.[87]

5.3.2 Interpretation

When interpreting the foregoing examples and references, a few comments need to be made in order to put them in perspective.

a. The decisions regarding change, mentioned under 5.3.1 a to e, are taken and announced by policy makers. The newspaper reports from which those examples were taken, do not inform the reader about the preparatory phase preceding the changes. Nor are we informed about the various actor groups that may have participated in the preparatory phase.

b. Opinions critical of the present education system, emanate from a wider group which, apart from policy makers, include the Permanent Secretary for Education (i.e. the chief of administration), M.P.'s, scholars, and the Secretary-General of the ZNUT. Public Statements by these actors contribute to the process of policy-making.

c. Strikingly, administrators, teachers, parents and students hardly present themselves as participants in the process of policy making, or if they do, journalists perhaps ignore their contribution more than they should.

Other factors must be considered here though. For instance, the group of educational administrators are extremely well organized when compared with teachers, students and parents. The low degree of organization among the latter groups, lack of funds and their diversity of opinion (see fig. 18), have condemned these groups to a position in which they can hardly act as real participants in the policy making process. (notwithstanding many official exhortations that they should).

d. Regarding the content of the decisions made, it will be noted that they do not greatly affect the extra-curricular activities of the local secondary school. The new style school fund could have an impact on local development, but this will depend on the motivation& drive of the individual school. And it will be some time before productive work, even if only to cover part of the cost of education, will have taken roots in all schools.
The main objective of the rural reconstruction programme is to solve the problem posed by the annual production of close to 100.000 unemployed primary school leavers. Without doubt, the moves by ZNS and UNIP constitute a major effort to tackle a gigantic problem. However, these programmes may have the unwanted effect of underlining the elitist character of the secondary school here is little or no evidence to suggest that the education profession at large, including middle and lower levels of administration, have participated in formulating the

rural recontruction programme. Hence, the chances are that, in turn, this programme scarcely will affect the ordinary school's programme. In that case, the formal secondary school system and the programmes launched by ZNS and UNIP may come to live side by side. This need not have to reinforce the elitist character of school, but it could, if no precautions are taken.

At the worst, the formal system will only be subjected to piece-meal changes, while preserving its selective and prestigeous image. If that happens, the scramble for school places will continue with ZNS and UNIP catering for the socalled 'dropouts' from the rat-race.

At best, the formal and non-formal system will be complementary, with both providing prospects for various kinds of employment and other personal and social needs. The formal school could loose some of its exclusive character and status, if the non-formal (rural) programmes would match the formal in recognition and status. In that, ideal, case far-reaching reforms of the secondary school system would still be needed before it could begin to fulfil the objectives embodied in Zambian Humanism .

/ satisfying

THE END

- / Notes

NOTES

1. See for example: 'The contribution of agricultural education in rural schools to rural development', a paper presented by agricultural science teachers and agricultural fieldworkers to the 1972 Annual Conference of ZAGEDA (cyclostyled).

2. Arusha Declaration (1967), published by Policy Statement of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). The Arusha Declaration has been published several times, among them in:
   - Nyerere, J.K. (1968a), Freedom and Socialism, Dar es Salaam, OUP.
   - Nyerere, J.K. (1968b), Ujamaa, essays in socialism, Dar es Salaam OUP.

3. Kaunda, K.D. (1967), Humanism in Zambia and a guide to its implementation, Lusaka, Zambia Information Services, and Kaunda, K.D. (1973), Humanism in Zambia, part 2, Lusaka, Z.I.S.

4. Nyerere, J.K. (1967), Education for self-reliance, Dar es Salaam. Published many times, among them in Nyerere (1968a) op. cit., Nyerere (1968b) op. cit., and Resnick, I.N. (19), Tanzania, Revolution by Education, East Africa Publishing House.

5. To gain an impression of the differences that do exist, readers are advised to compare education reports on independent African countries with sources like:
   - Unesco, 1967, The effects of Apartheid on education, science, culture and information in South Africa, Geneva.
   - Gool, Jane 1965, The crimes of Bantu education in South Africa, Lusaka, Unity Movement of S.A.
   - The (South African) Bantu Education Act 1953 in: Brownlie I am, 1971, Basic Documents on African Affairs, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
   - SPROCAS Education Committee, 1971, Education beyond Apartheid, Johannesburg, The Christian Institute for Southern Africa.
   - I.B. Tabata, 1959, Education for Barbarism, Bantu Education in South Africa, Durban, Prometheus Printers and Publishers, P.O.Box 1905, Durban.

6. Freire, Paulo (1970), Pedagogy of the oppressed, New York, Herder and Herder, p.59.
   A cheap edition of this work has been published in the Penguin Education Library. In this same series appeared: Freire, Paulo, Cultural Action For Freedom. This latter book, which was written before the other work mentioned, is also available in Portuguese. Educators within the ranks of Frelimo (Mozambique), MPLA (Angola) and PAIGC (Guinea-Bissao) would find this version helpful. Educação como prática da liberdade. Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1967. Série ecumenismo e humanismo, vol. 5. Distribuição exclusiva: Editora civilização brasileira, S.A. Rua 7 de Setembro, 97. Rio de Janeiro, G.B., Brasil.

7. For a fairly traditional approach to these problems, see Adu, A.L., 1969. The civil service in Commonwealth Africa, development and transition. London, George Allen and Unwin.
   On the whole, Adu appears to uphold the key concept of the British Civil Service: that of the professional ethics, which in the West is so closely linked to political neutrality. In practice political neutrality vis à vis the party system goes hand in hand with massive inertia in socio/political matters and unreserved support for the maintenance of bourgeois society. To call this neutrality is fallacious. Only in the final chapter, the Civil Service in Contemporary Africa, he departs in a large maasure from the traditional ethics and advocates a kind of politicization

of the Civil Service. This dichotomy might be due to the fact that this work is a revision of an older book published in 1964. Chapter 15 would then represent the author's views as they have evolved since the first publication.

In Africa, Asia and Latin America the assumed political neutrality of the civil service has in some countries led to the uncritical acceptance by the service of right-wing coups. But in progressive African countries, there is a movement towards making the civil service into a real force for progress, by the people. See Chinjavata, L.C., 1969, Instrument for Development, Service vol 3, no.1, April 1969, Lusaka.

Coupled with this, there is in Zambia a fairly strong movement towards politicisation of the civil service, albeit not as vigorous as in Tanzania. At the National Council Conference of November 1970, President Kaunda said on the Civil Service: Because of Zambia's sensitive geo-political situation "we cannot afford neutrals. You are either with us or against us"(Zabia Daily Mail, 9-11-'70). The President went on to emphasise the special patriotic duty of the civil service and the teaching profession to support the Party's (UNIP's) philosophy of Humanism in their programmes and policies. This must not be seen as political indoctrination of the Civil Service, but on the contrary as an opportunity for civil servants to think for themselves and to contribute to the building of a humanist state without subversion. In the same speech President Kaunda implied that continued 'neutrality' of the civil service would be using "old institutions and methods which do not seem to fit the new revolutionary situation in which we find ourselves". See also:
- Subramaniam, V. (1973), Civil Service problems in the one-party state, Times of Zambia, 20 January.
- Sunday Times of Zambia, (1973), In the Service of the nation. Feature article, 11 th February.

Lack of insight into matters concerned with the politicization of the Civil Service, has contributed to counterproductive publications as that by Bankole, T., (1973), Politicians and Civil Servants, Africa, no. 26, Oktober 1973, pp. 17, 18.
He and other writers in the same style fail to see that political consciousness of the civil service is one of the major weapons in combatting laxity, indiscipline and corruption. Any discussion which takes western civil service ethics for granted cannot transcend the level of wasteful gossip.

8. Sigmund, Paul E., editor, (1967), The ideologies of the developing nations, New York, London, Frederick A. Praeger, pp. 41, 42.
This is a revised and enlarged edition of an earlier book published 1963.

9. These somewhat general remarks can easily be substantiated from the writings and policy speeches of Presidents Kaunda, Nyerere, Nkrumah, Sekou Touré; or from African dailies such as the Zambia Daily Mail and the Daily News of Tanzania; or from the work of political scientists such as
Jalee, Pierre (1968), Pillage of the third world. New York, Monthly Review Press.
Saul, John S. & Cliffe, Lionel (eds). Socialism in Tanzania, vol.1 & 2.
Arrighi, Giovanni & Saul, John S. (1973). Essays on the political economy of Africa. London, New York, Monthly Review Press.
Rodney, Walter, (1972). How Europe underdeveloped Africa. Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House. London, Bogle-l'Ouverture 2nd impression 1973.

10. President Kaunda in his foreword to an 'African book on African problems by Africans themselves': Makulu, H.F., (1971), Education, Development and Nation-building in Independant Africa. London, SCM Press.

11. Kaunda, K. D. (1964), Some personal reflections, in: Luthuli, Kaunda, Nyerere a.o. (1964), Africa's Freedom, London, Allen & Unwin, pp. 24-37.
In fact Kaunda's cooperation with his pupils went a lot further. From his autobiography (Africa shall be free, London, Heinemann, 1962, reprinted many times) it transpires that part of the market for vegetables consisted of the school itself, which bought the student's produce through its boarding master Kaunda!

12. Kaunda, K.D. (1966), A humanist in Africa, letters to Colin Morris, London, Longmans, p. 131.

13. Kaunda, K.D. (1967), Humanism in Zambia, and a guide to its implementations, Lusaka, Z.I.S., p.24.

14. ibid. pp. 43, 44.

15. Kaunda, K.D. (1969?), Ten thoughts on humanism: Humanism in Education. The Veritas Cooperation, no date, p. 4.

16. ibid. p. 6.

17. Opening address to National Education Conference, reported in The Zambia Daily Mail, 1st October 1969.

18. ibid.

19. ibid.

20. ibid.

21. ibid.

22. Kaunda, K.D. (1971a), Foreword to Makulu, H.F. (1971) op. cit.

23. ibid.

24. Kaunda, K.D. (1971b), A path for the Future, opening address at sixth General Conference of UNIP, 8th May 1971. Lusaka, Zambia Information Services, p. 37.

25. ibid. p. 24.

26. Times of Zambia, 10th August 1971.

27. Speech at the swearing-in ceremony of two Ministers and twelve district governors. Zambia Daily Mail, 24th August 1971.

28. ibid.

29. Times of Zambia, 19th May 1972.

30. Address at graduation ceremony, given in President Kaunda's capacity of chancellor of the University of Zambia. Sunday Times of Zambia, 9th July 1972.

31. Speech at passing-out parade of National Service Recruits for Kafue training camp. Times of Zambia, 1st September 1972.

32. Opening address to the 1973 session of Parliament. Times of Zambia, 11th January 1973.

33. Address to the National Assembly dinner. Times of Zambia, 17th February 1973.

34. The following titles treating the systems approach from an administration and management point of view, have been or still are in use in Zambia as textbooks and reference books:
- McDonough, Adrian M. (1963), Information Economics and Management systems. New York, McGraw-Hill, Tokyo, Kogakusha, International Student edition.
- Hart, B.L.J. (1964), Dynamic Systems Design, Company control for the computer era.
- Johnson, R.A., Kast, F.E., Rosenzweig, J.E. (1963), The theory and management of systems, New York, McGraw-Hill; Tokyo, Kogakusha. International Student Edition.
- O'Shanghnessy, J. (1966), Business organization. London, Allen and Unwin. Part 4, the systems approach, pp. 125-161.

35. For a very readable yet comprehensive example on educational innovation see: - Huberman, A.M. (1973), Understanding change in education: an introduction. Paris, Unesco, International Bureau of Education. Also available in French and Spanish. Experiments and innovations in Eduoation no. 4.

36. Elliot, J. (1972), An inquiry into staffing and organization of secondary schools in Zambia, University of Zambia, Institute for African Studies, Lusaka, p. 1.

37. Huberman op. cit. pp. 14-16 and pp. 61-84.

38. Ibid p. 14.

39. Havelock, R. (1971), Guide to innovation in education. AnnArbor, Mich., University of Michigan, quoted by Huberman op. cit.

40. In Zambia, trials (see fig. 8 column 3) have been conducted with the British Schools' Mathematics Project ("E.African version"), the Entebbe Mathematics Workshop materials (U.S.A. inspired courses), the Midlands Mathematics Experiment (U.K.), and the Scottish Mathematics Project (U.K.), the last of which was adopted on a nationwide scale in the late sixties.

41. E.g. the P.S.S.C. course (USA), Nuffield Science (u.K.).

42. The possible contribution of educational technology will be discussed in Chapter 3.

43. Also see quotation 15 by President Kaunda, under paragraph 1.3.4.2.

44. E.g. see Boyd R.O., (1967), Integrated Managerial Controls. London, Longmans. pp. 4-6.

45. See for instance, Johnson, Kast and Rosenzweig (1963) op.cit. p. 14.

45b. We are here analyzing the present system of school management. There is a great need to add the field of local/regional development to this list, but the present system is characterized by an almost complete disregard for this area. The sparse activities taking place are usually grouped under extra-curricular activities.

46. Johnson, Kast and Rosenzweig, op.cit., p. 47.

47. O'Shangnessy, J. (1966), Business organization. London, Allen,& Unwin Ltd. pp. 62-65.

48. Hart, op. cit.

49. Likert, Rensis, (1961), New Patterns of management. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Tokyo, Kogakusha Co. pp. 143-146.

50. In Zambia, a very notable exception is provided by the Zambia Student Christian Movement. The movement runs leadership training conferences during the school holidays, at which time is divided between 'programme oriented' and 'process oriented' training. One reason for this healthy state of affairs is of course the fact that ZSCM has become a national movement with a national secretariat and a progressive leadership. A local ZSCM branch is therefore in a much better position than a local debating club as far as resource and training facilities are concerned. The latter club primarily depends on the gift s (or non-gifts) of its counsellor on the staff.

51. Of the massive amount of educational research carried out to date, the world over, very little has been devoted to the processes inside that black box: the class-room. And of the research reports that do exist, most are devoted to measuring student characteristics, e.g. attainment scores, attitudes etc., and hardly any are concerned with the professional activities of teachers inside the class-room.

52. Eulau, Heinz (1971), Political Science and Education, the long view and the short. In: Beyme, Klaus von (1971), Theory and Politics. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff. pp. 343-351.

53. This section is based on a number of publications on the educational situation in the author's own country, the Netherlands. The situation in other western European countries is similar to that in Holland. For details see:
Matthijssen, M.A.J.M. (1972). Klasse-Onderwijs; sociologie van het onderwijs. (Class-education; sociology of education). Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer.
Socialistisch Onderwijs Front (1973). School en Maatschappij. Deel 1, Onderwijs en ekonomie. (School and Society. Part 1, Education and economic system). S.O.F., Utrecht.
Zonneveld, Loek (ed.)(1974). De school in het kapitalisme. (School under capitalism; with contributions from several socialist authors from various W. European countries). Van Gennep, Amsterdam.

54. Raven, John, a.o., (1973). The attainment of non-academic educational objectives. The International Review of Education, vol. xix/1973/3, pp. 305-355.

55. ibid., p. 326.

56. ibid., p. 327.

57. Raven a.o., op. cit.

58. E.g. see Molteno, R. and Tordoff, W. (1974). Independent Zambia: achievements and prospects. In: Tordoff, W. (ed.)(1974), Politics in Zambia. Manchester University Press. Ch. 10; And Pettman, Jan (1974), Zambia: Security and Conflict. Friedmann Publishers, Lewes Sussex, p. 235.

59. See: Mwanakatwe, J.M. (1968), The growth of education in Zambia since independence. OUP, Lusaka etc., p. 58-60; Jolly, R.M. (1971) The trained manpower constraint. In: Elliott (ed.) (1971), Constraints on the economic development of Zambia, O.U.P., Nairobi; First National Development Plan op.cit.; Second National Development Plan, op. cit.

60. Stannard, D.P. (1970), Report on the supply of secondary level teachers in English-speaking Africa - Zambia. Overseas liaison committee of the American Council of Education.

61. Elliot J. (1972), An enquiry into staffing and organization of secondary schools in Zambia, op. cit.

62. Draisma, Tom (1967) Programmed learning : a practical illustration. African Adult Education, vol.1 no.1, 46-49.
(1968, 1969) Programmed learning: small experiments for the teacher. Bulltin of the Mathematical Association of Zambia, vo.1 no.1, 3-8; vol 2 no.1, 8-11; vol2 no.2, 23-27.
(1969) Programmed learning for the isolated teacher. In: Mann, A.P. and Brunstrom, C.K. (eds) Aspects of Educational Technology, vol 3, 187-192; London, Pitman & Sons.
(1973) The design of a 'compensatory' learning system aimed at overcoming problems of spatial visualization of Zambian children. In Aspects of Educational Technology, vol 6. London, Pitman & Sons.

63. Some improvement is likely to result from a new statury instrument announced by the Minister of Education in Feb. 1975, regulating the collection and use of school funds. In part this measure aims at streamlining the chaotic situation regarding 'school funds': the amount payable per pupil varied a great deal from school to school; the legality of demanding school funds under a free education system had often been queried by the poorer parents, and thirdly, a uniform system for financial control was lacking. In addition, the new style school fund will serve as a source of finance for small scale development projects in the school's neighbourhood. Students will be involved in the decision making regarding collection and expenditure of these funds, and they should, said the Minister, be involved in the planning of projects. See Times of Zambia 27th Feb. and 1st March 1975. It remains to be seen to what extent this plan bears fruit. Certainly an important bottleneck has been in principle removed, but it is not the only one.

64. E.g. Visser, J.J. (1973), Social Action in Chipembi, a report prepared on behalf of the Headmistress. Chipembi, 7 pp. cyclostyled.
Kostelijk, Willem (1973), Practical Agricultural Science in Secondary Schools. With appendices by teachers from other schools. Kafue, 8 pp. cyclostyled. This paper gives a typology of agricultural science projects, with aims and examples of projects, followed by comments on issues of policy and administration.

65. See Times of Zambia, 14th Feb. 1975.

66a Times of Zambia, 5th Feb. 1975, and subsequent issues.

66b Published by the Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 1970.

67. Meebelo, Henry S. (1971), Reaction to colonialism, A prelude to the politics of independence in northern Zambia, 1893-1939 University of Zambia/Manchester University Press. pp. 90-108.

68. Ibid., in many passages throughout the book.

69. Times of Zambia, 23rd July and 16th Sept. 1973.

70. See for instance: Agricultural science teaching staff and agricultural field workers in Western Province (1972), The contribution of agricultural education in rural schools to rural development. Paper prepared for the Annual General Conference of the Zambia Agricultural Education Association, Livingstone. Cyclostyled, 3 pp.

71. Ibid., paragraph 5.6

72. Times of Zambia, 5th February 1975, and subsequent press reports.
Also see "Africa" no. 44, pp 90,91, and no. 45 (May '75), p. 53.

73. Times of Zambia, 14th Feb. 1975

74. Ibid.
Also see "Africa" no. 44 (April 1975), pp 90,91, giving statistics.

75. Information passed on to me by Mr. Frank de Mink in August 1975 after his return from a study visit to Zambia.

76. Reported in Times of Zambia, 22nd April 1975.

77. Times of Zambia, 13th April 1974.

78. Ibid.

79. Times of Zambia, 10th June 1974.

80. Times of Zambia, 11th January 1975.

81. Times of Zambia, 8th March 1975.

82. Times of Zambia, 14th March 1975.

83. Ibid.

84. In February 1975, Mr. Elijah Mudenda, then chairman of the Political, Constitutional and Legal Sub-committee of the Central Committee, led a Zambian delegation to study political organization and mass mobilisation in Guinea and Mauritania. On his return Mr. Mudenda

note 84 contd.

announced that a number of mass mobilisation schemes had already been outlined by the Central Committee. One of them, he is reported to have said, involved the introduction of political education from primary to university level. Teachers would be trained at the President's Citizenship College. Times of Zambia, 26th Feb. 1975.

85. In April 1975 President Kaunda paid a state visit to Cuba prior to attending the Commonwealth Summit in Jamaica. According to the communique issued at the end of the Zambian delegation's stay, Cuba will cooperate with Zambia in the fields of sugar production technology, literacy training, party organization, mass mobilisation, health and other areas in which Cuba has been succesful. Times of Zambia, 26th April 1975.
It would be surprising if these "other areas" would not also include the secondary education system, considering Cuba's reforms in that area as well as the education content of some of the other fields of cooperation stated.

86. In March 1974, a large delegation led by President Kaunda visited the People's Republic of China to study party organization, youth and women's programmes, communes, rural reconstruction and trade relations. By Zambian standards the delegation was large (53 members) and high-powered. All came back very impressed with what they had seen. Summing up his impressions in an interview by Milimo Punabantu, Dr. Kaunda said : " I think that the lesson of China's development (. . .) is that people can depend on themselves. People can build their own countries using their own brains and their own hands. People do not need to be enslaved by foreign capital. What is required is the right type of education -- the right type of orientation ". "Africa no. 33 (May 1974) pp 26 - 29.

87. At the opening of the UNIP National Council meeting in April 1974, President Kaunda gave an outline programme of the political education as envisaged by the Central Committee. He announced that the formal education system would also get its political education committees. (See Austin Fulilwa, We need more political education, in Times of Zambia, 2nd May 1974). Since that meeting Central Committee members, Cabinet Ministers including Provincial Cabinet Ministers, and other leaders such as the Inspector General of the Police, Northern Province Political Secretary, Luapula UNIP Regional Secretary, Ministers of State for National Guidance, Members of Parliament, have spoken on the subject for a variety of audiences and/or taken action towards the implementation of political education programmes. (See Times of Zambia, 30th April, 16th July, 23rd September, 27th September, 8th November 1974, and 8th January, 16th February, 3rd March, 16th March 1975, and other issues of this paper
These moves constitute a deliberate attempt to permeate the whole of society with political thinking, a necessary though not sufficient condition for Zambia's "Second Revolution" to succeed (The "second Revolution" was announced by President Kaunda in a hard-hitting speech to the UNIP National COuncil in June 1975: "We need to brace ourselves for a fight against those who have placed themselves in upper and middle classes. Since the working people have wrested political power from the colonialists and imperialists and as this is now in their hands, they must use it to destroy the base that selfish men and women are using as their own for formenting class warfare". ("Africa" no 48, August 1975, pp 27 - 29).
In the past, from March 1969, political education had been delegated to a small separate Ministry of National Guidance, later linked with development planning in the Ministry of Development Planning and National Guidance. From its inception, though very active for its size, National Guidance has been hampered by lack of funds and thus by lack of facilities and personnel.