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World Bank Discussion Papers Africa Technical Department Series

Implementing Educational Policies in Zimbabwe

O. E. Maravanyika

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Implementing Educational Policies in Zimbabwe

O. E. Maravanyika

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FOREWORD

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed dramatic quantitative growth in African education systems. Beyond expanding educational places, many African countries pronounced intentions to "reform" their educational systems, by adjusting the length of education cycles, altering the terms of access to educational opportunity, changing the curriculum content, or otherwise attempting to link the provision of education and training more closely to perceived requirements for national socio-economic development. Strong economic growth performances of most African economies encouraged optimistic perceptions of the ability of governments to fulfill educational aspirations which were set forth in educational policy pronouncements.

Sadly, the adverse economic conditions of the 1980s, combined with population growth rates which are among the highest in the world meant that by the early 1980s, education enrollment growth stalled and the quality of education at all levels was widely regarded as having deteriorated. In recognition of the emerging crisis in African education, the World Bank undertook a major review to diagnose the problems of erosion of quality and stagnation of enrollments. Emerging from that work was a policy study, Education in Sub-Saharan *frica* Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion, which was issued in 1988. That study does not prescribe one set of education policies for all of Sub-Saharan Africa. Rather, it preserves a framework within which countries may formulate strategies tailored to their own needs and circumstances. In fact, a central point which is stressed in the study is the need for each country to develop its own country-specific education strategy and policies, taking into account the country's unique circumstances, resource endowment and national cultural heritage.

The crucial role of national strategies and policies cannot be overemphasized. In recognition of the centrality of sound policies as a basis for progress, in 1987 the Bank's Education and Training Department (the relevant unit responsible for the policy, planning and research function at that time) commissioned a set of papers by African analysts on the comparative experiences of eight Anglophone Zastern and Southern African countries, each of which had developed and issued major education policy reforms or pronouncements. The papers give special attention to deficiencies in the design and/or implementation processes that account for the often-yawning gaps between policy intentions and outcomes. The lessons afforded by the eight African case studies, along with a broader- perspective assessment of educational policy implementation, are presented in the papers by George Psach ropoulos (the overall manager of the set of studies) and John Craig. The eight country case studies are presented in companion reports.

By disseminating this set of studies on the implementation of African educational policies, it is hoped that the lessons of experience will be incorporated into the current efforts by African countries to design and implement national policies and programs to adjust, revitalize and selectively expand the education and training systems which prepare Africa's human resources, the true cornerstone of African development.

Hans Wyss

Director

Technical Department

Africa Region



ABSTRACT

Zimbabwe has been independent only since 1980. It has, however, attempted to change significantly the inherited educational policies, which it considers to be inappropriate to the nation's adopted socialist ideology. This paper outlines and critically appraises Zimbabwe's educational policies and finds that post-independence educational policy formulation has been influenced not only by 'he ideological goals of national policy, but equally strongly by the inherited colonial capitalist infrastructure. A thorough review of the main factors influencing policy formulation in the colonial period helps explain why the transformation in educational policies has been more quantitative than qualitative since 1980, the emphasis on sociali * development notwithstanding. Additional factors which have hindered substantial qualitative change have been the short time period since independence and shortages of both human and material resources. A particular problem is the preference of students and parents for a traditional, academic education of the sort often denied blacks under colonial rule over the new, more practical and vocational curriculum. In conclusion, the paper reviews the implications of the dichotomy between pre- and post-independence social. economic, political, and educational goals for the specific areas of private schools, teacher education, curricula, and examinations.



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1. INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe has been independent since 1980 only. It has, however, attempted to change significantly the educational policies it inherited from the colonial er/1, as these are considered out of step with the nation's adopted socialist ideology.

This paper attempts to or line and critically discuss Zimbabwe's educational policies since independence. These have been influenced by its socialist ideology but must be seen against the background of an inherited strong education system backed up by an equally strong colonial capitalist economic infrastructure. This inherited colonial infrastructure has tended to influence and shape the people's perceptions of what they regard as desirable post-independence social, economic, political and educational goals. The paper hypothesizes that post-independence educational policy formulation can best be understood in the context of this dichotomy.

The paper will first discuss the main factors which influenced education policy formulation in the colonial era and then the forces at work after independence. A dispropositionately long discussion of education policies before independence is justified on two grounds. First in spize of the post independence enunciations that education should develop along socialist lines, more has been achieved in quantitative change of the inherited system than in its qualitative transformation. Second, factors such as parental wishes for more of the education they had been denied, shortages of both human and material resources to implement the envisaged new policies, and the fact that Zimbabwe has been independent for only six years (and thus it is probably too early to expect the new policies to have taken roots), have resulted in a situation where so far, few qualitative changes have taken place.

The paper thus argues that pre-independence educational policies are still a very strong factor in influencing envisaged post-independence policy changes. An understanding of their evolution is therefore necessary in order to appreciate current problems of educational policy change.



2. THE NATURE OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND EXPERIENCES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Corson (1986, p.5) notes that although much attention has been paid in the scholarly literature to policy concerns, the very term policy remains a vexed concept. The same could be said of educational policy in general. Not infrequently, policy in education is confused with planning or with implementation. For purposes of this paper, however, policy or policies imply major guidelines for action which create frameworks that allow discretion and yet provide direction. Consequently, in order to appreciate letter the policy issues in Zimhabwe, the paper uses policy speeches, especially by the Minister of Education, National Development Plans documents, and other relevant sources on such issues as educational policy and administration in general, issues related to selection or promotion from one cycle to another, the role of private education in a socialist state, teacher education, curriculum and examinations.

Policy embraces both what is actually intended and what occurs as ϵ result of the intention. However, policy making is not necessarily planning. If the policy maker does not have proper background information and does not recognize that the plan or plans need to be coordinated with the sociocultural processes, very few changes are likely to occur. This has tended to be the case not only in Zimbabwe but also in other developing countries. especially in Africa at analogous periods in their histories. Consequently, more has been achieved in enunciating new policy statements or in perfecting change rhetoric than in implementing or institutionalizing change. Whereas before independence it was much casier for the African nationalists to promise educational policies that were in line with nationalistic, opposition, anticolonial ideology intended to mobilize support from the rural masses against colonial powers, such enunciations became very difficult to implement as educational policies at independence once the nationalists themselves were in government. One of the reasons could be that whereas the enunciated policies sometimes advocated or subsumed a complete overhaul and 'ransformation of not only the educational system, but also of the inherited social, political, and economic infrastructure that sustained them, the new governments did not always have the economic muscle to effect the changes, nor were they always in full control of their affairs as they had hoped to be t fore independence.



Economic control invariably remained in the hands of colonial masters, for example, through transnational companies. Entrenched clauses in their independence constitutions, ostensibly a means of protecting minority interests, sometimes were a veiled attempt to entrench colonial interests in the newly independent states. More important, the majority of the people did not always regard independence as an opportunity to transform society, but as an opportunity to have access to those social, economic, political and educational institutions that they felt they had been denied. They largely looked forward to a radicalization rather than a transformation of the inherited infrastructure. Their political leaders, and locals who replaced colonial officials and formed an important elite reference group, were invariably products of a colonial education and it was this that they wanted for their children as a means of enabling them to escape from rural poverty. The process of change was thus more evolutionary than revolutionary.

Confronted with this apparent resistance o change, politicians tended to blame "reactionary" and "neo-colonial" educational authorities, who were seen as serving capitalists interests of big business institutions, or blamed "conservative" faculties of education at universities and college that were seen as slow in accepting and implementing change. Paradoxically, howe er, some of these politicians sent their own children to elitist private schools usually supported by big business or the church in the former colonial metropolis.

The evolution of educational policies in post-independence Zimbalwe can best be understood within the context of this general african background.



3. EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA IN ZIMRABWE

A lot has been written about educational policies in Zimbabwe before independence. Probably a more seminal work, albeit Eurocentric in its analysis is Atkinson's (1972) Teaching Rhodesians. Other works, largely by Black academics, have tended to be in the form of unpublished theses dealing with aspects of educational policies, for example Tsopotsa (1966) on the role of voluntary agencies. Other examples are Makura (1978) on educational administration, Chiwore (1985) on teacher education, and Maravanyika (1986) on missionaries and their contribution towards the development of the primary school curriculum. Although their analyses differed in emphasis depending on the issues that were central to their arguments, their context of analysis was basically the same -- that Rhodesia was a country administered according to a dual-society philosophy, based on racial divisions, where "no African was expected to aspire to live in the manner of a European and vice-versa." Thus the social, economic, political, and educational policies of Rhodesia were geared towards sustaining this dual-society philosophy. A brief outline of some of these policies might help illuminate current problems that are met by the post-independence government of Zimbabwe in its efforts to create a new socialist non-racial society. It is our contention that educational policies are invariably not only sustained by current economic, social and political factors within the communities in which they operate, but that they are also influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, by their historical antecedents.



4. THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE CONTEXT

Social Policies

As indicated above, education in Rhodesia was designed to support a dualsociety philosophy based on one's race which in turn determined one's economic
position. On the one hand Rhodesia, through its immigration and economic
policies worked to avoid having a class of poor Whites as had happened in
South Africa, and on the other, did not expect Blacks to walk in the shoes of
the working classes as in England. Thus rather than adopting the French or to
some extent Portuguese, policy of social and political absorption, the problem
as presented to the British was how to secure a future that would give scope
to both White and Black withou, political or social fusion. Distinctly
geographically separate residential areas and social facilities were
established. Hone (1909 p.50) wrote that "apart from the two great classes,
employer and laborer, there will not be direct intercourse between White and
Black except for those white missionaries and teachers committed to the
advancement of Christianity and civilization among natives."

But even the missionaries introduced segregation at mission stations, they created residential areas and built separate schools for White missionaries and setilers and sometimes had seats reserved for them in churches.

Deliberate efforts were made not to use English when speaking to natives. The Guide To Rhodesia (1924 p. 192) advising would be immigrants noted that:

"It was advisable men dealing with natives to use their language or the usual substitute called 'Kitchen Kaffir' because a number of Whites particularly those outside town considered it a sign of disrespect for Kaffirs to speak to them in English"

Thus the education system that evolved had to be segregated to avoid social fusion of Blacks and Whites. African languages were emphasized in the curriculum at the expense of English for fear of displeasing rural whites.



Economic Policies

The colonial administration enacted economic policies intended to establish white economic domination in farming, mining and in labor relations. Through a series of Land Acts, notably those of 1894, 1914, 1930, 1951, and 1969, a quarter of a million Whites ended up owning as much land as five million Blacks. A Land Bank was created in 1912 to provide credit facilities to enable White immigrants to buy land.

In the mining industry, all prospecting and mining by Blacks was declared illegal while European individuals, syndicates and companies were encouraged to undertake extensive operations. They were readily provided with licenses and capital investment.

In the labor market, a shortage of African labor on farms and mines resulted in the government introducing forced labor organized by the Rhodesia Native Labor Board. Taxation of African males, huts, dogs and livestock forced Africans to seek employment. Van Onselen noted that it was found necessary to restrict African access to the land and increase taxation to create a need among peasants for additional cash earnings. A system of passes was introduced to facilitate labor control. The education system designed to service this economic set-up was therefore intended to create a reserve pool of a labor force that would service the White industrial sector as laborers in mines and farms and as domestic workers. Those functionally literate would serve the administration as messengers and policemen known then as "Black watches."

Political and Administrative Policies

African resistance to White occupation of Zimbabwe took form of whit White colonists referred to as rebellions. After the quashing of these rebellions, African Chiefs lost their political power, and their roles were not defined until 1910, when they began to serve the White administration as auxiliaries



¹van Onselen, 1976 2ibid, 1976

of the Native Commissioners. A series of ordinances including the Tax Ordinance, The Witchcraft ordinance, Native Marriage Ordinance and Pass Laws, were deliberately designed to weaken the powers of the chiefs, medicine men and spirit mediums, some of whom were accused of fomenting the zebellions. Africans were denied the franchise, so that only Whites sat in the legislature. Native Commissioners and missionaries were supposed to represent Black interests.

Even during the ten years of the ill-fated Central African Federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland (1953-1963) African administration fell under territorial government thus retainin; the political status que while most of the liberal federal laws affected Whites only. When the federation was dissolved in 1963 due to African pressure from all three territories, there was a White backlash in Zimbabwe. A more right wing party, the Rhodesia Front, later to be led by Ian Smith, had come into power in 1962. Smith moved more towards the South African Batustan system through his provincialization policies. The resultant repression inspired young Blacks to go abroad for military training, resulting in the first armed clash between Smith's forces and Black nationalist guerrillas in 1966 at the battle of Chinoyi. It was not until thirteen years later that the conflict was resolved through a political settlement at Lancaster House in London in 1979. This resulted in the handling over of power to the Blacks.

It is significant to note that numbers of guerilla forces were augmented by young people who had either been forced to drop out of school or deserted of their own will to join the war because the regime's ideology offered them no prospect of a respectable future. Thus the social, economic and political policiec all worked towards consolidating a racist separatist ideology. Educational policies inevitably were designed to service and sustain this ideology.

Educational Policies

Educational policies had their roots in early missionary endeavors to teach Africans to read and write so that they could read the Bible for themselves and to those the missionaries could not reach. Missionaries had been in the



coun'ry long before the colonists. The London Missionary Society, the first to settle in the country established a mission stations in 1859. The Anglican Bishop for Southern Rhodesia was later to succinctly summarize missionary objectives in African education. He said:

The whole future of the church depends on our training in our schools African catechists, lay preachers, teachers and school masters to take an active part in our Christian work." 3

Father Hartmann, a Jesuit, also clearly spelt out his church's policy:

"We teach the natives religion and how to work but we do not teach them hoe to read and write. This is fifty years too soon"4

Missionaries' views on African education thus differed, with the most enlightened orders aiming to provide an education with a literary content and others like the Jesuits preferring to "inculcate in the natives habits of hard work and discipline." The occupation of the country in 1890 by Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company, which had imperial blessings, brought in a new significant element in the evolvement of missionary educational policies. The company wanted African education to develop along vocational lines, in order to train Africans in rural trades and simple skills that would enable them to improve rural life, without at the same time aspiring to compete with Europeans for artisan jobs. The Education Ordinances of 1899 and 1903 tried to use financial aid as a means of controlling missionary activities, as they laid down conditions on which missionaries could get governmen aid. One such condition was that schools should devote at least two hours out of every four hour school day to vocational training. The company argued that, for purposes of employment, academic education for Africans had no purpose in the white economy. European employers, it was argued, "did not wish to employ a jumped up mission native with the gratuitous insolence acquired to perfection from no more than two years of mission training." Such Africans were considered a bad influence on the rest of the labor force. Thus, missionary orders like the Jesuits, enjoyed government support for the aims of education for Africans.



³Zvobgo, 1980 ⁴Macdonald, p.49

Views on vocationalism found a protagonist in one Keigwin, a native commissioner in the Department of Native Affairs. He considered the main purpose of African education to be that of building up an agricultural rural society, rather than encouraging Africans to aim at the White collar professions, by providing an academic education for them. Keigwin's argument was:

"If we do not intend to admit Blacks be it now or by degrees to encroach on social equality, let us not put false ideas into their heads nor encourage them to foster hopes of equality." 5

Two government vocational institutions were built in 1921 and 1922 to specialize in training Africans in agriculture and building. The Phelps Stoke Commission, visiting Zimbabwe at about the same period, approved of Keigwin's scheme. However, the scheme was opposed by both Blacks and missionaries for different reasons. Blacks wanted a liberal curriculum which would enable them to get White collar jobs in towns. The missionaries sow the two government vocational institution as representing an attempt by government to introduce yet another dual system of education within African education, one by government and secular, and another by missionaries and religious within the broad dual system of White and Black education in the country. In 1921, students at one of the government institutions, and at a Jesuit college, went on strike for more English in the curriculum. They wanted a liberal education which would enhance opportunities for a good life in the new colonial economic order, characterized by western goods and services.

Company rule ended in 1922 and the settler government that succeeded it followed more or less the same policies. During the depression, the settler government cut its grants to mission schools, and up to 231 African schools, with more than 9000 pupils, were closed. However, missionaries raised funds overseas to build more schools for Africans. Commenting on these missionary efforts, the Rhodesia Herald, a pro-settler newspaper wrote in its editorial, "Was it all intended to be used for the infernal Mashona? "If so, what a sinful waste of money!"



⁵Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Dept., 1924, no. 2

During the war years, the settler government became pre-occupied with war efforts, and missionaries continued to build more schools. In 1939, the Anglicans built the first secondary school for Africans. The government, under pressure from Africans, built its first African secondary school in 1946, and the second in 1957. In 1951, the government appointed a commission, the Kerr Commission, to make recommendations on African education which would help it in its policy decisions. Out of the Commissions recommendations came a Five Year Plan, which was intended to create close cooperation between government and mission authorities. It created among others a Unified African Teaching Service comprising black teachers in both government and missionary service. African teachers with standard qualifications became entitled to the same salaries as their White counterparts.

In 1962, the government formed another commission, the Judges Commission, which recommended among other issues a full primary education for all, irrespective of race; a junior secondary course with an emphasis on vocational training, reflecting the employment opportunities of each locality; and a merger of the two systems of education, that is, bringing together the European and African divisions of education. However, the time for making these progressive recommendations was inopportune as the Rhodesia Front, a more right ring party, came into power then.

In 1966, a new plan was introduced which recommended among other issues full primary education for all African pupils within reach of a school; that expenditure on African education be pegged at 2% of G.N.P. (this had already prived inadequate); and that local authorities should pay 10% of teachers' salaries. The local authorities, largely missionaries, failed to raise the 10% and surrendered their schools to local councils, which were under the government's Ministry of Local Government.

In secondary schools, only 12 1/2% of the primary school leavers would get places in academic secondary schools. Another 37 1/2% were expected to register in vocational secondary schools, and the rest (50%) were not accounted for in the formal school system. However, at independence in 1980, only 18% of all primary school leavers were in secondary schools, both academic and vocational, a far try from the 50% transition rate envisaged in the 1966 Plan. The majority of these frustrated school leavers joined the



guerilla forces in Mozambique and Zambia and returned fully trained to fight the Smith regime

Thus, throughout the colonial era, education policies were guided by the need to preserve White interests against possible Black competition in controlling the economy, the politics of the country and its administration. Education for Whites was largely free and compulsory up to the age of fifteen and was state responsibility, where African education was in the hands of various organizations, the majority of whom were missionaries. The government ran a few schools for Africans, largely in urban areas and, after the Kerr Commission's recommendations, paid all reachers salaries. There were bottlenecks in African education between grades and between primary and secondary school. Such bottlenecks did not exist in European schools.

There were also private independent schools, supported largely by church organizations and foundation. These had a strong link with industry, and they tended to produce the captains of commerce and industry. Although independent schools were multiracial, the government insisted on a limited quota of Blacks. By the time of independence in 1980, Black pupils were not allowed to exceed 6% of the school population in any one independent school.

The curriculum in Black schools improved over the years to a watered down liberal curriculum. Vocationalism had been rejected by Blacks and the missionaries who ran Black schools did not have both human and material resources to provide vocational education as required by the government. In any case, the government did not want Africans to learn those artisan skills that would pose a threat to White artisan interests. Thus, generally, the African school curriculum has geared towards producing manpower for low level rural services such as teaching, nor ing and joining the police force. Those Africans who found jobs in urban centers, worked as clerks and messengers, or as semi-skilled and unskilled laborers. Teachers in Black schools were largely untrained, and, in the earlier years of missionary work, organizations such as the Dutch Reformed Church employed evangelist teachers, some of whom had no recognized qualifications. All White teachers had to be qualified as a matter of policy. This had an important bearing on the quality of education provided by the two systems.



The examination system in African education provided a basis for selection to disferent grades, resulting in wastage, through dropouts and repeaters throughout the primary and secondary school cycles. Although the White division of education had a rigorous examination system as well, teachers had wide choice of examining boards to use, a broader curriculum to meet their pupils diverse and varied interests and competencies which included both academic and technical subjects. There were fewer dropouts and repeaters, as there was automatic promotion.

Thus the school system, through it? general administration, selection, control of the curriculum teacher training, and examination, was geared to reproduce and reflect the macro society in which it operated.



5. POST INDEPENDENCE EDUCATION POLICIES

The Context of Policy Formation

As indicated above, independence came as a result of a protracted and bitter racial war, with Whites fighting to maintain the social, economic, and political status quo which entrenched their privileges and supremacy over Blacks and Blacks wanting to redress the situation. In practical terms, Blacks, generally fought for such issues as desegregation of residential areas, access to schools and hospitals, access to commercial land, goods and services hitherto reserved for Whites only, and a common desegregated ranchise. Some of the more articulate politicians sought to change the ideology from a capitalist to a socialist one, but generally Blacks fought for those goods and services that they felt they had been denied. In short, they were generally more concerned with the radicalization of the status quo than in its qualitative transformation through fundamental ideological change. The rolitical leaders concern with the need for fundamental ideological change from capitalism to socialism, as a basis for post independence social. economic, political, and cultural transformation and development, had the potential for a cleavage between them and the more nationalistic aspirations of the masses.

In addition, the adoption of Marxism-Leninism as a guiding ideology would, strictly speaking, entail the formation of an exclusive vanguard party to provide leadership in line with Marxist-Leninist principles. However, the politicians had derived their support from a nationalist mass movement, hence the formation of a vanguard party would isolate them from the masses who voted them into power and from whom they derived their legitimacy. The party remained a mass movement, although it claimed to follow a Marxist-Leninist doctrine. However, this contradiction was only one of the many others which frustrated attempts by the politicians to transform Zimbabwean society as they wished.

Within the economy, Marxist-Leninism meant the ownership of the means of production by the state. However, the Lancaster House Agreement, on the basis of which Zimbabwe was granted independence, protected individual and company



rights to own property. The government could not nationalize privately owned business enterprises even if it so wished.

Socially, the post-independence ideology postulated an equalitarian non-racial society, and yet the economic superstructure inherited entrenched economic inequality, which in turn retained social differences in terms of residential areas, schools, hospitals and other facilities. New Black eliterioused the ranks of the remaining Whites, to form a new reference group similar to the Whites before independence.

The new Black governme . was thus forced to adapt its Marxist-Leninist ideology in response to the economic, social, and political realities.

In the economy, the repealing of the Land Teneze Act enabled Blacks to buy land in hitherto Whites only areas. They could engage in commercial agriculture, mining, and in other aspects of commerce and industry, but only those Blacks who had the money or had connections with big business, could afford to engage in such commercial ventures. Although job discrimination had been abolished on paper, in practice, the Whites largely controlled commerce and industry, and most young Blacks still felt discriminated against when looking for employment or seeking apprenticeships.

Socially, the desegregation of residential areas, hospitals, and schools created a veneer of equality. In reality, only those Blacks who could rent or buy property in the former White suburbs (and these were invariably the educated), enjoyed these facilities. Best medical facilities were still available only to those who could pay for them, and acceptance of children into private prestigious schools depended largely on financial or social sponsorship.

Against this background, the new government still harped on the need for a socialist transformation in all spheres of Zimbabwe life. Needless to say, some cynics saw this as smacking of hypocrisy. The ruling Party's Central Committee issued a leadership code, the purpose of which was to dissuade senior government and Party leaders from owning property. However, on the grapevine, it was believed that a good number of senior Party and government officials had several business interests in the private sector and in farming.



Some of them also sent their children to expensive independent private echools.

Indeed even as the government ministers sped to and from the rural areas to address mass rallies on socialism in their chauffeur-driven latest-model Mercedes Benz cars, and with gun-toting bodyguards at their sides, they appeared the least credible harbingers of the proletarian and peasant causes. One government minister was forced to comment, "Zimbabwe's struggle for socialism is proving difficult, arduous, and full of reverses of all kinds, which have made many in the country's society cynical and despondent. "6

Against this background, parents could be forgiven for wanting more of the colonial White school curriculum, than the government's enunciated education which smacked of the vocationalism which they had rejected.

Educational Policies

The thrust of government policy on education was stated in the document Transitional National Development Plan Vol. 2 p. 27, this way, "Government recognizes that education is a basic human right. It also recognizes that educarion is an investment in human capital which sustains and accelerates the rate of economic growth and socio-economic development. The challenge for educational development in Zimbabwe is not only one of redressing the educational qualitative and quantitative imbalances in the inherited system but also that of meeting the exceedingly large new demands with limited resources. " (See Appendix for the Immediate Objectives and Strategies employed to meet its goals and for the LanGuarks in Educational Policy Making in Zimbabwe 1980 - 1986).

The government promised to provide free primary education to enable all children to attend school. As a result, primary school enrollment rose by 1827 from 819,586 in 1979 to 2,147,899, in 1984. The number of primary schools rose by 73% from 2.401 in 1979 to 4,184.7 In secondary education, the



⁶Sunday Mail, Sept. 28, 1986 ⁷Mutumbuka, Oct. 24, 1984

government declared that no child would be deprived of a place in a secondary school due to lack of money. Consequently, the number of secondary schools increased by 681% from 177 at independence in 1979 to 1206 in 1984 with enrollment rising by 538% from 66,215 in 1980 to 422,538. This had the effect of increasing the education vote from \$456 million in 1984. In addition, there were over 1,200 study groups and evening classes providing for over 100,000 pupils who had failed to gain entry into the formal system. The transition from primary to secondary rose from 18% at independence to about 84% in 1984. The implications for human and material resources were enormous.

Implications for Private Schools

In order to meet its objectives of providing school places for as many pupils as possible, the government sought the full co-operation of all educational authorities and inscitutions, by extending existing buildings: take more pupils, increasing the teacher pupil ratio, and by introducing hot sitting and double-sessioning. However, the independent private schools which in the past were the only multiracial schools backtracked and were now beginning to be regarded as enclaves of White racism. Most White parents removed their children from former White government schools which were now open to all pupils of all races, and enrolled them at independent schools. These schools charged exorbitan+ fees -- up to \$1,000.00 a term 9 which only a few Blacks could afford. There were lower ratios of Blacks in these schools as compared to Whites. The government was forced to intervene. In a press statement released on November 16, 1983 the Minister of Education stated that, (i) from January 1, 1984 all private independent schools should have a minimum enrollment of 60% Blacks; (ii) Boards of governors should have a membership that reflects the population composition in the country (97% Black and 3% White); (iii) all vacant teaching posts would be filled by non-white teachers until non-white teachers constituted 69% of the teaching staff; (iv) the fee structure had to be lowered to no more than \$500 a term.



bid.

Mutumbuka, Nov. 16, 1983

Not all these directives were followed to the letter, but they helped a few more Blacks enter some of these schools.

Implications for Teacher Education

By 1984, out of the 54,424 primary school teachers, 49% were untrained. In the new rural secondary schools, which were really former primary schools upgraded to accommodate secondary school classes through double sessioning, 24% of the teachers were trained primary school teachers, and more than 35% held plain Cambridge School Certificate qualifications. Thus, about 60% of Rural Day Secondary School teachers were operating above their levels. 10

The government expanded teacher training facilities from nine colleges to thirteen. It also introduced the Zimbabwe Integrated Teacher Education Course (ZINTEC), where untrained teachers were brought to a college for he first and last sixteen weeks of a four-year program. In between, they were taught through distance education methods and had field tutors visiting them in their schools. Conventional colleges were also partly Zintecized, and their three-year full-time program was changed to a four-year program, where tudents spend the first and third years of their training in college and the second and fourth years teaching in schools. 11

The University of Zimbabwe's post graduate certificate in education program was offered on a part-time basis, to allow the teachers to spend more time with pupils. The idea was to transform teacher education from a desk bound to a teacher-pupil enterprise.

The government also introduced in-service upgrading courses for non-standard teachers, to enable them to teach more competently, and also to improve their career prospects through the Bachelor of Education program. An agreement was reached between the government of Cuba and Zimbabwe so that up to more than four hundred science teacher-trainees would embark on a five-year B.Sc. degree in Cuba. They would be taught the natural sciences and mathematics by Cuban and Zimbabwean lecturers, "in order to provide the



¹⁰ Mutumbuka K.G.VI Barracks, October 24, 1984

¹¹Mutumbuka, October 24, 1984

ideological orientation required which needs a thorough understanding of the Zimbabwean conditions. 12

Implications for the Curriculum

Addressing the Catholic Teachers Association at Chinhoyi on November 24, 1984, the Minister of Education, commenting on the curriculum in socialist Zimbabwe, said, "The curriculum in our education system should be seen and be considered as a vehicle towards the establishment of socialist society..... It should have a marked emphasis on scientific and technological content to promote productivity in which society as a whole can benefit."

This kind of curriculum would be achieved through the philosophy of Education With Production. The Minister defined Education With Production as "a philosophy guiding and supporting school experiences. It brings together theory and practice and seeks to make school experiences meaningful and worthwhile in terms of real life activities outside the school campus." 13 The government's view was that all academic and practical education should be integrated. This would mean that all academic subjects should have a practical application and must be used to solve real life problems faced by the people in trying to improve their environment and their standard and quality of life. Similarly, the practical subjects such as agriculture, building, metalwork, woodwork, fashion, and fabrics, cookery and nutrition all have a wealth of theoretical roots and structures which should not be divorced from the acquiring of practical skills. 14 The Minister further commented that "one of the serious l_gacies of colonialism in our education system was the emphasis on the liberal arts and a deliberate neglect of the natural sciences and technology. This has had very grave effects on our ability to produce skilled workers to man our industries hence forcing us to rely on expensive expatriate labor in some of our strategic industries and enterprises. "15



¹² Mutumbuka, March 26, 1986, House of Assembly

¹³ Mutumbuka, October 24, 1984

¹⁴ Mutumbuka, September 9, 1984, Ranche House College 15 ibid.

The problem, of course, was that most of the teachers did not understand the philosophy of Education With Production as the Minister understood it. Rather, they saw it in terms of growing vegetables and raising rabbits and chickens in schools, activities associated with the vocationalism long rejected by Blacks during the colonial era. The eight Zimbabwe Foundation for Education With Production schools (ZIMFEP), which were former refugee schools and practiced this philosophy, had been repatriated from Mozambique and Zambia onto commercial farms in the country but had failed to have an impact on the rest of the school system. The Minister of Education complained of ZIMFEP enemies within, such as education officers who removed ex-combatants from these schools to minimize their political influence. Indeed, as teachers and pupils with war experiences left these schools and were replaced by those without, the schools became more and more like any other schools. Besides, the schools were forced to abandon their war curriculum in order to sit for the same examinations with the rest of the school system. This put such pressure on the schools' timetable for practical activities that little time was devoted to them. The schools also failed to attract staff with appropriate qualifications for meaningful practical skills teaching. The technical subjects teachers were generally trained in the conventional teachers college, and looked at practical subjects from an entirely different philosophical perspective. To date, Education With Production is more of a slogan than a meaningful education philosophy that would guide the headmaster and the teachers' activities even in ZIMFEP schools.

Implications for Examinations

We have observed above how the examination system can have control of the curriculum. Work by, for example, Somerset in Kenya, among others has demonstrated the power examinations have on the curriculum. Work by, for example, Somerset in Kenya, among others has demonstrated the power examinations have on the curriculum. The government realized that if there were to change the curriculum significantly, the changes would have to be reflected in the examination "vstem. Thus, addressing students at Chibi, or June 7, 1985, the Minister of Education spoke of the government's intention to localize the examination system by 1990 because "We need syllabi that take cognizance of our historical, geographical, environmental and cultural



background, syllabi that are responsive and sensitive to our ideological and political perspective."

The localization would entail "the development of syllabi which reflect Zimbambwean educational aims setting and moderation of question papers, and control of the curriculum. For our examination system must help us to produce good technicians, skilled agricultural workers, scientists, and technologists." 16

A lot has been done to date towards localizing examinations. Seminars have been organized and training sessions for markers held, but one wonders whether the Cambridge Examination Board, which has been given the task to train Zimbabweans, is the most appropriate mentor in helping the country towards a socialist-oriented curriculum and examination system reform.

There is a lack of coordination between the activities of the examination branch and the teacher education division, which trains teachers who are going to teach the new curriculum.

In conclusion, educational policies in Zimbabwe appear to be adversely influenced by an inherent dichotomy in the country's ideological orientation. On the one hand are the politicians bent on introducing Marxist-Leninist ideology, which is rather unfamiliar to most people and therefore suspect. On the other, there is the more economically, socially, and culturally entrenched capitalist infrastructure bequeathed by the colonial administration. This is more familiar, and people are prepared to take a chance with it, as they see others around them who have succeeded by it. Although it might be too early to evaluate the success or failure of the ZIMFEP experiment which epitomizes the new education philosophy, its somewhat checkered progress points to an almost inevitable tissue rejection. The majority of Blacks appear to be interested in the kind of education they had been denied, than in something new and unfamiliar.



¹⁶Mutumbuka, April 21, 1986

APPENDIX I



EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Government recognizes that education is a basic human right. It also recognizes that education is an investment in human capital which sustains and accelerates the rate of economic growth and socio-economic development. The challenge for educational development in Zimbabwe is not only one of redressing the educational, qualitative and quantitative imbalances in the inherited system but also that of meeting the exceedingly large new demands with limited resources.

Objectives and strategy

Government will endeavor to attain the following broad objectives:

- a) develop curricula relevant to national socio-economic objectives, cultural ethos, intellectual and skill needs of Zimbabwe. To this end education will be linked closely to productive activities and manpower requirements of the Nation;
- b) provide good quality universal, primary eduction;
- c) within the fiscal constraints of a developing country, provide relevant secondary schooling to as many people as are required by the manpower needs of Zimbabwe's growing economy:
- d) provide adequate tertiary education at university and teachers training colleges;
- e) provide constant upgrading and supervision of teachers so as to improve the quality of teaching and learning;
- f) develop a strong non-formal education section which will enable those who were unable to pursue their education due to the policies of the past colonial administrations; and
- g) ensure that education is not only qualitatively improved but is as cost effective as possible so as to avoid the danger of the



eduction service sectors depriving the productive and other sectors of essential investments.

Government will adopt the following strategy to attain the objectives stated above:

- a) free tuition at primary level to enable all children to attend school;
- Each district will have at least one government secondary school. Local authority and mission-schools will also be expanded to cope with the growing demand for secondary education. Greater emphasis will be placed on the development of rural day secondary schools as opposed to boarding schools as a means of providing secondary education to larger numbers at affordable cost. However, boarding secondary schools will be developed where concentration of specialist personnel and equipment is essential, as for example, the senior secondary level:
- c) emphasis on the development of relevant curricula at all levels linked with the extension of distance education teaching methods in order to reach a wider clientele. Government aims to develop modular structured material for secondary school level so that opportunities for secondary education can be greatly expanded;
- d) emphasis on scientific, technical and productive education at all levels so that education can become a more effective factor in development. In this regard close links will be maintained between educational planning and curricula and the manpower requirements of the economy. Reform of the structure of education in order to enable Government to attain its objective more efficiently; and
- e) streamlining and decentralizing education and administration in order to attain efficiency.



Programs

Primary Schools

Government generally expects parents and members of each community to contribute substantially to capital development of their primary schools. Therefore no funds are directly earmarked for capital development of primary schools. For resettlement areas, however, capital development funds for primary schools will be provided under lands, resettlement, and rural development.

Secondary Education

Forty Government rural secondary schools with at least one school for each district are planned over the plan period. Local authority and mission schools will also be expanded. A greater part of the expansion of secondary education will of necessity be in private secondary schools which Government will continue to support.

Teacher Education

In 1981, the proportion of qualified teachers was nearly 25 percent of the total. The low proportion resulted from the doubling of enrollment at primary and secondary school levels. Government will attempt to rectify the situation through expansion of teacher training facilities over the plan period.

- a) Zimbabwe Integrated National Training Education College (ZINTEC). This program was established in order to produce teachers through an accelerated and cost effective training program;
- b) Expansion of Teacher Training Colleges.

 The following teacher training colleges are scheduled for expansion during the plan period; Hillside, weru, Mutuare and



Seke teacher training colleges as well as Andrew Louw Zintec Teachers College;

- New Teacher Training Colleges: New Colleges will be built in Belvedere (Harare), Chinhoyi, Gwanda and Rusape;
- d) Education Service Center:
 The center will comprise of the Zintec National Center and the
 Curriculum Development Center. Two cher sections culture and
 non-formal aducation will be expanded or come into existence
 during the plan period;
- e) Housing for District Education Officers:
 Government plans to improve the housing conditions for its
 district education officers;
- f) The Culture Division:

 It is pleaned to establish a National Library and Documentation

 Services Center, 15 Culture Houses, a National School of Dancing
 and an Arts and Craft Center.

University of Zimbabwe

The University will embark on the following projects during the plan period;

- a) expansion of residential accommodation;
- b) construction of the Faculty of Veterinary Sciences; and
- c) extension of the University Library and tutorial facilities.



P.S.I.P. FOR 1982-83 TO 1984-85 EDUCATION AND CULTURE (\$'000)

	1982/83		1983/84		1984/8	
	Allocation a	<pre>% of total llocation (\$1,018m = 100%)</pre>	Earned	<pre>Z of total planned (1,162m = 100Z)</pre>		<pre>% oftotal planed (\$1,441m = 100%)</pre>
1.	Education					
	24,859	2.4	27,521	2.4	29,301	2.0
2. Cultural Affairs						
	1,350	0.1	1,800	0.2	1,900	0.1
3.	University 9,620	υ.9 	10,949	0.9	10,215	0.7

Source: Transitional National Development Plan 1982/83 - 1984/85 Volume 2, May 1983, Republic of Zimbabwe



APPENDIX II



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Landmarks in Educational Policy Making in Zimbabwe 1980 - 1986

Year	Event/Policy Reform	Remarks
1980	National Independence	Colonial education system adapted e.g. zoning regulations and community schools concepts reformed.
1981	ZIMCORD: Conference on Reconstruction and Development	Charting national course for holistic developmental strategy and soliciting funds from international community for national reconstruction.
1981	National Manpower Survey	Manpower resources assessment as a means of assessing national manpower training priorities.
1981	Zimbabwe Foundation for Education With Production Younded	Pioneer in implementing Education With Production Concept.
1981	Formation of ZINTEC	Attempts at reducing the number of untrained teachers in primary schools.
1981	Inauguration of Zim-Sci.	Curriculum diversification - taking science to the masses.
1982	Zintecization of Conventional Teachers Colleges	One Year In, One Year Out Scheme of teacher training to increase number of teachers with some training in schools.



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1982/3 Transitional Holistic approach to national
National development linking education sector
Development Plan with other sectors.

1986 Education Bill Attempts at Sundamental education

reform.



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