

The cover features a dark blue background with several large, overlapping, light blue curved shapes that create a sense of movement and depth. The text is centered and uses a clean, sans-serif font.

# **EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

**International Insights on Exclusions, Inclusion  
and Transformational Change**

Edited by  
Jennifer Jomafuvwe AGBAIRE  
Su'ur Su'eddie AGEMA  
Juhi KUMARI



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## **Dedication**

*This book is dedicated to everyone around the world who has experienced or is experiencing exclusion in any form.*



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**PART I**

**SOCIAL HIERARCHIES AND EDUCATIONAL  
INEQUALITIES**



## Chapter One

### INTRODUCTION

*Jennifer Jomasuvwe Agbairé*

#### **Education and Development – Why Inclusion?**

Education has been positioned as important for development the world over (McGrath, 2010; Garrett, 2011). It prominently features in global indicators for evaluating national development, including in the components of the United Nations' Human Development Index (HDI). Indeed, two of the four key HDI components are education-related – expected years of schooling and mean years of schooling (UNDP 2018, 2019). Especially since the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, international discourses linking education to the potential for greater development have also, however, increasingly highlighted exclusionary practices in education. The need for inclusion towards sustainable positive change has not only become more intensely emphasised but also the argument that this must be approached through attentive examination of the sources of exclusion (UNESCO, 2018). While there are wide disagreements in development debates with regards to the path that development should take, it has come to be largely conceived as being about 'transforming the lives of people, not just transforming economies' (Stiglitz, 2006, p.50). Both education and development are connected in the envisaging of transformation or change that is inclusive.

In thinking about inclusion and exclusions, questions about social categories, identities and hierarchies are highly implicated – and so are those around inequalities and equity along these lines. Social difference or, simply put, 'diversity' is reason for societies' concern for equality and fairness but also a key driver of both inequalities and inequities. Diversity, in this sense, does not only largely indicate multiple identities within a population but also the ways that they are socially constructed to produce differential power and social hierarchies (Cox, 1993). Discriminatory and exclusionary practices in

education are contingent on the power and hierarchies entrenched in the wider society, which may in turn persist through these practices and despite so-called 'representation' of diverse social groups in educational systems.

Social markers of difference such as gender (Beasley, 2005), class (Reay & Lucey, 2004), race (McCleod, 2010) or ethnicity and so on have been identified as directly linked to power hierarchies and experiences of exclusion in society that are often translated in the educational systems and manifested through education. The argument for educational inclusion in contemporary international debates therefore strongly aligns with the advocacy for social justice through the dismantling of structures of unequal power. These structures continue to make certain groups vulnerable to discrimination, marginalisation and/or non-participation in any sphere of life - social, economic and political. Put differently, the argument is largely about critiquing unequal social arrangements that privilege certain groups while constantly disadvantaging others. Herein lies a significant challenge to the relationship between education and development.

Many aspects of education have received scholarly attention in the intensifying critical scrutiny regarding the need for inclusion. The focus on several aspects have captured multiple and varied dimensions of the issues. Importantly, educational access, in terms of both enrolment or attendance and the quality of participation and/or outcomes, has been at the centre of leading arguments. Related to this, institutionalised processes and systems have been critiqued as negatively mediating equitability, widening inequalities and producing exclusions (Agbaire, 2018). Social class privileges have been widely argued to come into play here with the least advantaged in society bearing the greatest brunt (Nahai, 2013; Reay, 2012; Ball, 2006). In contexts of violent conflicts, displacement results in even greater disadvantage for many who become more vulnerable to educational and social exclusions (UNESCO, 2003).

Besides access, international debates on inclusion have also considered curriculum and pedagogy as crucial. Among several related dimensions, contemporary discourses have taken up the issues of regulation and control that centrally feature in education,

## *Introduction*

interrogating how curriculum contents and pedagogic practices operate or are wielded as means to produce a conformist citizenry who are compliant to any type of authority and silent to injustices. Through this, students are effectively excluded from actively creative, critical and democratic participation in their education. The result, it is argued, is the recycling of 'governable' citizens (Giroux, 2010) with little or no potential for transformational change of the status quo.

Overall, the conception of development in international education discourses is by no means unanimous and without ambiguities. There appears to be a consensus among scholars however, that if positive transformation and progress are envisaged, the development continuum should involve attention to inclusive education. Contentions arising from this agreement remain positioned nonetheless in contestations of the *what* and *how* of inclusive education for transformational change.

### **Education Policy for Transformational Change?**

The growing recognition of the need for inclusion in education and society is reflected in global agendas and international policy frameworks for development. As a point of reference, the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) highlight inclusion and equity in several instances with a view to emphasising social justice as central to international and national development. Specifically concerning education at all levels, the fourth goal of the SDGs aims for quality education that is inclusive and equitable for all regardless of any individual or group differences related to age, race, gender or disability. The fifth and tenth goals clearly address the need to reduce different forms of inequalities, including with targets that highlight the importance of eliminating discriminatory laws and adopting helpful policies (United Nations, 2015).

Such international policy statements as the SDGs are rich in targets and indicators. The same cannot be said however, about the insights they provide into the ways of realising the laudable aims of inclusion or equity in individual regional or country contexts and 'sub-contexts' (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012). Policies and accompanying widespread advocacy notwithstanding, inclusive education practices have been observed as lacking or at best, deficient across the world. In

relation, some international and national inclusive education policies have been critiqued as having only a perfunctory role and consequently, as ineffective (Youdell, 2006; Maguire, 2007; Tenret, 2016). Others have been described as often contributing to the problem as a result of being operational within discriminatory social structures entrenched in the wider context (Agbaire, 2018). Added to this is the critique that contemporary educational policy and practice reforms, including those with claims of a humanitarian focus, are increasingly informed by neoliberal ethics of competition, economic returns, 'efficiency' and ranking. In some connection, the debates have revolved round the ensuing tensions between public and private educational provision (Carpentier, 2010) as well as the conceptions of student 'ability' versus 'potential' (McCowan, 2016; Gazeley, 2018). The overarching argument is that exclusions are sustained, and inequalities reproduced even in light of policies and agendas for equity and inclusion.

### **Beyond Policy Statements – Attending to Translations in Contexts as the Way Forward**

Global and national development policy frameworks highlight the issue of inequalities and the need for educational inclusion. However, policies are not empty and lifeless statements existing by themselves (Ball, 1993; 2001; Braun et al, 2011). They constitute a powerful dynamic of discourses and practices produced by and producing contexts of experiences. This suggests that the endeavour to understand persistent inequalities and bring about greater inclusion necessarily involves attention to the multiple, varied and characteristically 'messy' ways that educational policies translate to practical experiences in diverse geographical spaces, including in specific individual and group life circumstances.

How indeed are equity strategies and legislation experienced in local contexts? What specific processes and discourses are relevant for more inclusive educational experiences especially in developing country contexts of the global south? These are complex and problematic questions that linger in contemporary international debates and require wide investigation and critical examination. This book is apt because it offers much in this regard. Bringing together



## *Introduction*

insights from a diverse line-up of contributors, it presents wide-ranging exploration of these questions. Through a rich range of contexts, conditions, subjects, theoretical lenses and empirical evidence, the book contributes significantly to the important debates around social and educational inclusion as well as key arguments against sustained exclusions and social reproduction.

### *The Book - Part One*

Following this introductory chapter, Haruka Sano presents an analysis of social stratification in India and the role of education in the reproduction of a stratified system in Chapter Two. For this analysis, the theoretical concepts and arguments of Pierre Bourdieu are usefully employed. Sano does not only describe the aptness of Bourdieu's position to the circumstances in India but strongly shows how this position helps to understand the Indian context in terms of hierarchical structural arrangements among castes, accompanying discriminatory practices and resultant exclusions which the educational system reinforces and reproduces. Her exposition on the discrimination against and experiences of the *Dalit caste* deeply troubles mainstream uncritical positioning of education as a vector of social inclusion and change.

Juhi Kumari continues with the context of India in Chapter Three and interrogates the systemic exclusion of working children from the educational system. Her discussion raises deep concerns about why children may be found engaging in labour on the street and in other workplaces rather than being in school. She also succinctly draws attention to the often-perfunctory impact of inclusive education legislation towards achieving education for all. Kumari's reference to her professional experience paints a clear picture of the exclusionary implications of this.

In Chapter Four, Endurance Abavo Smart takes up the focus on working children pursued by Kumari in the previous chapter but with specific reference to deprived children living on the streets in a different context - Nigeria. His discussion exposes the discrimination, abuse and alienation that these disadvantaged children constantly face in society. It also reveals the ways in which their life conditions continue to affect their chance of a better future. Smart reviews various

efforts to educate street children in Nigeria and explicates challenges to the complete success of these efforts. His recommendations are quite relevant for the inclusion of street children in mainstream society and quality education.

The focus on basic education for out-of-school children pursued by Tatsuji Shinohara in Chapter Five links closely with the concerns of the previous chapters. In this chapter, Shinohara reviews Complementary Basic Education programmes through a comparative analysis of their implementation in Bangladesh, Ghana and Ethiopia. While highlighting the similarities and benefits of the programmes, the analysis also reveals shortcomings that do not address several layers of inequality including disability and gender. The challenge of persistent drop-out was also flagged. In its conclusion, the chapter outlines important implications from the analysis towards better equity and inclusion through policy and programme delivery.

Chapter Six revisits India with an attempt by Swayamsiddha Sahoo and Prashant Singh to explore the correlation between unemployment in the country with educational exclusions caused by structural conditions that filter to institutional practices in education. They argue that while educational degrees create access to jobs, this also widens social inequalities between the privileged and less so in the Indian society. Their analysis of empirical data maps the connections between family background and course choices as well as those that exist between these factors, institutional arrangements, career plans and job opportunities. The overall portrait is such that because of the emphasis on certification in the country, individuals -including those that simply appear to be out of employment by choice- are vigorously pursuing higher educational degrees either with the aim of improving their life's chances or protecting/sustaining their privileged family status. Despite certification however, the study by Sahoo and Singh found the educational system lacking in providing much-needed skills required by employers. Added to this is their finding that a curious phenomenon of illicit 'degree-shopping' among the elite as well as poor institutional support further widens resultant inequalities.

*Part Two*

The next three chapters that follow focuses on knowledge creation and educational delivery. In Chapter Seven, Emilia Soto Echeverri draws strongly on Paulo Freire's theory of critical pedagogy to discuss education in the Latin American context. She pays close attention to the links between theory and practice and uses an empirical example from experience and work in Colombia. Soto Echeverri looks at consciousness-raising and dialogue as crucial in knowledge production and examines education as a political practice. As such, she explores the role of the school as a transformative space and of the educator as not limited to the classroom but including political engagement for transformation. She also examines how research in education and development continues to be dominated by ideas from the Global North, with the South largely excluded or 'oppressed'. Soto Echeverri proposes an 'epistemology of the South' and recognition of the 'other' in knowledge creation.

Jennifer Chinenye Emelife, in Chapter Eight, continues with the advocacy for a dialogue-style and 'problem-posing' educational practice through Freire's critical pedagogy, but with focus on the Nigerian context. She examines the structural challenges to efficiently applying this approach for effective teaching and learning in Nigeria's educational system. With specific focus on Literature-in-English in secondary education, her discussion of the elements of a critical pedagogic approach is useful particularly for the Nigerian context of alleged reproduction of passive learners. Her illustrations and analysis bring up the lingering issues of social hierarchies in addition to systemic and institutional barriers that limit the possibilities of dialogic, inclusive and democratic pedagogic practices especially in developing country contexts. As she argues, a transformative education that supports students' creative participation and develops their critical thinking skills requires that these constraints be clearly addressed.

Chapter Nine by Catherine Hiza brings up the importance of the language of instruction in schools for the optimal participation and performance of students. Describing the case of Tanzania, she raises concerns about the challenges posed to students by the sudden transition, from Kiswahili at the primary level to English as the

language of instruction at the secondary education level. Hiza proposes a change in this practice to curb the hierarchies that ensue among students from different socio-economic backgrounds and particularly for the inclusion of those from a less advantaged background who mostly attend under-resourced public schools.

*Part Three*

Chapters Ten, Eleven and Twelve by Dhorji Lharmo, Tia Han and India Connolly respectively focus on the important subjects of citizenship education and gender inclusion. Lharmo's chapter looks at the influence of the scouting youth movement that has gained prominence around the world and engages in an interesting exploration of its uses for citizenship education, including the construction of gender identities, in Bhutan. Hers is critical examination of how the scouting principles of discipline and loyalty to authority become operational in schools as a means of controlling students, producing conforming citizens and 'governable subjects' with no sense of agency. Lharmo's analytical insights into the exclusionary space of silence as well as the heteronormativity that this creates for students as future adult citizens are profound.

Han's chapter assesses education for peace and unity in the Korean republics, following the war and continued political divisions between the North and South. Her analysis comes from a deeply personal positioning, being from North Korea and becoming a defector to South Korea separated from family after the war. Having lived in both countries and been influenced by her North Korean education that strongly advocated the need for unification, her assessment is focused on the unification education curriculum in South Korea. Her analysis brings to light how strongly political educational processes and knowledge production can be as she surfaces the power relationships and sectorial interests at play. Han argues that the narrative of national unity perpetrated by unification education in South Korea is effectively a political tool that obfuscates other important matrices of heterogeneity and truth, encourages conformity to prescribed identity constructions and sustains exclusions including through the silencing of minority and dissenting voices.

### *Introduction*

The chapter by Connolly engages in a deep critique of global initiatives on development using the United Nation's SDGs as an illustrative focal point. Specifically, the author interrogates the binary conceptualisation of gender in the SDGs, highlighting the absence of sexuality. Connolly's insightful gender analysis in the chapter draws on the theoretical lenses of such feminists as Lugone, Oyewunmi and Butler to emphasise the nature and implications of such gender-related exclusions in contemporary development agenda as she strongly argues that they are themselves a form of violence.

### *Part Four*

Chapter Fourteen turns to the recurring problem of conflict with implications for education. In this chapter, Su'ur Su'eddie Agema looks at education in emergencies and focuses on the conditions of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Africa. He explores wide-ranging literature that provides a clear understanding of the ways that displaced persons and their education are framed through policies and laws particularly within the African context. His exploration leads into an examination of IDP education practices, revealing important challenges that continue to obstruct access to inclusive quality education for IDPs. Agema's attention to explicating the differences between refugees and IDPs is crucial for considering how best to mediate intensified exclusions often resulting from the conflation of both. His recruitment of some contextual examples from Nigeria is a call for more context-specific research on IDPs' education.

Revisiting the issue of education in conflict contexts, Kikelomo Ladipo presents insights into the state of education in Nigeria and provides a rich analysis of educational access and the conditions of learning among IDPs in the north-east of the country. Her review of the international scene reveals that the Nigerian situation is shared by various local contexts and points to the potential usefulness of her proposals for wider application. She assesses the opportunities for a better education for IDPs as she explores the possibilities of electronic learning and other recommendations to address spatial and resource challenges.

*Part Five*

Finally, in Chapter Fifteen, Onyinye Nkwocha discusses a public education intervention in Liberia and examines how it strongly connects to privatisation ideals with neoliberal underpinnings. She provides a detailed description of both the open and more subtle operations of privatisation in education, including the argument that the commodification approach of these operations work against educational equity and social justice while also not necessarily improving the overall state of educational outcomes in the longer term. Nkwocha closely interrogates Public-Private Partnerships in education, highlighting arguments about their tendency to stratify and marginalise. Her exploration of the Liberian context also highlights the important concern that heavy reliance on aid from international agencies and Global North countries continuously limit the decision-making powers of recipient developing countries, sustaining global inequalities. Her recommendations specifically speak to her arguments about the non-sustainability of the intervention project and the need to distribute funds, resources and services more equitably across the Liberian education sector.

**Conclusion**

The dimensions and challenges to achieving better inclusion in education and society are so varied that they can hardly lend themselves to a one-size-fit-all policy and practice blueprint. The need for attention to context-specific analysis can as such, not be overlooked. This does not detract from the understanding that adopting the principle of the urgent need to eliminate inequities and injustices is fundamental to the attainment of greater inclusion anywhere. It is in these regards, that the focus in all chapters of this book is evidently relevant to ongoing debates about education and development. The discussions capture important concerns both globally and locally that relate to controversial issues and lingering challenges around inclusion and exclusions. The diverse aspects of these discussions further raise consciousness of the depths of the issues. Through this, we offer a critical approach to considering the relationship between education and development while not failing to highlight the potential benefits of this relationship.

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## Chapter Two

# UNDERSTANDING THE REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN INDIA USING BOUDIEU'S THEORY

*Haruka Sano*

### Introduction

After independence in 1947, India abolished the caste system. However, the system remains and the lowest caste faces discrimination in their daily life. It is common to see in the news that the upper caste lynches members of lowest caste. In 2014, the book “Untouchable” was published and revealed the discrimination the lowest castes were facing. Although the government provides free and compulsory education for all, their low socio-economic background limits their educational opportunities. As a result, the majority of them are engaged in traditional manual labour as sweepers and scavengers and so on. In this chapter, the theory propounded by the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, will be recruited to explore social hierarchy and exclusions in India. The chapter is mainly divided into three parts. The first part describes Bourdieu's theory. The following part analyses criticisms of Bourdieu's theory. The last part then applies Bourdieu's theory to the Indian context.

### Bourdieu's Theoretical Positioning

- *The Basis of Bourdieu's Theory in the Field of Education*

Bourdieu is well-known by his theory that explains the role of the school and how it reproduces social stratification. One of his contributions to the education field is to overcome the dichotomy between objectivism and subjectivism. Until the 1950s, education research was based on objectivism. The research method was similar to the natural sciences and the research aim was to find the best pedagogy, the use of which could be scientifically tested and proven. Objective research method focuses on general applicability beyond the

context and individuals. In the 1960s, criticism for objectivism arose and subjective method was introduced by British Philosopher, Paul Heart (Grenfell et al. 1998). The notion of subjectivism is that realities are complex and multiple. The subjective research method focuses on individual activities and the role of the researcher is to interpret the context subjectively.

Bourdieu attempts to go beyond this dichotomy by establishing a theory that is robust enough to be objective and generalized, but at the same time considering individual actions. He pays attention to objectivity by claiming that social structure affects the individual's behavior. At the same time, he suggests paying attention to the subjectivity of individual action by arguing that social structure is dynamic and dialectical, rather than static and it is made up of individual's activity (King 2000).

- ***Key Concepts of Bourdieu's Theory***

To overcome dualism between objectivism and subjectivism, Bourdieu uses the concept of 'habitus', that is, embodied dispositions which derives primarily from social background and upbringing. Bourdieu defines habitus as,

...systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles, which generate and organize practices and representation (Bourdieu 1990, p.53).

“Structuring structure” as in Bourdieu's above definition means that individuals' practices create social norms implying that objective social norms in turn limit individual activities as people act in the way in which other society members regard as appropriate. Thus, Bourdieu pays attention to subjective individual activities as well as the objective social norm.

Appropriate behavior depends on the groups that individuals find themselves in. Bourdieu called this group 'field', which can be at the micro level, such as a classroom as well as macro level, such as a nation. According to Ferrare et al. (2015), field can be defined as the social arena of force and struggle. Each competes for access to scarce resources and attempts to change social rule favourable for them. It is

called “position taking”. The amount of power within the field depends on the position as well as the resources an individual has.

These resources, which create power relationship, are called “capital” in Bourdieu's terms. Bourdieu defines capital “as the potential capacity to produce profits” (Bourdieu 1996). Capital takes time to accumulate and its possession determines the chance of success (Bourdieu 1997). He subcategorized capital into economic, social and cultural. Economic capital, he argues, includes commercial goods like money and property right, which can easily be converted into money. Social capital relates to the social relations and networks based on membership of certain groups. Cultural capital is institutionalized in educational qualifications. According to Bourdieu (1997, p.48), cultural capital is a hereditary transmission within a family and it affects scholastic achievement. Cultural capital, he further explains, exists in three forms: “embodied state”, “objective state” and “institutionalized state”. Bourdieu defines “embodied state”, as the “form of long-lasting disposition of the mind and body and accumulated unconsciously”(Bourdieu 1996, p.47). It includes the length of schooling, accent and language. “Objective state”, on the other hand, exists in the form of cultural goods such as pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments and machines. The value of “objective state” is appreciated based on the possession of embodied state of cultural capital. Lastly, the “institutionalized state” is the form, which gives credential to the embodied form of cultural capital such as educational qualifications.

According to Bourdieu, the above-mentioned three forms of capitals have exchange values. For example, higher education degree and parents' social connections can help to acquire a highly paid job turned into economic capital. Similarly, economic capital help to obtain an academic degree by investing in education or build up a new social connection by attending a party. According to Bourdieu (1996), the measurement for the value of these three capitals is “labour time” rather than just monetary value. For example, gift giving is one of the ways to convert economic capital into social capital. However, preparing the personalized gift is not merely expense of economic capital but also expense the time for selecting the gift.

When capitals are converted or transmitted, some part of the capital can be lost. For example, government pose tax to transfer wealth to descendants and not all economic capital is transferred into the next generation. If the official transmission is hindered in this case, more clandestine transmission is applied. As a result, cultural capital is invested and acquired in the form of academic degree. It eventually turns into economic and social capital. Education can therefore be the source of reproducing and maintaining privilege.

- *Reproduction of Social Stratification in and through the School System*

Bourdieu argues that the school is the primary agency to reproduce social stratification as it is not a culturally neutral zone. Bourdieu calls the school a “cultural arbitrary”. Based on Bourdieu's theory, capital needs to be recognized as legitimate and its value depends on the field. The school embodies the culture of the dominant groups in society and the dominant group's cultural capital becomes legitimate (Dial 2016). On the other hand, the dominated group's culture is not recognized nor valued in the school. The most privileged students have both economic capital and cultural capital which are legitimated in the school, while students from low socio-economic backgrounds neither have economic capital nor cultural capital valued in the class. Such students are alienated from the dominant culture in school and behave in the way that is not recognized as legitimate. Teachers evaluate them as 'inferior' or 'uneducable' and they therefore fail to fit into the education system. Bourdieu uses the word “misconception” for this biased image. This misconception is internalised by the students who then blame themselves. It makes them eliminate themselves from the education system. The school culture is the legacy of previous generations and teachers act in a way to transmit this legacy to the next generation and create academic hierarchy.

Bourdieu argues that academic hierarchy produced in school turns into social hierarchy in the labour market. According to Bourdieu (1977), the educational system works in two ways in the labour market. One of them is to produce skilled individuals to meet the needs of the labour market. The other function is to legitimise class differences by transmuted academic success into social advantages

through acquiring technical qualification appreciated in the labour market.

Bourdieu mentions that the school is a continuous selection agency and academic hierarchy is created by examinations. Based on Bourdieu's theory, performance in an examination is a reflection of the values of a certain school and examiners rather than the consequence of individual student capacity (Grenwell 1998, p.31). In the examination, the teacher decides to pass or fail. Schools hire teachers mainly from the middle class to maintain the status-quo. This arbitrary selection is especially apparent in assessments, such as oral tests and essays, as the evaluation criteria is subjective and measured based on a teacher's background. Therefore, students who are not used to the legitimated style tend to fail. Those who pass the examination are regarded as capable and knowledgeable and get a technical qualification, which bestows social status and access to a highly paid job. Bourdieu calls this phenomenon as the "certificate effect" (Bourdieu et al 1977).

Bourdieu further argues that the socially deprived are already excluded before the examination;

The subjective expectations which leads an individual to drop out depend directly on the conditions determining the objective chances of success proper to the category. The combination of the educational chances of the different classes and the chance if subsequent success attached to the different sections and types of schools constitutes a mechanism of deferred selection which transmutes a social inequality into a specifically educational inequality of level of success, concealing and academically consecrating an inequality of chances of access to the higher level of education. (Bourdieu, 1977, p156)

This means that objective social status is internalised by individuals and limit their subjective expectation. It affects their school choice or education level. For example, the socially deprived students may decide not to go to middle school after primary school because they believe that there is no scope to go for higher education and get highly paid jobs. Social hierarchy is reflected in the academic hierarchy in the

form of scholastic attainment, eventually turning into social privilege. In this manner, social stratification is transmitted from generation to generation.

### **Critique of Bourdieu's Theory**

Bourdieu's theory gives new insights into the education field, but at the same time, his argument faces some criticism. The most frequently discussed criticism is the deterministic feature of Bourdieu's theory. Bourdieu attempts to overcome dualism of subjectivity and objectivity and criticises structuralism by arguing that structure is "dynamic and dialectical". However, the concept of habitus limits the individual behavior by assuming that objective social norms and structure affects individual action. Therefore, Bourdieu's theory seems not to allow any space for change and resistance by individuals. However, this criticism does not reflect on Bourdieu's position properly:

Knowledge of the social world and, more precisely, the categories that make it possible, are the stakes, par excellence, of political struggle, the inextricably theoretical and practical struggle for the power to conserve or transform the social world by conserving or transforming the categories through which it is perceived. (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 729)

It is true that habitus makes social hierarchy seems to be unchangeable and individuals' resistance unthinkable. However, as seen in the above statement, Bourdieu argues that social change is possible when the dominated acquire the knowledge of the social world and inherent power structure.

Bourdieu's theory explains how taken-for-granted behaviour brings about the same result by internalizing objective chance of groups, which is built into the habits of individuals (Nash, 1990) In other words, his theory explains individual's behavior using the group behavior. His theory can explain the reason why the dominant group is more successful in both the academic field and the labour market than the deprived groups. However, it does not lend itself to explaining why some individuals from the socially deprived group succeed in pursuing higher education or explaining the difference of

the performance in academic field between siblings from the same socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. This forms a criticism of the theory.

Another criticism is ambiguity in the concepts of cultural arbitrary and cultural capital. Bourdieu belongs to the Marxist school. Before Bourdieu's theory, Marx already explained social stratification through the lens of economic capital. However, Bourdieu is prominent in introducing cultural capital and social capital to explain social stratification. Bourdieu's theory explains the continuous social stratification even in the current society where the economic barrier to education is decreasing by free education.

Nevertheless, what kind of cultural capital is characterised as dominant groups' cultural capital and legitimate in school remains ambiguous (Sullivan, 2002). For example, Bourdieu argues that examination is the reflection of the values of the dominant groups eliminating the dominated group from the school system. This relationship seems to be clear in the evaluation of arts and humanities departments of universities, in which the evaluation is more subjective based on teachers' value. However, it is vague in examinations that use clear and explicit criteria, such as science or primary school examinations and it is difficult to identify which cultural capital work in these cases (Sullivan, 2002). Bourdieu's definition of cultural capital covers a wide range; from tangible material, such as books to intangible, like parental encouragement. This broad definition casts ambiguity over the concept of cultural capital, making it difficult to identify what is exactly dominant class's cultural capital. It is however useful to analyse social stratification from several perspectives, especially in relation to education. The next sections in this chapter will explore this with focus on the India.

## **Education and Social Stratification in India**

- *Context*

Despite the limitations of Bourdieu's theory, it helps to understand social stratification in India where the caste system has been used as the occupational category by the British empire to colonise the country. While the caste system was abolished after independence in 1947, it continues to stratify members of the country.



Those who are categorized into the lowest caste are called “Dalits”. They consist of 24.4% of all citizens in Indian and are both economically and socially deprived (Kumar 2016, p.126). They were initially called 'untouchables' and seen as 'polluted' and 'backward'. Indeed the 'Scheduled Castes and Tribes Act was declared to abolish the discrimination against Dalit in 1989 but the Dalit still face discrimination in several aspects of their social lives. (Nambissan 2006, p.250)

- ***The School System and Cultural Capital***

One of the places that reinforce discrimination is the school, as Bourdieu argues.. In India, schools embody the upper caste culture. Dalit's cultural capital is not recognised in Indian schools. According to Nambissan (1996), none of the story lessons used in the textbooks deal with Dalit as a topic. However, the most serious discrimination occurs under the 'hidden curriculum', which comprise legitimated norms, attitudes, values and expectations from the teachers.

Nambissan (2006) notes that teachers in India mainly come from the upper caste and apply their common sense in the classroom. They see Dalit students as 'polluted' or 'dirty' and destroy their dignity. For example, teachers have been observed to force Dalit students to sit in the corner of the classroom. In worse cases, Dalit students are not allowed to sit in the classroom, hence they sit outside of the room. Furthermore, teachers assign Dalit students to do manual tasks such as sweeping and cleaning rooms. Such practices by the teachers' legitimate discriminative attitude toward Dalit and trigger hostile behaviour from upper caste students towards them in the form of bullying. Dalit students feel alienated in the school and often eliminate themselves from the school system. This explains why dropout rate of Dalit students is high- about 74 % of Dalit boys and 71 % of Dalit girls drop out between grades 1 and 10 (World Bank, n.d).

Furthermore, the school evaluation system is favourable to the upper caste. In India, homework is an important learning process in the traditional school system. However, most Dalit pupils come from a low-income family and have to work or take care of their siblings after

school to support their family. They often do not therefore have enough time to do the homework. In deed, 31% of Dalit children in the rural area are doing domestic work and 8.1% of Dalit children are engaged in regular work, while the percentage of non-Dalit is 7.2 % (Nambissan 2006, p.238). Additionally, such Dalit students are usually the first generation to get an education. Their parents are thus illiterate and cannot support their children to do the homework. Teachers punish these children without considering their difficult situation. Rather than support them, teachers label them 'incapable' or 'lazy' (Maurya, 2018). Dalit pupils cannot get proper pedagogical support and they internalize the inferior image, making their academic performance relatively and consistently low.

- *The Working of Economic Capital*

The scarcity of economic capital also limits the access to quality education. Upper caste parents can send their children to private schools where the education quality is better than the government-owned schools. In contrast, most Dalit students are from a low-income background and their parents cannot send them to private schools. As a result, Dalit students are studying in poor facilities and have inadequate numbers of teachers (Nambissan, 2006, p.250. According to Nambissan (1996), only 10.09% of Dalit students study in private schools, while the percentage of non-Dalit is 20.77%. Furthermore, 54% of Dalit students do not have a textbook-they have to dictate what the teacher say and understand all contents on the spot (Nambissan, 1996).

Dalit students in the rural areas are especially vulnerable in the education system. Their families are engaged in farming and Dalit students have to take care of their siblings or help to farm particularly during the crop season. According to Prachi (2002 cited in Nambissan 2006), the school attendance rate of Dalit students in these areas become almost zero during harvest season. This continuous absenteeism makes it difficult for Dalit students to come back to school because they cannot catch up with the class. It eventually leads to drop-out.

- ***Objective Status' Limiting 'Subjective Individual Expectation'***

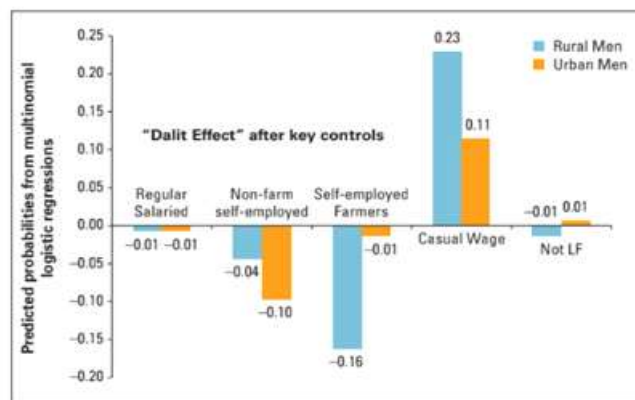
As Bourdieu argues, students low social-economic status affects their future expectations and limits their school attainment level. Approximately 50% of Dalit students drop out before reaching Grade 5, even though India applies the automatic promotion system until Grade 9. In graduate and postgraduate institutions, Dalits constitutes only 7% of enrollment (Nambissan, 1996). Added to this is that their subject choices are also affected by their future expectations. The majority of Dalit choose arts rather than science or commerce, which are the more prestigious professional courses, in part due to availability of subject availability in schools (Gautam, 2015).

- ***Academic Hierarchy Transforming to Social Hierarchy***

The gap in academic attainment between Dalit and non-Dalit eventually turns into the hierarchy in the labour market. According to the World Bank (n.d), over 41% of Dalit men were engaged in casual labour in 2004–05 while the percentage of non-Dalit men was 19%. On the other hand, only 13% of Dalit men have a regular, paid jobs, while the percentage of non-Dalit is 17%. Figure 1 portrays this gloomy situation. Source: World Bank



**Figure 1: Dalit men: Greater likelihood of Casual Labor in rural areas, lower likelihood of self-employment in urban areas**



- ***Resistance from the Dalit***

The discrimination and stratified social system disempower Dalit and make resistance almost impossible. However, resistance happened. One of the people who fought for Dalit's right is Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, who was born into a Dalit family and faced discrimination in his primary school ages. He was not allowed to sit in the classroom nor drink water from the same cup as the upper caste. He had 13 siblings but he was the only one who passed the entrance examination and entered the Elphinstone College, one of the oldest colleges of the University of Mumbai, which is now a part of Dr. Homi Bhabha State University. He became the first person who got a higher education degree in the Dalit community. After he studied at Bombay University, he got a scholarship from Bora State and studied at the University of Colombia. The experience of studying abroad helped him to realise the social structure in India. During that time, he wrote a thesis with the title 'National Dividend of India - A Historic and Analytical Study', which explains the caste system in the country. Even after he became a professor in the Sydenham College, he faced discrimination from colleagues because of his background. These experiences encouraged him to become a political activist and fight for the right of Dalit. In 1936, Ambedkar founded a political party called "Independent Labor Party" and fought in the election with the mandate to ask for Dalit's equality and introduce job reservations system for Dalits in the civil services, schools and colleges. In 1949, the Constituent Assembly formally approved the draft Constitution, which includes Ambedkar's suggestion. This improved Dalit's access to higher education and government jobs (India Congress Committee 2018).

Bourdieu's theory may be not explain why Ambedkar was a success in the academic field regardless of the scarcity of cultural and economic capital. However, as seen in his thesis, Ambedkar realised the social structure in India, which Bourdieu mentions as crucial elements for resistance, and this became a source for social change.

As seen above, changing the status-quo is not impossible. However, as Bourdieu-argues, it is difficult to break through the current social status-quo. Ambedkar's attempt opened access to higher education for Dalit but Dalit still face discrimination and there is a social barrier

to attaining higher education. Indeed, a few of Dalit who pursued higher education, committed suicide. For instance, Senthil Kumar, who was a Dalit student and a doctoral candidate at the University of Hyderabad, committed suicide in 2008 (Neelakandan, 2012). He was the first in his generation to enter university and he could not be allocated a supervisor. Furthermore, his fellowship was stopped and it was critical for him because this is the only financial source for poor Dalit students to get an education. According to the Insight Foundation (2011), at least 16 Dalit students committed suicide between 2009 and 2011 because of the harassment from teachers and other colleagues, such as exclusion from cultural events, cancellation of scholarships and rejection of supervision.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has analysed ongoing social stratification in India using Bourdieu's theory. The current school system embodies upper caste culture and strengthens discriminative attitude towards Dalit. In summary, it has highlighted the circumstances of Dalit members of the Indian society who are considered and treated as “inferior” or “uneducable” in educational institutions and among teachers. This misconception as well as the academic hierarchy produced through it and through the social and economic conditions of the Dalit people turns into social hierarchy and keeps Dalit in a socially and economically deprived position. Bourdieu's theory provides helpful means for understanding the recycling of the social situation in India through education. His positioning also included the understanding that resistance to discrimination and exclusion is not impossible. However, the reality in India remains mostly that the privilege of the upper caste is reproduced through the school system and transmitted to the next generation, making resistance particularly difficult.

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## **Chapter Three**

### **SYSTEMIC EXCLUSION OF WORKING CHILDREN IN INDIA**

*Jubi Kumari*

#### **Introduction**

In developing nations like India, Sierra Leone, Bangladesh, Kenya, and South Africa, children are involved in labour and are found working in hotels, factories, shops, and on streets. Their engagement is not limited to working for a third party; they also work for their families and produce income directly or indirectly.

In India, the Right to Education (RTE) Act was passed in 2009 by the Indian Government and was effective from 1 April 2010. RTE Act provides for the free and compulsory education to all until completion of elementary education in a neighborhood school. It specifies rules and regulations and different norms regarding admission procedures, teacher allocation, building and infrastructure, working hours, curriculum. It outlines the roles and responsibilities of different government bodies and officials. The main objective for the institution of this act was to make education inclusive to all the children. This chapter briefly discusses working children in India and their continued exclusion from the Indian education system.

#### **Who are Working Children?**

Children are engaged in a variety of work at different sites including but not limited to factories, farms, streets, hotels, and households. It can be part time or full time and, in some cases, it is seasonal. The work can further be segregated as hazardous and non-hazardous.

Widely held assumptions about working children are that they choose work over school because of poverty or because their parents are ignorant and illiterate and they do not value education. However, many pieces of research have recorded different aspects of the problem. They found that “in many cases, it is another way round: children



work because they are unable to go to school” (PROBE, 1999, p. 29). This raises two concerns-

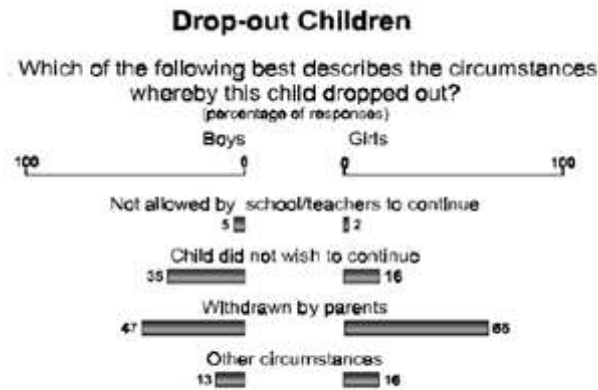
1. What are the factors that influence children and parents to choose work over schools?
2. Has the Right to Education Act, being legislation to ensure free and compulsory education to all, has succeeded in making education inclusive to “all” the children?

### **Analysis of Barriers and Right to Education Response**

RTE assured inclusivity but unless it addresses the prominent barriers that prevents children from attending schools and push them out, it will remain exclusive. These barriers are discussed below.

#### **1. Taking Care of Younger Siblings**

This is a major reason why female students are pulled out from schools. According to the PROBE Survey (1999, 36-37), among drop-out girls in India, 66% were withdrawn by their parents (see Graph 1).



*Graph 1 (Source: PROBE, 1999, p. 37)*

Out of this number, 68% were withdrawn because they were needed for other activities (see Graph 2). On analyzing Graph 3, that illustrates the nature of other activities for which children were needed, it becomes evident that more than half of them, that is 54%, were withdrawn to look after their siblings. Yet an analysis of the RTE

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Act document clearly shows that it does not consider this as a disadvantage. In fact, what I found is that the whole document is gender blind. Apart from building separate toilets for girls, there is no other concrete step taken towards creating gender equity. Considering the disadvantage of working girls compared to other girls in the school, the RTE Act is weak and ineffective.



Graph 2 (Source: PROBE, 1999, p. 37)

*Systemic Exclusion of Working Children in India*



Graph 3 (Source: PROBE, 1999, p.36)

## 2. Agricultural Activities

It has been observed that in some families, "...there is a problem of dependence on full-time child labour during periods of peak agricultural activity" (PROBE, 1999, p.30). Graph 3 above clearly indicates that a significant number of girls and boys are needed at home for helping in farm work. The proportion of boys is 77% which is much higher than that of girls.

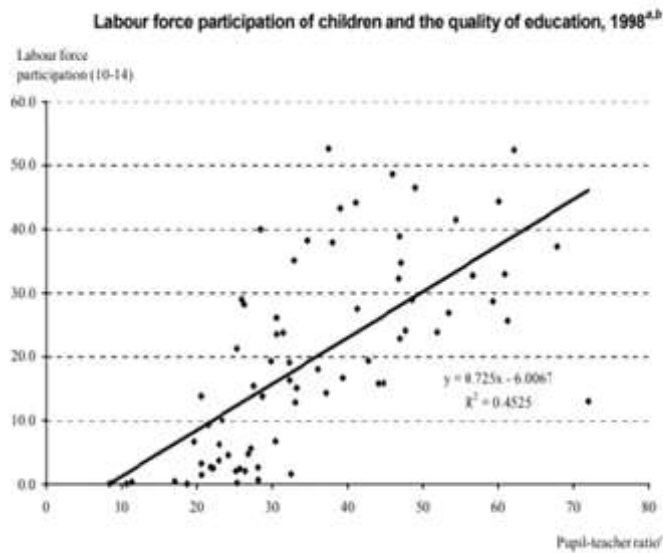
I have witnessed it in my professional experience as a teacher as well. A student missed school for two-three months every year during harvesting season. He consistently struggled with studies and performed poorly in assessments. Finally, he dropped out and moved to his village and now he does menial jobs along with helping his father. On his last day at the school, he expressed his desire to complete his high school.

A look at the RTE Act reveals that it does not offer any concrete solution to the students who constantly try to balance work and

school. There is a general attempt to re-admit those who already have dropped out but this is not beneficial for these students. For example, it has the provision to re-admit the students who could not complete their elementary education in an age-appropriate class. This might help them but it does not counter the core issue faced specifically by the working children.

### 3. Quality of Schooling

The quality of education affects the decision of parents and students to choose between school and work. It has been noted that “households engage in a cost-benefit analysis to choose between human capital investment (education) and maintenance of a stable income (child labour)” (Gordon, 2008, p. 3). As such, if the opportunity cost of attending school becomes high then it is most likely that child labour would be the favorable option. OECD review (2003, p.43), which included data from 85 countries, also emphasized that “education quality (but not spending) tends to be correlated with child labour” (see Graph 4).



*Graph 4 (Source: OECD, 2003)*

In line with this, PROBE (2009, p.29) found that parents are much less likely to give up the struggle to educate children if the village school provided quality education. Quality education involves adequate facilities, responsible teachers, active classrooms and an engaging curriculum.

The RTE Act has mentioned several regulations to enhance the quality of education. It has prescribed norms and standards for schools - for example, the Pupil-Teacher Ratio for primary school is 30:1. It also includes infrastructural guidelines like availability of library, playground, teacher learning equipment, sports equipment. The implementation of these standards, however, is questionable, especially in rural areas. According to DISE Report (2017-2018), 28.35% of schools had Pupil-Teacher Ratio (PTR) is more than 30. PTR in the rural state of Bihar was found to be 74.92. The condition looks dismal infrastructure-wise as well. "Only 50% primary and 65% upper primary government schools could have electricity facilities, 13% primary and 37% upper primary schools have computer facilities, 52% primary schools have playgrounds within them" (Bandhopadhyay, 2014, p. 13-17).

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

While I agree that the RTE Act has worked well in its first phase by increasing access to education, I contend that it remains exclusionary. Below are a few suggestions to make education more equitable and inclusive for working children in India.

#### **1. Child Care Centres**

Just like schools, the RTE Act should also ensure creche or childcare facilities in every neighborhood. It will help school-going working children, especially girls, in continuing studies as the responsibility of taking care of younger siblings will be transferred to these centres. There is already the concept of *Anganwadis* in India which is meant to look after young children by taking care of them and providing them with nourishing food. PROBE (1999) confirms the usefulness of this proposal;

*"In Himachal Pradesh, about half of the villages have a functioning Anganwadis, and 85 percent of these Anganwadis are considered as 'satisfactory' by the local headteacher. This is one of the*

*circumstances that have helped Himachali women to send their children to school in spite of their heavy workloads” (PROBE, 1999, p.31).*

However, this is not the case in most of the other states as either the *Anganwadis* implementation is dismal, or they are not available in the community at all.

## **2. Flexible School Schedule**

Schools must consider flexible schedules for the working students and rather than simply punishing them for long absences, consistently coming late and missing assessments, schools should arrange for extra classes and support. Researchers like Kane (2004) found the planning of flexible timetables beyond the traditional rigid one as vital in helping such pupils. Countries like Guatemala, Mexico, Bolivia and Peru have already implemented this practice in one form or the other (OECD, 2003, p.67).

In addition to flexibility in daily classes, schools must be given the freedom to adjust the calendar according to the needs and availability of children. This can help in reducing the dropouts due to short term absence. Indeed, according to PROBE (1999), “one solution is to adjust the school calendar and timings, say district-wise, to avoid any serious clash with agricultural activity” (p.30). While following this course, calendar adjustment must be in sync with students' requirements and not with the teachers' convenience.

## **3. Ensuring Quality Education**

As discussed, parents consider quality education while choosing between work and study. If the implementation of the RTE norms and standards are strictly enforced in rural and urban areas, it will definitely enhance schooling quality. Teachers and classrooms must be allotted to conduct support/extra classes to help children who are lagging behind. Along with it, more qualified teachers need to be hired to lessen the burden of the existing teachers and to maintain the prescribed Pupil-Teacher Ratio as 30:1. Countries like Egypt and Turkey have taken similar measures. In Egypt, 8500 new classrooms were constructed during the mid-1990s to encourage working

children and school dropouts to attend schools. Turkey appointed 1930 new teachers (OECD, 2003, p.68-69).

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## Chapter Four

### EDUCATION FOR STREET CHILDREN IN NIGERIA: ISSUES, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

*Endurance Abavo Smart*

#### Introduction

In the past few decades, the street children phenomenon has been the gravest category of child abuse raising concern around the world (Chimdessa and Cheire, 2018). Sadly, the streets of Nigeria are disfigured with a very large number of school-age children who are more involved with earning money to meet their family needs than going to school (WHO, 2000; UNICEF, 2017; Adedigba, 2018; Obiezu, 2018). Many of them make a living by working as bearers, parking attendants, street musicians, and even beggars. Children of the street encounter many difficulties. Their societies marginalize and label them as vagrants. Businessmen in several African countries hire police to get rid of children of the street as they consider them a menace to business (Aptekar and Stocklin, 1996).

Street children are regarded as a threat to the society instead of being viewed as children with challenges who need support from the society (Corsaro, 2011). According to Koller & Hutz (2001), street children are viewed as victims because they lack food, clothes, and shelter; and they are sexually exploited. More so, they are perceived as transgressors as they usually end up as drug dealers, armed robbers and are hired by politicians as electoral thugs. It is disheartening to see children roaming the streets as less privileged citizens. Jung (1994) notes that they struggle all day long to survive, running around begging, stealing or prostituting. They are deprived of the joy of normal childhood and adolescence.

These children are entitled to quality education to upgrade their knowledge and make them useful to their immediate societies and the world at large. Education is the hub of the socio-economic development of any country. According to Udoh and Akpa (2010),



education plays a vital role in empowering the child socially, economically and assists the marginalized adult out of poverty. It also provides children with the wherewithal to participate fully in their communities. The United Nations International Children Education Fund (UNICEF) views education as a fundamental human right and a major factor in eradicating poverty and child labour as well as promoting sustainable development (UNICEF, 2005).

Schools are established for children in all countries of the world for the purpose of providing educational opportunities to the children and integrating them into their societies. This is so that they can be adequately prepared to function and contribute their quotas to the development of their immediate societies. These objectives agree with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1949, the United Nations General Assembly charter of 1959, and United Nations Conventions on the right of the child of 1989, which show education as a human right issue.

Consequently, every child, irrespective of socio-cultural and economic background, should have access to quality education. The National Policy on Education in Nigeria (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1998) has acknowledged the necessity of formulating suitable policies for those whose occupational circumstances prevent their children from the acquisition of modern education. These are mostly the pastoralists and migrant fishing groups in the Nigerian context.

No nation can achieve sustainable development without an inclusive and functional education system. Undoubtedly, achieving the goal of Education For All, as pursued by most governments and development agencies, is one of the greatest challenges of this age. It is against this background that this article provides an overview of the street children phenomenon and explores the problems associated providing education opportunities for the millions of disadvantaged street children in Nigeria.. It examines societal perception of street children as well as various efforts by the Nigerian government and non-governmental organizations to reduce the number of children on the street. The Almajiri and the nomadic systems of education are discussed.

### **The Street Children Phenomenon**

The term “street child” had its first appearance in 1851 in London. It was used by journalist Henry Mayhew to explain the working poor during the 1840's (Buske, 2011). However, the “street children” terminology was essentially coined to describe children who spend most of their time on the streets, engaging in all sorts of occupations with the goal of feeding their starving families. Street children are unsupervised children who work, play, and perhaps live on the street. As estimated by UNICEF (2005), millions of children live or work on streets worldwide and the number is constantly growing.

Different authors have defined street children differently. Ennew (1994) defines street children as young people for whom the street (unoccupied dwellings and wasteland) rather than the family has become their real home, a location without supervision, protection, or direction from responsible adults. According to Richter (1998), street children are those who have been neglected by their immediate families and communities before the age of sixteen, and have drifted into a peripatetic life on the street. Lemba (2002) explains that street children are the children between the ages of five and seventeen, mainly deprived of family care and protection. Cosgrove (1990) also sees a “street child” as a young individual whose behaviour predominantly differs from societal norms, and whose support for his/her basic needs is not from the family.

According to UNICEF (1984), the street children phenomenon is multifaceted and can be divided into three categories: children on the street, children at risk, and children of the street. The children on the streets, according to Lalor (1999), are children who work on the streets to survive. They generally belong to a family, return home at night (Le Roux, 1996), and are partially under parental protection. They have been pushed onto the street as a result of household poverty. These children contribute up to 30% of family income (ILO, 1996). They constitute the largest category of street children. The second category: children at risk include the urban poor who form a reservoir of street children. The last category: children of the street, is multifaceted. It comprises the abandoned, orphaned, and runaway children. These children view their family ties in a negative light. Densley and Joss (2000) state that children of the street consider the street as their

home. It is the place where they live, work and establish bonds with other children of the street.

Throughout the world, the growing phenomenon of children living independently in the streets has raised much concern. These street children are arguably the most deprived. They often cannot access quality education and health care. Most of them have been victims of various forms of violence, even before taking to the streets (Scanlon et al 1998). However, the lives of these children are characterized by fear, shame, and discrimination (McCreery, 2001).

School-age children have taken to the street as a result of a variety of problems which are interwoven with societal factors. This brings to mind the pertinent question: where do these children come from and why? UNESCO (1995) in their publication "Working with Street Children" stated that, these street children generally belong to poor families. They mostly come from rural communities and ethnic groups in the neighboring countries and from nomads living in the outskirts of cities and slums.

In the case of Nigeria, many of the street children are citizens of the country with varied ethnic origins. They are chiefly the Gwaris, Hausa – Fulani, Nupes and in rare cases from surrounding ethnic groups around Kaduna, coupled with a handful of them from neighbouring countries such as Niger Republic, Chad and Cameroon. This suggests that they are from diverse belief systems except the Almajiris being a group of Islamic kids.

### **Conditions of Street Children**

Many children migrate onto the streets as a result of their unsatisfactory living conditions at home (Lucchini, 1996). Poverty is one of the chief causes of street children phenomenon in Nigeria. The family finds it difficult to cope with its responsibility of providing basic needs for the child as a result of the unfriendly economic situation in the country. This has caused many children to flee their homes to fend for themselves on the street (Alawiye-Adams and Afolabi, 2013). A study conducted in Nigeria revealed that some children deliberately abandon their homes to earn a living because their parents are unable to cater for their basic needs (Aderinto, 2000). Leaving the home becomes a rational decision that children take to ensure their well-

being. Indeed, several studies have confirmed the role of economic poverty in the phenomenon of the migration of children onto the streets (Olley, 2006).

Street children are often perceived as criminals because they often end up committing robbery, using drugs, and are usually grouped in threatening gangs. The study by Quarshie (2011) on public's perceptions of the phenomenon of street children revealed that street children are vulnerable largely because their sleeping place, nature of work and powerlessness make them susceptible to health challenges and exploitation in society. Similarly, they appear to be ignorant of society's norms, and lack adult supervision and direction. These missing values in their lives brand them as deviants who engage in all forms of juvenile delinquencies.

According to Blackford et al (2008), street children are generally deprived of the love inherent in family life. Consequently, it becomes burdensome for them to develop lasting, meaningful relationships as adults, and their ability to trust is compromised. More so, the transitory and undisciplined lifestyle of street children creates a pattern of behavior that disregards authority, and responsibilities that come with adulthood.

Research by Mtonga (2011) reveals that girls suffer sexual exploitation by their peers and adults. This clearly shows that the situation of girls in the streets is even more precarious than that of their male counterparts. Apart from the general hard life on the streets, many of the girls are also victims of sexual attacks of various forms. Street girls consider commercial sex work as an inevitable means of survival. Some of them work as pickpockets under the tutelage of an older pickpocket. Some children specialize in rag picking and selling of waste materials to scrap wholesalers. Street children are alienated from the mainstream of life. They are rarely identified with any social status in the larger society. They are prematurely exposed to the realities of adulthood and poverty. This results not only in their being deprived of a childhood, but also in their having very limited prospects for a better future.

### **Efforts to Educate Street Children**

Nigeria has the highest number of out-of-school children in the world estimated at about 10.5 million and 13.2 million (UNICEF, 2017; Adedigba, 2018; Obiezu, 2018). Almajiri children, those of the nomadic pastoralists and migrant fishermen, those living with disability, and those displaced by insurgency, constitute the bulk of the affected children. Many of these indigent and disadvantaged children live on the street where they beg for alms and suffer from marginalization and abuse of various sorts. Several efforts have been made to educate the growing population off street children in the country but so far, the efforts and the results appear incommensurable.

In the continent of Africa where Nigeria is located, statistics show that 70% of children on the street are school dropouts and 30% have never been to school with no basic skills to help them get a proper job (Uwaje, 2012). This explains why many of them adopt begging as a means of survival. This emphasizes the strong correlation between dropping out of school and becoming street children (UNICEF, 2005). The Government of Kenya for example, conducted a research in collaboration with UNICEF (1995) and observed that street children have uniquely adopted values which make it difficult for them to enroll and remain in school: they prefer the jobs on the street to getting an education. Attending school is difficult as they have to create time for work. They also want to be independent and would rather be in the streets than be confined to a school.

The interplay between education and development has been established, such that education is now described internationally as a key development index and it is in recognition of this importance that governments all over the world have made commitments in their countries' educational policies for their citizens to have access to education.

Most of the street children in Nigeria are illiterates and have either never been to school or have dropped out of school. Illiteracy makes street children particularly vulnerable to several forms of abuses such as child labour, sexual and/ or physical abuse, drug abuse, and exposure to STDs, HIV/AIDS. Education plays a key role in empowering women, street working children from exploitation, promoting human rights and democracy, protecting the environment

and controlling population growth. It is a veritable tool that can help break the vicious circle of marginalization and help street children towards better lives.

The United Nations considers investment in education the foundation to improving people's lives and providing sustainable development. The Sustainable Development Goal Four (4) aims at ensuring that every child has access to inclusive and equitable quality education throughout life (United Nations, 2019). This implies that no groups or individuals should be without access. This commitment to inclusive education extends to children of nomads and Almajiri. The uniqueness of their background does not disqualify them from accessing quality education that would be suitable for them.

Plausibly, the Nigerian government understands the pertinent role of primary education in eradicating the street children phenomenon. This awareness has motivated different governments at different points in over half a century to make primary education free and declare it universal and compulsory. Besides the Universal Basic Education Programme, strategies employed by the government have been through the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) and Almajiri schools, towards making education accessible to children who have made the streets their homes. Below is an elaboration on these strategies

- ***Universal, Free and Compulsory Education***

Prior to 1977, Nigeria's educational policy had been inherited from Britain. However, its inability to meet the educational needs of the county rendered it unpopular (Fabunmi, 2005). The National Policy on Education was birthed in 1977 after a successful National Seminar was organised by the National Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC) in 1973.

In 1976, the implementation of universal basic education in Nigeria was started under the name Universal Primary Education (U.P.E.). However, in 1999, President Olusegun Obasanjo was not satisfied with the result of the U.P.E. He re-launched it and the programme was renamed Universal Basic Education (U.B.E.).

The U.P.E policy, in an attempt to make education free, eliminated school fees in 1976. However, the Quranic school system in the north, with its attendant problems of itinerant pupils continued to thrive and

run parallel with the national educational system because even though the U.P.E made primary education free and universal, there was no attempt to make it compulsory for all children (Imam, 2003). Since the U.B.E. came into existence in 1999, available records have not shown any considerable departure from the U.P.E. trend. The situation appears even worse as a result of the entrenched corruption in Nigerian society today. Studies conducted to assess the implementation of the U.B.E. programme revealed significant ineffectuality in the implementation efforts. Among the constraints that impede effective implementation are: lack of qualified teachers, insufficient funds, inadequate learning facilities, poor motivation of teachers, and lack of guidance and counselling services. It appeared therefore, that the re-launching of U.P.E with U.B.E as its new nomenclature has yielded an infinitesimal result and has failed to live up to expectation by its inability to meet the educational demands of the poor, living their children helpless on the streets.

- ***The Almajiri and the Nomadic Systems of Education***

The Almajiris and the children of the nomads form a bulk of the population on the streets of Nigeria. The Almajiris derive their identity from the concept of “almajirana”, an Arabic word that describes Koranic/ Islamic education. Relatively, Adewuyi (1999) enunciated that “almajirinci” denotes seeking knowledge from coast to coast. In the present sociological and anthropological usage, “almajirinci” is understood in the context of street begging. While there are claims that the children are exposed to Koranic studies, they beg for alms on the street because they have to ensure the up-keeps of themselves.

The Nigerian government, under the leadership of President Goodluck Jonathan, established almajiri schools where the children would obtain Western as well as Quranic education and refrain from being on the streets.

The Federal Government maintained at that time, that the almajiri programme would be spread across all the 36 states of the federation to cater to indigent children who cannot afford basic formal education in Nigeria. A total of 102 schools were approved for construction in 2012; 66 were handled by the Universal Basic Education Commission (UBEC), while the Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETF) constructed

36, the first batch of which covered the 19 northern states and Edo. It was estimated by the Federal Government that over 9.5 million indigent children live in the street where they beg for alms.

The nomads, on the other hand, wander from place to place in search of pasture for their animals. Another group of the nomads are the migrant fisher-folks, who earn their living from the sale of fish. Nomads, both pastoralists and migrant fisher-folks alike are predominantly illiterates. Children of these nomads grow into adulthood without the opportunity for formal education (Abraham, 2006). They make great contribution to national development through the production of meat and fish, though their voices are not heard elsewhere. Their children parade the streets in search of 'daily bread'.

The delivery of education services to the nomadic children groups tended to follow the lines of the formal school system. The Nigerian government developed special attention in nomads by setting up the National Commission for Nomadic Education by Decree 41 of 12 December 1989 (Federal Ministry Of Education 1989). Of the estimated 9.3 million of the nomads, approximately one-third, that is 3.1 million, are of pre-school and school age. The pastoral nomads are more highly disadvantaged than the migrant fishermen, in terms of access to school, primarily because they are more itinerant. As a result, the literacy rate of pastoral nomads is only 0.28%, while that of the migrant fishermen is about 20% (Federal Ministry of Education 2000). The main responsibility of the Commission for Nomadic Education is to provide primary education to the children of the pastoralist nomads. To provide access to education, a multifaceted strategy has been adopted by the Commission that includes- on-the-site schools, the shift system, schools with alternative intake and Islamiyya (Islamic) schools. The current mobile school system in the strictest sense remains sparingly used, primarily due to the enormity of problems associated with this model. Some mobile schools, however, are in operation in the River Benue area of Taraba, Benue, Adamawa, Nasarawa, Borno and Yobe states.



### **The Role of Non-governmental Organizations**

Over the years, the role of several Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) has been primarily to provide education to children of the street so that the rate of marginalization can be reduced, promoting their integration into the society (Brink, 2001). NGOs also provide shelters and some medical care. From such beginnings, NGOs are well placed to extend their role in two ways. First by providing more safe environments either for living or working, and secondly by providing education.

The Independent Newspaper Limited in 2014 reported that an NGO called Out-of-School Children Empowerment Foundation, took 2,433 children off the streets of Lagos State, Nigeria, in that year. It was reported that 1,666 of the children were successfully reunited with their families and enrolled in primary schools in the state. Unfortunately, however, some of the children returned to the streets because of lack of attention from their parents and the quest for survival.

In the same vein, as published by *Daily Post* in 2014, 1Game, another NGO, began school enrolment campaign in Maiduguri, the Borno state capital of Nigeria, to encourage street children known as “Almajiri” to enroll into school. According to the report, the NGO provided learning support of over 10,000 stationery to all the primary schools within the Borno Metropolitan Council.

These and many others represent the meritorious efforts of NGOs seeking to ensure that every Nigerian child enrolls into school, receives quality education and completes primary school.

### **Challenges in Supporting the Education of Street Children in Nigeria**

The notion of supporting children to access education is an age long one. According to Panter-Brick (2003), it has become a matter of utmost concern to governments as well as several organizations nationally and globally. As highlighted earlier, several Nigerian governments have attempted to help Nigerian street children in various ways over the years to no avail. This to a large extent is also a result of the poor state of education in Nigeria in general. The findings of the educational sector analysis (Federal Ministry of

Education, 2006) have confirmed this poor state of education in Nigeria.

The unsatisfactory state of Nigeria's education system is the product of a lack of proper implementation of the education policy of the nation. Amongst the findings of the education sector analysis reported by Igbuzor (2006) are a national literacy rate of 57 per cent, 49 per cent unqualified teachers in the schools, and acute shortages of infrastructure and facilities at all levels. Furthermore, it was discovered that access to basic education is hindered by gender issues and socio-cultural beliefs and practices, among other factors.

Street children in Nigeria, especially children of the nomads and Almajiris, are predominately Muslims. There is the problem of age-long cultural belief among these groups that Western education is contradictory to the whole essence of Islamic belief (Okonkwo and Alhaji, 2014). This has negatively affected the enrolment rate of pupils. Some fear that children with Western belief may eventually lose their Islamic identity and embrace habits that negate the virtues of Islam. This challenge has made it difficult for educational planners in the country to integrate the system into the mainstream educational system.

The enrolment of pupils in nomadic schools has been low and the dropout rate has been high. As cited by Abraham (2006), statistics shows that literacy rate among nomads in Nigeria range between 0.2% and 2%. This does not justify the huge investment made by government and other agencies in nomadic education since 1989/1990. More so, divergent views have continued to trail the Almajiri programme. Many insist that the programme would not produce any meaningful outcome as a result of the high rate of poverty, especially in the northern parts of the country.

### **Recommendations towards Addressing Illiteracy among Street Children**

To achieve the goal of providing education for street children in Nigeria, government bodies, non-governmental organizations, religious leaders, parents and entire communities have significant roles to play.

First, as UNICEF (2005) highlights, the society's view of street children must be changed. It is important that people stopped viewing these disadvantaged children as criminals causing a threat to the society. In this connection and as UNICEF (2005, p.28) states “the strategy to combat the street children problem should be based on a governmental approach and governments should deal with street children as individuals with rights; this is the responsibility of the entire society, which should have a firm stand to give street children their rights to education, health, protection from violation, and a decent life.” The Nigerian government at all levels (federal, state and local) should make it a priority to set realistic goals, formulate pragmatic policies and diligently supervise the implementation of such policies. The government should also carry out serious enlightenment campaign to inform people of the dangerous effects of having children on the street.

Additionally, there should be strong partnership between the Nigerian government and non-governmental organizations in order to achieve speedy results. From the religious point of view, the Islamic clergies should encourage the practice of what is written in the Holy Quran. To abolish the street children phenomenon, the entire Islamic community would need to support the government in the training of their younger scholars, rather than leaving the children to wander about the streets and beg for alms. It is also essential for parents to consider their financial capacity before giving birth, as this will greatly reduce the number of children who take to the street because of unmet basic needs.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the education of street children in Nigeria, highlighting that meeting the educational needs of children on the street is a challenging task for the Nigerian society. Despite the efforts made by the government in trying to provide access to educational opportunity for street children, there are still many factors, which militate against it. For Nigeria to succeed in educating street children, there needs to be continuous efforts at partnerships and sustained interest in implementing realistic policies that will increase access to educational opportunity for all, regardless of race, religion or locality.

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## Chapter Five

# COMPLEMENTARY BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAMMES FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN IN BANGLADESH, GHANA, AND ETHIOPIA: A COMPARATIVE OVERVIEW

*Tatsuji Shinohara*

### 1. Introduction

Following the MDGs in 2000, the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development and the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were introduced to help combat issues of global concern (UN, 2015a). SDG 4 focuses on quality education and reads thus, 'ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' (UN, 2017, p. 5). This chapter looks at Target 4.1: 'by 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes' (UNESCO, 2015, p. 35) with a focus on Complementary Basic Education (CBE). CBE programmes claim to be one of the best solutions for out-of-school children to obtain access to basic and quality education, leading to the achievement of SDG 4.

This chapter narrows in on the CBE programmes for out-of-school children across Bangladesh (BRAC Primary School (BPS)), Ghana (School for Life (SfL) Complementary Education Programme (CEP)), and Ethiopia (Speed School programme). It is difficult to find the same amount of information to critically analyse and compare CBE programmes in Bangladesh, Ghana, and Ethiopia, since there is limited data for those countries. Specifically, I am not able to find much information about the BPS, as BRAC is in the process of tracking BPS graduates, and previous studies have not revealed any data on BPS graduates. In addition, there is little published literature on SfL CEP that has been updated. Likewise, there is a lack of information on Speed School programme. However, in the case of Ghana and Ethiopia, I have privileged access to yet-to-be-published research

through my contacts at the University of Sussex.

The CBE programmes were created as a complementary education system and are an alternative tool for children with specific challenges to access to education. The goal of the programmes is to provide another educational opportunity for out-of-school children to learn and get integrated into formal school. They correspond with formal education in the country, and learners are able to return to formal education after the CBE programmes. The CBE programmes have been introduced in many developing countries and are sometimes called 'bridging programmes' (Baxter and Bethke, 2009, p. 31) or 'para-formal' (Hoppers, 2006, p. 36).

This chapter consists of 5 parts including the introduction. It begins with an exploration of the conceptual and methodological framework (CMF). The third section includes the background of CBE programmes as well as an overview of the core goals of CBE policy, which provides the broad policy context. The fourth section looks at how CBE programmes are implemented in Bangladesh, Ghana, and Ethiopia. The final section is the conclusion, which summarises the argument of the chapter and proposes key programme and policy implications.

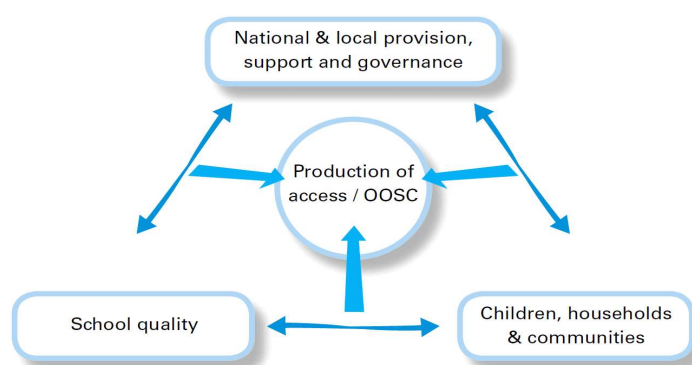
## **2. Methodology**

There are different kinds of out-of-school children who are excluded from formal education: 'Street children, orphans, child soldiers, demobilised children in post-conflict areas, pastoralists, indigenous groups, ethnic, religious and language minority groups, the disabled, refugees, and child labourers' (Sayed and Soudien, 2003; UNESCO, 2004, cited in Rose, 2009, p. 220). According to UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS (2011, p. 7), out-of-school children frequently face inequalities and disparities in terms of 'poverty, child labour, conflict, natural disaster, location, gender, HIV and AIDS, disability, ethnicity, language, religion, and caste'. In reality, a range of actors and factors has a huge influence on out-of-school children and link to each other culturally and legally (UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS, 2014). Thus, it is important to understand how out-of-school children are produced so that CBE programmes can address out-of-school children.



Based on the diagram of the relational network of access or exclusion which Dunne et al. (2007, p. 3) created, UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS (2014, p. 1) adapted it for three main categories regarding influential factors.

Figure 1: Factors Influencing Numbers of Out-of-School Children



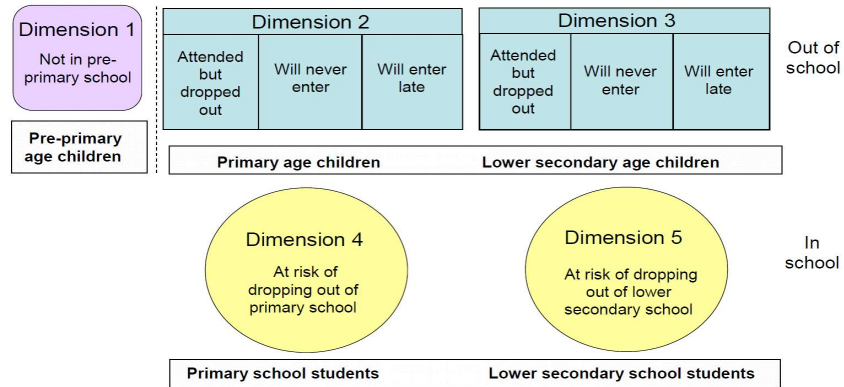
(Source: UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS (2014:1), adapted from Dunne et al. (2007:3))

1. The government's educational support in both centralised and decentralised areas. This includes policy frameworks, targeted strategies, funding, infrastructure, and resources that include teacher training and other support to schools.
2. The individual child who may be in poor health, undernourished or lacking the motivation to learn (Hunt, 2008). These children are influenced by the community and/or households characterised by child labour, migration, poverty, orphanhood and harmful traditional practices.
3. The school level, which plays an important role in encouraging sustained access or increasing pressure

to drop out. This includes infrastructure and school environment, as well as quality issues such as class size, teacher absenteeism, disciplinary sanctions and teacher-student relations (Alexander, 2008). (UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS, 2014, p. 2)

Understanding factors influencing numbers of out-of-school children, UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS (2011) created the conceptual and methodological framework (CMF) through the Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children. They sought to understand the phenomenon of out-of-school children through the lens of five dimensions of exclusion (5DE) which 'capture excluded children from pre-primary to lower secondary school age and across a wide range and multiple layers of disparities and various degrees of exposure to education' (UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS, 2011, p. 8).

Figure 2: Five Dimensions of Exclusion



(Source: UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS (2011:11))

UNICEF and UNESCO-UIS (2014, p. 13) state that:

'Dimension 1 includes children of pre-primary school age who are not in pre-primary or primary school. Dimension 2 includes the children of primary age who are not in primary or secondary education. Dimension 3 applies to children of lower

secondary age who are not in primary or secondary school. Dimensions 4 and 5, respectively, comprise children enrolled in primary or lower secondary school who are at risk of dropping out.'

By understanding and utilising the route of children through this model, those who are engaged in CBE programmes can effectively focus on specific targets to implement the programmes and distinguish between the dimensions of children who drop out and those who have not yet been to school for a variety of exclusionary factors.

Based on this CME, this chapter will discuss and propose key programme and policy implications of CBE programmes to provide access to basic and quality education regardless of contexts and countries.

### **3. Complementary Basic Education Programme**

Many countries have attempted to provide opportunities for out-of-school children to receive access to basic education for EFA since 1990 (Power, 2014). Although many countries increased primary school enrolment rate, UNESCO (2014, p. 52) claimed that 'it is projected that by 2015, only 68 out of 122 countries will achieve universal primary enrolment. In 15 countries, on current trends, the ratio will still be below 80%'. Out of many alternative approaches that have been explored in order to achieve the goals of EFA, CBE programmes are a revolutionary way to help out-of-school children attain basic education. It is a complementary system, yet connected with the national curriculum, for out-of-school children to be able to transition to formal school. Many CBE systems provide Accelerated Learning Programmes (ALPs), which in the short term enable out-of-school children to complete minimum basic learning requirements. Thirty-six countries have implemented CBE programmes in various ways (Power, 2014). There are seven key goals and strategies of CBE policy that border on improving access to school for out-of-school children; ensuring out-of-school children enjoy learning; the involvement of communities to develop communal connections; location and size of school being accessible to villagers; adapting local languages and a

contextualized curriculum; locally recruiting teachers; and collaborations with governments and non-government partners. These are elaborated on next.

#### **Improving Access to School for Out-of-School Children**

One of the key goals of CBE programmes is improving access to school for out-of-school children. Alternative programmes attempt to ensure that 'all children have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality' (Rose, 2009, p. 226). The main objective of CBE programmes is to reintegrate out-of-school children into formal school (Power, 2014). By improving access to school for out-of-school children, enrolment rates and the number of learners will be increased, leading to EFA and SDGs.

#### **Ensuring Out-of-School Children Enjoy Learning**

Another key goal is ensuring out-of-school children enjoy learning. Thompson (2001, p. 4) states 'The objectives of basic education, therefore, must facilitate the exercise and enjoyment of basic rights and fulfilment of basic needs'. Through distinctive pedagogies such as child-centred and activity-based approach, children can enjoy the classes by reading stories and discovering new skills and knowledge. Thus, CBE programmes encourage learners to obtain literacy and numeracy with self-confidence and learner identity.

#### **The Involvement of Communities**

Developing community connections is another important goal of CBE programmes. DeStefano et al. (2007) stress the importance of local leadership for the programmes being conducted by the communities. The communities have to manage and implement CBE programmes with support and assistance from the government and non-state actors. This means inhabitants from communities have to actively take part in CBE programmes to support students and teachers (Day et al, 2011; Farrell and Hartwell, 2008; DeStefano et al., 2006; DeStefano et al., 2007). They form a committee to manage and supervise the school, so that CBE programmes can be successfully implemented (DeStefano et al., 2007). Thus, community members can control and sustainably continue CBE programmes for out-of-school children to

receive basic education. Rather than relying on the government and non-state actors, communities have to independently oversee CBE programmes with outside support.

#### **Location and Size of Schools**

The location and size of schools are important factors for implementing CBE programmes. According to previous complementary models in Northern Ghana, Upper Egypt, Bangladesh, Zambia, Mali, and Afghanistan, learners, especially girls, cannot go to school depending on its distance from home (DeStefano et al., 2007, p. 27). Due to this reason, CBE programmes are mainly conducted in villages where schools are accessible for children on foot. Consequently, the schools and class sizes are small, and one teacher generally teaches 30 students (DeStefano et al., 2006).

#### **Local Language and Curriculum**

CBE programmes also require local language and curriculum. For instance, teachers instruct learners in the local language as mediums of instruction (MOI) in Ghana, Guatemala, Mali, and Zambia. DeStefano et al. (2007) suggested that CBE programmes work through a child-centred and activity-based approach that is related to local language and content. In addition, in terms of curriculum, CBE programmes in Ghana, Mali, and Egypt have introduced subjects useful for rural areas (DeStefano et al., 2007, p. 28). Farrell and Hartwell (2008) pointed out that CBE programmers can help children learn local-based curriculum by revising the original national curriculum. It is essential for out-of-school children to learn something related to their communities in their own language so that they are motivated to study harder and feel comfortable with local language and curriculum.

#### **Locally Recruiting Teachers**

In addition to local language, CBE programmes take advantage of locally recruiting teachers. They are usually school leavers rather than those who have had a tertiary education, and they are recruited on temporary contracts for much lower pay than state school teachers. Because trained and qualified teachers who have skills and teaching

knowledge require a higher salary, the government cannot send and retain them in the CBE programmes (DeStefano et al., 2007). Therefore, recruiting teachers in the community is more cost-effective, rather than relying on national systems of recruitment, training, and deployment (Day et al., 2011). Moreover, locally recruited teachers can instruct students in their local language, promoting understanding and learning motivation in students (DeStefano et al., 2006). They already know students in the community and have a strong voluntary willingness to teach and support out-of-school children (DeStefano et al., 2006; Thompson, 2001). In spite of less education, knowledge, and experience teaching, locally recruited teachers are supported through on-the-job training and support (DeStefano et al., 2006). Interestingly, they can facilitate students more effectively than professional public school teachers (DeStefano et al., 2007). Thus, their commitment and contribution make a difference to CBE programmes.

#### **Collaboration between Government and Non-Government Partners**

Lastly, the collaboration between government and non-government partners is essential for CBE programmes. Some CBE programmes are provided by the state, and others are operated by non-state actors, mainly through entering into an agreement with the state. How much the state is involved in CBE programmes differs depending on the context and country. For example, the ministry of education (MOE) in Egypt is involved in community schools regarding the development of curriculum, teacher training, support, salary, governance, accountability, and financing, while the community and NGO in Mali play these various roles themselves when implementing CBE schools (DeStefano and Moore, 2010).

Many authors note the importance of cooperation and partnerships between the state and non-state actors (DeStefano et al., 2006; DeStefano et al., 2007; Thompson, 2001). DeStefano et al. (2007) also claim in their review of CBE programmes that relying on government management without the partnership of non-state actors lowers the level of effectiveness and efficiency regarding deployment of teachers and distribution of learning materials. The non-state actors in

Bangladesh, Ghana, and Ethiopia, which I will focus on, mainly carry out CBE programmes with sponsorship and support from state and non-state actors. Although CBE programmes in three countries have been able to provide opportunities for out-of-school children to receive basic education and get integrated into mainstream school, they cannot be implemented sustainably due to uncertainty and dependence of external funding (DeStefano and Moore, 2010).

Currently, there is little evidence in terms of how to best develop leadership and coordination for the collaboration between state and non-state actors (Power, 2014). The state has to understand the potential of CBE programmes and actively help non-state actors like NGOs implement the programmes with funds. The cooperation and partnerships between the state and non-state actors can indeed result in academic achievement such as completion and learning in a more cost-effective way (DeStefano and Moore, 2010, p. 525).

Having identified the key goals and strategies of CBE policy as generic and global programme intervention, the next section will elaborate on how CBE programmes are implemented in three different contexts and address individual problems in terms of exclusions.

#### **4. The implication of complementary basic education programmes in Bangladesh, Ghana, and Ethiopia**

##### **Bangladesh: BRAC Primary School in Bangladesh**

BRAC, which is one of the biggest international NGOs in the world, is accountable for BPS, owning and managing six kinds of BRAC schools; BPS, BRAC Adolescent Primary School (BAPS), BRAC community school, BRAC formal school, ethnic education programme, and disabled education programme (Samadder, 2010).

BPS self-developed a competency-based and rural-oriented curriculum. The curriculum focuses on the local communities rather than urban areas, since BPS is mainly built in rural places, to help out-of-school children learn the 5-year standard curriculum in 4 years (Chabbott, 2006). They take classes for 3 to 4 hours a day 6 days a week; 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> graders study for 207 days per year, while 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> graders study for 230 days per year (Chabbott, 2006). BRAC also seeks to provide education for boys and girls equally, maintaining the

enrolment rate of girls at more than 70% (Chabbott, 2006). Each class has one teacher and 25 to 33 pupils aged 8 to 10, and pupils attend school in their own community (DeStefano et al., 2007; Samadder, 2010).

Through BPS, children of various ages in the class can move up to the next grade all together. Hence, there is no repetition for BPS pupils. All of them can advance and cover the contents of the 5-year curriculum with the same teacher from beginning to end in 4 years (Farrell and Hartwell, 2008). This style allows for constant progress learning and peer tutoring, which can change pedagogy in rural communities (Farrell and Hartwell, 2008, p. 30). As a result, motivation and learning in pupils can be maintained, and positive educational results, such as attendance and completion rates, have increased (Chabbott, 2006; Cameron, 2012).

However, does BRAC really address gender equality? Samadder (2010) revealed that in 681 BPS across the country, the overall dropout rate was 6.13%. Of that rate, girls accounted for 4.13% compared to 2% for boys. One of the main reasons for the higher dropout rate in female pupils is the familial factor. Parents are worried about physical changes for their daughters and are reluctant to send them to school. In addition, many dropout pupils take care of siblings in place of their parents and support their families at home. Another reason is the community-related factor. Female pupils have a hard time commuting to school because of the long distances to the school, a lack of safe transportation, and threat of sexual violence. Due to these reasons, female pupils are more likely to drop out of school than males.

#### **Ghana: School for Life Complementary Education Programme**

The Sfl CEP was started 'in 1994 by the Ghanaian Danish Communities Association (GDCA) with support from the Dagbon Traditional Council, The Ghana Friendship Groups in Denmark, and the Ghana Education Service (GES) in the Northern Region' (DeStefano et al., 2007, p. 93). It was a pilot project with 50 classes to investigate the effect of Sfl CEP (Casely-Hayford and Ghartey, 2007).

Sfl CEP is complementary education. Over the nine-month programme, it provides an opportunity for children to obtain numeracy and literacy in the three areas of grade 1 to 3 curriculum:



language, mathematics, and environmental studies (Casely-Hayford and Ghartey, 2007). They also aid integration into formal education from grade 3 or 4 (Casely-Hayford and Ghartey, 2007). Since SfL CEP does not follow the national curriculum, it is able to focus on ensuring that out-of-school children can read, write, and calculate, so that they are able to utilise these skills in daily life and formal school. One facilitator instructs 20 to 25 children aged 8 to 15 in one classroom, which is generally equipped with chairs or mats and one blackboard (DeStefano et al., 2007).

According to DeStefano et al. (2007), about 70% of SfL CEP pupils are integrated into government schools in 4<sup>th</sup> grade. However, are there any challenges to learning once the students are mainstreamed?

There is a learning gap in SfL CEP graduates among High Performing Boys (HPBs), High Performing Girls (HPGs), Low Performing Boys (LPBs), and Low Performing Girls (LPGs) after they have been integrated into formal school. Higgins (2018, p. 1) conducted a qualitative research study on experience, feelings, and perceptions of transition for SfL CEP graduates. According to him, while HPBs and HPGs are able to adapt to new learning environments and positively interact with new teachers and friends, LPBs and LPGs feel negatively engaged in learning and have a hard time communicating with teachers and other pupils from government schools. Even though HPBs and HPGs are able to confidently apply what they have learned through SfL CEP to their studies and experiences in formal school, LPBs and LPGs struggle with a feeling of inferiority and inability. Therefore, SfL CEP graduate performance in formal school can differ considerably, leading to negativity in transition and failure.

### **Ethiopia: Speed School Programme**

Accelerated Learning Programme was part of West Africa Children's Education Strategic Initiative, and Geneva Global and Legatum started the Speed School initiative in 2011 (Conaway, 2015). While Geneva Global is a US-based philanthropic consulting firm and took the initiative in managing Speed School programme, the Legatum Foundation funded for it. The programme provides opportunities for out-of-school children to obtain literacy and numeracy as well as to

transition to government school. After learners complete the 10-month programme, they can enter 4<sup>th</sup> grade with basic reading, writing, and math skills (The Speed School Fund, 2015).

The school system is different. The first semester is from September to January, and the second one is from February to June (Humphreys et al., 2016). In addition, time on task is intensified with many basic materials such as songs, cards, and games. The students can learn native languages, English, mathematics, Amharic, and environmental sciences through comprehensive remedial education in order to attain the same level of literacy and numeracy as students in formal school (Akyeampong et al., 2016, p. 7). Classes are conducted between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. Monday through Friday with 7 lessons a day and a 1 hour 45 minute lunch break (Akyeampong et al., 2016, p. 7). On Saturday, there are 4 hours of classes in the morning only (Akyeampong et al., 2016, p. 7). Learners are children aged 9 to 14, who have dropped out or have never been to school; there are 25 to 30 students in each class (Akyeampong et al., 2016). After completion of the programme, students are encouraged to enter grade 3 or 4 at Link School, which is formal school (Akyeampong et al., 2016).

Dropout is big issue facing graduates of Speed School Programme. According to CEI (2016), 75% of the first cohort of graduates in 2011 have remained in government school. In other words, 25% of them have already left school. Although there must be a range of reasons for dropping out, poverty is one of the main reasons parents do not continue to send their children to school (Humphreys et al., 2016, p. 21). In Ethiopia, aspects of multi-dimensional poverty, such as food security and health, deteriorate education across the country, impairing underprivileged students' ability to learn, as well as to apply that learning in school and their lives (Humphreys et al., 2016). Moreover, financial constraints hamper mothers in understanding the importance of education or prioritising education over other work activities (Humphreys et al., 2016).

## **5. Conclusion**

In conclusion section, I adopt a comparative perspective and discuss similarities and differences between three different CBE programmes, followed by common problems of CBE programmes. Afterwards, I

suggest implications of my findings for CBE programmes and policy as a conclusion.

Table 1 compares CBE programmes in three different contexts below:

Table 1: Summary Comparison of Three Programmes in Bangladesh, Ghana, and Ethiopia

Case	BRAC Primary School	Complementary Education Programme	Speed School Programme
Country	Bangladesh	Ghana	Ethiopia
The sponsor of the scheme	BRAC	School for Life	Geneva Global
Kind of system	Alternative	Complementary	Complementary
1. Improving access and supporting resilience in transition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provided 8% of total national enrolment</li> <li>• Provided up to 50% of total enrolment in rural areas</li> <li>• Peak Enrolment: 1,000,000</li> <li>• Transition rates: 94.14%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raised enrolment rate for grades 1 through 3 in the Northern Region from 69% to 83%</li> <li>• Peak Enrolment: 9,000</li> <li>• Transition rates: 70%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Operating since 2011/12 in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), some 3.7 million children have been through the Speed School programme</li> <li>• Transition rates: 96%</li> </ul>
2. Developing community connections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• BRAC maintains deep and formalised relationships with communities</li> <li>• Communities form school management committees (SMCs)</li> <li>• BRAC controls school organisation, curriculum, and instruction based on</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The communities play a crucial role in choosing facilitators</li> <li>• The communities provide food and a small, monetary reward</li> <li>• Community members are less active when it comes to providing labor and materials to set up schools</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The mothers' self-help groups (SHGs)</li> <li>• Community Management Committee (CMC)</li> <li>• Speed School students are identified and recruited by sponsoring partners and community members</li> </ul>

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3. Making learning relevant and meaningful	policies regarding systems of monitoring and quality assurance		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Benchmarks for basic competencies: BPS: 70% GPS: 27%</li> <li>● Completion rates: BPS: 94% GPS: 67%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Minimum level of literacy and numeracy: SFL CEP: 81% Public: 65%</li> <li>● Completion rates: SFL CEP: 91% Public: 59%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● On average, the performance of former Speed School students is consistently better than government and Link School students for all three subjects (math, Sidama, and English).</li> <li>● Completion rates for primary education are nearly twice as high for Speed School students than for government school students</li> </ul>

(Source: Chabbott (2006:2,8), DeStefano et al. (2007:24,70,74,75,78,93,98,99,100), Samadder (2010:1), Akyeampong et al. (2016:4,5,6,8), Akyeampong et al. (2018:25,29), The Speed School Fund (2015:15,16), Arkorful (2013:1), CEI (2015), Hartwell (2006:5))

**Similarities of CBE Programmes**

● **Criteria for Facilitator Recruiting**

There are universal criteria for facilitator recruiting, which include living within the community, speaking the local language, and preferably being a woman (Akyeampong et al., 2016; Chabbott, 2006; Casely-Hayford and Gharthey, 2007). It is necessary to hire someone from the community who can speak and teach in the local language, because learners speak the local language. Hiring a facilitator from the local community is also beneficial, as they share a similar social, cultural, and economic background with the learners. Moreover, facilitators from the same community already know the

children, and learners can communicate with them in a friendly atmosphere, which contributes to high attendance and completion rates (Akyeampong et al., 2016; Chabbott, 2006; Casely-Hayford and Gharthey, 2007).

- **Ensuring Out-of-School Children Enjoy Learning**

These CBE programmes encourage children to learn actively and critically, resulting in positive educational outcomes in terms of completion and attendance rates (Akyeampong et al., 2016; Chabbott, 2006; Casely-Hayford and Gharthey, 2007). Consequently, learners can obtain knowledge and skills with enthusiasm and motivation for learning. By facilitators involving students actively, students are instilled with confidence and self-esteem, leading to academic achievement (Farrell & Hartwell, 2008; DeStefano et al., 2007; Thompson, 2001).

#### **Differences of CBE programmes**

- **The Total Learning Time**

The amount of time that children learn in CBE programmes varies. Students in Speed School programme have access to 39 hours of literacy and numeracy skill building per week, the largest amount of time amongst the programmes, with BPS at 24 hours per week and SfL CEP at 15 hours per week. As a result, integration rates in Speed School programme are the highest of the three programmes.

#### **Common Problems of Complementary Basic Education Programmes**

- **Practical Challenges Faced by Communities of CBE Children**

Practicality is another common problem for CBE programmes. According to Sean Higgins, who is a researcher of SfL CEP in Ghana, when learners complete SfL CEP and are integrated into formal school, parents have to support their children financially by buying uniforms and learning materials, despite not having enough income to do so. Since there is no uniform for out-of-school children in SfL CEP, and all the learning materials and writing utensils are provided by the programme, the gap between SfL CEP and formal school is enormous

for the parents. It is challenging and difficult for them to continue to enrol their children in formal school until they complete primary education.

- **Resilience of CBE Graduates after Transition into Formal Schools**

It is daunting for CBE programme graduates to survive in formal school. According to Rose (2009), more than 90% of BPS graduates are integrated into secondary school. Nevertheless, they drop out at a higher rate than students from government primary schools (Nath, 2002). There is a range of reasons why they are not able to survive in formal secondary school. For instance, formal school teaching style is different from BPS, which the graduates are accustomed to. Another reason is that BPS graduates often find it difficult to assimilate socially in the classroom due to differences in economic status, language, and community (Rose, 2009). Moreover, according to Akyeampong (2004), approximately one-third of SFL CEP graduates in Ghana have not been able to transition to formal school, the reason being that formal school is not available in or near the graduates' communities. Furthermore, in Humphrey et al.'s (2016) research, although about 80% of Speed School programme graduates in the survey are still in school, two-thirds have repeated at least one grade after their integration into Grade 4. Repeating a grade level is discouraging for students and increases their likelihood of dropping out in the future.

According to Frost and Rolleston (2013), children who have dropped out of school are either unlikely to participate in school again or to quit immediately after attending. This is another serious problem because it means most of CBE programme graduates are not able to pursue better education opportunities, even though they obtain a certain level of literacy and numeracy and outperform their counterparts in formal schools.

- **Inclusive and Equitable Education**

These three different CBE programmes do not focus on inclusive and equitable education. Although BRAC implements its disabled education programme, Speed School programme excludes students with physical and emotional disabilities (The Speed School Fund,

2016, p. 15). One of the reasons behind the exclusion of disabled children is social and cultural practice. According to Sean Higgins, in Ghana, people live in a patriarchal society, where children are required to listen to elders and teachers. Facilitators retain biased and distorted perspectives on education, in which teachers hold authoritative power over students. Because of these often unconsciously held beliefs, they are unable to fully implement a truly child-centred approach; therefore, children with disabilities are marginalised and left behind.

### **Key Programme and Policy Implications**

- The scope of targets has to be extended to more children that are vulnerable. Based on the CMF on out-of-school children, by developing and implementing more strategic, innovative, and sustainable community-based policies, CBE programmes can be offered to a variety of students, including disabled children, regardless of contexts and countries.
- CBE programmes are well intentioned, privileged, and suitable for out-of-school children in many ways. Nevertheless, adaptation to contexts is challenging as good policy meets local context. Therefore, it is crucial for policymakers and programmers to understand the context of the implementation of CBE programmes.
- Institutions can share best practices across contexts. A conference for CBE implementers would help to bridge the gap in knowledge and skills across programmes.
- It is essential for policymakers and programmers to implement policy rhetoric so that CBE programmes can adapt to contexts appropriately and main CBE stakeholders can manage the programmes better.
- It is necessary to ensure support for CBE graduates in their transition, particularly given language challenges when they enter formal school.

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## Chapter Six

### JOBLESS BY CHOICE OR BY STRUCTURE? SOCIAL INEQUALITIES AND EXCLUSIONS THROUGH HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

*Swayamsiddha Saboo & Prashant Singh*

#### Introduction

There are inequalities pertaining to class, caste, gender, religion, culture, creed and ethnicity that shape the educational fabric of the globe. These inequalities further ingrain themselves in the system of educational institutions and result in exclusions and exclusionary practices in education. These practices further amalgamate to job market exclusions such that some individuals hold a better scope at getting jobs and some do not. Indian society follows a pseudo-capitalistic order in the job market which takes up individuals depending upon the requirements and on the basis of what more they have to offer in comparison to others in the job market competition. Added to this, the basic idea that is found lingering in the minds of Indian youth is that higher education opens up scope for better job opportunities. Keeping all of this in the view, this chapter aims to map joblessness through the lens of educational degrees and understand if it relates more to individual choices or structural conditioning. In other words, given the shift in the educational system from a traditional sphere to the contemporary arena, the basic question of whether the youth of the country are jobless by their choice or because of features of structure is the major focus of the chapter.

Building on this, the chapter, which is based on a research study, looks at the nuances of the plethora of courses of study available in higher education and sets this on the trajectory of the increasing levels of unemployment or joblessness in India. It attempts to bring to light, the various issues that pertain to the proportionality of higher education participation to joblessness. The research undertaken studied the universities of Hyderabad, Telangana, India at a macro-

level and individuals at a micro- level to examine the scope of prospects the educational system projects and how the former is affecting the level of joblessness in the country at large. The understanding is that an individual can be considered unemployed (or jobless) if s/he wants to be a part of the labour force but is unable to because of personal or structural reasons. Based on this understanding, we realise that people who choose not to be a part of the workforce despite their age, mostly, have a supporting background (which is structured upon societal privilege). On the other hand, those who are unemployed even if they desire to be a part of the labour force are held back by institutional and structural circumstances which we attempt to elucidate on in this chapter. The very idea of taking the educational institutions of Hyderabad into consideration for the survey was that Hyderabad is considered one of the major hubs of higher education in India and has people from around the country, which would provide us with a pan-Indian account of the interplay of educational institutions and the job market.

### **Literature Review**

With the central government pulling out of its obligations to fund higher education and the states finding it increasingly difficult to do the same, the statement of Charles Wood - in his 1854 report on establishing the presidency universities - that Indian higher education should majorly get support from those greatly desirous of it (Sinha, 1957, p.34) assumes prophetic proportions<sup>1</sup>. Agarwal (2006) corroborates this with the data on per capita private expenditure on education, which almost quadrupled from 1.2 % of household income in 1983 to 4.4 % in 2003.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Punnaiyya Committee recommended 25 percent of the recurring expenditure to be recovered from the students and raising resources by renting out the facilities existing in the higher education institutions which contributed to direct commercialisation of higher education.

*Education And Development*

Year	Number of Universities						Total
	Central Universities	State Universities	Deemed to be Universities	Institutes of National Importance	Private Universities	Institutes established under State Legislature	
1950-51	3	24	-	-	-	-	27
1960-61	4	41	2	2	-	-	49
1970-71	5	79	9	9	-	-	102
1980-81	7	105	11	9	-	-	132
1990-91	10	137	29	9	-	-	185
2004-05	18	205	95	18	7	-	343
2017-18	46	367	123	101	263	3	903

Source: Compiled from Sharma, V. (2005) and "Higher Education All India & States Profile 2017-18", UGC, GoI

Datt (1994) claims that there is a strong linkage between the policies of liberalisation, which have been labour-saving in nature, and casualisation of labour. Casualisation of the workforce increased from 28.4 percent in 1977-78 to 31.2 per cent in 1987-88. Also, the major share of additional employment was generated in the unorganised sector which by its very nature provides for relatively insecure employment opportunities at lower wage rates as compared to the organised sector employment, thus, making it very undesirable for people with higher degrees. We shall use this understanding of a shift in the market paradigm for exploring the proportionality equation of higher education and joblessness.

Quoting the Economic Survey (1993-94), Datt (1994) elucidates the understanding about the problem of unemployment and poverty at the time, and highlights the prevalent discourse that a faster generation of productive employment is 'the solution' that was sought to be achieved by moving away from capital-intensive methods of production. Datt (1994) points towards the actual, highly capital-intensive practice wherein private investment was being promoted by either encouraging the Indian corporate sector or foreign direct investment through multinationals. This was a peculiar situation wherein the 'disease' was rightly diagnosed; as there being lack of educational infrastructure but the 'prescription' had nothing to do with 'treating' that particular ailment.

Sharma (2005) notes that while the total enrolment might appear to be large in absolute numbers, the enrolment of students in the age group of 17 to 23 years in India was only about 7 percent in 2003-04.



This ratio is less than the average of lower middle-income countries in the world. He also mentions various studies, according to which, for a country to become economically advanced, the enrolment ratio in higher education has to be higher than 20 per cent. He notes with shock that expenditure per student declined from Rs. 7,676 (in 1993-94 prices) in 1990-91 to Rs. 5,522 in 2002-03 that amounted to a decline by about 28 per cent in just twelve years. A temporal analysis was performed in order to get a sense of what this data means in current terms. The budget estimates for sector-wise expenditure (Plan & Non Plan) on University & Higher Education and Technical Education incurred by the Education Departments of Centre and States/UTs (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2016) combined from the Revenue Account for the financial year 2015-16 was divided by the population projection of MHRD for the year 2016 in the age group of 18 to 23 years (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2016). Per capita expenditure on higher education in the age group of 18 to 23 came out to be a paltry INR 5340, i.e., a per capita expenditure of less than \$80.

Another dimension is as pointed by Kashyap et al. (2015) that in India, among the university educated, homogamous<sup>2</sup> marriages are most common, and existing asymmetric unions are significantly hypergamous<sup>3</sup>. With respect to asymmetries in education, hypergamous norms are partly sustained by an arranged marriage system that is more likely to reinforce traditional gender norms that make highly educated women and less educated men less desirable in the marriage market. Additionally, Arabandi (2016) found out that while companies professed flexible working conditions, it meant that work could bleed into the home but never vice versa. In her study, she found that the most of the highly successful women chose to leave their jobs just to look after the elderly and the children of the family. Women found it very difficult to maintain work-life balance.

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<sup>2</sup>educational hypergamy (unions in which the woman has lower educational attainment than the man)

<sup>3</sup>educational hypogamy (in which the woman has higher educational attainment than the man)

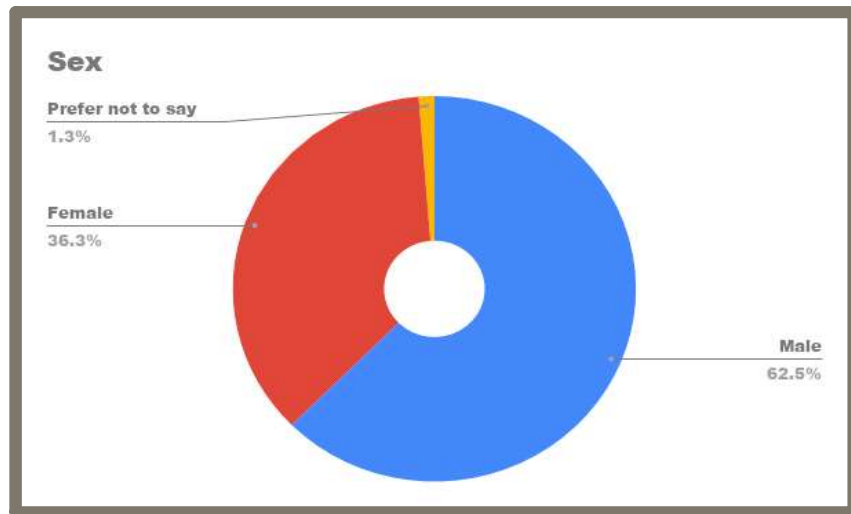
Kant (2019) points towards the three contesting narratives in the current scenario. The first is that of jobless growth<sup>4</sup> which implies that there are insufficient numbers of jobs being created in India. The second advocates that there is no issue of employment and the third, which he believes to be true, is located between the first two suggesting that although there is sufficient employment, the true challenge is to create well-paying quality jobs. He blames the current negative discourse on faulty data collection and reporting based on a pilot survey data. He points out that there has been an expansion in every sector of the economy and it would be inconceivable with a shrinking workforce. Also, if the labour market conditions are as poor as the reported unemployment rate suggests, then economics logic would be to expect falling or at least stagnant wages, which he says is not the case. Kant (2019) emphasises self-employment (choice) as a critical source of employment generation in India. He reports robust job creation among professional service providers such as chartered accountants, doctors and lawyers, as corroborated by the data from the respective regulatory bodies. Indeed, a study by McKinsey Global Institute entitled “India's Labour Market- A New Emphasis on Gainful Employment” has highlighted that increased government spending, rise of independent work and entrepreneurship have boosted incremental Job for 20-26 million people during 2014-17 (Woetzel, Madgavkar, & Employment, 2017). The data from Income Tax (IT) Department, GoI, also provides an indication of the number of new self-employed professionals which Kant (2019) quotes in favour of his argument. As such, he calls for concerted efforts towards formalisation, urbanisation and industrialisation of the Indian economy in order to bridge the demand supply gap in the job market. Regardless of the argument, questions that arise herein are what is the role of education in all of this and how does the employment or unemployment situation fundamentally relate to individual choices or educational practices?

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<sup>4</sup>The term 'jobless growth' refers to the situation wherein the output, measured in terms of Gross Domestic Product, keeps rising even though the growth of employment lags way behind

### **Methodology**

The methodology of the study involved primary data collection and analysis as well as secondary data analysis. The data collection was carried out in the universities of Hyderabad, Telengana, India which are pan-Indian in nature so as to get a holistic view of how exclusions and exclusionary practices in education tangentially relate to joblessness in India and further, allows us explore if the joblessness is based on individual choice or if it is structurally created.



Primary data collection was done in a mixed method fashion whereby both qualitative and quantitative research tools were used. The sample consisted of the students who have completed their higher education i.e. a Master's degree and those who are enrolled for M.Phil or PhD. The primary data collection included a semi-structured qualitative interview schedule with participants chosen purposively; a quantitative survey questionnaire which was shared online across colleges and universities with participants chosen randomly; and a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) on the topic, "Jobless: By Choice or By Structure" which was conducted with students pursuing Master's, M.Phil and PhD. The sample size of the semi-structured qualitative interviews was 20 and for the quantitative survey, 160. The FGD was

conducted with 11 students. The demography of the participants in the quantitative survey is such that out of 160 respondents, 62.5% were males and 36.3% were females. The participants mainly came from the age group of 22-24 (i.e. 49.4%).

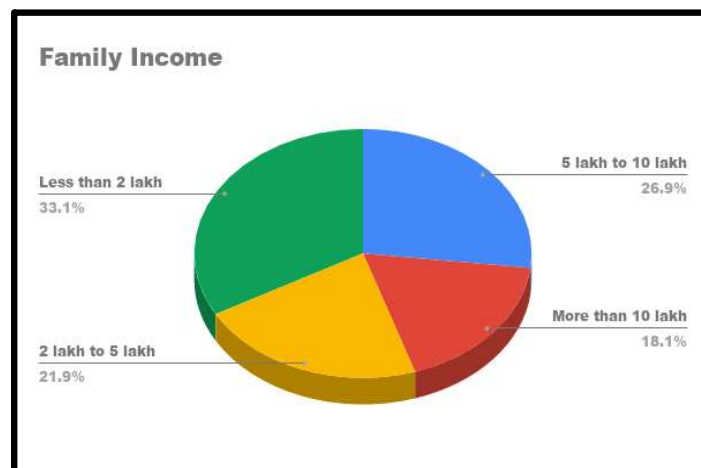
Apart from the above, key informant telephonic interview was taken up to understand the degree black market. Secondary data on the other hand, was mostly collected from the Government of India sites such as Employment Exchange and NITI Aayog to get the official statistics of unemployment and to enhance the scope of the study. The secondary data pertains to the entire subcontinent thereby providing possibilities for an overall 'bird's eye' view of the topic.

## **Results and Analysis**

### **Individual-level Analysis**

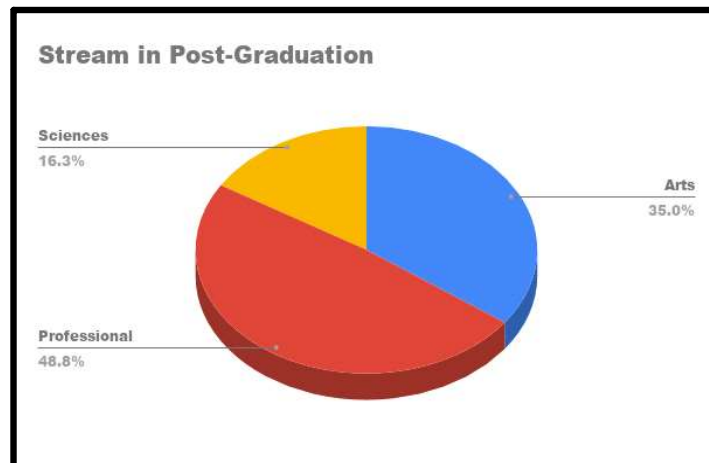
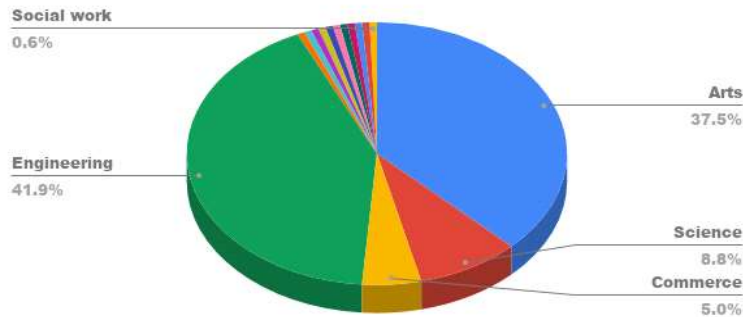
#### ***Family Income:***

Family income plays a very important role in understanding the role of privilege in the debate of jobless by structure or by choice. 33.1% of the respondents had an annual family income of less than 2 lakhs INR which makes us understand that they need to support their families financially after their education and for the same, they are highly dependent on the jobs sector. Conversely, the respondents falling under the other income groups get a privilege to go for higher education or design their own career prospects.



*Jobless By Choice Or By Structure?...*

**Stream in Graduation**

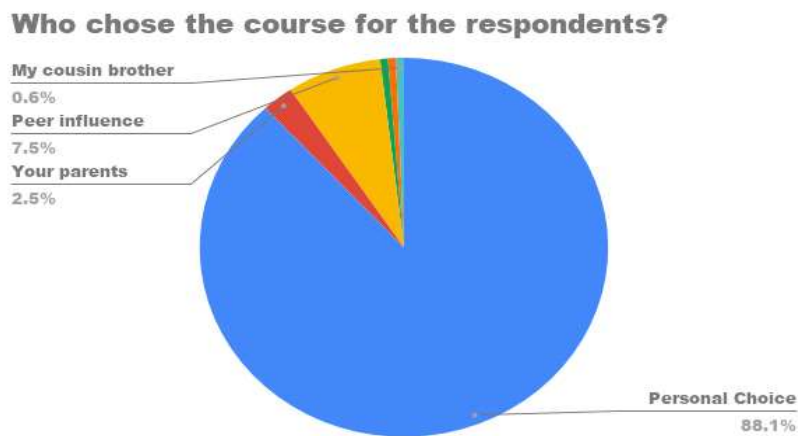


***Streams and Courses:***

Degrees pursued by the respondents in their graduation and post-graduation, helps us track the reliance of students on different courses for different career prospects. Most of the students i.e. 48.8% pursued their post-graduation in a professional course keeping in mind that a professional course would land them a better vocational choice and also, give them ample scope to pursue further higher education.

***Choice of Course:***

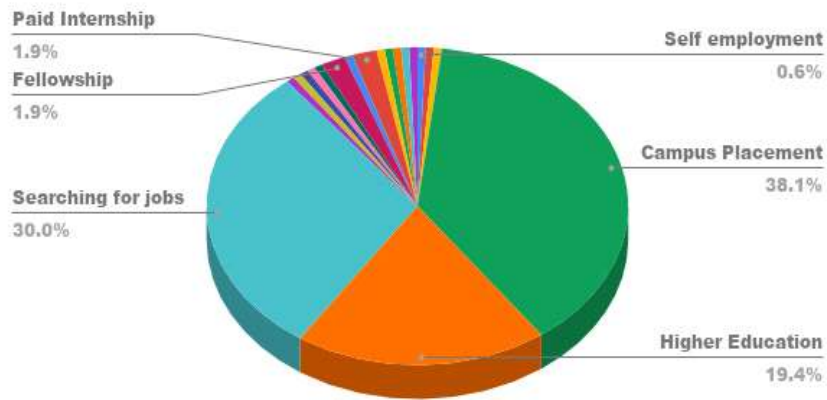
The survey data revealed that 88.1% of respondents chose their course for themselves as the respondents understood the market needs and matched them with their personal needs, taking up the course that best suited them.



***Plans after Degree Completion:***

38.1% of the respondents were dependent upon the college placements for obtaining the jobs. This shows that most of the students after a master's course rely on the college to provide them financial security, which in turn gets into the interplay of institutional dynamics of educational institutions with the institution of job markets. Furthermore, 30% of the respondents searched for jobs at their own disposal, indicating that either they are supported by some social privilege and are therefore not dependent on the institution or they do not vest their hopes only on the institution to land them the jobs that they desire. The survey also found out that 19.4% of the respondents wanted to go for a higher degree, which may be due to the reason that a higher degree will provide them with better vocational opportunities.

**Plans of the respondents after getting a degree.**

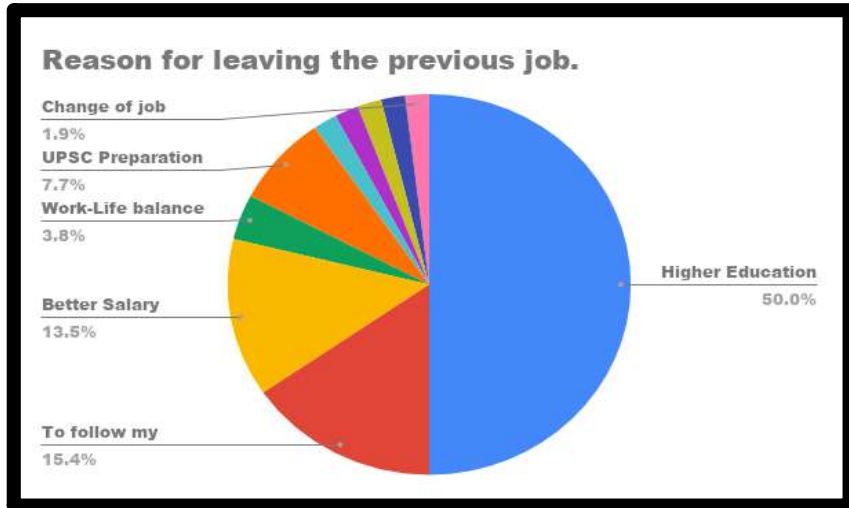
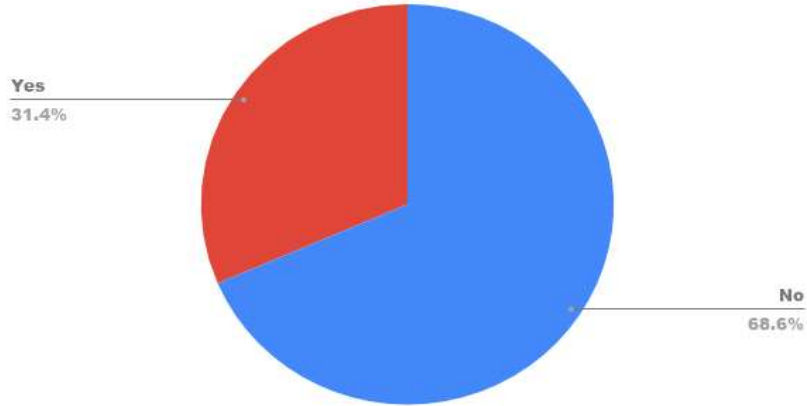


***Endeavours before Pursuing the Degree:***

Out of 31.4% of the respondents who were previously employed, 50% left their jobs and came back to academics with the sole purpose of higher education which would in one way or the other lead them to getting a better job and income. Better salary was emphasised in the conventional notions of getting a higher education degree. 15.4% of the respondents left the job to follow their passion, which lay in the academic domain. The Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) was also one of the reasons for people to leave their jobs and pursue academics.

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**Previously employed?**

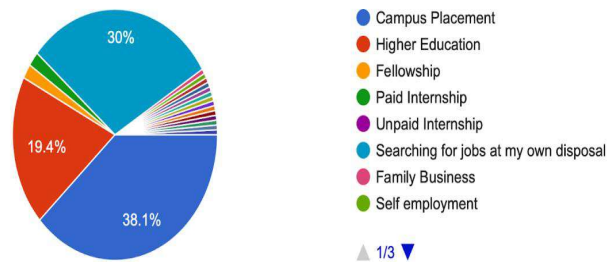




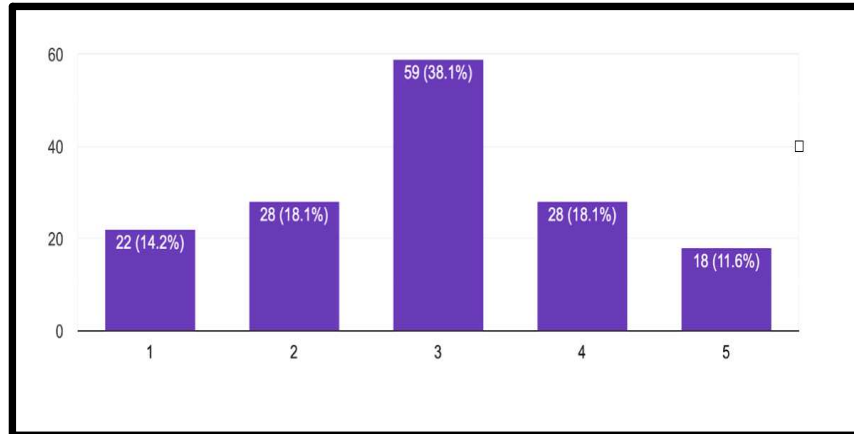
*Jobless By Choice Or By Structure?...*

**Fellowships or Higher Education: A Detour**

The research found out that a significant number of students i.e. 19.4% of the respondents were interested in pursuing their higher studies i.e. M. Phil or PhD after their Master's course rather than opt for a job. The reasons were varied across individual—the common belief that higher education results in accessing better incomes and better quality jobs, genuine interest to pursue higher education or the respondents found themselves not ready for the job market. If the student is able to pass the Junior Research Fellow (JRF) examination or University Grants Commission's National Entrance Test (UGC-NET), s/he receives a stipend every month as they continue pursuing their higher education (i.e. M.Phil or PhD). Students who come from less privileged backgrounds try to pass the examination because this serves two major purposes—firstly, they get to complete their higher education and get the degree; plus, the stipend provides financial security to them and their families safeguarding them from economic vulnerabilities.



Another finding of the research is that students were also interested in fellowships with different organizations as fellowships satiated their interest of field learning while assuring them a stipend for financial security and also offering them a proper contract period. Fellowships serve as pseudo-jobs for students pursuing them as it gives them a stable earning to support themselves and their families, provides them with on-field exposure and working environment, and allows them to save for their future. Although the primary survey found out that only 1.9% of the entire sample wanted to opt for fellowships, the case was of interest because it stood apart from mainstream career choices as the research tried to explore the job market tangentially to the education system.



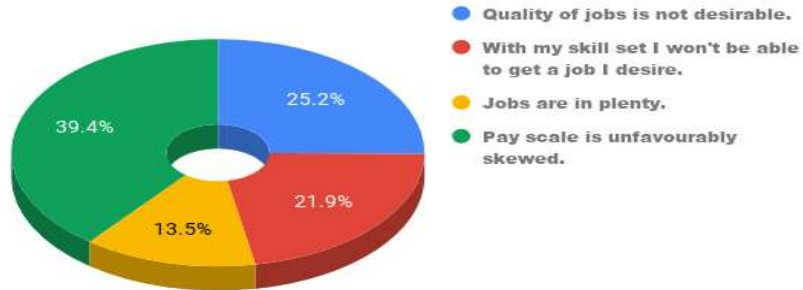
***Institutional Capability to get Placements for Students:***

38.1% of the respondents feel that their institution stands at a 50-50 situation in providing the students with the kind of jobs they desire. 14.2% feel that their institution is not that strong enough to provide the students with the kind of jobs they desire. Furthermore, 11.6% feel that their educational institute stands really strong in terms of campus placement

***Current Job Market Scenario:***

The survey found out that 39.4% respondents think that the pay scale of the job market is unfavourably skewed and entering the job market is not that desirable for the students who then on higher education to meet their needs. However, 25.2% respondents held on to the idea that the quality of jobs that are available in the market is not desirable, suggesting institutional failure of the job market in the provision of better jobs. At the same time, 21.9% of the respondents claimed that they are not skilled according to the needs of the market, which directs us to think that there is a clear disjuncture between the educational institutions' skills provision and the job markets. This leaves the youth confused and unequipped for the market requirements.

**Respondents' idea of the current job market.**

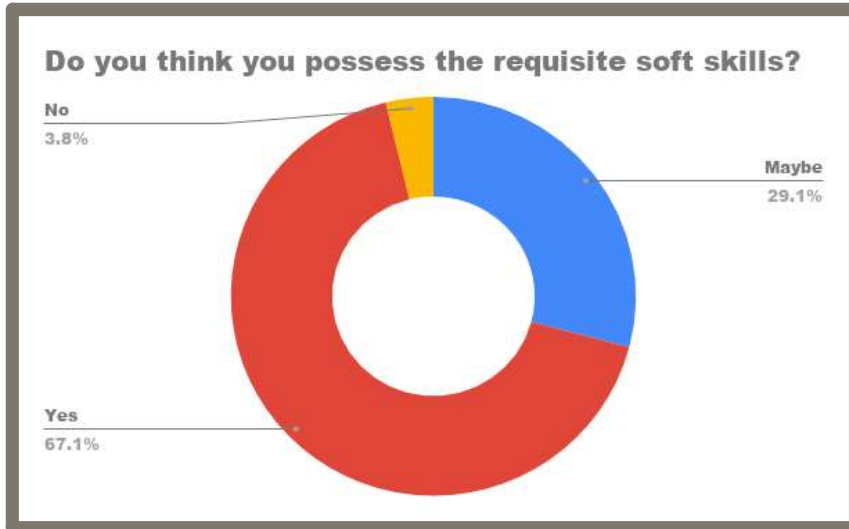
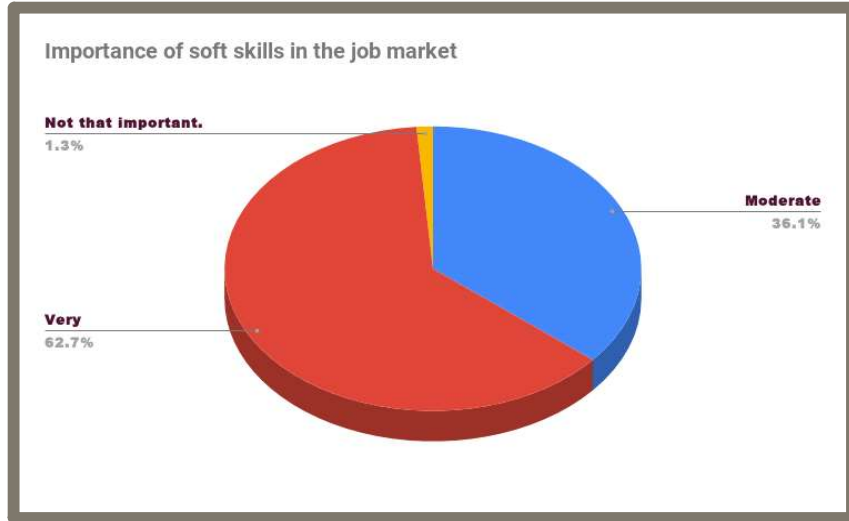


***Importance of Soft Skills in the Job Market:***

In the interviews and the Focus Group Discussion we conducted, it was found that there is a clear difference for the respondents between the job opportunities available in the open market and the government sector jobs. The respondents were of the view that the job market exudes capitalistic tendencies and there is a lot of focus on soft skills during the recruitment process. 62.7% of the respondents who took part in our survey were of the view that soft skills are 'very' important while seeking a job.

When asked whether they possess the soft skills they consider important for an entry into the job market, 29.1% of respondents who are students of premier institutes of Hyderabad were unsure. This aspect of career development can only be met by institutional support and here the educational bodies have been found wanting. The finding suggests the need for the 'Capabilities Approach'. A large number of respondents were soft-skills handicapped. Such students, even after successful completion of their degrees, are considered unfit for the job market. The institutes in question should move out of their comfort zones to incorporate soft-skill training in the course structure itself. This in all likelihood would enable the students to enter the job market with confidence.

*Education And Development*

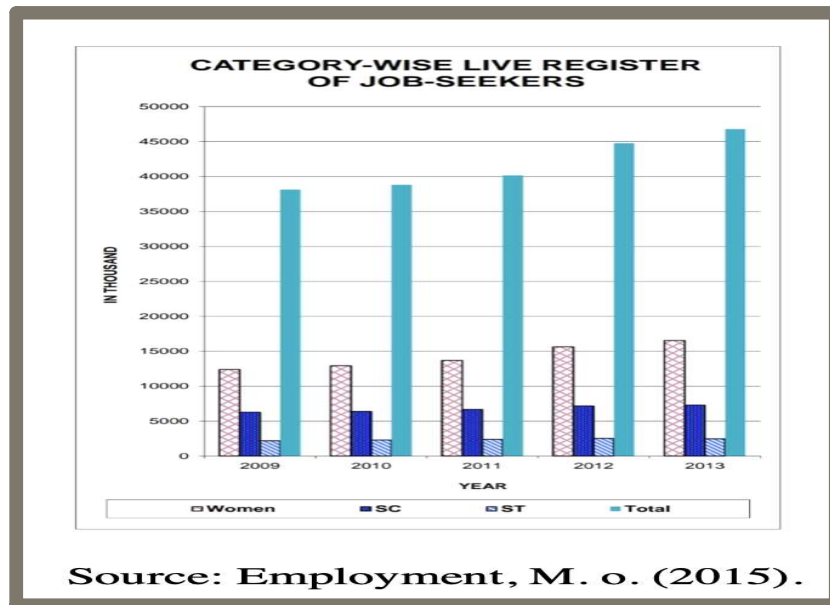


**Institutional Analysis**

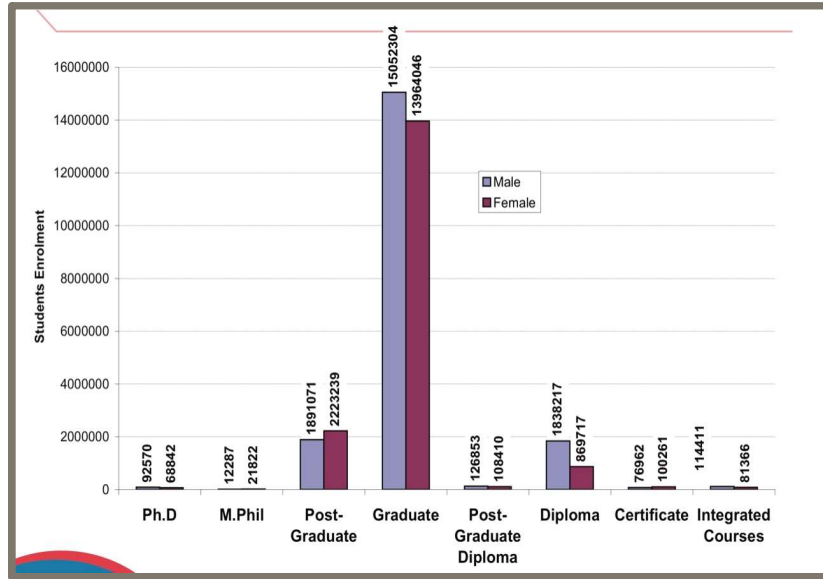
***The Employment Exchange:***

The Employment Exchange as an institution was supposed to support employment seekers in finding a job. An analysis of their data suggests that the number of Scheduled Tribe job seekers has remained stagnant over the years and the numbers for Scheduled Castes has increased but with very narrow margins. This is a clear instance of information asymmetry to which these historically oppressed sections are being put through even in this age of mobile broadband connectivity.

Of the educated job seekers, which the Employment Exchange defines as those with an educational qualification of 10th standard and above, only 22.8 % are such job seekers who have a graduate or a post-graduate degree. When compared with the data from the UGC report “Higher Education All India & States Profile 2017-18”, we find that there are 1,50,52,304 graduate male students enrolled in various degree courses. The number of male graduate and post-graduate candidates who got themselves registered with the Employment Exchange is 48,21,900. Although the data for the two institutions have a time lag, still the gap is too big.



Education And Development



Source: Higher Education All India & State Profile 2017-18

**NUMBER OF EDUCATED JOB-SEEKERS (10TH STANDARD & ABOVE) BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL  
ALL INDIA 10th STANDARD AS ON 31.12.2013 5**

SL. NO.	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	NUMBER ON LIVE REGISTER (IN THOUSAND)			% OF EACH STREAM TO TOTAL GRADUATE & ABOVE	% OF EACH LEVEL TO TOTAL
		DISCIPLINE	MEN	WOMEN		
1	10TH CLASS PASSED		12638.7	6120.9	18759.6	46.9
2	10TH + 2 PASSED		7712.4	4400.9	12113.3	30.3
3	GRADUATES AND POST-GRADUATES					22.8
	I	ARTS	1952.7	1749.5	3702.2	40.5
	II	SCIENCE	901.6	807.7	1709.4	18.7
	III	COMMERCE	708.8	635.0	1343.8	14.7
	IV	ENGINEERING	197.7	177.1	374.8	4.1
	V	MEDICINE	43.4	38.9	82.3	0.9
	VI	VETERINARY	4.8	4.3	9.1	0.1
	VII	AGRICULTURE	33.7	30.2	64.0	0.7
	VIII	LAW	19.3	17.3	36.6	0.4
	IX	EDUCATION	728.2	652.3	1380.5	15.1
	X	OTHERS	231.5	207.3	438.8	4.8
		TOTAL	4821.9	4319.6	9141.5	100
	GRAND TOTAL		25173.2	14841.3	40014.5	100.0

NOTE:- 5 At the end of the year.  
Total may not tally due to rounding off.

Source: Employment, M. o. (2015).

*Jobless By Choice Or By Structure?...*

The finding calls for bringing down the transaction cost. There is a need for a well-defined mechanism for information exchange between the Employment Exchange and the University Grants Commission. A single database of the degree as well as job seekers would go a long way in helping take real-time corrective measures and would be of great use to both the job seekers and the employers. It would also help students take informed decisions while choosing a course as the prominent recruiters are also mentioned in the Employment Exchange database.

*The TISS Placement story: An Institutional Failure?*

Tata Institution of Social Sciences (TISS) is a deemed University under the University Grants Commission (UGC) established by Sir Dorabji Tata Trusts in 1936. The main campus of TISS is at Mumbai, Maharashtra and it has other functional campuses at Tuljapur, Guwahati and Hyderabad. Among all the campuses, the case of Hyderabad campus is peculiar. Although, the first batch of students graduated in the year 2015; it has been eight years still TISS Hyderabad does not have a physical campus of its own. TISS as an institution holds its head high because of its tremendous achievements in academics as well as social work and being one of its kind. Students across the country aspire to be a part of this prestigious institute not only because of its name and fame but also because it guarantees strong career prospects for them.

However, because of a lack of campus facility, it has its own set of problems. Students are not independent in carrying out activities because all activities involve seeking prior permission from the parent organization where the campus is rented, less infrastructure is available for discussions and research projects and there is deferment of the most sought after Bachelor's course. TISS as an institute never advertises itself as a placement-providing organization but placements are one of the major reasons that attract students there. Here, the students are totally dependent on the institute to provide them with financial security at the end of the course and the institution claims no liability whatsoever for placements. Until recently, this problem did not surface as a major concern but sharp exponential decline in the placements have raised an alarm not only within the student body but also in the administration. There were calls for protests and general meetings to get campus placements, alarming the entire TISS body. The placement officer was made to resign but the problem of deteriorating placements was not resolved. The reasons sighted were: non-availability of a campus, the institution not able to connect to organizations and regular protests carried out by students tarnishing the image of the institute in the eyes of potential recruiters. On the whole, the question still oscillated between the concerns about institutional failure and incompetency of students.

It was a three-way split, with the institution claiming no placement liabilities, a section of students with a financially weaker background who were in urgent need of jobs and the privileged who had a back-up plan. The committee that worked for ensuring placements was a quasi-student led and student-empowered committee which succumbed to a plethora of problems like less recruiters, skewed proportions of course specific recruiters, salary negotiations done on a low scale which was degrading for the students applying for placements, the locations offered and the job descriptions which were not good enough etc.

The placement committee was subjected to failures because of its own discrepancies like power politics and the members working for their own placements first. Also, the Placement Officer who was recruited by the Institute itself was not capable enough for the precarious position. At the end of the day, students suffered and the institute suffered at large. Until today, many of the students are unemployed and clueless about their future.

At the end, the question still remains, whose fault was it- the institutional apparatus for not being able to build up a robust structure to meet the needs of its students, the placement committee for hindering the entire process due to its own internal dynamics or the students who laid down their entire hopes on the institute and supposedly did not do anything within their own disposal to help themselves? What was apparent was a dusky end to the situation as the privileged could escape the loopholes in the system and others could not. All of this benignly poses the questions- are educational institutions liable for structuring students' career after the course is over? Does a higher education degree mandate a job in the current market? Has the market as an institution overpowered and hollowed down the educational indents of the society at large?



***The Black Market of Educational Degrees:***

In India, educational qualification defines your societal standing as it is the main ingredient for getting a job, although, it is not the only criterion on which the societal identity of an individual is projected (i.e., economic and political factors also affect an individual's societal identity). Educational qualifications do not only ensure a job but also enhance one's prospects for marriage, acts as collateral for getting credit from banks thereby ensuring financial stability and security; and also positions one for certain social mobility and power. An educational degree is equivalent to intellectual prowess and status symbol in India. For something that is so important in the Indian society, it might not be surprising that it has a parallel black market where they sell degrees. These degrees are produced by informal institutions called “degree mills”<sup>5</sup> or “diploma mills”<sup>6</sup> (Smith, 2015)

***The Case of Patna, Bihar, India***

While conducting the primary research for this chapter, we found out about the degree-selling black market. Due to lack of resources we could not find a reliable key informant in Hyderabad, India (where the study is primarily based), but by advancing across our contacts and by incorporating Snowball method we found a key informant located in Patna, Bihar, India. According to the source, illegal marketing of degrees which happen in Bihar is systematically protected by the politicians. Degree-shopping is a high profile issue that not only degrades the quality of education but also puts the future of the country int peril. The issue is specific to the elite and privileged sections of the society and is carried out at the disposal of local Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assembly thereby properly securing the black market with the rubber stamp of government on the face of it. the key informant interview, it was found out that the rates of educational degrees are subject to change and the starting range is from about INR 70,000 to INR 1,50,000, with no fixed upper limit.

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<sup>5</sup>The degree mills provide real degrees from a bogus or a fake college/ university/ educational institution

<sup>6</sup>They provide bogus degrees from a real college/ university/ educational institution

The pertinent question is: why would the privileged classes feel the need to buy a degree? The answer to this question first lies in the Indian social structure which gives more importance to degrees than intellectuality; to maintain their social status, the elite classes enter the black market. Secondly, men in Indian patriarchal structure need to emphasize their educational qualification as it not only gives them financial security and improves social status but also provides them with power and domination in the domestic space. Women have their own reasons for entering the degree black market which are based on two polarised understandings—firstly, educational qualification gives them social mobility and allows them to marry into better homes and secondly, more educated women are not easily acceptable to the society as she gets with it the so called “modern” attitude and outgoing behaviour which entirely goes against the Indian tradition. The first case is more likely to happen in elite households and pertains to women advancing into the black market whereas in the second case, the women hardly are allowed to get elementary education so the degree shopping market remains very different.

In the preceding analysis of the case study what is clear is that students, who are not eligible and may not have been intellectually and academically equipped enough, get degrees to prove their educational qualification and based on that enter the job market. This is clearly a criminal offence. This stands as an example of the exclusions and exclusionary practices that are practiced parallelly in the arena of education. This market being solely based on pecuniary exchange caters only to the requirements of the wealthy elite class and ensures high barriers to entry for the economically and socially less privileged classes. Although the practice itself is ethically wrong, it also sharpens the economic and social divide in the country's fabric and the political protection of the black market is a clear indication of a regulatory and institutional failure in the state of Bihar which poses threats to the country at large.

### **Humanities versus Science**

It is no less than the truth that Indians are obsessed with students who take up science as their educational background and at the same time look down upon those who opt for the humanities. With the obsession

comes an associated stereotype that conforms to the bias that students taking up humanities are less competent as compared to students who opt for science. The biases are sharpened when we try to locate the situation through the lens of gender. The Indian society decides courses for the students based on their sex—girls should opt for humanities or do their major in biology if they are taking up sciences. This either makes them capable to do the household chores (apparently, the myth is that humanities education helps women do household chores with more efficiency) or the very idea of taking up biology is stemmed from the idea that women become better “nurses” because stereotypically they are soft-hearted creatures who are meant to serve the men in the society. Similarly, boys who opt for humanities are looked down upon and are known to be very incompetent in the Indian society, which questions their masculine identity. This very bias shows the ingrained sexist and misogynistic ideology that the Indian patriarchal society upholds which further goes on to become an exclusionary practice in the system of education. While there may have been significant changes in the societal mindsets in the recent past, it was found during the interviews that students still find it very difficult to persuade their parents to let them take up the humanities as an academic choice.

In the political-economic arena of the Indian society, we find the same bias functioning. There has been significant decline in the funding provided by the government to the humanities and liberal arts institutions whereas there has been significant increase in the funding provided to the science institutions. This negatively affects the development of humanities education and shows how social biases shape political realities.

### **Conclusion**

The spectrum of joblessness can be viewed under the twin umbrellas of choice and structure. As this chapter has shown, there are so many dimensions to the issue, which makes it remain complicated. However, the clear indication is that educational arrangements, both legal and illegal, contribute to social conditions and expectations in India to sustain exclusions and widen job-related as well as social inequalities. The UPSC aspirants in the study conducted can be

considered 'jobless by choice', as their decision to prepare for the Civil Services Examination has the tacit support of the family members who in most cases were found to be more than willing to provide financial support for as many number of yearly attempts as it takes. Those pursuing a Master's degree thought of it more as a back-up plan than as a serious career option. The PhD scholars were of the view that the fellowship which they get has the tenets of a salary as it comes at a better rate than what the market is offering them for their skills in most cases. All of these points towards a distorted job market where there is a kind of crowding out effect, partly caused by the lure of government jobs, which guarantee stability, respect in society and a handsome salary. These results in the best minds, mindlessly pursuing the UPSC and state level public services. Among other things, soft skills, which at present are a structural barrier, can be turned into a choice enabler and is a low-lying fruit, which needs to be plucked before the rot, becomes uncontrollable.

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## **PART II**

### **EDUCATIONAL PEDAGOGY AND PRACTICE**





## Chapter Seven

### LINKING THEORY AND PRACTICE THROUGH FREIRE'S CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AND POPULAR EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA

*Emilia Soto Echeverri*

#### Introduction

Freire's critical pedagogy is a theoretical and practical bridge to close the gaps between the theories and the policy-oriented character in research in education and development. His work has proposed a theoretical framework to link theory and practice through dialogue in order to achieve social transformation. This idea has been expanded by popular education in Latin America, more than in other areas, and it has had three main implications. First, the acceptance of the political character of education; second, the explicit motivation of education to transform society; and third, the positioning of dialogue as a crucial element in the production of knowledge. All three elements are interlinked and they work as a whole but I will analyse them independently as a methodological tool.

This chapter will be in four sections. First, it will summarise Freire's critical pedagogy focusing mainly on his idea of praxis as a key concept to link theory and practice. Next, it will explore the meaning of popular education and its definition as a pedagogy on the ground. Then, three implications of popular education will be discussed. To conclude, I will exemplify the application of this theory on a research group called *Historia entre Todos* in which I have been involved over the last two years in the Colombian context.

Being part of popular education experiences in addition to my previous professional work in a private university led me to this interest of the struggle between theory and practice and between the official ways of producing knowledge and those that are excluded. In both the cases, I have experienced the conflicts between research in a university and the pedagogy on the ground and I am particularly

attracted by this idea of praxis in education. I strongly believe in the possibility of education outside the classroom but I also think it does not exclude the importance of theories and academic research. That is why Freire's notion of praxis captured my attention as it acknowledges the importance of action and reflection and the symbiosis between theories and practices.

I began by looking into Freire's work, his incredible global impact on education and on social movements, and some of its interpretations by Latin American authors. Specifically, I researched into a book with his legacy published by CLACSO, *Consejo Latino-americano de Ciencias Sociales*, a recognised group in social sciences in Latin America. Through that publication, I read other educators' work in the region and noticed that some authors were repeatedly cited. So, I investigated their work. One advantage I had was my expertise in the context, specifically about the production of knowledge in social sciences in Latin America. Most of the literature I found was published in Spanish and most of it was not available at the British library I had access to at the time of developing this chapter. This showed the localisation of knowledge, its limitations and the dominance of English as a global academic language and how these practices privilege certain knowledge while exclude others. It brought me to reflect on the production of knowledge and how popular education is a theory for the liberation of the oppressed but it is also formulated from the South as the oppressed and excluded on the global scale, as will be explored more later.

### **Freire's Critical Pedagogy**

Research in Education and Development is an open and complex endeavor acquiring relevance within the last decades. It combines theories of development g applied to education studies. Similar to other research, it also requires accuracy, a theoretical approach, and defined methodologies. However, as Pieterse (2010, p. 4) opines, “development thinking [has a] policy-oriented character”. This is a particularity of research that creates a great gap between theories and practical approaches. Therefore, in Education and Development research, there is a constant struggle between the complex theories and the need for developing achievable policies. It is critical to address

this gap and to enhance the dialogue between theories and practices and between the academy and civil society. Freire's critical pedagogy is a useful theoretical framework to link theory and practices to achieve social transformation towards greater inclusion.

This link is based on his proposal of understanding pedagogy as action and reflexion. He emphasises the idea of praxis with criticality and many of his followers have taken this core thinking to develop their work and their political activities. For example, Gadotti (1996, p. 7), a Brazilian scholar and teacher inspired by Freire, affirms that “to act pedagogically is to put theory into practice *par excellence*” and “pedagogy is, above all, a theory of praxis”. Positioning praxis at the centre without renouncing the theoretical reflection redirects the purpose of education towards social transformation and stresses its political character. As Freire states, “[p]olitical action on the side of the oppressed must be a pedagogical action in the authentic sense of the word, and, therefore, action with the oppressed” (Freire, 2005, p. 66). In other words, pedagogy is political and it seeks to achieve the liberation of the oppressed, not for them, but through the raising of their consciousness. This can be achieved through action and reflection, specifically through a problem-posing education that has dialogue at its centre.

For Freire, dialogue is the key element that distinguishes problem-posing education from banking education and promotes reflection and action. In Freire's words “[b]anking education resists dialogue; problem-posing education regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality” (Freire, 2005, p. 83). Dialogue is thus the way to raise consciousness - it is the way to recognise the oppressions by getting the world to acknowledge that all men and women are part of the world and so they can change it.

Education as a practice of freedom [...] denies that man is abstract, isolated, independent, and unattached to the world; it also denies that the world exists as a reality apart from people (Freire, 2005, p. 81).

While acknowledging the interrelationship between the man and the world on the creation of knowledge, Freire also recognises that knowledge is produced in the community, which emphasises the

central role of dialogue. As a consequence of this new understanding of knowledge and education, the role of the educator changes, and there are new spaces for praxis outside the classroom. On critical pedagogy, the educator has to be politically engaged as a transformative intellectual, and this could happen anywhere.

### **Popular Education**

Freire's critical pedagogy influenced and enhanced a long tradition of popular education in Latin America. His thinking provided theoretical and practical support for its methodologies. Popular education is, above all, a political and cultural movement with a transformative vocation (Cano, 2012, p. 25). It is education towards social inclusion, for the popular classes and it is aimed at getting the oppressed to challenge their oppressor. It is also committed to social movements, to marginalised communities in the pursuit of raising awareness and struggle. Additionally, popular education is a powerful methodology to work with different communities, but it has to be understood next to its political and theoretical perspectives because without a theoretical reflection it loses its transformative potential (Cano, 2012, p. 27). This means that along with participation and dialogues, which are significant as a pedagogical methodology, the core ideal of popular education, that is to challenge injustices, must be practised. Popular education has been Freire's critical pedagogy on the ground.

In Latin America, popular education represents the struggle of having an independent education and original thinking from European knowledge. There have been many attempts at achieving that epistemological independence. Mejia (2015b) examines three examples. The first example being about Simón Rodríguez in the XVIII century who was the first to recognise the need for America to be intellectually independent and to have an educational system that would stop copying European practices. He proposed an American educational system to learn how to be Americans, and how to lead the continent. The second example is of the *Warisata* School in 1930 in Bolivia that advocated for a pedagogy based on the life in community and the recognition of the Andean knowledge. The third example is of the movement *Fe y Alegría* founded by the priest Veláz. The objective of the movement was to achieve social transformation, social justice

and structural justice through popular education and the transformation of the people<sup>7</sup> (Vélaz, 1977, cited in Mejia, 2015b, p. 41). All these examples share the common basis of a pedagogy for the marginalised, committed to social movements and grounded on the recognition of the local knowledge.

Despite the long tradition of popular education in Latin America, Freire's critical pedagogy set the basis to enhance and expand it. Both the approaches share the three main elements mentioned in the introduction. These elements are interlinked as a way to connect theory and practice in education.

### **3.1 Education as Politics**

To affirm that education is political is to recognise its transformative potential and to accept the power of the knowledge transmitted by education. Giroux (1988) supports this idea through his proposal of changing the language centred on the critics to create the language of possibilities in order to achieve a feasible political project. He also positions two dimensions at the core of social transformation; the teacher as a transformative intellectual, and the schools as transformative public spaces. This new understanding of education blurs the distinction between theory and practice as education itself is both a theoretical and political practice. This is a key element as theoretical and political concerns are linked in popular education (Torres, 2009). Popular education is indeed centred on the language of the possibilities, of change, of social transformation and therefore connected to social movements.

Many popular educators have applied this to their lives as scholars and as activists, as teachers and as transformative agents. Lola Cendales' biography (Ortega and Torres, 2011) is an example of this pedagogy on the ground that links the academy and social life. She participated in the Nicaraguan Revolution, on literacy projects, and worked on constant publications as a scholar as well.

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<sup>7</sup>Original: “[E]l objetivo primordial de Fe y Alegría [es] contribuir a lograr la transformación social por medio de la Educación Popular Integral; impulsar la justicia social y la justicia estructural por la auto-transformación del pueblo cada vez más educado” (Vélaz, 1977, cited in Mejia, 2015b, p. 41).

Her life is linked to the idea of a committed intellectual, and as Fischman (2005, p. 440) paraphrased Freire, raising the consciousness is a product of commitment, it is indeed the commitment to social justice the one that leads to consciousness. Briefly, “by struggle I become conscious, I don't need to be conscious to struggle. (Freire, 1989, cited in Fischman, 2005, p. 440). This commitment is political and takes education outside the classroom. Indeed, for Freire and many popular educators, every space is a space to learn and to produce knowledge.

### **Towards Social Transformation**

As earlier noted, the recognition of a political education implies the possibility to guide social transformation towards greater inclusion through the praxis informed by theories. In the case of popular education, this social transformation occurs on two levels. On the one hand, it is about the liberation of the oppressed, and on the other, it is a theory and a practice produced from the South. It means it represents an epistemological liberation itself. This section will examine both levels.

The liberation of the oppressed was the main objective of Freire's critical pedagogy. However, liberation is not a gift given to the oppressed, but it has to be achieved by them through the process of raising consciousness.

Nor can the leadership merely 'implant' in the oppressed a belief in freedom, thus thinking to win their trust. The correct method lies in dialogue. The conviction of the oppressed that they must fight for their liberation is not a gift bestowed by the revolutionary leadership, but the result of their own *conscientização* (Freire, 2005, p. 67).

This process of raising consciousness is the awareness that since subjects produce reality, they can change it, and this is an ongoing process (Rodríguez, 2003). It is actually the ability to look at the world 'from outside', charge it with significance, and acknowledge the possibility to change it.

This is viable because of dialogue, which is the only method to acquire knowledge. The action and reflection that constitutes the idea

of praxis is possible through dialogue. Indeed praxis is a word that contains action and reflection - it is the ability to transform, and it is the way to look at the world in the word (Rodríguez, 2003). Additionally, dialogue opens the possibility to hear new voices, to include everybody's knowledge, to enhance the pedagogical process, and the recognition of different ideas as I will explain in detail in the next section. It becomes clear that social transformation and dialogue are interdependent. Moreover, many popular educators have emphasised that this link is the basis of the relationship between theory and practice. For example, Ortega and Torres (2011, p. 351) point to Lola Cendales' dialogical pedagogy which has the main purpose of reflecting about theory and practice to promote concrete actions for change.

Besides the liberation of the oppressed, popular education itself is a liberation theory that attempts to overcome Eurocentric rationalism. This understanding has been present since Simón Rodríguez and has been elaborated and underlined by many authors. Torres (2009, p.21) affirms the need for thinking beyond monocultural universalism and rationalism and the importance of building relationships between popular educators and social movements to enhance a committed pedagogy with criticality. He also affirms the need to recognise and create emancipatory subjectivities to achieve epistemological independence (Torres 2009, p.28). Additionally, Fals-Borda and Brandão (1986, cited in Robles, 2018 p.600) enhanced this separation of western rationalism as the strength of their work to achieve their own approaches. In this sense, there is the need for liberation of the oppressed as humans, and the liberation of the oppressed on a macro-level understanding of the Global South as an oppressed subject itself.

In other words, popular education is a pedagogical theory and a practice from the South, produced from the excluded academic global knowledge. In this sense, it is possible to define it as an 'epistemology of the South', (De Sousa Santos, 2016, p.18) as "a crucial epistemological transformation [...] required in order to reinvent social emancipation on a global scale." Popular education is indeed an epistemological transformation as it changes the understanding of knowledge and development and the purpose of education. It also tries to surmount the universalism of rationalism and develops

independent thinking to achieve the liberation of the oppressed and an epistemological liberation. It is also important to highlight that Freire wrote from the Global South, and his legacy has been applied in different contexts of the world. So, in this case, the place of production of knowledge is crucial to understand why this is a new pedagogical proposal. It seeks the liberation of the oppressed and is produced by the oppressed on a global scale. According to Gadotti (2001, cited in Mejia, 2015a, p. 100), “popular education [is] the great contribution from Latin-American pedagogical thinking to the global pedagogy.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Liberation through Dialogue**

According to Freire's critical pedagogy and to popular education, the way to achieve social transformation is through dialogue. It is the only prescription for a liberation process. However, dialogue, in this case, is more complex than talk or even discuss. It is the basis for action, and it is the meeting of various understandings. It implies that there is no empty subject, and everybody has the knowledge to share, and this is called *diálogo de saberes* (Mejia, 2015b). This new approach changes the conception of knowledge, the production of it and the relationships of power involved. Indeed, knowledge is produced by *dialogo de saberes*, which implies its existence through the dialogical relationship with others (Gadotti, 1996).

This is particularly important because it recognises the 'other' as the centre of production of knowledge. Nevertheless, it is a production *with* the other and not *in opposition* to the 'other'. Consequently, the meaning is created by social experiences, and this recognition enhances the value of local people's knowledge (Mato, 2004). It advocates for the integration of the marginalised. This is necessary on a process of education to avoid a paternalistic attitude because as many authors emphasised, (Mariño, 1996 and Mejia, 2015a), there is no one empty or without knowledge.

Dialogue is also the basis for cultural negotiation. This is defined by Mariño (1996, p. 110) as cultural dialogue and a way to exchange rather than to impose ideas.

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<sup>8</sup>Original: “la educación popular, la gran contribución del pensamiento pedagógico latinoamericano a la pedagogía mundial” (Gadotti 2001, cited in Mejia, 2015a, p. 100).



It is a way to understand the context of the other and to negotiate with equity. This is important because to accept differences does not mean to agree with them but invoke the power of dialogue and reach cultural negotiation. Mejia (2015b, p. 45) talks about cultural negotiation as the basis for action and for change. To achieve this cultural negotiation, three steps are required. The first one is the dialogue of knowledge (*diálogo de saberes*) in which there is the recognition of the other, of the differences and the recognition of the world itself. The second step is the confrontation of knowledge, the moment of struggle in which there is an attempt to impose a dominant understanding of the world. The third stage is then the cultural negotiation to give value to different opinions. It is possible to analyse the conflict behind knowledge and power through these stages, and popular education admits it. Furthermore, Gadotti (Gadotti in Freire, 1979, cited in Gadotti, 1996, p. 3) stresses the dimension of conflict within the dialogue.

Dialogue cannot exclude conflict lest it be considered ingenuous. They act dialectically: what gives strength to dialogue between the oppressed is its force of bargain when faced by the oppressor. It is the development of the conflict with the oppressor that maintains the cohesion of the relationship between the oppressed and the oppressor.

Indeed, dialogue needs to emphasise on the difference because there is no knowledge in loneliness (Gadotti, 1996), so liberation through dialogue is a social process.

### **Adapting Freire's Approach**

Critical pedagogy and popular education have influenced the understanding of education, and they have contributed to developing new ways of inclusion. However, these theories repeat the division in binaries that limits the understanding of our society. Freire's focus on the oppressed-oppressor binary simplifies the complexity of the relationships of power. His understanding of power is vertical and fixed, and there is an absence of other 'isms' such as gender, race, and ethnicity, among others. In his work, he ignored the possibility in which the oppressed can be oppressors within different contexts of

power. Additionally, Freire's work excludes women's participation in this liberation. His writings in Portuguese and Spanish have a gendered language, and he advocates only for the liberation of men. The English translation retained this language, as it is visible in a quote on critical pedagogy's section, with a trivial attempt to include a more neutral language.

This marked dualism can be explained through the understanding of Freire's context and his Marxist influence. Having said that, his theory can be adapted into the 21st century by enhancing the *diálogo de saberes* to a more sensitive intersectionality. This will mean to include new approaches of the otherness into the different dialogues to enrich the political character of education. Despite Freire's vertical and fixed understanding of power between the oppressor and the oppressed, this vision can contribute to a greater understanding of the tensions within the power relationships. These tensions can be drivers to social transformations. In other words, more contradictory power relationships leads to higher necessity and possibilities of change. This will be explained in the next section using a concrete example.

### ***Historia entre Todos* and the Application of Popular Education**

There have been many attempts in Latin America to implement popular education and to empower popular classes. One example of this is the work of the Colombian sociologist Fals-Borda which is a useful bridge to link praxis as action and research. To connect the idea of social change and an example of current pedagogy, I shall explore the research group *Historia entre Todos*. This group was founded in Bogota to teach Colombian history in public libraries, aiming to analyse the present from a critical perspective. The initiative began in 2016 after the majority of Colombians voted 'no' on the referendum to the peace process between the Colombian Government and the FARC-EP guerrilla. Many academics questioned the role of the universities to counter the misleading campaigns dominated by fake news. Because of these tensions, scholars and students decided to mobilise and counter the polarisation led by the voting through promoting dialogue between different sectors of the population that were excluded from the main peace discussions. The creation of *Historia entre Todos* was then a consequence of the tensions of power

relationships. There is no clear line dividing who is oppressor and who is oppressed but the 'no' vote was driven by hatred and misinformation campaigns with a lot of power which managed to manipulate public opinion against peace and the inclusion of former guerrillas.

The plebiscite showed the gap existing between the civil society and the academy, specifically on the circulation of knowledge. The academy did not participate in these discussions, and its distance from the political situation neither promoted reflection and inclusion, nor social transformation. This is why *Historia entre Todos* created a series of workshops held in public libraries to construct Colombian history with the contribution and knowledge of all the participants to understand the origins of the armed conflict, and therefore the importance of peace. Fals-Borda has broadly applied this methodology in different topics through his Participative Action-Research, in which he combined academic knowledge with popular one to counter the monopoly of classes (Fals-Borda & Anisur, 1991, p. 4).

*Historia entre Todos* is an example of popular education in which through dialogue the purpose was to enroll popular classes, traditionally excluded by the academic knowledge on pedagogical process, and to empower them to be active, conscious, and to participate in their political processes. Additionally, the work done by the group holds three characteristics shared by workshops on popular education as a methodology. These characteristics, described by Cano (2012, p. 33) are the link between theory and practice, the collective construction of knowledge and the aim of social transformation. All these elements are based on popular education, and they are fundamental to apply a pedagogy on the ground.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has explored Freire's critical pedagogy as opening the dialogue between theories in education and their application in civil society. His pedagogical approach also defines education as a tool for liberation, to achieve social transformation and to include the oppressed. Popular education takes Freire's legacy one-step further on its practicality, advocating for the education of the marginalised and liberation from European rationalism. This has had great accomplishments as well as great challenges to achieve for as Gadotti

(1996, p.7) affirms, education is an unending process. As such liberation is never completed -it is always a process immersed in conflict, but it is necessary to fight for it. It urges a constant reminder of this because the academy tends to forget the civil society and the purpose of education, and keeps reproducing knowledge without criticality.

Although popular education is a long tradition and has had great impact, its application is still very limited, making this one of its greatest challenges. Our education systems are still based on measurable outcomes through standard assessments, and a big structural obstacle of popular education is the lack of it. There is no standard way to measure the impact of dialogue, and this cannot be visible in the short term. So the main limitation which can be regarded as its main strength as well is the liberty it offers. There is no unique law on popular education as it is an ongoing process. This is something I have learned from the experience with *Historia entre Todos*, as it has been endless learning for all - the participants and the facilitators.

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## Chapter Eight

### CRITICAL PEDAGOGY IN NIGERIAN EDUCATION: PROSPECTS AND LIMITATIONS

*Jennifer Chinenye Emelife*

#### Introduction

This chapter explores the theory of critical pedagogy as informed by Paulo Freire and seeks to assess its validity for secondary education in Nigeria by highlighting systemic issues mediating against its use. The chapter focuses within the scope of Literature teaching as Freire demonstrates his ideas for critical pedagogy in the teaching of reading. It argues that though a pivotal move, a critical pedagogy approach to learning will be improbable in the Nigerian educational system if the structural barriers working against it are not first addressed.

The chapter is divided into five parts. The first part introduces the discourse by providing background information on the context upon which Paulo Freire founded the theory of critical pedagogy. Next, it gives an analytical summary of critical pedagogy and how Freire implements this in his adult literacy campaigns. The second part proceeds to look at the practice of critical pedagogy in a contemporary African context. The third part emphasises the need for critical pedagogy in Nigeria by analysing the influence of colonialism on the education system in Nigeria and how that affects the teaching of reading while the fourth part examines issues like teacher education, curriculum, globalisation and credentialism which might hinder a transition from a teacher-centred learning as it plays out in Nigeria to Freire's critical pedagogy. The last part concludes that critical pedagogy embodies various aspects that make for a radical and transformative education, but is yet to be practical in a country like Nigeria because of its myriad of social and institutional problems.

### **Why Critical Pedagogy?**

The quality of education in Nigeria is reportedly dwindling and far removed from solving the country's problems (Odia and Omofonmwan, 2018). With poor quality education, students are excluded from experiencing the full benefits of their right to a functional future life, including the capacity to actively contribute to societal development. The teaching of reading in Literature-in-English classes through the multiplicity of meanings embodied in texts provides students a great avenue to exercise their mind, explore, question and seek solutions to issues around them, but this has been reportedly hijacked by, among other things, modernisation craze leading to an excessive focus on STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics) pursuit which reduces reading and all other forms of learning to mercenary gains. It is on this premise that this chapter argues that to break free from the forces above, Nigerian education is in dire need of a new pedagogy. Before talking about this pedagogy, it is important to briefly consider the context from which the originator, Paulo Freire (2000), developed it.

### **Background to the Development of Critical Pedagogy**

Freire's context was the northeastern Brazil from the 1930s through the 1960s. Like the British colonies, Brazil was greatly exploited by the Portuguese during its colonisation period from 1500 to 1822. The indigenous people, some of whom were of African decent, underwent hard labour and were sold into slavery to work in the production of sugar which was a major Brazilian export at that time (Diaz, 2018). The Portuguese main interest lay in commercializing Brazil - they saw it as an enterprise for the sole purpose of exporting its resources and growing their own economy. Literacy for the locals, therefore, was the least of their concerns. Long after the abolition of slavery in 1888, Paulo Freire was born into the political instability and economic hardships of the economic depression in the 1930s. The living conditions for many Brazilians were so deplorable that the farmers sold themselves to avoid starving (Diaz, 2018; Macedo, 2000). The death of his father at a young age and the hunger Freire experienced during this period built his strong connection to the poor and awakened a certain consciousness in him.



This consciousness which led to his commitment to work to reform the conditions of marginalized people (Diaz, 2018) would later inform his pursuit in education. From his relationship with the marginalised, Freire noticed how the people had adapted to the unjust situation without fighting back. He saw the education system as a key element promoting this silence (Shaull, 1970) and to change this, Freire proposed a new approach to education that would move students towards the critical to reflect on who they are and the society they live in (Macedo, 2000). This approach has come to be known as critical pedagogy.

### **The Theory of Critical Pedagogy: Meaning and Influences**

Critical pedagogy is a revolutionary approach to teaching, which endorses a critical view of the world by encouraging students to share their lived experiences whether it is racism, sexism, or any other form of oppression (Keyl, 2017). It is a process of 'generating critical self-consciousness regarding what it means to be equipped with analytical skills to be self-reflective about the knowledge and values one finds in classrooms' (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012, p.9);). It is often said that critical pedagogy gave rise to the concept of critical literacy which equips students with strategies to critically engage in texts in order to uncover hidden meanings (Luke, 2012) and has three intellectual roots: the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School, Antonio Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony, and the Educational Theory of Paulo Freire (Boyce, 1996 cited in Saleebey and Scanlon, 2005, p.2). With numerous books to his name exploring the ideas of these theories and applying them in the practice of teaching and education, Paulo Freire has come to be regarded as the founder of critical pedagogy. Others who have been influenced by his work and continue to advocate for critical pedagogy include Henry Giroux, Peter McLaren and Donaldo Macedo. However, there are criticisms of critical pedagogy which refer to it mainly as being utopic, illogical and mythical - feminists and post-structuralists have questioned whether classrooms can indeed foster democratic dialogue given the existing inequality in gender, race and class. They claim that encouraging students from oppressed social groups to share their experiences perpetuates relations of domination within the classrooms (Ellsworth, 1989; Schrag, 1988

cited in Saleebey and Scanlon, 2005; Freedman, 2007).

Despite the criticisms, Freire's work is an important contribution to understanding educational practices and their relevance to contemporary Africa (Nyirenda, 1996). In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2000) established a clear distinction between the dominant system of education at the time which he called the banking education and critical pedagogy which he called the problem-posing or liberating education. Education, he argues, is suffering from 'narration sickness' (p.71) and narration leads students to memorise what they are being taught without any questions. This form of learning, carried on through the banking system where the teacher is the narrating subject and the students are the objects, reproduces inequalities and instead of transforming a society, keeps its members oppressed (Freire, 1968). The oppressors in this case may refer to school authority, the government or other power dynamics, which hold some people above others (Diaz, 2018).

Freire's argument on the banking concept of education can be summarised thus:

- Passive learning: when the teacher dominates the class and gives out instructions which students must act on, the banking system makes students passive learners who simply adapt to the world as they see it; as it has been shown to them.
- Killing creativity: when students are not co-creators and participants in the learning process, their creative power is minimised. They are unable to think and this, Freire says, serves the interest of the oppressor who do not care about having the 'world revealed nor to see it transformed' (p.73) because this transformation will undermine their purpose. Banking education therefore provides them the perfect means of avoiding the threat of students coming to realisation or 'conscientizacao' (p.74) of the situation around them.
- Self-deprecating: when the teacher presents herself as the carrier of knowledge, she projects ignorance onto the students who see themselves as empty vessels or incapable of learning anything.

These practices of the banking education mirror an oppressive society and can be likened to the process of colonisation (Aliakbari and Faraji, 2011) where the coloniser imposes itself on the colonised, sees them as an object to be ruled over or exploited and overtime, the colonised accepts themselves as inferior or as Freire (1968, p.56) puts it, 'savages' needing help. Caught in between the duality of being themselves or who they have been conditioned to become (Freire, 1968), the oppressed face a dire dilemma that any education system must acknowledge and seek to solve.

Critical pedagogy, through the problem-posing method, embodies the elements of liberatory education needed to shake off the chains of dehumanisation caused by the banking system (Freire, 1968; Keyel, 2017). Paulo Freire demonstrated this approach in his adult literacy program by teaching labourers using a wide range of instructional aids which helped the learners connect what they knew to what they were learning and 'using their experience and knowledge to lead them from their spontaneous, relatively unorganised, pre-critical knowledge, to a more organised and critical one' (Andreola, 1993, p.222). In learning to read and write, the learners gain a new sense of self-awareness and they begin to 'look critically at the social situation in which they find themselves' and 'take the initiative in acting to transform the society that has denied them this opportunity of participation' (Shaull, 1970, p.30).

The critical pedagogy that Freire proposes allows for an exchange of dialogue in a democratic environment between the teacher and student where they are both learners (Diaz, 2018). Freire's literacy approach is about understanding the world first, before reading the word because the 'world and human beings do not exist apart from each other, they exist in constant interaction' (p.50) . For Freire, literacy is first, a relationship between human beings and the world and the knowledge borne in this is used in language which leads to transformation (Giroux, 1987). Literacy therefore is not a mechanical skill to be acquired as in the banking education, but 'a necessary foundation for cultural action for freedom, a central aspect of what it means to be a self and socially constituted agent' (Giroux, 1987, p.5) as it is this kind of education that transforms a person and their society.

### **Reading the World: Freire's Approach to Teaching Literacy**

In teaching the labourers to read using culture circles, Freire argues that to read words is to read the world around one - texts do not exist in isolation of their context. In these culture circles, adults work in collaborative groups to awaken to their reality and nurture the attempt to change this reality for better through dialogical learning (Freire and Macedo, 1987). He debunks the traditional approach to literacy where students learn to read through phonics, letters and syllables; memorizing vowel sounds, 'as in the exercise "ba-be-bi-bo-bu, la-le-li-lolu"' (Freire and Macedo, 1987, p.23). Like the banking system, he sees it as a process of teaching where the teacher disregards the learners' knowledge and so fills their 'empty' heads with her own words (p.23). In contrast, Freire's critical pedagogy sees the student as a creative subject, in touch with their environment and responsible for constructing their 'own written language and reading this language' (p.23) through their understanding of the world and the words they create from this experience:

Words should be laden with the meaning of the people's existential experience, and not of the teacher's experience... We then give the words back to the people inserted in what I call "codifications," pictures representing real situations... Decodifying or reading the situations pictured leads them to a critical perception of the meaning of culture by leading them to understand how human practice or work transforms the world... (Freire and Macedo, 1987, p.24).

This critical reading of reality equips the learners with an understanding of 'the fatalistic way they sometimes view injustice' (p.36). In this process of conscientisation, the students are not only learning to read and write, they are learning about their world, naming it, interpreting it and asking questions about it to achieve praxis. Critical Pedagogy therefore transcends knowing. It is about societal engagement, creativity, self-awareness, transformation and viewing learning as a process - a continuous exploration and reflection of reality. Critical pedagogy emphasises the role of educators to teach students to think about social injustices so they can improve their world; the educator is always cognitive whether she is planning or

presenting a lesson. Critical pedagogy is a problem-posing education that problematizes issues and leads students through a critical analysis of these issues, it sees students as critical individuals actively involved in their learning through dialogues; a transformative teaching where the students are no longer mere listeners, but co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher and the world around them (Freire, 1968; Rodriguez, 2008;; Diaz, 2018; Styslinger et al., 2019).

As such, critical pedagogy through its emphasis on critical thinking charges educators with a new role of stimulating in their students the possibilities of expression and challenging their discourse about the world and the injustice that might exist in it. However, 'providing students with the skills, knowledge, and authority they need to inquire and act upon what it means to live in a substantive democracy...and to fight deeply rooted injustices' (Giroux, 2004, p.32) requires teachers with the same skills and an equally supportive atmosphere which, according to Freire (1968, p.86), 'must be revolutionary—that is to say, dialogical—from the outset'.

The rest of this chapter will therefore be examining the existing factors that might hinder the wide practice of critical pedagogy in Nigerian classrooms. It begins first by looking at the application of critical pedagogy in contemporary Africa and the underlying elements of its success.

### **Critical Pedagogy in Practice: the Speed School Initiative**

Freire's literacy campaigns in Guinea Bissau and countries outside Latin America (Gadotti, 1994) adds to the image that his strategies have a universal validity. These campaigns have influenced educational practices in contemporary Africa as seen in the Speed School Initiative in the continent founded in 2007. Developed by Geneva Global and financed by the Legatum Foundation, the Speed School is an accelerated learning programme delivered through an innovative pedagogy targeted at improving literacy and reintegrating out-of-school children in Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger into mainstream education (Legatum Foundation, 2006-2020). It has since been expanded to other African countries like Ethiopia, Liberia and Lebanon (Luminos Fund, 2016). Students in these schools undergo an intensive ten-month learning cycle that covers the first

three years of the national curriculum they missed in one year, in classes of no more than 25 students (Center for Education Innovations, 2011); smaller than those in public schools. Their teachers undertake vigorous training as well which is extended to teachers and principals in mainstream schools where Speed School students ought to continue in. This is done to improve education quality in those areas and to aid the transitioning of Speed School students (Street Child, 2017).

Akyeampong et al. (2018) note that the Speed School curriculum has successfully integrated 96% of the 3.7 million children enrolled in the programme into local government primary schools. The pedagogy adopted in Speed School encourages an inclusive, participatory and child-centred learning environment (Westbrook et al., 2013) where students are actively involved in the learning process. The facilitators, fluent in the local languages, are trained to be creative, flexible and employ instructional activities that allow students to speak in their local language, think, work in groups, ask questions and explore their environments (Center for Education Innovations, 2011) in order to solve a problem, rather than lecturing and reproducing the content (Akyeampong et al., 2018). The confidence and resilience the students build from these methods are carried into the mainstream classroom (Rauchwerk, 2017) and study suggests that in addition to being able to cope well with the new learning more than their peers, Speed School graduates assume leadership roles in the classroom and are more likely to complete their studies (Akyeampong et al., 2018).

The Speed School pedagogy could be considered as critical pedagogy in practice. It adopts Freire's literacy circle where students work in groups to observe, think, discuss and find solution to an idea. To achieve praxis, it makes use of dialogue and by adapting the curriculum to fit the political and cultural climate of each country where it is practiced (Center for Innovations, 2011), Speed School pedagogy engages students in reading and understanding their world (Freire and Macedo, 1987). Teachers encouraging interactions in local languages while learning sums up Giroux's (1987, p.5) definition of Freire's approach to literacy and indeed, education as a relationship between humans and the world on one hand, and language and social transformation on the other.

However, it is necessary to state that teachers alone cannot take on the new role of creating spaces for reflective discourse and action thrust on them in a critical pedagogy education unless there are proper structures and conditions that exist to support that role (Giroux, 1987). As with the Speed School, the less pressure on language of instruction, non-formal setting and perhaps its manageable size per class were enabling factors. The need for a critical pedagogy in mainstream Nigerian secondary education and the existing factors and structures constraining its implementation will be highlighted next.

### **Literature Teaching in Nigeria and the 'Colonial Effect'**

This section examines the effect of colonialism on the education system in Nigeria and its effects on pedagogy with a focus on Literature teaching. As earlier noted in this chapter, critical pedagogy emphasises that the teaching of reading can only be relevant if it is situated within a context that engages teacher and student in a dialogical rapport which produces, transforms, and reproduces meaning (Freire, 1985). Hence, Literature, as a subject in secondary schools provides the teacher the creative space to go beyond the mechanical reading of texts and mere exercises on literary devices into a search for a deeper meaning of self. However, studies show that this plays out differently in the Nigerian classroom as students lack critical thinking skills required for such interpretation during and after reading (Uba et al., 2016). This could be blamed on the existing kind of pedagogy, which is teacher-centric in content and delivery (Barnes et al., 2019). In teaching poetry, for example, teachers often begin their lesson by

writing the title of the poem and the name of the author on the chalkboard. He dazzles the innocent students with his erudition on the sociology of the poem. He may read the poem to the class or gets a student to do so. He explains the figures of speech. The lesson ends after he has instructed his students to hunt for figures of speech. (Inyang, 2009, p.81)

This method where the teacher thrusts her or his own understanding of a text onto the students is in sharp contrast with Freire's literacy teaching where students have the creative task of making their own meaning of the words they read. It, however, finds its root in the history of formal education in Nigeria (Khan et al., 2018).

The system of education adopted by the British during the colonial period treated knowledge like a piece of data deposited in another person to achieve a desired result (Sulaiman, 2012). The educators at the time were what Freire (1968) would call authoritarian educators as in the banking system, who do not see the interrelationship between teaching and learning from those who are being taught. The implication of such formal education birthed from imperialism is the assumption that students know nothing, and their experiences are negligible while the teacher is the ultimate body of knowledge. It is this colonial habitus (Ayling, 2019) that has shaped educational practices in Nigeria and indeed many African countries despite years of independence (Aboluwodi, 2015).

Reforming the education delivery system in Nigeria by creating a space that allows for critical discourse and engagement between teacher and student is therefore a crucial move. It is within such space that an emancipatory pedagogy (Giroux, 1987) can emerge. Such pedagogy, as seen in the Speed Schools and Freire's literacy circles does not only teach content but breeds confidence and creativity among learners and it is within that process that the colonial voice will be thrown off.

### **Curriculum, Teacher Education and Textbook Function**

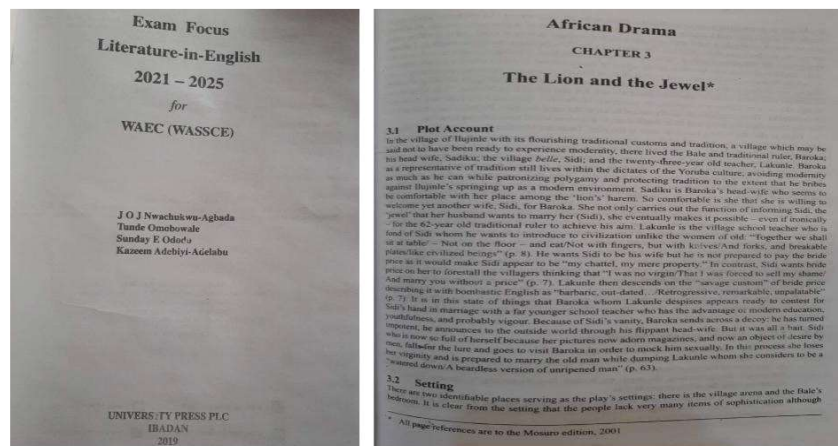
The two elements, quality teacher training and curriculum, which allowed for a successful application of critical pedagogy in Freire's literacy campaign and the Speed School are absent in the teaching of reading and Literature in Nigeria. There are reports on the quality of teachers being produced who, though knowledgeable in their field, lack creativity (Inyang, 2009) and this mirrors the lack of critical thinking in the curriculum of the teacher training institutions that produced them (Ijaiya et al., 2011). Despite existing education policies in Nigeria emphasising the need for highly-skilled, knowledgeable and creative teachers, studies reveal that teachers of Literature do not



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have the necessary skills, reading strategies, techniques or experience (Popoola, 2010; Yusuf, 2016) to teach the subject. This is because the pre-service training of secondary school teachers focuses mostly on knowledge acquisition and hardly on any practical training for teaching strategies (Moreno, 2007) and so secondary teachers become responsible for their own training once they start teaching in schools. This ineptitude that they are thrown into leads to their reliance on textbooks (Aduwa-Ogiegbaen and Iyamu, 2006; Yusuf, 2016). Since teaching from textbooks or the lecture method constitute the basic approach to education, one may need to look at, as Richmond (2007) puts it, the content of what is being taught in Literature classes and how.

The image below is from a textbook widely used by schools and teachers of Literature in classrooms nationwide. It contains notes on *The Lion and The Jewel* by Wole Soyinka, one of the prescribed texts by the West African Examinations Council for Literature teaching in West African senior secondary schools. The title of the textbook, *Exam Focus*, is another issue that will be addressed in the next section.



The curriculum, embedded in textbooks like the one above, is the major resource used by teachers and so it is their responsibility to map out strategies of enacting it in the classroom (Westbrook et al., 2013). Lacking pedagogical approaches to content delivery (Edet, 2019), teachers write the notes on the board as they are in the textbook while

students copy them into their notebooks. The major focus here is on memorising and regurgitating the summary and literary devices on specific pages. There is no room for comprehension and the performance of students are based on how much they can reproduce the same process. This makes it difficult for students to exercise their thoughts, their teachers' and even worse, the foreign texts the curriculum forces on them (Richmond, 2007).

Some of the questions following the notes in the textbook are:

- Discuss the plot of Soyinka's play...
- Give a detailed account of the setting of the play and comment on its significance (Nwachukwu-Agbada et al., 2019, p.101).

These questions, like others structured similarly, do not require any creative response because the answer has already been handed down to the students - the singular aim is to find out how much of the information they can recall and so they pass exams but 'are ill-prepared for the very real and difficult problems their nations must transcend if they are to move forward' (Richmond, 2007, p.5) nor can they engage in critical arguments about the issues around them.

A shift towards critical pedagogy will therefore mean an effective system that prioritises reading and Literature and incorporates critical thinking, creativity and practicality in its curriculum and textbooks for both teacher and student education.

### **Credentialism and the 'Late Development Effect'**

Globalisation is another factor that poses a great threat to the teaching of critical consciousness in schools, especially in developing countries. The World Bank (2003), however, does not seem to realise this. In decrying the unemployability of most Nigerian and African graduates, it suggests change in education which it reports does not equip learners with the skills they need to compete globally in the knowledge economy (World Bank, 2003). Like Freire's critical pedagogy, it advocates for a new type of learning that emphasises collaboration in learning and students' ability to create, interpret and apply knowledge, but with a different agenda. While critical pedagogy says education for self-awareness and transformation, the knowledge economy (Peter and Humes, 2003) preaches education for

profit making and economy progress. This knowledge economy has severe implications for education in developing countries like Nigeria where, in a bid to catch up with the rising wave of globalisation, commodifies education. Schools are reduced to mere dispensers of credentials and engines of economic growth (Giroux, 2008) and they become infested with what Ronald Dore (1976) calls the diploma disease.

Importantly, curriculum and teaching materials like *Exam Focus, Literature-in-English 2021-2025* become exam driven and obliterates creativity. For an education system that already suffers from the influence of past colonial power, the knowledge economy plunges Nigerian education into deeper problems associated with neoliberalism:

- An uncontrollable growing number of private schools and massive enrolment of teachers, trained or untrained, in a bid to meet up with the education demand (Baum et al., 2018).
- More parents sending their children to school for the sole purpose of earning good grades and getting certificates in hope that those will secure them a place in the world market (Okolie et al., 2019).
- Intense competition among schools and the tougher the competition, the more teachers' performance is measured by students' academic records in schools and the more they are pressured into examination-oriented teaching, sticking to the syllabus and exploring all means possible to ensure students pass national exams, even at the risk of examination malpractice (Amaele, 2013; Okolie et al., 2019).

Globalisation therefore cripples the hope of a critical pedagogy that will, beyond equipping students with skills to become better workers, raise their critical consciousness to imagine the possibilities of a different future and reshape the existing structure of the work sector (Giroux H. and Giroux S., 2008) instead of adapting to it as the knowledge economy suggests.

### **Conclusion**

Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy provides the breadth and scope of a radical approach needed to move Nigerian education, and indeed development, from the deep clutches of imperialism and the various ways it manifests itself as examined in this chapter. These relate to colonialism, curriculum and globalisation. Literature teaching or the teaching of reading, if reformed to follow patterns of a critical pedagogy makes for a liberating, reflective and transformative education, but there are ingrained constraints to achieving this. These limitations reflect the problematic system that has, over time, come to be accepted as normal and only dialogue, which requires critical thinking can generate the critical thinking (Freire and Macedo, 1985) needed in challenging the status quo. Thus, one can conclude that in order to initiate spaces for creative conversations and end the reproduction of knowledge in Nigeria, critical pedagogy is needed, but its success depends on social and institutional issues, which must first be resolved.

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## **Chapter Nine**

### **EMPHASISING KISWAHILI AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION FOR EFFECTIVE EDUCATION OUTPUT IN TANZANIA**

*Catherine Hiza*

#### **Introduction**

The use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is usually encouraged by scholars and educationists for its many benefits that include intellectual growth of students and promoting national development, amongst others. In some cases, though, it can lead to problems when not properly implemented. This is the case of Tanzania where Kiswahili is primarily used as the medium of instruction in primary schools with English as a subject of study. However, at the secondary school level, there is usually an abrupt change as students are formerly taught in English, with informal use of Kiswahili. This chapter reviews the language of instruction in schools in Tanzania, highlighting problems for secondary school students due to the switch to English at this level. It proposes continuous use of Kiswahili formally up to university level without neglecting English but allowing it to be offered as a subject. Considering the issues that arise from the switch to English, recommendations in this chapter emphasise that Kiswahili should be taken more seriously and students given the chance to learn in the language without an abrupt change to English in secondary school as their generally weak foundation in it remains a source of a myriad of problems.

#### **Context**

Tanzania is a multilingual nation with over 126 languages spoken. Kiswahili, a language spoken in Uganda, Kenya, Burundi, Mozambique, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Africa was adopted as a national language for the country and as a language of unity. This has been seen as a positive sign, especially

with the upholding of a 'local' language as a lingua franca to unite people with different ethnicities. In this regard, shortly after independence, the language was adopted as the official language of government and also the language of instruction in schools with English used as a subject of study (Barrett, 1994). Over the years, the role of English has come to take a more important place in the Tanzanian educational system with its official use as the medium of instruction in post-primary education. In this wise, the ministry of education's policy notes that “[t]he medium of instruction in pre-primary schools shall be Kiswahili and English shall be a compulsory subject... The medium of instruction for secondary education shall continue to be English except for teaching of other approved languages and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to ordinary level” (MEC 1995, p35, p.45].

The policy aimed at ensuring or institutionalising the use of Kiswahili in the lower level to enable students understand their culture and preserve it. This was also to free Tanzanians from colonial ideologies. The later use English as medium of instruction in secondary education is considered to be good for international participation and as a needed capital after graduating school to obtain jobs.

In 2007, the Ministry of Education published a policy that spoke of the aim of the nation's education as: “Building a nation with high quality of education at all levels; a nation which produces the quantity and quality of educated people sufficiently equipped with the requisite knowledge to solve the societal problems, meet the challenges of development and attain competitiveness at regional and global levels.” By 2015, the Tanzanian government launched a more formal education and training policy (2014) which promised to give more roles to Kiswahili in education. Despite this, the 1995 policy remains in full effect giving more emphasis to English as a medium of instruction in public schools at post-primary levels.

### **Emphasising the Problem**

As noted earlier, the Tanzanian educational system uses two languages in teaching: Kiswahili at the primary level with English taught at post-primary levels. The switch to English at the secondary level is

abrupt without students having a strong knowledge of the language since it was only taught as a subject of study. This is against the projection of the system, which believes that they should be able to know English when no measure has been put in place to actualize this (Msanjila, 1990; Yogi, 2017). Indeed, there is a policy gap during the transition from primary education where language of instruction is Kiswahili to secondary education where language of instruction is English. The current policy does not look at the level of language proficiency most students, particularly those in public schools, have. It is almost taken for granted that children of the affluent can go to private schools where they will learn English or take private lessons while those who are poor will be forced to get what they can learn from the public schools. This latter group forms the majority of students in the public education system.

The majority of students get admission into secondary schools and are meant to learn essential subjects in the sciences and arts like Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology, Physics, Literature-in-English and the like in a language that they can barely have a conversation in (Telli, 2012; Yogi, 2017). Also, the lack of proficiency makes teachers to use rote pedagogic methods that do not aid adequate learning. Yogi (2017) observed that from a series of research, the system of teaching was largely by copying from a blackboard with little communication taking place between the teachers and students. The students would copy verbatim, many times not understanding what they had written and later, failing the examinations.

It is important to note that language plays a crucial role in ensuring students understanding, performance and communicating better in school between themselves and their teachers. Lack of understanding of the English language can cause student's dropouts, repeating classes and even lack of interest. It can also increase the rate of absenteeism in schools. This is noteworthy since Tanzania has a high rate of drop-outs with regards to school children generally and especially with regards to those of lower secondary school age. The number of students reported to start secondary school in 2007 to 2011 for example, was 50.2% of the total population enrolled in school but this number weakened to 35.8% at the time they were entering Form four - one of the reasons for students dropout was listed as the language of

instruction (Gibbons, 2017]. The Human Rights Watch (2017, p.5) notes that “[m]illions of Tanzanian children and adolescents do not gain a secondary education or vocational training. It is estimated that a total of 5.1 million children aged 7 to 17 are out of school, including nearly 1.5 million of lower secondary school age.” Figure 1 presents the dropout statistics for 2012.

**Figure 1: 2012 Percentage of dropouts in secondary schools in Tanzania**

	Form I		Form II		Form III		Form IV		Form V		Form VI	
M	14,144	26.9%	17,249	32.8%	11,878	22.6%	9,004	17.1%	182	0.3%	123	0.2%
F	11,681	27.5%	14,003	33%	9,645	22.7%	6,951	16.4%	85	0.2%	45	0.1%

Source: MoEVT (2013, pp. 87–88)

**Table 2** Total dropouts by numbers and percentage in 2012

	Secondary class level						Total	
	Form I	Form II	Form III	Form IV	Form V	Form VI	Male	Female
Total no. of dropouts per level	25,825	31,252	21,523	15,955	267	168	52,580	42,410
Total % of dropouts per level	27.2%	32.9 %	22.7%	16.8%	0.2%	0.2%	55.4%	46.4%

Source: Vuzo (2018, p .809)

The problems of teaching and learning are however, not exclusive to the linguistic incompetence of the students alone but also includes that of the teachers, most of whom do not have proficiency in the use of English or in teaching generally. In a few select cases, there are teachers who try to translate the English syllabus into Kiswahili for easier understanding by the students. Interestingly, research shows that students were more enthusiastic in learning when teachers balanced the teaching of modules by translating (Hilliard, 2014; Tibategeza and Du Plessis, 2018). The idea of using code-mixing and code-switching is supported by students as it helps them to understand what the teacher is teaching in the class as is seen in Figure 2.

**Figure 2: Excerpt - Code-mixing and Translation for Teaching**

T: "When you go home put some water in a jar, leave it direct on sun rays and observe the decrease of the amount of water. Have you understood?"  
Ss: (silence).  
T: "Nasema, chukua chombo, uweke maji na kiache kwenye jua, maji yatakuaje?"  
(I say take a container with water and leave it out in the sun, what will happen to the water?)  
Ss: "Yatapungua." (It will decrease.)  
T: "Kwa nini?" (Why?)  
Ss: "Yatafyonzwa na mionzi ya jua." (It will be evaporated by the sun's rays.)  
(Rubagumya et al., 1999).

Source: Brick-Utne, 2005, p.11

Unfortunately, using this method of teaching is not particularly emphasized or encouraged by Tanzanian schools and in many scenarios, punitive measures are put in place for anyone who speaks in the vernacular – which refers to any language that is not English (Yogi, 2017; Msanjila, 1990).

The general implication of all of this is that there is increased dropouts and inequality created in society since English is actually offered in private schools and to families that can afford to pay for after-school tutorials with teachers. Such students do better academically and proceed to the university. Upon graduation, these privileged class get jobs while most of their colleagues who had only learnt Kiswahili in the primary school and struggled in secondary school in many cases, do not have the right qualification and therefore remain jobless and/or in mediocre jobs. In turn, this leads to increased poverty in many circles and can increase crime rates when such individuals turn to crime (Barrett, 1994; Yogi, 2017).

### **Recommendations and Conclusion**

There are clear deductions from the above in relation to what could be done to improve the situation, especially for the most vulnerable student groups. Recommendations in this direction include:

1. The Education and Training Policy of 2014 that emphasizes increased roles for teaching and learning Kiswahili should be implemented widely across Tanzania. Kiswahili should be used as a medium of instruction throughout the educational process of students, right up to tertiary institution. This will give students continuity in learning as opposed to having to learn new terms in a language they are not competent in. Relatedly, learning in Kiswahili that is a mother tongue to most of the students will enhance their learning. This is in line with several studies that show that learning in one's mother tongue generally increases learning and academic performance (UNESCO, 2003; Heugh, 2006).
2. Kiswahili should also be used as an entry point examination language in order to enhance its strength in the curriculum. This measure, in particular, will ensure that all students devoid of whether they are in private or public schools will take learning of Kiswahili seriously. In the end, this will promote the language and increase its value in society.
3. The government, non-state actors and schools should invest in training teachers in both Kiswahili and English so that they can have the relevant competence in both languages to effectively teach students for better educational output. This is necessary for current students who are going into the secondary school with only the knowledge of Kiswahili and for younger students too. While this might take considerable resource to achieve, it will be an essential step in the right direction.
4. English should also be given more learning time at the primary school level to enhance students' international opportunities in an increasing globalized world. In essence, giving students a chance to learn English as a foreign language would enable students' access to both languages without destroying their performance in school as the good performance will give them a chance to continue with their education (Hillard, 2015) not just in Tanzania but anywhere else in the world. English clubs can also be created in schools so that students can have an informal platform to practice the language and enhance their

skills in it (Adamson, 2014).

There is no doubt that the obvious problem of the language of instruction in Tanzania is leading to several issues in the educational sector. A determined and deliberate step in adopting Kiswahili as a continuous language of instruction with proper implementation and without neglecting English altogether will lead to overcoming most of these obstacles. This informs the above recommendations. Without taking these steps, there is a high risk of continued failure and dropout rates by students in post-primary institutions sustaining inequalities and other social problems in society. Students' self-confidence will also be shaken and the value of Kiswahili as a national language will be reduced. These all suggest that language must be taken seriously with Kiswahili given a dominant place in the Tanzanian curriculum and as a language of instruction. As emphasised, this would not simply promote the language but enhance learning, inclusion and overall development. in

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**PART III**

**CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND GENDER  
INCLUSION**



## Chapter Ten

### SCOUTING: A CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROGRAMME IN SCHOOLS OF BHUTAN

*Dhorji Lharmo*

#### Introduction

Within two years of its establishment in 1908, Boy Scouts became the biggest youth organization in Britain and by 1914 the biggest youth movement in the world (Pryke, 1998). Over time, the movement has led to creation of two international scout organizations, one for girls (World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts or WAGGGS) and one for both sexes (World Organization of the Scout Movement or WOSM). Together they had 38 million members in 2012 from all over the world (Broström, 2012).

While there are studies on the original Scout movement in Britain and its spread in America and the British Colonies, there are no studies of its influence in countries like Bhutan and others, which do not have a colonial past. Scout programme in Bhutan started in mid-90's in the midst of rising influence of international organizations like the United Nations and World Bank as well as aid from First World countries.

Parson (2005) states that the 'genius' of Lord Baden-Powell, who started the Boy Scouts in Britain, lies in its basic tenet that Scouts are obedient and loyal to authority. From the very beginning, Baden Powell did not link it to any certain kind of authority. For instance in Kenya, the Boy Scouts in the colonial times served the imperial citizenship ideals, after independence it was appropriated for loyalty to the nationalist Kenyan state (Parson, 2005). Therefore, Scouting and its methods comes in handy for national governments in authority to 'control' and 'discipline' population (Foucault, 1977). A similar principle can also be observed in the school-based scout programme of Bhutan, a citizenship-building project with the aim of producing 'obedient' and loyal 'subjects' to the "King, Country and People" (SCED, 2002, p.5).

This chapter is a critical analysis of the school-based Scout programme instituted by the Ministry of Education (MoE) in Bhutan. The main purpose of the chapter is to highlight how citizenship identity is conceptualized within the Scout. It draws on post-structural theories to interrogate the construction of citizenship identities through Scouting. The chapter largely involves a critical textual analysis of the official documents available on the Scouts Cultural and Education Division (SCED) website. The documents referred for this chapter are Handbook for Scoutmasters, 2002, Handbook for Cub masters, 2002, assessment forms for Scouts, resolution of the third and fifth Scouts Conferences held in 2016 and 2018 and the general information available on SCED website.

I became interested in the Scout programme from observing some of my acquaintances, who were Scouts in high school. They assumed important leadership positions in College and later on went on to join the Civil Service which is a coveted job in Bhutan. Currently in my position as administrative staff at a university in Bhutan, I notice that the tradition of assuming leadership positions in Colleges by students who were scouts in high school has continued. As a parent of two school-going children, I am aware that not everybody has access to the Scout programmes in Schools making it an exclusive group.

The chapter will begin by introducing the Scout programme of Bhutan and then it will discuss the theoretical framework adopted for analysis. The rest of the chapter will discuss understandings of gender in the Scout programme. It will also highlight neo-colonial ideas within the Scout programme. Each section of the chapter draws on post structural theorisation of identity, gender and subject formation to interrogate and open up a critical angle to understand the conceptualization of citizenship within the Scout programme. I have also added a small section highlighting the need for empirical research. This chapter will also present the argument that if citizenship education imparted to the children of Bhutan through Scout programme is to create future leaders of a democratic Bhutan, then the present conception or construction of the ideal citizenship needs rethinking.

### **The Institution of Scouting in Bhutan**

The Bhutan Scouts Association (BSA) was established in 1996, under the Youth Guidance and Counselling Section of the Department of Education, MoE (SCED, 2002a). The BSA became a full-fledged member of the World Organization of Scout Movement (WOSM) in 1999 and since then, there has been considerable growth of the association providing leadership programs to the Bhutanese youth (ibid.).

The main reason for instituting citizenship education was because of the rising youth issues and Scouting is thought of as the best method to discipline children. The Handbook for Scoutmasters states “In January 1996, His Majesty, while expressing concern on a number of issues on education, emphasized the need to adopt a systematic and comprehensive programme to address youth related issues. Emanating from this wisdom, and realizing the usefulness and the potential of the Scout programme for the all-round development of youth, Youth guidance and Career counselling Division launched the School based Scout programme in 1996” (2002a, p. 1).

The Scouts activities, according to Scout and Culture Education Division (SCED), is said to be gaining popularity among students with increasing number of students joining the programme. As such, the MoE has started expanding infrastructure to accommodate the growing number of Scouts by construction of a National Scout Centre to conduct national level Scout activities and regional centers to hold regional activities.

Scouting in Bhutan is school-based and open to both girls and boys. It also receives financial support from the government. The Scout activities happen at the national and regional levels but teachers, who are trained as Scout leaders, conduct the regular activities in schools. According to MoE, the scouting programme supports the wholesome development of youth through activities that focus on helping them to develop personal values to pursue excellence and positive attitude towards life.

Some of the regular activities of Scouts are games, skills and crafts. Additionally, Scouts can also take on environmental related projects and social service for the benefit of schools or community. Scouts also conduct advocacy and awareness campaigns on environment and

other issues related to adolescents. In addition to the health and environment education, the Handbook also lists career education and life skills as two other important areas. The scouts have to show that they have explored job opportunities according to their interest and also know how to operate saving accounts (SCED, 2002b, p. 1)

At the national and regional levels, various camps are organized to bring together scouts for fun, educational and adventure activities. Scouts also participate in the observations of global and national days of significance. A selective group of scouts also participates in international events outside of the country.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Drawing from Weedon's theory on identity creation, the institution of Scouting in Bhutan, is a state institution creating powerful imageries of the nation and of the ideal citizen identity (2004). Weedon (2004) states that identities are 'on offer' and subjects are called forth to join and conform by using emotional and rational forms of identification. Additionally Althusser's notion of 'interpellation' as explained by Weedon is also useful to understand that in conforming to the ideal citizen, children become both the 'agent' and the 'subject' of citizen character ascribed to them. They will first imbibe what is being ascribed and as future leaders propound the same ideals to the next generation of children.

The conceptualization of identity is as something relational and always dependent on differences it creates. The Scout programme actively creates the Scout identity as opposed to those that are not part of it through its ways of dressing, performing the acts of a dutiful Scout and being faithful to religious precepts (Hall, 2000; Butler, 1989).

Mechanism such as militaristic hierarchy and Scout promise and law, in Foucauldian terms, are used to discipline and form the ideal citizen subject (1977). The regimented space of the Scout institution constructs an enclosed space and that same space is further subdivided into units called Troops and Patrols. Foucault (1977, p.141) states, that “[d]iscipline sometimes requires enclosure. The specification of a space heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself”. Both the body and the mind is trained within the enclosure of the Scout space and the ideal citizen is akin to a soldier who is always ready to serve and



follow orders.

The Scout programme supported by international development agencies imbibed dominant discourse of 'active youth' citizenship. Within this development discourse is also the perpetuation of the heteronormative view of gender (Butler, 1990). On the whole, this chapter is an attempt at understanding the power of institutions, reiteration of the dominant discourse of citizenship and construction of children within this discourse as governable subjects (Foucault, 1977).

### **Production of Responsible Citizens**

Children are often described as citizens-in-the-making (Marshall as cited in Mills, 2011). They occupy a space outside the actual citizen, which in a modern imaginary is a responsible adult. This notion can be interpreted as an exclusionary position created by the adults and modern institutions for children (ibid.). The same notion is also used by international development organizations in their approach to children and therefore discourse surrounding young people such as 'dealing' with youth, 'preparing' youth for adulthood, 'guiding' the youth, preparing 'future' leaders of the country become legitimized (e.g. SDGs). The Scout Programme in Bhutan typifies the notion of 'preparing' young children as future citizens and makes it explicit in the vision statement:

The mission of Bhutan Scouts Association is to provide education for the wholesome development of young Bhutanese through meaningful integration of our values and Scout Promise and Law to produce responsible citizens to protect, strengthen, and diligently serve the Tsa-Wa-Sum<sup>1</sup> thereby contribute to the fulfillment of our beloved King's vision of Gross National Happiness. (SCED, 2002a, p. 5).

The invocation of traditional values and loyalty to the king, country and people are very much in line with the nationalistic goals that the initial Scout movement of Britain promoted. Pryke (1998) states that the sentiment of nationalism in the Scout movement was central to the organization and informed virtually every aspect of its ethos and practice. These notions of nationalism is a play on the emotions to

recruit willing subjects (Weedon, 2004). It may also be interpreted as 'interpellation' of individuals as citizens of a particular nation (Althusser 1971 as cited in Weedon, 2004). Implicit in this act of recruiting/interpellation is the loss of agency of the children and they become willing subjects (ibid.). Children are hailed to serve the nation but not to participate in the creation of it. Such actions are legitimated by the notion that children need to be guided and taught.

About the question of what constitutes a good citizen, the Scout Promise and Law states the following:

On My Honour, I promise that I will do my best,  
To do my duty to *Kenchosum* (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha)  
Duty to *Tsa-wa-sum* (King, Country and People),  
Duty to self, parents, others and To obey the Scout Law

The Scout Law states:

A Scout is trustworthy.  
A Scout is loyal to the *Tsa-wa-sum*.  
A Scout is a friend to all and a brother/sister to every other scout. A Scout is polite and considerate.  
A Scout is kind to animals and loves nature. A Scout is self-disciplined. A Scout is cheerful under all difficulties. A Scout is thrifty.  
A Scout is pure in thought, word and deed (SCED, 2002, p. 6)

These are the codified laws of the Scout programme. The laws and promises helps in constructing a distinct notion of citizenship. The ideal citizen is someone who is 'duty bound' to the institution of family, country, the king, religion and the rest of the people of the country. The laws and promises are mechanisms that train children to be obedient and self-disciplined (Foucault, 1977). There is no physical force used but the subtle force of the idea of citizenship carefully constructed by the Scout institution which plays on the mind of the children is way more powerful 'technique' of disciplining (ibid).

Here again the silence of the children becomes accentuated - the ideal citizen is someone who does not reflect, does not articulate his or her thoughts, and will blindly follow what he or she is told. What

comes to the fore from the previous and this section is that the Scout programme is building a character of compliance and culture of silence. This, in many ways is counterproductive to the dream of producing the future leaders of a democratic Bhutan. Unlike the 'docile subject', a democratic citizen needs to have critical thinking abilities - who will not blindly follow but question and offer alternative ways of living.

### **The 'Constitutive Others' of a Scout**

Hall (2000) theorizes that identities do not have a stable core but rather feed on the differences they create. Within this theorization of identity, Scouting as an institution first constructs itself as an exclusive club where a different set of laws and codes are maintained. It has visual dimensions of identity such as uniforms, scarves and badges. Although Scouting is said to be voluntary, one of the responsibilities of the Scoutmasters who are also school teachers is to annually recruit new scout members, which implies that there are certain criteria based on which students are recruited (SCED, website, 2018). Through these mechanisms the Scout institution constructs its distinct image and in doing so separate itself from the rest who are not part of it - the 'constitutive other' (ibid.).

The immediate 'other' of Scouting are those children who do not gain entry and there are those who are out of the school system. According to the Annual Education Statistics (AES), 2018, there are 55,587 students of preprimary to Class XII as Scout members whereas there are a total of 167,108 students in that range (Policy and Planning Division, 2018,) making only 33% of the total students Scout members. Scouting is a state-funded citizenship education in Bhutan and therefore, the issue of equitable access becomes important.

The use of religion is one of the methods of identification and exclusion (Hall, 2000). Although the Handbook for Scoutmaster (2002a, p.3) claims "The Scout Movement is a voluntary, non-political educational movement for young people, open to all without distinction of origin, race, colour, class, caste, religion or creed", the Scout law states that a Scout should be dutiful to the *Buddha, Dharma and Sangha* which is a Buddhist precept. Furthermore, the Scout law

states that a “Scout is Pure in thought, word and deed”, which has biblical connotations and therefore, children from other faiths other than Buddhism and Christianity are excluded, at least symbolically. Mills (2009) points out that the religious aspect of Scouting has been contentious since the beginning of the Scout movement in Britain wherein religion and faith were used as a self-disciplinary mechanism but at the same time worked as exclusionary method.

Coming back to Hall (2000), the Scout programme with its various exclusionary mechanisms creates a boundary between the Scouts and those that are not. The Scouts are the ideal citizens and by virtue of being Scouts they enjoy certain advantages like being favored by authorities and placed in leadership roles. On the contrary, the 'others' who are not Scouts and by extension not the 'ideal citizens' suffer exclusion. Such theorization helps to understand the implication of Scout as a citizenship building project and expose the shortcomings in the programme.

#### **Militaristic (Masculinist) Rituals of Scout Programme**

The Scouts movement, since its inception by Lord Robert Baden-Powell, has faced criticism about the movement as a promotion of militarism (Rosenthal, 1986). The criticism stems from the fact that Lord Robert Baden-Powell was part of the Colonial Army and is said to have served more than 20 years fighting and spying (Scouting) in an array of British Colonial Wars (ibid.). Accordingly, Springhall (1971) stated that the Scouts Movement in Britain was a paramilitary organization that grew in the shadows of the possible German invasion to prepare young boys for the impending war. Rosenthal (1986) traces the link between Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts to Boys Brigade of 1883. The Boys Brigade was a youth movement established in 1883 by William Alexander Smith to train and discipline working class boys of Glasgow (ibid.). William Alexander Smith was a devout Protestant, strict disciplinarian who was both an officer in the first Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers and an enthusiastic member of the Young Men's Christian Association (ibid.). From this historical perspective, it is quite obvious that the Scout movement has its roots deep in the military.

The Scout Programme in Bhutan has maintained the militaristic mechanisms in the form of military hierarchical system and military practices such as drills, investiture ceremonies, use of badges and uniforms, recitation of the Scout law and promise, scout flag, scout salute, scout left handshake and importance attached to physical fitness (SCED, 2002a). The handbook outlines the hierarchical arrangement of Scout members; members belong to a 'Troop', which is divided into 'Patrols' and Leaders. Every Troop has a Court-of-Honour where the Troop Leader functions as the Chairman (ibid., p.6). The leaders get to wear certain kind of badge. There are precise instructions to wear the badge - "He/She shall wear a PL badge of white cloth with two vertical green stripes measuring 6cm long and 1.5cm wide. This shall be worn on the left-hand pocket" (ibid., p.6). A new recruit's first experience is a typical military style oath taking or a commitment ceremony where the new member has to recite the scout promise and law (Bhutan. SCED, 2002).

In addition to the codified laws and promises of the scout as a means of disciplining the mind of the children, the militaristic mechanism is an additional layer, which works to discipline both the body and the mind (Foucault, 1977). Foucault (1977, p.140) states "discipline proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space and to achieve that end employs several techniques". The military system of the Scout is the space where children are 'enclosed' and the details of uniforms, badges, ceremonies and drills are the minute 'techniques' of fitting them within the Scout space. The divisions within the Scout -Troops, Patrols and Units are the minute distribution of space which makes it easier for the Scout Institution to manage while disciplining. This leads to the notion of 'docile bodies' because the children are placed within the enclosure of the military regime of the Scout institution and transformed to fit the ideal model of citizen which could be of use to the nation (ibid.).

One of the distinct character of the militaristic imaginary created by the Scout Institution is the prominence of the masculine gender. The ideal model of a Scout is a masculine male body of a soldier. This in turn then leads to the notion that the ideal citizen is the male. In projecting this ideal male citizen the other various forms of gender are relegated to a lower position in the citizenship space (Butler, 1989).

The following section will discuss in more detail the aspect of gender in the Scout institution.

### **Re-Imagining the Scout: the Inclusion of Females**

Historically, Scouting started as an all boys' institution in Britain (Mills, 2011). A 'model' Scout citizen was distinctly male. It was a strong combination of patriotism, patriarchy and empire. Baden-Powell believed that the growth of city life produced lazy and weak men that did not fit with male masculine ideals of the British Empire (Pryke, 1998; Watt, 2007). Baden-Powell became aware of the physical weaknesses of the British Army during the Boer War and was fearful of the possible decline of the Empire if left in the hands of 'unhealthy and lackluster' male youth (Mills, 2011). Despite growing women's rights and women's suffrage movements Scouting remained fixed on the gendered ideologies of the early twentieth-century Britain (ibid.).

The early records of girl scouts are those of girls forming groups on their own, stitching their own imitation of the boy scouts uniform and getting together on weekends and performing the same activities of hiking, making fire, cooking in the wild as the boy scouts (ibid.). These acts demonstrate that the ideology of scouting had the same appeal to girls. It was their way of seeking belongingness to that identity although they were barred from the official Scouting space. However, the historical account of girl scouts persistently seeking entry into the official instituting of scouting through letters and sometimes through circumventing the recruitment procedures did result in the eventual formation of what is known as the 'Girl Guide' in 1910 in Britain as a 'sister' branch of the Boy Scouts (Warren, 1990; Jeal, 1991 as cited in Mills, 2011). Although the two organizations were both geared towards citizenship building, how they were trained had very distinct gendered approach by the authorities. If the Boy Scout accentuated the typical masculine ideals so did the Girl Guide of the feminine ideal reiterating the heteronormative binary (Butler, 1990).

Annual Education Statistics, 2018 of MoE recorded 30,946 girls and 24,641 boys making it 55% girls and 45% boys (Policy and Planning Division, 2018). Given the overt militaristic appeal and other masculine attributes of the Scouting institution in Bhutan, one

might anticipate the other way round of gender representation. The gender situation of Scouts in Bhutan can be attributed to the development discourse in the 1990s. As mentioned in the introductory section, Bhutan formally started Scout movement in 1996 (SCED, 2002a, p. 3). The 1990s was the period Bhutan took part in the World Declaration on Education in Jomtien and was bound by the global obligations of Education For All (EFA) (Ninnes et al., 2007 cited in Education in Bhutan: Culture, Schooling and GNH, 2016). Following the declaration, Bhutan highlighted gender equity in access to education in its seventh five-year plan as one of the key objectives (GNHC, 2018).

The other influence on gender was due to the heavy presence of international organizations such as the UN, World Bank and Save the Children in the 1990s as well as bilateral aid agencies from first world countries such as Canada, Switzerland, New Zealand and Denmark all contributing to the education sector of Bhutan (Schuelka and Maxwell, 2016). In fact the two key documents of Scouting in Bhutan, the handbook for Scout and cub masters were both printed with the support from UNICEF (SCED, 2002,). It is noteworthy that Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) funded the Scout movement from 1990 to 2013 (Schuelka and Maxwell, 2016). Therefore, the emergence of scout movement in Bhutan within this atmosphere of heightened awareness of gender in development planning due to strong presence of international donor support have contributed to the participation and inclusion of the girls in Scout programme.

The early Scout movement of Britain, bound up in the patriarchal-empire or the Scout programme of Bhutan, growing under the shadow of international development agencies, both are implicated by the dominant discourse of gender of the time. The Scout movement of Britain could not accept girls and therefore ended up creating the Girls Guide. This is a manifestation of the heteronormative binary notion of gender. Citizenship in this way is implicated by the binary notion where the male assumes a higher position and women the lower, and the rest that do not conform to this binary are not even visible within the citizenship space (Butler, 1990). In the case of the Scout institution of Bhutan too it reproduces/reinforces the heteronormative binary and

forecloses citizenship education to all those that do not conform to that binary (Butler, 1990). Such foreclosure, according to Butler (2009) leads to 'precarious lives' - lives of those who do not conform are constantly under threat from state institutions, social stigmatization and most of all their basic citizenship rights are questioned (ibid.).

### **British History for Bhutanese Children**

The Scout programme in Bhutan has retained many of the features of the initial Scout Movement of Britain including the militaristic structure, importance of outdoor activities, and the nationalistic motive. In addition to these features, Bhutan Scout programme has strong reference to the story of Baden-Powell and he is propped as the model scout. The handbook for Scoutmasters says “BP was a man, national hero in the context of the place and times, who returned to England after many years abroad. He was struck by the state of the people, in particular in the poor areas of London affected by poverty, overcrowding, and crime and so on.

He realizes that these collective and individual “failings” sapped the very foundations of society, placing it in great danger and compromising its future. The way to correct these collective and individual “failings” was through the “education of citizens” (2002a, p, 2). The assessment test requires scouts members to know the story of Baden-Powell to move to the next stage of scouting (SCED, 2002d, p. 2). Additionally, for the Cub Scouts, which is for the children of younger age groups, Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book* is a reference book. The Cubs have to “[d]emonstrate any three characters from *Jungle Book*” (SCED, 2002c, p. 1) to move to the next level of scouting. To earn the membership badge the scouts have to learn “Baden-Powell's boyhood and School Career” (2002a, p.14). While it is tempting to brand the strong British elements in the Scout programme of Bhutan as a form of neocolonialism, it is definitely an area that needs in-depth study to understand the relevance of British imperial values and why it has been retained. Both Baden-Powell, a typical man of the old British Empire, and Rudyard Kipling, whose writings are said to be rooted in the British empire's idea of race and the inferiority of the non-Europeans (Crook as cited in Nyman, 2001) are out of place for 21<sup>st</sup> Century youth and children of Bhutan.



### **The Need for Empirical Research**

The Scout institution by being a state funded citizenship project has acquired certain prestige and its popularity is growing among the students. While a lot has been learnt just from analysing the official document of Scout to understand how it conceptualizes citizenship, there certainly is scope and need for in-depth empirical work. For instance, a study of the perspectives of parents, teachers, students and Scouts themselves on how they understand citizenship and Scouting would be of great value to rethink and restructure the Scout programme. Empirical research would also be a useful for exploring the impact and implications of Scout activity such as camping, adventure trips, exploring and observing nature on identity formation.

A key activity of Scouting for example is the exploration and observation of nature. What is the connection between observing nature and citizenship building? Is it an embodied practice of 'observing' others while Scout themselves are being observed and governed? Or does the act of observing nature stem from the Eurocentric notion of man's ability to tame nature? If so, it would be interesting to juxtapose that with the cultural practices in Bhutan where the relationship between man and nature is more along spiritual lines. Empirical research would be helpful in relation to this. As mentioned briefly in the section where I discussed the imposition of British values through Scouting, it certainly is a matter of great curiosity as to why Lord Baden Powell has been positioned as the model Scout. Therefore, an exploration into how Scouts relate to such a role model who is far removed socially, culturally and historically from Bhutanese youth would be interesting as well.

### **Conclusion**

The dominant concept that seems to drive the Scout institution is that children are incomplete beings and therefore incomplete citizens. They are also seen as potentially dangerous and therefore they need to be regimented and disciplined. Within such conceptions, children lose agency and are not able to voice their opinions. Their daily social experience of the world around them is not valued and it is not accounted for. When the government adopt such conceptions of

children as lesser beings they become subjected to the ideals put forth by government institutions. Within this power relation of the adults-institutions and the children at the end of the other spectrum, their space for meaningful participation to construct the world they will inherit is constricted.

The post-structural theorization employed in understanding citizenship opens up ways to interrogate the power structure shaped by dominant discourse. As discussed in the chapter, the institution of Scout is nothing but a construct of the dominant discourse of how the education sector view children as needing to be inducted into the citizenship space. Throughout the process of training to 'become' the ideal citizen they are silent or rather silenced.

For Bhutan and for that matter any country that claims to be democratic, there is a need for a different approach to children and citizenship education. There is need for development of institutions that makes space for children to voice their opinion, share their experience and dreams rather than being imposed by the ideals of the adults. There are already prominent examples like Greta Thunberg of Sweden at the age of 15 demanding climate justice and in the process inspiring young people around the world to stand up and make demands on their governments. This goes to show that children are knowledgeable and capable of contributing to development.

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## Chapter Eleven

### ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE OF UNIFICATION EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

*Tia Han*

#### Introduction

Unification Education (UE) matters in the Republic of Korea (South Korea hereafter) because the country has technically been in a state of war with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (henceforth North Korea) since the Korean War, which began in 1950, ended with a ceasefire in 1953. The two Koreas remain divided politically, economically, and socially with recurrent tensions and threats to lasting peace on the peninsula. In such a situation, neither party is free from military threat. The situation has resulted in both sides requiring every young able-bodied man to serve in the military for two years and ten years in South and North Korea, respectively.

Since Korea was divided more than 70 years ago, relations between the North and South have become an important geopolitical issue. This is especially true among the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, as well as in the United States of America (US). Thus, peace in the Korean peninsula means stability in Asia and the western world. The South Korean government is aware of the need and has tried to establish peace in the peninsula through unification education. The education content, however, is dependent on the current government's policy toward North Korea.

Growing up in North Korea, my feelings toward unification were not something I could decide on my own. Our attitude was already predetermined by political leaders; I and others were to comply with their decision. I was taught in school that the yearning for unification was mutual between North and South Korea, but the United States prevented us from being unified. Needless to say, I never wondered what kind of government we would have in a unified Korea; it would be a communist government, without question.

When I came to South Korea, however, people started asking me if I wanted unification, as if it were something I could decide. A few years into life in South Korea, I realized that the majority of young people did not want unification. Those who were against unification were concerned that they would have to pay higher taxes, while others supported unification for the economic benefits it might bring them through a combined economy that drew on the North's natural resources and the South's technological development.

I was shocked by the selfishness on both sides. Influenced by my education in the North, I believed that unification was about more than economic benefits. To me, it was more about relieving crippling national pain. As citizens of the Korean peninsula, I believed that we all experienced that pain. To be frank, I wanted South Koreans to share in my pain and support unification. I still hope more people want unification because I want to see my family again. I will not be able to see them again unless either I put myself and my family in great danger or unification happens. I hope that the government acts to relieve the pain of families separated by the Korean War and that of North Korean defectors like me.

Article 4 of the Korean constitution states that the nation 'shall seek unification and shall formulate and carry out a policy of peaceful unification based on the free democratic basic order' (The Republic of Korea, 1987). With this national aim, the Korean government passed the Unification Education Support Act in 1999 to reinforce the importance of unification in the divided peninsula. The purpose of this chapter is to critically examine the UE curriculum in South Korea by thematically analysing the curriculum. First, it will examine the historical context of the country in relation to UE to provide background knowledge of South Korea. Drawing from curriculum theorists, it will then review the unification education curriculum through various lenses: as a vehicle of shifting values and ideologies; as a way of producing particular people (subjectivity of UE); and as a tool for preferring some knowledge/notions of truth over others (exclusion of UE).

### **Intersections of Curriculum: A Theoretical Framework**

Although education on the surface might seem neutral and benign, Apple (2009) states that teaching and learning are never neutral processes and the selection of knowledge is inherently ideological and political. He argues that education is closely tied to the operation of asymmetrical power and relationships and particular interests and values (Apple, 2009). He describes that 'the language of learning tends to be apolitical and ahistorical, thus hiding the complex nexus of political and economic power and resources that lies behind a considerable amount of curriculum organization and selection' (Apple 2009, p.28). Similarly, Williams (1961 cited in Apple, 2009, p.27) writes that 'the common prescription of education, as the key to change, ignores the fact that the form and content of education are affected, and in some cases determined, by the actual systems of [political] decision and [economic] maintenance'. As such, Bernstein (1977), p.85 writes that 'how a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control'. Likewise, Popkewitz (1997) argues that the function of education is to regulate and discipline individuals.

An analysis of the UE curriculum in South Korea indeed invites attention to the intersection of education with cultural, political, and socioeconomic trends. Schools and curricula are often seen as neutral, providing equal opportunities for all students to pursue social and economic mobility (Giroux 1982), but, as I will discuss in this chapter, curriculum, especially the unification education curriculum in South Korea, has always been a contested site of struggle. UE in South Korea tries to construct and perpetuate the imagined society of unified Korea in the name of national unity. This notion of the 'nation,' or, as Anderson (1993) calls it, an 'imagined political community,' is a constructed narrative.

Education is a key institution in the construction of that narrative of the nation as a homogenous community. One of the 100 policy tasks of the current South Korean administration is 'to create a national consensus and conclude a national pact on unification' (Korean Culture and Information Service 2017, p.26). Camicia and Franklin (2011) write that 'education has been a tool for perpetuating national

myths that construct and maintain imagined consensus in, on the surface, the name of national unity' (Camicia and Franklin 2011). Indeed, the UE curriculum attempts to create national consensus in the name of national unity, and this notion of nation is in line with one of the global indicators in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that promotes global citizenship education (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation 2019).

### **Historical Background of the Republic of Korea**

To examine the understanding of unification education as peace education, it is necessary to first understand Korean history. The current South Korean government sees the matter of unification as a national mission to relieve the pain of separated families. The government also understands the geopolitical complexity, which resulted from the intervention of powerful neighbouring countries in the process of division during the Cold War (Ministry of Unification 2018). Historically, the Korean peninsula has been one of the most complex geopolitical challenges (Galtung 1985). The Korean peninsula is often described as a shrimp between whales, or superpowers, and this view brought about an inevitable shift in Korean national identity.

So et al (2012) writes that the Korean national identity has changed constantly over time. First, it was deeply influenced by Chinese Confucianism. It was then forced to take a Japanese identity, which was met with strong resistance by many Korean nationalists. Furthermore, with the withdrawal of Japan from the Korean peninsula after the Second World War, the Cold War started, and Asia became one of the focal points (Cumings 1986). To fight against communist ideology during the Cold War, Americans sent a tremendous amount of humanitarian aid to South Korea, which inevitably shifted Korean identity once again. Such change is still present in the Korean national education system (UNESCO and MGIEP 2017). Cumings (1986) and Galtung (1985) argue that the division of the Korean peninsula is within the context of the Cold War system and it was a superpower convenience (Cumings 1986 and Galtung 1985). In other words, Koreans in the North and the South are living out the consequences of decisions made by superpowers.

Korea was under Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945. Cumings (1997) reports that, supported by British and Americans, Japan had a “free hand” in Korea because of its victories over China and Russia. The Japanese protectorate tried to “Japanize” Koreans by forcing them to speak the Japanese language and replacing their Korean family names with Japanese last names. As Cumings (1997) writes, 'Japanese imperialism stuck a knife in old Korea and twisted it, and that wound has gnawed at the Korean national identity ever since' (p.140).

Although Korea gained its independence from Japan with the end of the Second World War, Korea was divided because of the Cold War, and South Koreans experienced political turmoil while North Korea was reinforcing its dictatorship. Kang (2018) argues that this division made national unification a common political slogan in both South and North Korea. With the aim of reunifying the Korean peninsula under the communist rule, North Korea, under the leadership of Kim Il Sung, the founder of Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), attacked South Korea in 1950. The physical war ended with an armistice in July 1953. To this date, however, the peninsula not only remains divided but also technically still at war. Living in such a unique situation, Koreans have longed for reunification and have worked to make this dream a reality.

South Korea established UE as part of the national curriculum to recover Korean homogeneity and continuously support the possibility of unification. Unification educationalists argue that because Korea was a united nation before the Cold War, 'a national Korean identity can be formed only when it is brought back to its original state' (So et al 2012, p.801). Even though the current South Korean government has tried to establish more sustainable peace on the Korean Peninsula, South Koreans remain cautious of their northern neighbour since both sides are still at war. Kang (2018) points out that such unease dominates and shapes South Korean society, including its political ideologies, culture, and media, and the promotion of peace is legitimized with the logic of national prosperity and military power (Kang 2018).



## **Overview of Unification Education in South Korea**

### **• *Definition of Unification Education***

After the Korean War (1950-1953), thousands of families were divided and remain separated to this very day. Since the division, both the North and South Korean governments have set unification of the peninsula as their national goal. Article 3 of the South Korean Constitution states that the territory of South Korea is the entire Korean peninsula and Article 4 states that South Korea aims to achieve peaceful unification based on principles of a free democratic order. Meanwhile, North Korea also claims the entire peninsula as its territory and Article 9 of the North Korean Constitution states that it aims to achieve peaceful unification under communism. While it might be interesting to do a further study on how both Koreas handle unification education, this chapter will focus on that of South Korea..

The Unification Education Support Act, promulgated in 1999 under the spirit of the South Korean Constitution, defines unification education as an education that 'helps the people foster the sense of values and attitudes required to achieve the unification of South and North Korea, based on the belief in free democracy, consciousness of the national community, and sound awareness of national security' (Ministry of Unification [MoE] 2018b). UE aims to foster a positive sense of values and attitudes towards unification, by promoting future-oriented perspectives on unification, a healthy perspective on national security, and a balanced view on North Korea (Ministry of Unification [MoU] 2016). Kang (2018), however, argues that the UE curriculum should try to deliver 'proper knowledge,' or historical background of the division of the peninsula, to students, rather than just focusing on the cultivation of attitudes and values for unification.

### **• *The Delivery of Unification Education is***

In order to promote the national will to achieve peaceful unification, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Unification cooperate in delivering UE to schools. The Institute for Unification Education (IUE), belonging to the Ministry of Unification, is in charge of national unification education in South Korea and offers six in-class programs. The School Unification Education Division is one of them. The division supports and manages UE at schools and universities,

following guidelines and curricula written by the MoU in order to lay a foundation for successful UE.

The national curriculum of South Korea states that UE 'should be incorporated into the entire educational program including subject-area teachings and Creative Experiential Activities, and should be delivered in collaboration with families and local communities' (MoE 2015, p.8). Unification education is covered as one of the cross-cultural themes in all subjects and is an option for students as part of their Creative Experiential Activities or extracurricular activities.

IUE also has set up regional unification education centres to educate the general public about unification as well as to collect and furnish information pertaining to unification education (MoU 2019). There are eighteen regional unification education centres throughout the country and twelve unification halls in order to increase the 'healthy perspectives and balanced views on daily lives' of North Korean residents (IUE 2019). Most importantly, the will of students and the general public for unification is measured at the end of each UE program to evaluate whether unification education programs bring changes to the attitudes and behaviour of people.

The absence of peace education could be detrimental to the sustainability of a peaceful society. However, as Novelli and Higgins (2017) show, peace education is not benign. The rest of this chapter will thus interrogate the so-called 'neutrality' of UE. Because it aims to shift the will of the people towards unification, the curriculum inevitably intersect with socio-historical, political, and economic contexts which altogether contribute to the construction of a particular national identity.

### **Intersection of Unification Education with Historical, Political and Economic Contexts**

• *Changes in Educational Objectives and Definition of Peace: Unification Education as a Vehicle of Particular Values and Ideologies*  
Analyses of the changing definition of peace and objectives of unification education (UE) indicate that UE has been a site of shifting political values over time. Depending on inter-Korean relations and the South Korean government's policy toward North Korea, the definition of peace in relation to UE has changed over time from anti-

communism (unification by military force) to being free from military threat and instead having economic prosperity and co-existence. This shift inevitably changed the goals of UE. Examining the interrelated nature of the peace process and UE in Korea, Kang (2018) chronologically analyses the changes of UE in five periods. From its division to the early 1970s, there was no presence of peace in UE in South Korea. UE during this time emphasized promoting a strong sense of hostility against communism, and being anti-communism meant staying patriotic for the nation. People who lived through the Korean War grew up with slogans such as "Let's defeat communism." The purpose of UE was to destroy communism in the North and establish unification by military force. Cho (2007) states that a major focus of the UE during this period was to educate its people about anti-communism and achieving victory against communism in every context.

Kang (2018) states that with the era of détente, particularly after the United States and China normalized relations, both Koreas released a July 4 Joint Statement in which they highlighted the principles of "independence, peace, and national unity," and agreed to overcome the division through their own efforts, free from interference of great powers. Although the two Koreas announced the joint statement, it failed to produce inter-Korean reconciliation and peace because while Kim Il Sung announced Juche philosophy in North Korea, Park Chung Hee declared the October Yushin. According to Kang (2018, p.142). '[t]his made both authoritarian regimes more politically rigid', resulting in the UE becoming enshrined in crudely strengthened anti-communism

During the Yushin period to the June Struggle, a nationwide democracy movement in 1987, UE was treated as national security education for the maintenance of the regime. After losing his wife to a North Korean assassin, President Park declared the October Yushin and renounced Western democracy. Park installed a military government after abolishing direct presidential elections and denouncing democracy. The newly established military government treated UE as part of national security education. The military government justified its military dictatorship by emphasizing the need to protect the country from a militaristic North, and anti-

communism sentiment was reinforced (Kang, 2013).

President Chun Doo-hwan followed his predecessor's footsteps on UE and exaggerated the North Korean threat to build an atmosphere of fear under the 'principles of reunification after construction' (Kang, 2018). UE in this period focused on ideological indoctrination against communism and military security while strengthening internal cohesion. The following illustrates this:

In order to break down the invasion of communism and achieve peaceful reunification, there must be a spirited determination of the people... It is very important to make democracy a way of life in establishing national unity and unity of the people... On the other hand, since the democracy is an idea developed in the West, the historical, cultural, and social conditions of our country should be taken into consideration in order to develop in accordance with the reality of our country... Our October Yushin is a measure to inculcate democracy in accordance with our constitution... The most important thing here is the conscious attitude of the people, making devoted efforts, that they should keep their historical mission and protect their peaceful reunification from the threat of invasion of communism (Ministry of Education 1973, cited in Kang 2018, p.143-144).

The efforts of the democratization movement ended the military dictatorship in South Korea in 1987 and democracy was reinstated. After the Seoul Olympics in 1988, the Berlin Wall, the symbol of the Cold War, was demolished in 1989. As a détente atmosphere flooded in, the inter-Korean relation warmed up and a popular unification movement was formed in South Korea under the motto of "Go to North Korea, Come to our South," (Kang 2018).

After undergoing a long period of political turmoil, South Koreans were ready for peace in the Korean peninsula. Determined to bring peace, Kim Dae Jung's policy in North Korea, called the Sunshine Policy, managed to bring North Korea to the negotiating table and some peace was realized. While it remains controversial whether this policy helped the North develop a nuclear weapon, the president's contribution to peace in the Korean peninsula was acknowledged with

the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000. The Roh Moo Hyun government continued the policy. During the Roh period, UE was centred on moral education and tried to promote emotional unification based on national homogeneity and the pain of separated families during the Korean War.

With the North's nuclear experiments in late 1990s, however, the Bush administration defined North Korea as part of the axis of evil (Moon, 2012). When Lee Myung-bak was elected president in 2007, the dialogue channel was cut off, and tension and military threats replaced peace on the peninsula. Thus, UE focused on national security rather than peace. Park Geun-hye's administration followed the same political values. UE during this time was the same as security education in nature. Although the same "peaceful unification" term was used, the volume of peaceful unification in school textbooks was reduced, and negative images of North Korea as a regressive system were added (Choi and Kim 2018).

The impeachment of Park Geun-hye in 2017 came with the Moon Jae-in administration implementing the Open Door Policy toward North Korea and brought a peaceful mood in the peninsula, which inevitably shifted the focus of UE again. The current government pursues peace in the Korean peninsula and prosperity and coexistence with the North through economic cooperation. However, this does not mean that South Koreans do not feel the military threat from their northern neighbour. A survey conducted in 2018 showed that freedom from military threat ranked as a top reason for the need for unification (IUE 2018). Indeed, the purpose of UE is contested and uncertain, as it has changed over time. As much as UE has shifted according to inter-Korean relations, the UE curriculum is designed to encourage particular beliefs and attitudes.

• *Subjectivity: Unification Education as a Way of Producing Particular People*

Popkewitz states that 'in the history of curriculum and particularly social studies, citizenship education was a social project to administer the soul. ... Curriculum as a governing practice becomes almost self-evident as we think of the "making" of the proper citizen. This citizen is one who has the correct dispositions, sensitivities and awarenesses to

act as a self-governing individual in the new political, cultural and economic contexts' (Popkewitz 1998, p.89). UE in South Korea shares similar premises because it also tries to foster a certain kind of person by changing attitudes and behaviour positively toward unification.

The UE curriculum is an official national curriculum in South Korea that supports and promotes unification. As the Unification Support Act explicitly states, the curriculum aims to change people's attitudes and behaviour by promoting the need for unification. It is intended to give students reasons for unification and 'objective knowledge' of North Korea so that they become agents of unification. The more people want unification, the better it is for the country. Due to the prolonged division between North and South, the drive for unification is gradually weakening among adolescents, and that has propelled the argument that UE must be strengthened through moral education and cross-theme subjects (So et al 2012).

In order to make students feel closer to North Korea, the IUE trains North Korea defectors as educators of UE and recommends schools invite them as lecturers of UE. The desired result of this method is to reduce negative images of North Korea by delivering more 'objective knowledge' of North Korea and awareness that North Koreans are not different from South Koreans. Thus, it delivers a message that North Korea and South Korea are 'one' country and can live together. North Korean defectors' stories, however, are inevitably subjective since their experiences are limited to their own experience especially in countries like North Korea where there is a distinct difference among elites, normal citizens, and hostile citizens. Hence, North Korean defectors' stories, no matter which class the defectors belonged to when they lived in the North, cannot be representative of North Korea as a whole, and thus should not be accepted as 'objective knowledge' of North Korea.

UE has provided students with reasons for the peninsula to be unified. While some are satisfied with unification education, some complain that it is very repetitive, and they are tired of being told the reasons why the two Koreas should be unified (Institute for Unification Education 2018 and Oum 2017). There are several hidden elements within the UE curriculum. By emphasizing values of unification, positive attitudes toward unification, and principles of

unification, the UE curriculum tries to produce individuals who support unification. The fewer people support unification, the bigger the problem for the government. The curriculum also tries to increase the support rate for unification; the attitude is measured at the end of every UE program. The current government of South Korea tried to establish a new unification education based on “national consensus.” Such notion, however, ignores different voices and opinions and assumes conformity to a national identity. If one opts out, then that person is singled out as someone who needs to be educated, in the eyes of decision makers. Consequently, the push for national consensus is an extension of powerful political interests.

• *Unification Education as a Space of Power Relationships and Contested Interests*

Because the UE curriculum changes based on inter-Korean relations, it inevitably becomes a space of contested interests of politicians. As stated earlier, the purpose of UE is to promote and support education on the unification of South and North Korea through a transformation in people's attitudes and behaviours toward unification. Promising to improve the conditions through economic development, politicians instrumentalise unification as a political tool. Economic, social and cultural relations are closely related to the distribution of political power within society (Rury and Mirel 1997). 'Consequently, both political and economic dimensions of critical social problems must be considered simultaneously if one is to understand how these dilemmas have evolved' (Rury and Mirel 1997, p.49).

The UE curriculum is a top-down approach from the president of the IUE. While teachers' and students' opinions are not taken into account in the content of the UE curriculum, as Park (2018) states, the curriculum is centred around the values of the government (Park 2018) as the following shows:

Because inter-Korean policy itself shifted toward the conservative wing, unification education is really difficult in terms of properly understanding North Korea. It is used to be said that peace in words is peace for national prosperity and military defense. As previous governments developed a framework of unification education based on the Sunshine Policy for the last ten years, it was hard for these

conservative governments to shift its orientation. Instead, they made schools reduce unification class hours and consistently describe North Korea negatively. Since 2009, according to the Guideline of Unification Education, unification education has been less promoted in schools as well as in community education sites (cited in Kang 2018, p.148).

Teachers are banned from expressing their opinions on subjects that are controversial, such as unification education on the Korean peninsula. 'It is difficult for teachers to discuss views freely in the classroom because they are afraid of getting caught up in ideological disputes. This is a limitation of unification education from the perspective of peace education in general' (Kang 2018, p.148).

In order to gain support for unification, politicians try to persuade citizens by emphasizing the benefits of unification. One view is that because the job market keeps shrinking in South Korea, peace on the Korean peninsula would create more opportunities for young unemployed people, and one's life depends on unification because it would open up economic opportunities. Thus, unification is a place of power relationships: those without power are encouraged to support unification for personal reasons.

• *Unification Education as a Tool for Projecting some Knowledge of Truth over Others*

In addition to the above, the UE curriculum is a vehicle for projecting some knowledge and notions of truth over others because it is a product of political and economic contexts where certain knowledge is selected while other details are excluded. For instance, 'when the issue of peace was associated with the nation-state, the focus was disproportionately centred upon neoliberal and ethnic ideologies' (Choi and Kim 2018, p.10). Neo-liberal values are implicitly emphasized in the UE curriculum.

The biggest challenge for the government is that young students see themselves sharing barely anything in common with North Koreans, and that leads to little interest in unification. For this reason, the government had to change its strategy to attract more support from young people. This started the promotion of neo-liberal values in UE and the legitimization of unification education as a driving force of



national economic growth.

As Park (2015) argues, unification education 'consists of utopian narratives of the capitalist system as democracy, and it entails a historical unconscious that inverts the crisis of South Korea into the crisis of North Korea and legitimizes neoliberal capitalist rule by putatively progressive governments in South Korea' (pp.183-184). Similarly, examining social and moral textbooks, Choi and Kim (2018) also argue that textbooks 'conceptualized peace, especially the issue of unification between South and North Korea, as an instrument of achieving national economic development and creating single race/blood pride and homogeneity of the nation' (p.10). Korean unification has often been legitimised by emphasizing economic growth and focus on the 'excessive amount of the national defense budget and the limited opportunity to utilize natural and human resources in the North, which hinders the country from exercising its maximum economic and political power on the global stage' (Choi and Kim 2018, p.10)

One of the textbooks argued for the significance of unification in economic growth and national development as follows:

Political and military competition between South and North Korea has prevented economic development and enhancement of national reputation in the international society. ... If the two Koreas are unified, the stupendous military expenditure can be diverted to economic growth and development of social welfare infrastructure, which then contribute to creation of additional jobs and improved quality of life (cited in Choi and Kim 2018, p.10).

Similar neoliberal rhetoric is also found in several other textbooks, which stress the advantage of the economic value that unification would generate:

Because of the division, both Koreas have not made the best use of national territory. The southern half of the Korean peninsula has wide plains, which are advantageous for food production; the northern half has mountains in which abundant resources are produced, and thus easy to secure energy sources. If the two Koreas are unified, the combination

of South Korea's capital, technology, and the food resources and North Korea's resources and manpower will contribute to making Korea a key member of the international community (cited in Choi and Kim, 2018, p.10-11)

Whereas UE has focused on the economic benefits that unified Korea might bring, it has excluded minorities and immigrants in South Korea as it emphasizes its ethnocentrism and national homogeneity in justifying Korean unification (Choi and Kim, 2018). The use of the term 'single-blood Korean ethnicity,' for instance, is frequently present in textbooks: 'the recovery of homogeneity of Korean ethnicity'; 'unification of Korean ethnicity to achieve development and prosperity'; and 'peace and prosperity of Korean ethnicity' (cited in Choi and Kim 2018, p.11).

### **Conclusion**

The continuous division of the two Koreas threatens peace in the Korean peninsula and globally. The South Korean government has tried to achieve peace by overcoming the division through unification education. As shown in sections from 6.1 to 6.4, however, UE intersects with historical, political, and economic contexts. Critically examining the UE curriculum reveals that it has been a vehicle of particular values and political ideologies, produces particular attitudes, acts as a space of power relationships and contested interests, and serves as a tool to emphasize certain views over others.

Indeed, further analysis and critique of unification education is needed. Additionally, unification education as peace education, its sustainability and consistency need to be reviewed by policymakers to sustain inclusive peace on the Korean peninsula. Without consistency in UE, the policy will continue to be a site of struggle, uncertainty and disagreement.

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## Chapter Twelve

### 'QUEERING' THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS: A GENDER ANALYSIS

*India Connolly*

#### Introduction

Using theories of identity, gender and sexuality, this chapter looks at the absence of sexuality in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a form of violence. As such, it examines the pervasive heteronormativity found within the field of development with the SDGs as an example. In the chapter, I undertake a queer, gendered analysis of how the SDGs theorise gender and sexuality and the implications they have on non-normative sexual and gendered identities. I will argue that by using a limited binary understanding of sex and the assumption of heterosexuality, the SDGs fail to recognise people with non-normative sexual and gendered identities. This absence is a form of violence, often perpetuating experiences of marginalisation. Without recognising the intersectionality of sexual, gendered and racial identities, it is impossible to achieve the elimination of inequality, which is the primary aim of the SDGs.

#### The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

The Sustainable Development Agenda was set in 2015, following from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). There are 17 SDGs committed to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity by 2030. The SDGs were created and implemented with the aim to improve the gaps found in the MDGs, specifically to address “environmental, social, economic and political concerns” (Struckmann, 2018). The SDGs sought a wider consultation than the MDGs development process including “academics, citizens, scientists, civil society organizations and the private sector from across the globe” (Mills & Vaast, 2018), as well as input from women's rights and feminist groups (Struckmann, 2018).

The SDGs focus on issues of gender equality, education quality, economic growth, climate action and health and wellbeing amongst others. Within the goals, there are 169 targets to reach over 15 years with corresponding indicators by which progress can be measured.

Women in Development (WID) was an approach used in development to increase the participation of women in the workplace, based on modernisation theory. However, it has been criticised for not acknowledging the causes of women's oppression and the intersections of female inequalities and race, class and economic position (Struckmann, 2018). In response to this, the WID approach was followed by Gender and Development (GAD), which “recognizes that women's status in society is profoundly affected by their material conditions as well as their positions in national, regional and global economies” (Struckmann, 2018 p.14). In particular, it understands that women's oppression comes from the intersections of socioeconomic status, race and colonial history and why women have been forced into subordination (Struckmann, 2018). The SDGs attempt to use a GAD approach to development, and many of the SDGs include gender, compared to the MDGs, which only addressed gender in one goal.

### **A Gender Analysis of the SDGs**

It is important to understand how the United Nations (UN) as an international organisation conceptualises gender, before I can begin to dissect how the SDGs understand gender. The following is the UN Women's (n.d, para 3) definition of gender:

Gender refers to the roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society at a given time considers appropriate for men and women ... These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/ time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. In most societies there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources, as well as decision-making opportunities. Gender is part of the broader

socio-cultural context, as are other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis including class, race, poverty level, ethnic group, sexual orientation, age, etc.

Although this definition understands gender to be contextual, changeable and intersectional, it still assumes sex to be an uncomplicated binary. Despite having a nuanced definition of gender, the UN, like many aid agencies, does not use this conception of gender in their development agendas such as the SDGs. This is likely because if they did, it would require a deeper structural change to the way development work is funded, planned and carried out.

The SDGs do not reflect the UN definition of gender in their goals and targets. Exemplifying this, Goal 4 seeks to 'ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' and throughout the 10 targets and the 11 indicators, the discourse subscribes to a binary, biological understanding of sex. For example, indicator 4.1.1 measures progress in literacy and mathematics using data disaggregated by sex only. By purely measuring progress based on sex, it excludes those who do not fit inside their sex binary of boy or girl, as well as ignoring the intersections of gender with race, class and sexuality.

The mandate of Goal 5 of the SDGs in particular is to 'achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls' (UN Statistics Division [UNSD], 2020, p.5). The conceptualisation of gender within this goal however, needs to be interrogated. The language used heavily subscribes to a limited binary understanding of gender that does not take into account context, history or intersections of race, sexuality, class and so on.

Similarly, within Goal 3 of the SDGs, Target 3.7 commits to improving sexual and reproductive health (SRH) but by its narrow focus on women only, it reinforces a binary understanding of sex and places responsibility for pregnancy and health upon women alone. Additionally, by assuming heterosexuality, it excludes non-normative sexual and gender identities. In particular, absences of queer identities exclude trans people, and especially transgender women who have the hardest time accessing services due to discrimination and stigma. As such, this goal and target is doing nothing to break down



discriminatory discourse about non-normative identities, even when it is explicitly trying to improve access to SRH services.

In the sections that follow, I will draw on some theoretical insights to demonstrate how the SDGs universalise and limit the scope of help they can achieve by excluding such nuances from their statement of goals and to argue that these exclusions are a form of violence. To do this, I use the conceptual frames of such theorists as Lugones (2007), Oyewumi (1997) and Butler (1990), expanding on what is meant and understood by gender historically while analysing how gender categories get to be created. Finally, I will discuss work into queering the development industry, calling for more action to be taken in recognising the need for development agencies and organisations to be critical of their theorisation and understanding of gender and sexuality. These agencies are doing work to improve people's lives, but without understanding the intersections of identities, those who are most marginalised are still being excluded. For future development goals, it is necessary to address the absences of non-normative gender and sexual identities.

### Conceptual Framework

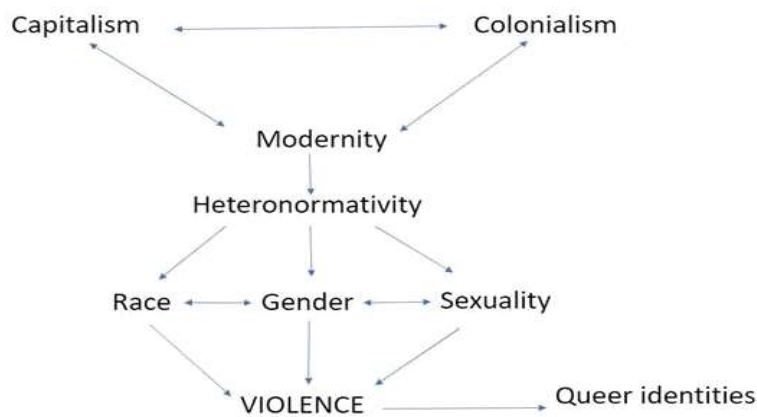


Figure One

In the 1600-1700s the pervasive economic system of capitalism was growing in Northern Europe. Capitalism needed the process of colonisation to gain access to new materials, markets and labour workforces to increase the economic wealth of the dominant ruling classes. Modernity as a means to progress was used to justify the need for colonisation. Modernity espoused practices of development through continued, upward linear progress. The deep violence done to colonised societies was justified through the notion of the civilising missions to progress the colonised from a 'backward' stage towards the European idea of an Enlightened society. European colonisers created categories of division among members of colonised societies in order to control, organise and regulate them. Gender binaries of male and female were enforced as was heterosexuality, and racial categories were created and ranked in terms of progress and development of a race (Gieben & Hall, 1992). Figure one below provides a visual framework that positions capitalism, colonialism and modernity as key powers in the construction of racial, gender and sexual categories, through the normative assumption of heterosexuality.

### **Lugones and the coloniality of gender**

The coloniality of power introduces the basic and universal social classification of population of the planet in terms of the idea of race (Quijano 2001-2002, 1). The invention of race is a pivotal turn as it replaces the relations of superiority and inferiority established through domination. It reconceives humanity and human relations fictionally, in biological terms (Lugones, 2007, p.190).

The quote above illustrates the key argument of Quijano's concept of the coloniality of power. Using Quijano's framework, Maria Lugones, Argentinian feminist philosopher, argues that Europe constructed itself to mythologically exist as a centre of power due to its advanced linear progress achieved through modernity and capitalism. Using a biological, evolutionary understanding, Europe categorised the world according to race and thus constructed racialised identities that placed the colonised as primitive and the colonisers as advanced. This categorisation of the colonised as backward or behind in the racial

trajectory of development was used to justify colonisation to the dominant classes in Europe. This biological reasoning created a persuasive, destructive argument for systemic oppression and violence done to the colonised (Lugones, 2007).

The crux of Lugones' critique of Quijano's model is his acceptance of gender as existing separately from race, without truly acknowledging the intersection of gender and racial identities. Lugones argues it is essential to historicise the production of a gender binary by placing it in a racialised, colonial history rather than understanding the subordination of women only through an ahistorical patriarchy. She argues that "gender itself is a colonial introduction, a violent introduction consistently and contemporarily used to destroy people, cosmologies, and communities as the building ground of the "civilised" West" (Lugones, 2007, p.186).

She goes on to say, "colonialism did not impose precolonial, European gender arrangements on the colonised. It imposed a new gender system that created very different arrangements for colonised males and females than for white bourgeois colonisers." (Lugones, 2007, p.186). This illustrates the violent introduction of gender binaries to colonised societies was not just an extension of how the West used Eurocentric concepts of gender to assert the dominance of men over women. Instead, it created a binary that subordinated the indigenous to the dominant coloniser as well as subordinated indigenous females to all indigenous males and coloniser males and females. Lugones (2007) makes clear that this domination was justified in terms of biology of race and sex. Lugones (2007) emphatically states the need to understand the intersection between race and gender in order to understand who is made invisible when gender and race are seen as separate categories, for example, women of colour only become visible when we see the intersection of gender and race.

It is this intersectional understanding of gendered identities that is missing from the SDGs and their indicators. From a postcolonial feminist critique of the SDGs, Struckmann (2018) observes that "the framework lacks an integrated gender perspective and is therefore unable to identify the link between the multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination". By ignoring the racialized nature of the

production of gender by colonisers, the SDGs assume a universalising lens of gender, thus treating all women as a homogenous group, which does not account for the multiple layers of discrimination they may face.

### **Oyěwùmí – The Invention of Women**

Moving forward, the work of Oyèrónkẹ Oyěwùmí, a Nigerian feminist scholar, is relevant for demonstrating that gender and sex are not universal categories that can be assumed in all contexts. Specifically, she shows that gender categories were invented by European colonisers in the particular context of Yorùbáland.

Oyěwùmí (1997) illustrates how the Western hegemonic conceptualisation of gender was imposed onto colonised societies during the imperialist regime. The West used (and still uses) a concept Oyěwùmí names 'biological determinism' which is "the conception that biology provides the rationale for the organization of the social world." (Oyěwùmí, 1997, p.448). This idea that Western societies hierarchically organise society based on biology is evident in much of the Global North's history. An example of what Oyěwùmí calls 'biologic' is shown in how women were denied the right to vote purely because of what they are biologically 'missing' (Oyěwùmí, 1997).

Before Yorùbáland was colonised, Oyěwùmí argues that their social organisation revolved around seniority (from slaves to rulers) rather than any recognition of biology as reason for social hierarchy or power. However, through colonisation the Western concepts of gender became imbedded in Yorùbá society. As the social category of 'woman' did not exist in pre-colonised Yorùbá discourse, the word woman was invented. Using this language, Western bio-logic understandings of the gender binary positioned Yorùbá men hierarchically in opposition to Yoruba women, based on the reproductive functions of the body. Oyěwùmí's argument demonstrates how the concept of gender itself is socially constructed.

Western feminism assumes there is a clear distinction between sex and gender and therefore the social and the biological can be separated. The West accepts sex as biological, therefore universal, and gender as the social construction of behaviours and roles based on one's biology. However, many scholars, including Oyěwùmí and Lugones,

have problematized this Western assumption of sex as universal and binary and separable from gender.

As Oyěwùmí puts it, “in Western conceptualization, gender cannot exist without sex since the body sits squarely at the base of both categories.” (Oyěwùmí, 1997 p.451). Western societies use the body as a way determining social roles and organisation. For example, a female body has ovaries thus determining their social role to reproduce and nurture their young. Western feminism assumed this was a universal social organisation. However, Oyěwùmí’s discussion of Yorùbáland gives evidence that gender and sex were not universal categories. She writes “ultimately, the most important point is not that gender is socially constructed but the extent to which biology itself is socially constructed and therefore inseparable from the social.” (p.451). Essentially, sex too is socially constructed. This argument makes clear that it is essential to unpack the way that the SDGs measure progress by gender and sex, and how, by ignoring the process in which categories of sex and gender were constructed, they perpetuate hegemonic power over societies, much like colonial powers.

### **Intersex Identities**

Using intersex people as an example, it can be further demonstrated that the concept of sex as binary is a social construction with enormous implications for global initiatives like the SDGs. Western understandings of sex present sex as a natural, uncomplicated binary of male and female. However, intersex people will often have some anatomical or chromosomal parts that are socially perceived as male and some that are perceived as female, therefore not fitting neatly into the assumed binary of sex (Lugones, 2007). Intersex people are often surgically and hormonally manipulated to fit into the sex binary, and subsequently socialised as their assigned at birth sex. The assumption that babies can be manipulated to fit into the sex binary is an example of how the colonialist regime of category creation is still being used to regulate and control populations to ensure they conform to the norm (Lugones, 2007). The medical and discursive erasure of intersex people from Western society continues to cement colonial ideas that the gender binary is natural. This is an explicit form of violence those with

gender identities that exist outside of the binary.

Human Rights Watch (2017) report that there are two primary goals of surgeries done to intersex babies, “to enable heterosexual penetrative intercourse, and to help the child conform to gender and sexual norms and expectations” (p.9). This highlights how sex is a social construction, which forces bodies into categories that ensure heterosexual reproduction occurs, and that all bodies must conform to this norm. The violence done to intersex people around the world, in places such as the US, Latin America, Europe, Asia (Ghattas, 2013) among many others, demonstrates the pervasiveness of a heterosexual gender binary used to control populations. The invisibility of intersex people across the world, especially in legal discourses, speaks to the power of how sex is understood to be an unambiguous, biological category (Lugones, 2007).

The absence of any recognition of intersex people or any gender identities that do not conform to the binary norm in the SDGs perpetuates institutional and cultural violence. Goal 5 is committed to eliminating gender inequality, and yet only recognises gender inequalities of those who exist inside the binary, rather than including those who do not fit such as intersex, transgender and non-binary people. Target 5.c seeks to “Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels” (UNSD, 2020, p.7). However, true gender equality does not just see females with the same rights as males, but seeks to give all people equal rights regardless of their gender identity or expression.

As Jolly (2000) notes, feminist scholars like Judith Butler argue that the decisions of those in power determine which biological parts one must possess to belong in the male or female category. Jolly (2000) clearly articulates, differences between sexes are emphasised while similarities are minimised, which plays into the argument that sex is biological and therefore natural. However, in the case of intersex people, the biological category of sex is not unambiguous and is neatened by human, medical intervention. If the categories of sex and gender can both be shown to be social and political constructions, “biological sex loses its essential meaning, then same-sex and different-sex desire ceases to be absolutely distinct” (Jolly, 2000 p.85).

### **Sexual and Reproductive Health**

A further example of the absence of non-normative sexual and gender identities in the SDGs is Goal 3 on 'good health and wellbeing'. In particular, Target 3.7 states, "By 2030, ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health-care services, including for family planning, information and education, and the integration of reproductive health into national strategies and programmes" (UNSD, 2020, p.4). The target itself does not limit the provision of services to a particular sexual or gender identity, however, the indicators focus only on women. For example, indicator 3.7.1 measures the "proportion of women of reproductive age who have their need for family planning satisfied with modern methods". The indicators place the onus of family planning and reproductive health on women only, while at the same time assuming heterosexuality among the homogenous category of women. There is an absence of recognition that non-heterosexual women need access to SRH services, as do those with non-normative gender identities. It is these identities that are most marginalised, and the absences in this target further marginalises them.

Judith Butler's heterosexual matrix can help clarify why the SDGs assume heterosexuality amongst women. Butler states:

I use the term heterosexual matrix . . . to designate that grid of cultural intelligibility through which bodies, genders, and desires are naturalized . . . a hegemonic discursive/epistemological model of gender intelligibility that assumes that for bodies to cohere and make sense there must be a stable sex expressed through a stable gender (masculine expresses male, feminine expresses female) that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality. (Butler, 1990 p.151)

The heterosexual matrix shows how those with female bodies are expected to express femininity and be sexually attracted to masculinity, which is performed by those with male bodies and are placed in opposition to each other. This compulsory heterosexuality is pervasive; it is assumed to be the norm in all situations. Both indicators of target 3.7 focus on women of reproductive age and the birth rates of

adolescent women, which implies it expects women to be heterosexually reproductive. This is demonstrated in Amy Lind's paper on heteronormativity in the development industry. She argues that women in the Global South are often only 'seen' by Northern aid agencies as mothers (Lind, 2009). She goes on to say that queer people are often made invisible in contexts of “economic crisis because they do not fit within this representation of the heterosexual household as the foundation of family reproduction and survival” (p.36).

In particular, lesbians are stuck between the heteronormative narrative of women only as mothers, or seen as queer women and therefore “non-procreative” and not in need of access to SRH services. Lesbians are often made invisible in development discourse, with the exception of when they are pregnant. However, Lind (2009) argues that in these situations “their queer identity is sidelined and they are viewed primarily as mothers or mothers-to-be” (p.36).

Additionally, when women are placed into a heterosexual mother/non-procreative lesbian binary it assumes that women who have sex with women (WSW) cannot also engage in sexual relations with men. If SRH information about STIs, HIV and family planning focus on only heterosexual women, it can expose WSW who also engage in sex with men to SRH risks that they may not be educated on or aware of. For example, Lenke and Piehl (2009) discuss how WSW, such as lesbians, bisexual women, and transgender women are left out of the discourse regarding SRH especially as HIV/AIDS discourse becomes “increasingly feminised” (p.91).

Although female-to-female contraction of HIV is low, a lack of visibility of WSW may lead these women to not engage in safer sex practices with their female partners, leaving them open to contracting STIs. A study in Lesotho found that due to the invisibility of WSW in much development work, there was no “access health-care resources, including dental dams, finger cots and basic information on HIV prevention among women” (Poteat et al. 2014, cited in Mills, 2015).

The lack of acknowledgment of the SRH rights of non-heterosexual women in the SDGs is an exclusion that can have severe health repercussions. “This failure to 'name' those people and groups that experience 'hard core' exclusion, like LGBTQI people, is an explicit denial of their equal right to participate in the social, economic and



political dimensions of development across all levels of society. This failure to acknowledge LGBTQI people as those people in dire need of inclusion and protection thus invisibilizes their experiences of discrimination and exclusion” (Mills & Vaast, 2018). These omissions are a form of violence against those with non-normative sexual or gender identities.

These are clear illustrations of how the SDGs are perpetuating the discourse of heteronormativity and making non-normative individuals invisible by only providing for those who are heterosexual, rather than providing safe access to SRH services for all women.

The normative assumptions of women's sexuality in relation to ability to access SRH services, also extends to women's gender identities. Chamindra Weerawardhana (2018) argues that the “the UN's grasp of gender, to go by the 2030 SDGs discourse, is exclusively based on the cisnormative gender binary.” The cisnormative focus of the SDGs fails to recognise the needs of transgender women and gender non-conforming people in accessing SRH services. Evidence suggests that globally transgender women face barriers to safely accessing SRH services.

Barriers include fear or distrust in medical professionals based on previous experiences of discrimination or stigma, a lack of knowledge or information about where they can access SRH services, and financial costs (WHO, 2015; Camilleri & Murray, 2017). When transgender women are excluded from international agendas such as the SDGs because of a theoretical understanding of gender as stable and cisnormative, it is a form of violence, disproportionately affecting those who are already marginalised.

### **Conclusion: 'Queering' Development**

Despite the SDGs' improvement on the previous global development goals the MDGs, there still is an absence of recognition of LGBTQ+ identities and rights. The absences are no accident, rather the result of complex combination of power relations, compromises and political decisions made by members of public and private sectors, scientists, women and human's rights advocates, and academics, among others (Fukuda-Parr, 2016). Mills and Vaast (2018) argue that the final SDGs do not recognise “social exclusion on the basis of sexual orientation,

gender identity and expression. Due to contestations, especially from African and Arab states, weaker and less specific language on gender and sexuality was included with no acknowledgement of the existence of LGBTQI people” (p. 61).

I have argued that by universalising the sex binary, the SDGs ignore the deeply contextual and historical, violent introduction of racialised gender categories by colonial rule. The SDGs assume sex is an unproblematic, biological category which can be used to measure progress within and between countries. Without understanding that gender intersects with race, class, sexual orientation among other categories, it creates invisible barriers that excludes those on the margins of all of these categories, in particular transgender women of colour.

All of this highlights one of the many issues of including queer identities in global aid initiatives, as the contested nature of sexuality and gender can lead to sexual rights being omitted on the basis that it is not as much of a need as other human rights. Cornwall and Jolly (2006) argue that sexual rights and sexual wellbeing are often addressed as a health matter or dismissed as a luxury. This dismissal of sexual rights is an example of Northern colonial hegemony, which positions people in the North as people who “need sex and love, in the South they just need to eat” (Jolly, 2000 p.). The contradiction here is that global initiatives such as the SDGs are funded and driven by Northern aid agencies who often get to decide what developing countries need.

The heteronormative and cisnormative hegemony that the development industry is predominantly operating under is harmful to sexual and gender minorities. The absences from international and global policies are forms of violence that further marginalises vulnerable populations. Mills and Vaast (2018) argue that “inequality and poverty can only be eradicated if development directly and explicitly engages with individuals and communities who are marginalized because of their sexual orientation, gender identity, and expression” (p.58).

There are important methodological implications of the conceptual approaches used in the SDGs. As I have outlined and discussed above, the SDGs fail to recognise the complexities of gender identities and

instead treat gender as a stable, biological binary that position men and women in opposition to each other. This narrow theorisation does not take into account how gender is a product of colonisation, as Lugones has shown and how, as stated by Oyewumi, gender did not always exist as a form of social organisation everywhere. The introduction of the gender binary to the colonised world was violent and that violence is being continued and reproduced through global aid agendas such as the SDGs. The SDGs are limited in their scope to be fully inclusive, despite many of the goals stating their efforts to be inclusive. If the theorisation of gender behind each of the goals is limited to the binary it only recognises those who fit inside the binary, and does not understand the intersections of race, sexuality, or class, it cannot reach the most marginalised who sit on the edge in all those intersections.

The narrowness of the SDGs' conceptualization of gender, sex and sexuality allows the UN and other similar aid agencies to continue development work in the same way as they have been doing, without a deeply critical, inclusive and non-binary focus on human needs. Since the MDGs, there has been more of a focus on human subjectivities, however economic progress is still at the centre of the development agenda, much like it was during colonisation. Development agencies would have to dramatically restructure and change how they go about development work if they understood gender, sex and sexuality through a post-structural lens. Authors such as Lugones, Butler and Oyěwùmí have demonstrated that sex and gender have been politically and socially constructed, yet much development work still addresses them as if they are universal, biology, normal and ahistorical categories.

Lind (2009) presents some suggestions for the future of development work. She stresses the importance of scholars themselves questioning the heteronormative frameworks they use, which can silence the more complex ranges of gender and sexual identities people experience. She expresses the urgency that research is done to “analyze how development practitioners themselves think about gender and sexuality, and how this translates (or not) into development policies in the global South.” (p.38). This is essential for the future of the SDGs and other global development goals. Despite the UN publishing on

their website a nuanced, intersectional understanding of gender, the SDGs do not reflect it in the goals nor the indicators. If the SDGs are to achieve their goals of inclusive education, gender equality and good health and wellbeing, then it is also imperative that the practitioners also understand the intersections that gender identities have with sexuality, race and class.

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**PART IV**  
**EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES**





## Chapter Thirteen

### REVIEWING EDUCATION IN EMERGENCIES FOR INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN AFRICA

*Su'ur Su'eddie Agema*

#### Introduction

Since the 1990s, the world has witnessed higher numbers of emergencies leading to the increased displacement of millions of people around the world. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2019), 70.8 million people were displaced at the end of 2018, with 58.3% of that number (41.3 million) being Internally Displaced Persons. This figure demonstrates an increase of 1.3 million persons from 2017 and the largest ever figures reported by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC). According to UNHCR (2019), developing countries (a significant number in Africa) contributed to the bulk of this figure with Nigeria ranked as sixth out of the ten largest IDP populations in the world, with over two million displaced people.

Displacements and migration significantly affect and disrupt educational systems. Often, schools are destroyed or converted for use as temporary accommodation for displaced people. Development agencies led by the UNHCR have partnered with governments and other stakeholders to ensure the provision of educational services to displaced people during emergencies, as a way of fostering a sense of normalcy to the children as well as to ensure that the target of education for all children, as globally pursued by governments and development agencies, is met (Sinclair, 2007; Ellison, 2013).

There has been an increase in forced displacement in Africa resulting from ethnic, religious, political, economic and boundary conflicts on the one hand and natural disasters on the other. Some of the more common conflicts include political wars, ethnoreligious conflicts, armed herdsmen attacks on farmers across the country and

violence attributed to extremists such as the Boko Haram adherents (Ezeanokwasa, Kalu and Okaphor, 2018; Egbujule, 2017).

This chapter largely looks at literature related to IDP education and Education in Emergencies (EiE) to help create an understanding of the framings and laws relating these subjects particularly within the African nuance, while primarily using Nigeria (which I am familiar with) for contextual purpose. It begins with a conceptual clarification of displacement, IDPs and displacement rights, then moves to examining the laws that guaranty education for IDPs. The section after that explores literature on implementing EiE for IDPs, and then looks at obstacles to implementation. This chapter demonstrates a rich body of work existing on EiE from around the world with a particular focus on education for IDPs.

### **Displacements, Internally Displaced Persons and Displacement Rights**

Displacements, usually forced displacements, refer to situations where people are forced to flee their homes due to violence, natural disasters, environmental pollution or development-related issues. UNHCR (2014) notes these to include armed conflict, general violence and human rights violation. Bengtsoon and Naylor (2016) and Ellison (2013) attribute natural disasters that cause displacements to include floods, storms, erosions, and earthquakes. These often lead to internal displacements where people remain in their state or country until they are resettled into camps, rehabilitated or rebuild their communities. In other cases, displaced people may have to leave their states or country, becoming refugees. Displaced people often have their lives disrupted and face several adverse conditions ranging from the psychological to social and economic conditions, with women and children often bearing the greater brunt. Some of these conditions include leaving their homes and livelihoods, the danger of flight in itself, in situations of conflict, lack of identity documents, discrimination in host communities where they take refuge and abuse of women and children in camps (Ellison, 2013). Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre [IDMC] (2011) acknowledges that sexual and gender-based violence ranks as a top repeated violation of women and girl rights during

displacement and other instances of armed conflict. Ellison (2013) pushes this further by noting that women and children are often the ones who engage in economic activities, most of which threaten their security. Crawford et al. (2015, p.11) define 'protracted displacement' broadly as "a situation in which refugees and/or IDPs have been in exile for three years or more, and where the process for finding durable solutions, such as repatriation, absorption in host communities or settlement in third locations, has stalled."

There are broadly two categories of displaced people, those who remain in their country called Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and those who leave to another country called refugees. IDPs are:

persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border. (*Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, 1998, Introduction: 2)

People tend to take the distinction between IDPs and refugees for granted, often drawing similarities and putting them in the same group. This drives Ellison's (2013) argument that some people blindly and wrongly assume that IDPs are refugees who have not crossed an internationally recognised border. She continues, and rightly so, that the distinction between the IDPs and refugees is essential for some reasons, principal among which is that while refugees are covered by a binding international legal framework provided by the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, there is mostly an absence of such a globally binding instrument for IDPs. Ferris and Winthrop (2010, p.6) note that for refugees, there are 144 States Parties to the Convention and 147 State Parties to one or both instruments This forces governments to give certain rights and entitlements to refugees as opposed to IDPs, to whom they do not have a legally binding obligation. Not surprisingly, some studies (Dryden-Peterson, 2015; Bengtsson and Naylor, 2016) while claiming to look at displacement generally or even at IDPs in particular, often pay more attention to refugees without considering

that there are contexts in which IDP issues are very different from that of refugees. This reduces the available amount of much-needed research into IDP specific contexts, which is the focus of this chapter.

The rights of IDPs are contained in the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (hereafter called *Guiding Principles*) presented to the United Nations in 1998 and endorsed by the General Assembly in the 2005 World Summit Outcome document. These principles are consistent with international human rights and humanitarian laws and magnify existing provisions applicable to IDPs (Mooney and Wyndham, 2009; Ferris and Winthrop, 2010). However, the *Guiding Principles* is not a universal legally binding document, unlike the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol. The exception to this is that some African countries are signatory to the Kampala Convention, which refers to the *African Union Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons* which was adopted in Kampala, Uganda in October 2009. On 6<sup>th</sup> December 2012, thirty days after Swaziland ratified the convention (the fifteenth country to do so), it came into force. The Kampala Convention is currently signed by forty countries and ratified by twenty-five out of the fifty-four member states of the African Union. The Convention sets legal frameworks on issues that relate to displacement and finding solutions to people who are already displaced noting in particular that governments shall be responsible for the wellbeing and protection of people who are internally displaced due to natural or human disasters including climate change (Article 5(4)). A significant drawback to the Convention is that though it has been signed and ratified, it is yet to be domesticated and made fully operational in most of the countries, including Nigeria.

### **The Right to Education for Internally Displaced Persons**

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights acknowledges the right to education for everyone, which it states should “be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental phases. Elementary education should be compulsory” (Article 26). Several other conventions and treaties enshrine the right to education like the Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (1979), the

Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). It also forms a core part of treaties including the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (which Nigeria is signatory to) as well as the European Convention on Human Rights. Mooney and Wyndham (2009) aver that in practice, education is often regarded more like a need that can wait rather than a right that should be addressed immediately. They argue further that it is seen as a development issue addressed when other 'humanitarian emergencies' have subsided, probably linked to the placement of educational needs as less pressing when looked at through Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs<sup>9</sup>. The problem with this is that some times, displacements last far longer than anticipated, resulting in the likely deprivation of education for an entire generation, as also averred to by Mooney and Wyndham (2009, p.247).

The right to education for refugees is espoused in the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol while the right for IDPs is enshrined in the *Guiding Principles*. The *Guiding Principles* stress the right to education and emphasise that education "shall be made available to internally displaced people, in particular adolescents and women, whether or not living in camps, as soon as conditions permit" (GP 23). It forms a firm legal framework and basis for the right to education in situations of internal displacement. Placing the rights to education of children, as espoused in the *Guiding Principles*, within existing international laws and treaties Mooney and Wyndham (2009, p.252) posit extensively that:

Guiding Principle 23(2) specifies an obligation on the part of the authorities to provide free and compulsory education at the primary level.

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<sup>9</sup>Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs is a psychological theory that depicts human needs in a five-tier pyramid starting at the bottom with physiological needs (food, water, warmth, rest); safety needs (security and safety); love and belonging needs; esteem needs (prestige and feeling of accomplishment) and self-actualisation (achieving one's potential, creativity and growth).

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This obligation finds its legal basis in Article 26(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Article 13(2)(a) of the ICESCR, Article 28(1)(a) of the CRC, Article XII(4) of the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, and Article 4(a) of the Convention against Discrimination in Education. Beyond primary education, Article 28(1)(b) of the CRC requires that progressive measures be taken for the introduction of free education in general. Secondary education in its different forms, including general education as well as technical and vocational education, is to be generally available and accessible to all. Higher education also is to be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means.

Mooney and Wyndham further explain that the basis for the Guiding Principle can also be found in 'The World Declaration on Education for All' which emphasizes that there has to be an active commitment to remove educational disparities so that underserved groups should not suffer discrimination in access to learning opportunities. Another legal framework to which they trace the foundation of Guiding Principle 23 is the 'Beijing Platform for Action' adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. They argue that the action called for states to take action to ensure that educational materials are made available in the appropriate language in emergency situations to minimise education disruption among refugees and displaced people.

There's no gainsaying that EiE is essential for several reasons ranging from the social and physical to the psychological as it can make a difference between the healthy growth and restoration of a child and the destruction of the same. Sinclair (2007, pp.52-53) summarises the need for education in emergencies noting that it can provide a sense of normality; restore hope; support psychological healing from trauma; convey life skills and among other things, increase values for health, peace-building, responsible citizenship and environmental awareness; provide the investment inherent in children's education; and importantly, provide protection for marginalised groups like girls, children with disability, minorities and out-of-school adolescents from exploitative or unsafe work such as

prostitution or recruitment by militias. Thus, rapid response to education is key in any intervention.

For this right to EiE to be effective, it has been noted that some essential aspects that must be in place. In essence, this education has to be made available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable (Hyll-Larsen, 2010; IDMC, 2010). The IDMC (2010) outlines these, explaining that EiE has to be free and available to everyone without discrimination. As noted in several quarters (Mooney and Wyndham, 2009; WCRWC, 2006; Sinclair, 2007; Ellison, 2013), the education also has to be relevant, non-discriminatory, all-inclusive and flexible to meet the best interests of the children, no matter how long the period of displacement lasts.

In the end, education can become an enabling right that brings about progress, especially for the IDPs. Ellison (2013) fully captures education as an enabling right when she states that where education is available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable, it allows for the activation of other political and civil rights. Thus, education is seen as the fourth pillar of humanitarian assistance and increasing attention is being paid to the role education plays as part of peacebuilding processes or the reconstruction of society following conflict or disaster (UNESCO, 2003; Ellison, 2013, p.14). Sinclair (2001, p.1) summarises it thus:

A key principle for education in situations of emergency and crisis is rapid response, using a community-based approach, with capacity-building through training of teachers, youth leaders and school management committees. Education should support durable solutions and should normally be based on the curriculum and languages of study of the area of origin. Survival and peace-building messages and skills should be incorporated in formal and non-formal education. Programmes must progressively promote the participation of under-represented groups, including girls, adolescents and persons with disability. Ongoing refugee programmes should develop procedures for rapid response to the needs of newly arriving refugee children and adolescents.

It is important to note though that the impressive legal provisions backing the right to education is however not a reflection of the reality on the ground as there seems to be a gulf between these rights and the reality of provision for displaced children. An ICRC (2009) survey reported that one of the top fears in relation to displacement was the inability to get an education. This fear is a reality in several contexts where countless refugees and IDP children remain out of school in large numbers (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; UNICEF and IDMC, 2019). According to UNHCR and GEMR (2016), as many as 23 out of 42 displacement camps across six states in Nigeria had no formal or informal education facilities or access to education for children in the camp as of 2015.

### **Implementing Education in Emergencies for IDPs**

The Guiding Principles squarely place the provision of education for IDPs in the State through national authorities. Principle 3(1) states that “National authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and assistance to displaced persons within their jurisdiction.” Principle 4(2) specifies this protection and assistance to be explicitly given to children, taking note of their particular needs, which can be extended to mean education in this situation. The level of commitment to assisting IDPs or providing education varies from country to country and cannot be imposed on any government per se (Ellison, 2013). In 2010, it was noted that of the ten countries with the largest IDP population, only three – Colombia, Iraq and Turkey – had drafted laws or policies about IDP children or youth, with variations in the extent of implementation of the policies (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010:3).

The Kampala Convention that provides for the protection and assistance of IDPs in Africa is ratified and effective in twenty-five African countries. It stipulates the rights of IDPs and has been localised by the ratifying states, including Nigeria whose policy is called *National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria* (2012). The policy lays a framework for cooperating with humanitarian agencies and state actors to achieve durable solutions to the problem of internal displacement. It cites the *Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons*



measure of a durable solution noting that it “is achieved when internally displaced persons no longer have any specific assistance protection needs that are linked to their displacement and can enjoy their human rights without discrimination on account of their displacement.” The policy in Section 3(1(4) extensively states that:

k. Schools are often destroyed during most disasters therefore, in order for the Internally Displaced Children to return to school while in camp, the Education Sector lead agency under the sectoral approach established by this National Policy shall liaise with relevant agencies within the locality to assist in relocating the children to neighbouring schools that are ascertained to be safe. This shall not preclude the building of new schools in the place of relocation.

l. It shall also be the responsibility of the Education Sector lead agency under the sectoral approach established by this National Policy to work in conjunction with local and state education authorities to create a conducive learning environment for Internally Displaced Children by collaborating with the UNICEF and other education agencies to provide instructional materials and teaching aids for the schools.

m. Where formal education facilities are not available, informal education options including livelihood skills training should be provided for internally displaced children. While providing access to education, attention should be paid to girl-child education, as they are most likely to miss out on the basis of gender dynamics.

This policy, rich as it is, has not been domesticated and passed into law pursuant to Nigeria's 1999 constitution, as amended (Egbujule, 2017; Ezeanokwasa et al, 2018). Despite this, the State is still the major provider of support for IDPs and it does this through the Federal Emergency Management Agency at the federal level and the State Emergency Management Agency at the state level. In many instances, the state components in Nigeria have to come up with their individual intervention methods necessitating contextual research, such as this study, to understand it.

According to Ellison (2013), the international community also has a duty to ensure that the rights and needs of IDPs are addressed. Two prominent international organisations that work with IDPs are the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), which was established by the Norwegian Refugee Council in 1998 and the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR). The IDMC uses different tools, mainly online, like *The Global Report on Internal Displacement*, *Internal Displacement Updates*, satellite imagery analysis, displacement data exploration tool, country pages and research papers to support the work of displaced people in various fields, including education. The UNHCR, though officially mandated to cater to issues relating to refugees, has played key roles in IDP management since the 1970s, notably in the South Caucasus, Sri Lanka, the Balkans and Colombia (Cohen, 2005).

Sinclair (2001) does extensive work on EiE that covers many contextual cases from all over the world including cases studies from Macedonia, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Bosnia Albania and the like. Her work, which is one of the few that successfully cover grounds on education scenarios for refugees and IDPs in equal measure, shows that education and emergencies is a collaborative effort that is usually facilitated by state and non-state actors. She emphasises the role of international NGOs like the UNICEF, UNHCR, Norwegian Refugee Council, the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (ICRC), and Save the Children, local NGOs, other non-state actors as well as national and local governments.

As Sinclair (2001) argues, a psychosocial and peace education components are very important parts of education in emergencies that should be fused into the teaching and learning process, not just for students but for teachers as well. This is because trauma can be not just an impediment to learning but also a tool that can renew old conflict. A psychosocial component was put in place in emergency education programmes in Sierra Leone in 2000 in a Norwegian Refugee Council and UNICEF initiative for re-integration of older Sierra Leonean children drawing on a rapid education model. A pre and post trauma-healing module after an academic course session showed great reduction in troubling symptoms that students had shown until the start of the course (Sinclair, 2001, p.23). Another context scenario, this

time for peace education in practice is seen in UNHCR's inclusion of peace education materials in all refugee schools in Kenya. According to Baxter (2000), the period had a different pedagogy, which was delivered by specially trained teachers with student-focus as compared with the conventional rote learning approach available in most refugee schools.

### **Obstacles to the Implementation of Education in Emergencies**

There are different obstacles - ranging from the physical to the social and economic - that can restrict the implementation of EiE, affect IDPs' access to education and/or generally make its delivery poor. These obstacles have to do with lack of infrastructure, human resources in terms of teachers and qualified administrators, poor facilities, economic responsibilities, school fees, access to textbooks and writing materials and a lack of security (WCRWC, 2004; Mooney and French, 2005; Sinclair, 2007; Mooney and Wyndham, 2009; IDMC, 2010). All of these make the quality of education for IDPs and refugees in schools oftentimes to be very low (Bengstoon and Naylor, 2016). The Global Survey on EiE posit that schools in IDP camps are typically under-resourced, over-crowded and limited to primary education (WCRWC, 2004). Most of the obstacles and challenges to EiE are often interrelated, with one leading to the other or linked to the other seamlessly.

Infrastructure is usually one of the biggest obstacles to implementing education in emergencies. There is usually an absence of schools to cater to the needs of students or where they exist, the classes are often overstretched (WCRWC, 2004). Schools are usually destroyed or taken over as camps or meeting places during periods of forced displacement due to conflict or natural disasters. In essence, schools might be used as temporary shelters or taken over by armed actors as military barracks (Akintunde and Selzing-Musa, 2016; GCPEA, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2019). Depending on how long these lasts, this can impede access to education not just for IDPs but for students who are not displaced (Mooney and Wyndham, 2009). It is also noteworthy, as Mooney and Wyndham (2009) describe that except if camps are close to schools that can take in IDP students, new educational facilities would have to be put in place.

These educational facilities or any educational programme in IDP camps depends on a number of factors ranging from the will of the state and non-state actors in such a project, available resources and capacity in the state, as well as the disposition of development actors (Mooney and Wyndham, 2009). In the end, an IDP school might have few classes that are overpopulated, little or no administrative rooms, and poor water, sanitation and hygiene (WCRWC, 2004).

Lack of teachers and educational providers is another key challenge to implementing education in emergencies. Teachers are often targeted in conflict and can be killed during such situations (GCPEA, 2018). They can also become displaced or injured during conflict or natural disasters. Thus, getting qualified teachers or educational providers in emergency situations can be a major hindrance to implementation. It is therefore not surprising to have under-qualified personnel teaching in IDP camp schools. In some cases, where there are teachers, they might be grossly inadequate with a large population of students to very few teachers. As Bengtsson and Naylor (2016) posit, in other cases, even with this number of staff, there might be a situation where their salaries are unpaid affecting their output and performance. Summarising this, Naylor (2016) avers that “Like refugees, IDPs are often trapped in displacement for many years and short-term humanitarian response systems are not well equipped to provide the continuity of funding needed to keep teachers and children learning.”

Another major obstacle to EiE is a lack of safety and security, which might be internal or external. The external insecurity factor has to do with armed actors who target schools or IDP students. Education is often a target of attack and as such, conflict actors might attack schools with IDPs or attack students on their way to school. Where this does not happen, there is the fear of its occurrence which in turn affects attendance and access to education. Various studies (Akintunde and Selzing-Musa, 2016; Bakwai, Yisa and Jega, 2017; Lawal, 2018) attest that in parts of Northern Nigeria, members of Boko Haram are known to attack educational facilities within camps and in general communities. Cases of and/or threats of sexual violence on the way to school are noted as a major reason for several IDP girls staying at home, as reported prominently in Afghanistan (Refugees

International, 2002). There might also be internal security problems such as bullying within schools or sexual violence. Students, particularly girls, face the threat of sexual exploitation by classmates or teachers, a situation which might be worsened in situations where there are no gender specific toilets (Mooney and French, 2005; WCRWC, 2006). Such students in any of the scenarios will abstain from school.

Finance is another impediment to education in emergencies. This hydra-headed problem can be seen in the absence or lack of textbooks, learning aids, and writing materials in the camp, which lead to poor teaching and learning practice. This is usually worse in science-oriented subjects that might have to do with laboratories and equipment for experiments. Economic responsibilities of IDP children also affect access to education in emergencies. Children might be required to work to contribute to the family income and in that way miss their lessons or altogether, not attend school at all (Mooney and French, 2005). In families that have to make a choice as to which child to go to school due to funds or the children having to work to sustain the family, the girl child would more often than not be the one who would have to work.

Like Sinclair (2001) notes, another challenge to EiE implementation is trauma and the psychological state of displacement of children and teachers, in whatever situation, which might affect their teaching/learning process. This might cause a lack of concentration or an inability to assimilate the lessons being taught.

Other general but equally important impediments to implementing/access to EiE relate to a lack of documentation which occurs where students lose certificates in displacement and therefore do not have the required documents to resume school (Mooney and French, 2005). Language also serves as a challenge to learning in some schools in emergencies (Mooney and French, 2005; Sinclair, 2001). In some cases, the language of instruction used in a school might be different from the one that was used in the former schools of the displaced children.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter set out to examine the state of EiE in Africa with a focus on IDPs, which are often neglected. It did this through conceptual clarification, an understanding of enabling laws across the continent, amongst others. Indeed, as the chapter highlights, studies related to IDP are limited, especially in comparison with refugee studies. It is therefore recommended that more studies be done in specific IDP contexts in Africa to help build increased understanding of the phenomenon and pave way for better informed practical strategies towards improving access to quality education in emergencies.

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## Chapter Fourteen

### LEARNING SPACES AND RESOURCES IN NORTH - EAST NIGERIA: RESPONDING TO THE EDUCATION NEEDS OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

*Kikelomo Ladipo*

#### Introduction

Education is an important tool for national transformation and development. An educated populace is vital in today's world, with the convergent impacts of globalization, the increasing importance of knowledge as a main driver of individual and national growth, and the information and communication revolution. Knowledge accumulation and application have become major factors in conflict prevention and resolution. They are also increasingly at the core of a country's competitive advantage in the global economy.

These intents are captured in Nigeria's National Policy on Education (NPE) which emphasizes that the country's education should be geared towards developing national consciousness, values and unity as well as promoting morally sound, patriotic and effective citizens (Federal Republic of Nigeria [FRN], 2013). The policy notes that equal access to quality educational opportunities at all levels, development of appropriate skills, mental, physical and social abilities and competencies to empower the individuals to live in and contribute positively to the society shall be the basis of the nation's educational planning and educational activities.

Despite the recognition of the place of education in the NPE, a large proportion of existing public primary school infrastructure has deteriorated and lack basic teaching aids such as blackboards, chairs, tables and books. Poor infrastructure, low level of funding, inadequate number of qualified teachers, curriculum irrelevance, and religious and cultural biases also hinder school participation (UNCT, 2012). Added to these widespread issues is that the aftermaths of terrorism in North-East Nigeria have had a devastating effect. A majority of

schools in the region have been closed with only a few reopening. Thousands of schools have been damaged, looted by terrorists or used to shelter Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Teachers have fled due to fear of returning to the classroom and parents are also scared to send their children back to school. Insecurity and terrorist attacks have kept thousands of children out of the classrooms for more than a year, putting them at risk of dropping out of school.

In times of crisis, education can offer stability, protection and the chance to gain critical knowledge and skills. Having good infrastructure and learning resources in place is a key part of this. Because education is an essential ingredient for a lasting solution to the crises in Nigeria, international organisations such as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) have helped over 400,000 children directly and indirectly across Northeast Nigeria back into education by providing safe, temporary learning spaces, trainers, teachers, psychologists and school meals (UNICEF, 2017). This chapter will examine the availability of teaching and learning spaces and resources aimed at responding to the education needs of internally displaced children in the North-eastern region of Nigeria and how electronic learning can help to solve the problems of inadequate infrastructure, space and learning resources. It will provide an insight into the educational system of Nigeria, whilst assessing the opportunities for education in IDP camps.

### **Education in Nigeria - a Snapshot**

With the introduction of western education to a few states in the southern and eastern parts of Nigeria in the 1880s, the Nigerian education system, has over the years, experienced tremendous growth extending to the northern parts of the country that forbade western education. The concept of equality of education in Nigeria assumes so much on paper and resolutions but its reality is in serious doubt (Amaele, 2003). In spite of Nigeria's good intentions and willingness to cooperate with international organisations and increase the benefits derivable from several education frameworks, the Nigerian education system continues to be characterised by the discouraging state of adult and youth literacy and non-formal education (Owhotu, 2013). Over the years, lack of relevant policies, socio-economic inequality,

geographic inequality, gender inequality and conflict have been identified as challenges faced by the Nigerian education system. In response to these problems, the Federal Government (FG), in 1999 approved the Universal Basic Education policy (UBEC, 2014) and the National Policy for Integrated Early Childhood Development in 2007. Also, schools of basic studies and more public schools especially primary schools were established and bursary and scholarship schemes introduced in all states. Despite all this, as at 2013, only 4 percent of underprivileged children had access to education in comparison with 73 percent of wealthier children (UNESCO, 2014).

Although special education initiatives for girls, especially in the northern region, are in place, 78% of the poorest 7-16 year old girls from the North-East have never gone to school, compared with just 11 percent in the South-East (Rose, 2013).

Despite the efforts of the Federal Government in tackling the issues of inequality, a report by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2015) revealed that between 2011 and 2015, Nigeria needed 212,000 primary school teachers, 13 percent of the global total.

### **Conflict and Education in Nigeria - a Brief Overview**

Nigeria is one of the world's largest oil producers. Despite the large revenue made from the sale of crude oil, millions of Nigerians are still very poor and lack access to basic amenities such as health care and education due to mismanagement and the high level of corruption in the system. The country has also been faced with challenges, ranging from Niger Delta militancy, ethno-religious conflicts, electoral and post-election violence, politically motivated killings and terrorist attacks by the Boko Haram militant group in Northeast Nigeria that began in 2009. Before the beginning of the Boko Haram saga, Nigeria had 10.5 million out-of-school children, the world's highest number, with more than 60 percent of those children living in the north (UNICEF, 2017). There are also over 50 million youths and adults that lack basic literacy skills (UNCT, 2012).

Today, the education sector has been devastated by the Boko Haram insurgency and education has been interrupted in the North-East region. School children have been killed, abducted and displaced, and

some witnessed the killing of family members leading to high levels of trauma. Schools and teachers are often in danger of becoming a target themselves. Many Nigerian children have seen their chances of access to education reduced by conflict, displacement, deaths and family separation. As a result of the crisis, hundreds of schools in North-East Nigeria have been damaged, burned, or are occupied by displaced people. In the North-East region of Nigeria, most school children have lost an entire school year.

It is difficult to estimate how many displaced children are out of school in Nigeria and figures for displaced people should be treated with caution. However, using the estimates of international organisations such as the UNICEF, reports have posited that 4.4 million children are out of school due to conflict. Over 1 million of these children are in North-East Nigeria, where fighting has displaced 8.5 million people, mostly women and children (UNICEF, 2017). Forced to move multiple times by the threat of violence, these children face many uncertainties and most of them have been out of school since the crisis intensified in 2013. Donor support from local and international organisations such as EU, UNICEF and USAID in collaboration with the Nigerian government not only provide a place to learn but also a safe space to play, heal from the trauma they have endured and hope for the future.

International aid agencies have over the years worked with school staff, volunteers as well as religious and women groups. They train teachers in reading and writing using the Social and Emotional Learning Curriculum with the aim of helping children recover from the trauma they have been through. They also boost attendance by providing security as well as school lunch. UNICEF and other agencies have promoted various strategies such as 'double shifting'. This ensures the best use of the existing school infrastructure, running two sets of classes, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, enabling children from both the local community and displaced families to access education.

Teacher training, including a master training of trainers that covers life skills and psychosocial support delivery in the classroom; emergency preparedness and response at schools; and peace building as well as a mix of learning and sporting/recreation activities has also

helped these children cope. The provision of school supplies such as school bags, temporary learning spaces and school lunch has encouraged parents to release their children (UNICEF Connect, 2015). In the Northeast, thousands of girls and boys have now gained access to education. Many of these children, who had never attended school, are discovering what schooling is for the first time in their lives.

Many of the gaps in the Nigerian education system, however, still remain as they predate the major humanitarian crises of recent years in the country. This means that many, especially displaced people, in the country continue to face learning barriers. The Nigerian government itself has recognised the need to improve access to and the quality of education especially in the Northern part of the country. The government has acknowledged in numerous national reports, policies and statements its poor indicators in the education sector, including its poor overall literacy rates, inadequate infrastructure, inadequate teachers, wide gender disparity in enrolment in the north and high drop out rates. Education in Nigeria is marked with significant quality deficits, which the policy seeks to reform, including in terms of infrastructure, teachers, curriculum, textbooks among others. These policies although in writing are hardly ever implemented.

### **Conflict, Internal Displacement and Education - an International Review**

The unprecedented number of IDPs around the world due to conflict or natural disaster is alarming. This alarming number is putting huge pressure on the already weak education systems. In Nigeria, for instance, children displaced because of attacks by Boko Haram did not have access to any form of education in 19 out of 42 camps. In Iraq, only 32 percent of internally displaced children and adolescents in 2015 had access to any form of education. In Yemen, only one third of school age internally displaced children in Lahj governorate were enrolled in school (GEM Report, 2015). It is however important that these children and youths are provided with long term academic information that will instill hope for a better future, tolerance of ethnic and religious differences, conflict resolution, effects of corruption and a healthy lifestyle. Lifesaving information on sexual abuse, drug use, child marriage, forced labour and radicalization will also help save the

lives of these vulnerable children.

About 535 million vulnerable children are living in poverty around the world, deprived of adequate nutrition, out of school or at risk of exploitation due to political, religious and ethnic conflict, terrorism or natural disaster. These prolonged emergencies increase the risks these children face and aggravate their needs. They also threaten their societies, including developed countries around the world. Currently, around 6.4 million children have accessed formal and non-formal basic education with nearly a quarter of the world's children living in conflict or disaster-stricken countries (UNICEF, 2017).

Another global look at the situation explains that there are 6 million refugee children and adolescents of school age. In 2015, 3.7 million were out of school and the only 2.3 million who were in school required increased support such as adequate and conducive learning spaces and resources to help them stay and succeed in school (UNHCR, 2016). Marginalized groups such as children and young people with physical and cognitive disabilities also do not have access to quality education (UNCT, 2012).

There is clearly an urgent need to fund emergency education for displaced children around the world. In July 2015, world leaders met in Oslo, Norway and agreed to establish a global humanitarian funding platform for education in emergencies. Also, in February 2016, world leaders convened in London, United Kingdom to make funding pledges to support Syrians affected by conflict. These are excellent steps in addressing the impact of humanitarian crises on the world's population.

According to UNICEF (2017), the Syrian refugee crisis is the largest humanitarian crisis since the end of World War II. Over 4.8 million registered Syrian refugees, including about 2.2 million children have fled to neighbouring countries for safety. However, Syria is not alone. The escalating conflict in Iraq has left an estimated 11 million people in need of humanitarian assistance. More than 3 million people are displaced, including at least 1.4 million children. The armed conflict and rising insecurity in Afghanistan also forced 245,000 people to flee their homes in 2016, bringing the total number of internally displaced people to 1.1 million (UNICEF, 2017).

Although donor organisations have reached out to governments, corporate organisations and individuals to donate money, there are still millions of displaced people in countries such as Nigeria, Syria, South Sudan, and Afghanistan, who do not have access to any form of education.

### **Teaching and Learning for Internally Displaced Persons- the International Context**

The availability of quality education for IDPs is the main reason why parents will allow their children stay in school. Knowing that a child is learning is always a basis to make sure the child attends school regularly. This will also serve as a place of safety and reduce child marriage, child labour, teenage pregnancy and radicalization into terrorist groups (UNHCR, 2016). The key to quality education however, lies in the availability of infrastructure and learning resources (UNCT, 2012). A school, should be first a safe haven for displaced children, help in identifying children at risk of abuse, sexual and gender-based violence, and forced recruitment and also help connect them with appropriate services (UNHCR, 2016).

As the number of displaced people by conflict and violence rise across the world, the demand for education grows and the available space and learning resources provided by host countries and donor agencies have reduced over time. Indeed, UNICEF is distributing 1 million school bags which contain notebooks, a pencil case, pens, crayons and other stationery to children in Syria (UNICEF, 2017) and emergency supplies procured for UNICEF for the Central African Republic, Iraq, South Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yemen totalled US\$266.2 million in 2016 (UNICEF, 2016). Yet, an average of at least 12,000 additional classrooms and 20,000 additional teachers are still needed each year due to the continuous growth in the number of IDPs (UNHCR, 2016).

In 2016, a total amount of US\$119.8 million was raised for displaced people around the world out of the required US\$1.71 billion. Only 2 per cent of this was budgeted for the education of displaced children (UNICEF, 2017). This percentage is not enough to address the numerous funding needs required to provide quality education for the millions of displaced people around the world.



Adequate funds must, therefore, be raised for displaced people around the world. An improved percentage should be voted for education to adequately fund quality education services, resources and infrastructure. With strategic planning that will help increase the delivery of high impact interventions, accurate data generation to help with the distribution of available resources, relevant policies and sustained implementation that will help control waste and corrupt practices, the funds raised will provide essential amenities required for quality education such as access to adequate academic and reading materials to foster literacy and a love of reading and a child-friendly learning environment that promotes inclusive education, along with the well-being of children, counsellors and teachers.

About 86 percent of the world's displaced people are hosted in developing countries and over a quarter of them are resident in the world's least developed countries that are already struggling to educate their own children. These governments face the additional task of finding school places, trained teachers and learning materials for tens or even hundreds of thousands of newcomers, who often do not speak the language of instruction and have missed out on an average of three to four years of schooling (UNHCR, 2015).

### **Educational Spaces and Resources for Internally Displaced Persons - The North-East Nigerian Case**

Internal displacement in most countries is a complex phenomenon but is particularly so in Nigeria due to the combination of long-standing conflicts from the ethnic and religious crisis, herdsmen attacks, and years of politically induced violence, all of which have displaced people, separated families, left people unable to support themselves and deprived children of their right to education (EU, 2016).

Without immediate investment in education, Nigeria risks the radicalization of a new generation of terrorist groups. While thousands of schools have been destroyed, it is not possible to wait for all schools to be rebuilt. Establishment of emergency schools and child-friendly spaces in IDP camps has therefore become necessary because it is vital to provide children and youths with formal and non-formal education.

Researchers have stressed that one of the ways of helping students learn is by focusing on the learning environment. The reasons given for this are that the educational environment determines the success of curricula and the effectiveness of learning (Oluwatayo et al, 2015). One study reveals that learning satisfaction is influenced by factors such as the content, location and facilities, the teacher's teaching skills and individual characteristics, and students' participation. Further, the academic and social climates in the class have positive effects on students' level of satisfaction with learning (Kangas et al, 2017).

Despite the unreserved support of donor agencies which make possible life-saving and essential basic services to children and their families, supplies are still limited in IDP camps, and many of the children, still dealing with the trauma they have experienced, are either unable to concentrate in class or not coming to school at all. Safe humanitarian access and an increased operational presence of humanitarian organisations are required so that more people in need can be reached (ECHO, 2017). UNICEF in March 2017 reported the need for US\$146.9 million to enable them to reach more than four million people, including 2.1 million children. This represents a 69 per cent funding gap (UNICEF, 2017).

UNICEF in collaboration with the SUBEB trained 32 master trainers (female 3 male 29) on psycho-social support (PSS) and Conflict and Disaster Risk Reduction who will provide teacher training for 984 teachers in Borno and Yobe states. So far, 407 primary school teachers from 11 LGAs and 67 schools were trained (female 125 male 282) on PSS and pedagogical skills and effective classroom contents delivery. It is estimated that over 60,000 children will indirectly benefit from improved education through these trainings. (UNICEF, 2017, p.4)

Although a large number of existing schools lack essential teaching aids and are badly deteriorated (UNCT, 2012), a total of 17,000 children, already enrolled in previous months, have received school supplies such as bags, books, stationery and sportswear delivered in 17 schools in 6 Local Government Areas. 10 Temporary Learning Spaces (TLS) were established benefiting about 500 children. Latrines are also

built in learning centers to give children access to clean water and sanitation (UNICEF, 2017). However, a report have also shown that out of the 1.6 million children targeted to be reached by school facilities and learning materials, only 406,072 were reached with school facilities and just 19,523 received learning materials (UNICEF, 2017). This makes it even more obvious that though the intervention of donor agencies have contributed immensely to education in displaced camps, a lot still needs to be done.

A UNICEF staff described an experience after touring the classes in some IDP camps. It was observed that most children were sharing school bags with their younger siblings, as their parents could not afford more than one bag. This scenario brought to realization, the power of something as seemingly insignificant as a school bag in IDP camps. The bag is a mere bag from the time it leaves the factory and gets to the warehouse. When it reaches a child in an IDP camp, it becomes a symbol of determination and resilience (UNICEF, 2016).

In some IDP camps, the maintenance of temporary and semi-permanent school facilities remains a huge challenge. In almost all sites where IDPs reside close to temporary learning spaces, IDP are damaging schools built with local materials by pulling out wood to make fires for cooking (UNICEF, 2017). Although practices such as this are discouraging, it is fair to say that these people need food to survive. As widely reported in the local news, some officials of the emergency agency deliberately deprive IDPs of food materials in storage and sell these food materials to unsuspecting people in nearby urban areas. The fear of being abducted and killed by terrorist prevents them from going to farms and forests to fetch firewood, therefore, they vandalize schools built with local materials.

With the return of displaced people, which began in late 2016, hundreds have returned home. However, factors including the slow pace of rebuilding and rehabilitating damaged schools, as well as security concerns, mean that children who have returned home lack access to working schools.

### **Electronic Learning as a Tool Towards Providing the Education Needs in Internally Displaced Persons' Camps in North-East Nigeria**

Access to Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is not only playing an increasingly important role in education but in the daily lives of people across the globe. According to Lawson et al (2010), the use of ICT in schools is potentially larger than just curriculum considerations but has organisational advantages such as: to support disrupted learners, for social interaction, for life as well as a tool for learning. For some, these technologies will serve as a motivator as well as give them some control over their own education. It is interesting to note that an earlier national evaluation of the use of ICT in UK schools, found that both students and teachers reported powerful learning effects emerging from the experience and that it is also a way of minimising the social effects of physical disability and an essential skill for life for children with special educational needs (Comber, 2004). In the North-east region of Nigeria, the introduction of digital technologies such as video conferencing, pre recorded lectures, electronic books, audio books, social media, online games and applications, multimedia, productivity applications, cloud computing, interoperable systems and mobile devices will offer the potential for IDP to have an education system that has a unique cultural content. They will also be able to learn at their own speed and in their time.

One of the great blind spots in foreign aid, lies in the manner in which problems are approached. Donors have decades of experience and huge sums of money. However, to be successful, education programmes need to be conceived and run systemically. It is important to interpret problems into programmes that take into consideration unique local characteristics of the area/region in order to avoid the challenges of programme replication. The Nigerian government and international aid organisations should explore other methods such as the use of digital technologies in educating IDPs in order to overcome some of the current challenges, which includes inadequate funds required to employ and train teachers as well as to build and equip schools for IDPs (UNICEF, 2017). It is indeed important to realise that consistent power and internet supply is needed to ensure the

success of such an intervention in digital technologies. This points to the equally pressing need to address these basic resource challenges in the Nigerian context going forward.

With a teeming young population in the country, there is a need to promote job creation and achieve inclusive growth. Inequality, in terms of income and opportunities, has been growing rapidly and has adversely affected poverty reduction. The North-South divide has widened in recent years due to the Boko Haram insurgency and a lack of economic development in the northern part of the country. Promoting diversified growth and accelerating the creation of productive jobs through private sector growth and improvements in education and skills constitute the medium-term challenge. Providing physical and economic infrastructure, enacting social policies that would increase opportunities for the poor and vulnerable, and addressing climate change and other stressors remain the major medium-to long-term challenge. While it may be difficult, with education, children can begin to deal with the trauma they experienced and begin to rebuild their lives in a learning environment that is conducive, student-centered, where students feel safe, where respect for religious and cultural practice is the rule, where students and teachers have adequate teaching and learning resources. A success story is the Lady Labs Innovation Hub that teaches girls from underserved communities and some Chibok girls (once abducted by Boko Haram) on how to code for economic independence. This initiative has so far, been supported by the United Nations and the United States Mission, Nigeria. In the long run, the inclusion of e-learning can lead to the establishment of new educational policy structures and initiatives that will provide indigenous people and schools with equitable access to digital devices and broadband connectivity to the internet, high quality, culturally appropriate digital learning resources, educators who are competent in using ICTs in culturally responsive ways, use of ICTs for preserving and revitalizing indigenous languages and for the creation or sharing of culturally-based knowledge and content.

### **Further Recommendations and Conclusion**

It is generally believed that good citizens are made, not born. Children grow up to be responsible citizens through the combination of various influences and institutions including family, religion, school, peer groups, the mass media, and the laws that help shape their sense of civic duty and political self-confidence.

Nigeria's unity and democracy is currently under threat and education can be used to foster much needed unity for the survival of the nation (Yusuf, 2013).

The inclusion of extracurricular activities that will include pertinent issues has become urgent mainly because of the religious and ethnic crises that are currently faced. Children and adults need to be taught to respect other people's religion and ethnic or cultural beliefs. The country also needs to develop pedagogies (teaching resources, materials, manuals, videos/films and games) that reflect its people's culture, with the local environment, local languages and unique situation in mind. The replication of practices or pedagogies in developed countries does not always work. A pedagogy that considers the roles of teachers, students, culture /society in education in a globalized world is required (Scott, 2013). An alternative education system such as vocational training and sport/recreation centres outside of the traditional school setting should be supplemented for children who are in school as an after school activity. These alternative systems should also be introduced to children and especially youths who do not have access to education or whose parents do not allow going to school because of the fear of terror attacks.

Although a lot of success has been achieved so far in the Northeast with people returning home from IDP camps as a result of national and international intervention, there is need to further increase the capacity of the military, begin to rebuild the damaged schools in communities, encourage the production of learning resources such as school books and locally and train more teachers.

Over the years, the sheer number of displaced people in Nigeria caused by conflict and natural disasters have overwhelmed the government and indeed no government could have managed these levels of disaster alone. It is however obvious that the government agency for disaster management, the National Emergency

Management Agency lack the capacity to effectively manage disaster and also do not have adequate number of trained staff. The Federal Government therefore needs to strengthen the capacity of this agency by providing adequate funds, monitoring the use of these funds and providing required equipment and relief materials in storage.

In a country where educational measures are low and the government has not prioritized education for its citizens, it is not surprising that when conflict and disasters occur, displaced people experience serious shortcomings in accessing education. It is our responsibility as global citizens to ensure that every child particularly those in crises have access to education. Education can protect and guide children who have risked everything in search of safety, and provide them with a path to a brighter future.

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**PART V**

**PRIVATISATION IN EDUCATION**



## Chapter Fifteen

### **PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP IN LIBERIA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE PARTNERSHIP SCHOOLS FOR LIBERIA (PSL) INTERVENTION**

*Onyinye Nkwocha*

#### **Introduction**

Liberia ranks 176 out of 189 countries on the Human Development Index (UNDO, 2019) with less than half of the population being literate (Klees, 2017). According to the Ministry of Education (MoE, 2016) in 2008, 35% of Grade 2 students and 17% of Grade 3 students could not read a single word in English. In 2014, evidence from a literacy assessment conducted revealed that Grade 3 students' oral reading fluency was below 20 correct words per minute, which is significantly lower than the MoE's benchmark of 45 correct words per minute. Only 50% of early education teachers are qualified while less than 34% of junior and senior high school teachers hold the minimum qualifications. (MOE, 2016). The dropout rate is also very high in Liberia; only about 20% of students that enrol in Grade 1 are expected to enrol in Grade 12 (World Bank, 2018). Dropout data is significantly a result of over-age enrolment into schools. Following the effects of the war and displacements, more than 80% of children are over-age for their grade - there are more 10 - 11- and 12-years old students in Grade 2 than 7 years which is the correct age group for the grade (MoE, 2016). It is within this context that Liberia is considering privatising its primary school system (Klees, 2017), under the public sector advisory of the World Bank, to provide “education for young people where they can access relevant quality education and training which improves their skills for livelihood and work” (MoE, 2016, p.13).

In 2016, the government launched its Getting to Best Education Sector Plan (G2B-ESP) 2017-2021, which builds on the results of

previous ESPs (MoE, 2016). The objective of the G2B-ESP 2017-2021 was to serve as a roadmap for implementing a series of strategic, evidence-based, and innovative programs to measurably improve the quality and relevance of teaching and learning for all students by June 2021 (MoE, 2016). One of such 'innovative' programs in the G2B-ESP is the launch of the Public-Private Partnership project; Partnership Schools for Liberia (PSL) now known as Liberia Educational Advancement Program (LEAP) (MoE, 2016), hereafter referred to as PSL. This chapter discusses this public education intervention in the Liberian context, showing links of the intervention to privatisation ideologies. It does this by reviewing the literature around privatisation and subsequently reviewing evaluation reports directly, analysing the PSL impacts.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section discusses privatisation and the arguments around it, including its offshoot Public-Private Partnership model. The second section discusses the context of Liberia's education sector. Next is the discussion of the PSL intervention and a sub-section on its underpinning privatisation links. The fourth section is a review of the evidence emanating from the state commissioned evaluation and other independent monitoring reports on the topic. The chapter ends with recommendations and a conclusion.

### **Education Privatisation**

Education privatisation is a global phenomenon with multiple manifestations in various contexts. It draws strongly from the neoclassical/neoliberal ideology of the market and private interests as opposed to state intervention (Duménil and Lévy, 2005). Neoclassical or Neoliberal ideology is grounded in a critical presentation of the state, questioning the capacity of the state to deliver public services, while also cautioning against the danger of state-run monopolies (Menashy, 2013). According to Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005), neoliberalism is a dominant ideology that has shaped the world since the early 1970s, altering the concept of the state from nation-state to market-state (Mahmud, 2012). Immersed in neoliberal discourse, societies have become dominated by structural policies and elements that advocate for free markets, technology of choice and competition

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to drive quality, efficiency and accountability; everything that privatisation represents as a policy tool (Menashy, 2013).

Verger et al. (2016, p.7) broadly define education privatisation as “a process through which private organisations and individuals participate increasingly and actively in a range of educational activities and responsibilities that traditionally have been the remit of the state.”

For Ball and Youdell (2007), it is a new modality of state action that involves a shift in the role of the state from the provider of education to that of a financier, regulator of services delivered by a range of private providers. Unlike other sectors, education privatisation is not an outright transfer of ownership of education services from the public to the private. Instead, it is a process that happens mainly at the level of service provision with the proliferation of private schools offering alternative services, or at the level of funding with non-state actors or households providing funds for a large portion of education expenses (Verger et al., 2016). Fitz and Beers (2002) provide a comprehensive description for this complex field of study by describing education privatisation as,

...a process that occurs in many modes but in one form or another involves the transfer of public money or assets from the public domain to the private sector. It includes the provision of services by private corporations, entrepreneurs and institutions that were once provided by the public sector. Privatisation also inevitably means a shift in the control of resources, and changes in the structures through which public money is spent (p.139).

In education, privatisation can happen by de-facto where the private sector assumes responsibilities for providing education without any reform or legislative process (Tooley and Dixon, 2006), but through government's failure to meet education needs by underfinancing, often combined with weak accountability and low levels of responsiveness (UNESCO 2018, cited in Dixon 2018 p.199). Also, education privatisation can be promoted by an active government promotion or adoption and implementation of public policies as in countries like New Zealand under the Alternative Education (AE) programme, where the government contracted private providers to

deliver education to students who have become alienated from the education system (Ball and Youdell, 2007). Generally, it is mostly promoted by a broad spectrum of actors, from local interest groups to international organisations and private foundations, as a solution for addressing issues of quality, expanding choice, boosting efficiency, or increasing equity in the educational system (Verger et.al, 2016). However way it presents itself in society, privatisation is rarely ever explicitly referred to as privatisation, especially by its proponents as they are typically obscure in naming it and are not subjected to public debate (Verger et.al, 2016).

- ***Forms of Privatisation***

Ball and Youdell (2007) proffer two features for understanding privatisation trends in education - privatisation *of* public education and privatisation *in* public education. According to this framing,

- *Privatisation of public education* also referred to as exogenous privatisation, involves the opening up of public education system to non-state actors most times for profit. This model utilises the private sector to design, manage or deliver aspects of public education.
- *Privatisation in public education* on the other hand, also referred to as endogenous privatisation, involves the introduction of private-sector practices, ideas and systems into the public sector, to make the public sector function like the private sector and be more business-like.

Ball and Youdell (2007) also agree that despite the seeming clarity of this framing, the two trends of education privatisation tend to be interconnected, because the matrixes of education privatisation is not a monolithic process that is captured with a few quantifiable and general indicators. It is a complex area with various actors, manifestations and effects that can cross into each other. The significance of this, therefore, is that privatisation can impact the way education is organised, accessed, managed, delivered and even experienced by the students (Languille, 2017). Many authors have argued that privatisation in and of public education, impact educational elements such as equity and social justice (Menashy,2013), thus it challenges the concept of education as a basic human right and



public good (Verger et.al, 2016). Furthermore, critics have argued that privatisation commodifies education and shifts its focus to address private interests of students and their families as a positional good that will enhance individual economic, social, cultural and political benefits, rather than public debates (Levin, 2000).

On the other hand, proponents of privatisation continue to argue that privatisation promotes efficiency in education to ensure quality and quantity of education for all children (Aslam et al, 2018). These claims according to Edwards et.al (2017) have yet to be rigorously verified globally.

- ***Drivers of Privatisation***

In recent times, the privatisation discourse does not only cover schooling provision and funding but has extended to policy-making processes and persuasive ideas across the globe (Menashy, 2013). Education privatisation has come to be further complicated and expanded by the entrance of diverse non-state actors and influential international organisations who have the discursive power to promote such ideas globally. Through policy-making and ideational strategies, more powerful actors have entered the scene of privatisation including International non-governmental organisations (INGOs), philanthropic foundations, think tanks, corporate organisations and the multilaterals and bilateral organisations such as the World Bank, International Finance Corporation (IFC), USAID, DFID, etc.

Ball and Youdell (2007) argue that in developing country contexts, these policies are pushed and driven mainly through the processes of funding, advisory and technical assistance (Languille, 2017). They argue that privatisation tendencies are most prominent in newly established, often World Bank or aid-funded education projects<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup>Some factors have been responsible for the rise of PPPs globally. Languille (2017) suggests the view that the spread of PPPs is regarded as the second wave of neoliberal brutal privatisation schemes, starting in the 1990s to rehabilitate the state and correct the damaging effects of structural adjustments on social services and the market failures of an unregulated private sector, without having to abandon the core notion of the benefits of privatisation. Another factor according to Languille (2017) is the sudden realisation especially for developing countries that the MDG-EFA focus on expanding access to education has created an unintended strain and neglect...

Klees (2002) argues that the World Bank is a monopoly, with strong neoliberal ideologies and plays a dominant role in influencing global education policy.

According to Menashy (2013), a keyway in which these actors have proposed the introduction of privatisation tendencies in developing countries is through the introduction of partnerships; Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs). Multilateral funders like the World Bank have promoted PPPs as a means to deliver increased access to quality education efficiently and cost-effectively. The Bank sells the idea of partnership as a warm term for proliferating its privatisation ideology (Verger et.al, 2016), hence the positive connotation of the term 'partnership' has provided proponents of privatisation ideology a discursive device "to bypass the overall exhaustion and increased resistance to privatisation agenda" (Verger and Moschetti, 2017, p.249).

- ***Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs)***

Public-private partnership (PPP) in education has gained enormous momentum in different parts of the world, including in developing countries. What started out in the 1990s in the United States, has now become a global phenomenon for education governance, particularly in low- and middle-income countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Khamsi and Draxler, 2018). Today, PPPs are promoted as innovative, effective and flexible policy approaches to achieving the education for all mandate and to address a range of challenges related to access and quality (Khamsi and Draxler, 2018; Edwards et.l, 2017).

Definitions of PPPs, just like its forebearer, privatisation, are quite ambiguous owing to the heterogeneity of the concept and the diversity of actors involved in various contexts and situations also. Robert et al (2012) propose that the term PPP be taken as a semantic umbrella that reflects the changing and dynamic relationship between the state and private sector in education.

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of quality-related issues which the SDGs now address. Because the globalised discourse of neoliberalism presents quality to be in terms of innovation and efficiency, the private sector has then been pushed forward as the better provider and innovator to challenge state bureaucracies and lack of competence.

Verger et.al (2016) add that, PPPs involve a more or less stable contract between the public and the private sector. Through this contract, the public sector buys a service from the private sector for a certain period, at a certain price and according to results. Both parties are expected to share risks, knowledge and other resources in delivering the service.

In education, the most common forms of educational PPPs are vouchers and charter schools (Edwards et al, 2017). Other forms include the contracting of infrastructure and school construction, teacher training (professional development), curriculum development, and the provision of supplemental services (Hook, 2017, p.16).

- ***The Educational Impact of PPPs***

Proponents of PPPs have argued that PPPs can increase access and improve quality in education by giving students choices and by putting competitive pressures on schools. They claim that PPPs can deliver high-quality education at a lower cost, rapidly expand access to schooling and improve student achievements (Patrinos et al, 2009). On the other hand, critics of PPPs argue that PPP programmes impact education negatively more than positively, they incite more marginalisation for some section of society by reducing access due to admission screening, poor quality due to lack of proper regulation of private providers, and increase the possible deterioration of public education systems through the exit of parental voice (Ball, 2012; Menachy 2013). Languille (2017) argues that regardless of the anti-poverty rhetoric attached to the advocacy of PPP concepts, most education programs under this arrangement do not benefit students from the bottom quintile. Verger and Moschetti (2017) in reviewing global literature on the topic, identify five levels upon which the arguments of PPP impact in education policy have been evaluated. They include; Inclusion and stratification; Teacher's work, Learning outcomes, Innovation and Cost-effectiveness.

PPPs can manifest either as privatisation in public education or privatisation of public education, they respond to very different designs and rationales, and their implementation and impacts are

context specific and dependent on the specific non-state actors involved in each partnership (Verger and Moschetti, 2017). Hence, Akyeampong (2009) argues that one of the challenges in analysing the implications of PPP frameworks resides in the extreme diversity of the models enacted. This suggests that generalisation of PPP impacts is almost impossible or at-least inaccurate. Overall, Menashy (2013) argue that to analyse or research private actors in a given PPP activity, one must pay attention to the context including actors, activity, aim, level, country and impact etc. Consequently, the next section introduces the Liberian context and the PPP policy experiment in pre and primary public education. Drawing from the argument of Menashy (2013), an attempt is made in the next sections, to explore the background of Liberia as a post-conflict nation-state as well as the socio economic conditions that may have given impetus to the adoption and implementation of the PPP policy.

### **Country Context**

Liberia is a post-conflict country with substantial levels of vulnerability and fragility. The country has suffered significant setbacks in the past two decades, having barely survived a protracted 14-year civil war that cost the lives of approximately 250,000 people and led to substantial losses in material wealth and social progress (World Bank, 2018). The civil war significantly devastated the nation's infrastructure, including the education system, with approximately 70% of schools destroyed during the war (World Bank, 2018). From 2013 to 2014, the country was hit again by another public health crisis, the Ebola crisis, which left schools closed for over seven months (Klees, 2017). This outbreak further devastated Liberia's social and economic progress, negatively impacting the economy significantly, leaving nearly 40% of the population living on less than US\$1.90 per day (MoE, 2016).

Specifically, the education sector is underfunded in Liberia. According to the MoE (2016, p.39), “the education sector is operating on a fragile budget context where external shocks or crisis can easily have a negative influence on the available resources to education”. Actual government expenditure on public education remains low in Liberia. Between 2012 and 2016 the figure stood at 13.5% of budget,

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a far cry from the benchmark of 20% set by the Global Partnership for Education (GPE). Total public investment on education is a mere 3.83% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (MoE, 2016). These figures average around USD\$ 44 million, with approximately 78% of it going into recurrent expenditures like teachers' salaries, leaving the MoE with very little to conduct other sector development activities necessary for achieving the objectives of its Education Sector Plan (Klees, 2017).

Given this reality, a significant part of education funding in Liberia comes from contributions from foreign donors with the World Bank, USAID, European Union, and GPE contributions surpassing USD\$50 million annually (MoE, Feb. 2017, p.5). These major funders “wield considerable power,” (Hook, 2017, p.13) as official development assistance (ODA) significantly surpasses the domestic funding and almost none of it is channelled through the MoE; instead, the funds are directly funding donor interests in the country (Hook, 2017). As stated by the MoE (2017, p.5), “Put simply, Liberia could be described as the least sovereign country in the world... what this means in practice is that the Ministry of Education's ability to make financing decisions relating to education sector priorities is limited”.

### **The PSL/LEAP Intervention**

PSL is a “publicly financed, privately provided PPP” (MoE, 2017, p.6). The pilot program began in 2016 with 93 public schools and was expanded to an additional 101 schools in the third year. The model is similar to charter schools in the United States or academies in the United Kingdom (Sandefur et al, 2017). PSL schools remain public schools, charge no fees, and are staffed by public school teachers, but each school is managed by one of eight private contractors, including three for-profit companies and five charities (Romero and Sandefur 2019). These contractors include: Bridge<sup>11</sup> International Academies

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<sup>11</sup>Originally, Bridge International Academies (BIA) was going to act as the sole service provider of the program, however following public outcry and media criticism, the MoE opened up the project to seven additional providers. There have been criticisms regarding the transparency of the commissioning process as the MoE acknowledges that BIA was commissioned through an entirely different process

(which was allocated 23 schools in the pilot), Omega Schools (allocated 19 schools), and Rising Academies (allocated 5 schools). The other five non-profit providers include BRAC (allocated 20 schools), Street Child (allocated 12 schools), More than Me (allocated 6 schools), Youth Movement for Collective Action (allocated 4 schools), and Stella Maris (allocated 4 schools).

The rationale for this PPP intervention is to rapidly improve numeracy and literacy outcomes for pre-primary and primary age children through contracting the management of public schools to non-state operators (MoE, 2016). According to official PSL documents, the first year PSL model ran on three models: “select, commission, and contract non-state operators to run 94 public primary schools<sup>12</sup>, leading to higher learning outcomes in literacy and numeracy; build the capacity of the Ministry of Education to effectively play the role of commission, regulator and quality assurer to PSL schools, and; conduct a rigorous external evaluation to measure the performance (quality, cost-effectiveness, equity) of PSL schools in comparison with traditional public schools” (MoE, Feb. 2017, p.8).

According to the contract signed with the Government of Liberia (GoL), the operators are expected to teach the Liberian national curriculum. However, they have the flexibility to enhance and adapt it to their wish. They may choose to use school resources in different ways like providing remedial programs, prioritising subjects, having longer school days, or other extra-curricular activities. They can also provide more inputs such as extra teachers, books, or uniforms, as long as they pay for them (Romero and Sandefur 2019). As such, PSL operators are allowed to source for extra funds for themselves (Klees, 2017).

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<sup>12</sup>The schools still remain a part of the public system but under private management, they remain non-fee-paying schools, no entry assessment is permitted, and teachers remain public workers under the MoE. According to the MoE (2017), such management is expected to provide closer school monitoring, additional resources, and innovative learning models. The GoL describes the PSL as “Africa's largest trial of public-private partnerships in education to improve learning outcomes for over 15,000 children in 94 ECE and primary schools” (MoE, 2017, p.100).

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PSL is funded and supported by private foundations and philanthropies such as Vitol, UBS, ELMA, Social Finance, Mulago, ELMA, Gates foundation, the Zuckerberg Foundation and Big Win Philanthropy. It is also being advised by the UK charity Absolute Return for Kids (ARK); a well-known proponent of PPPs worldwide (GI-ESCR, 2017). The philanthropic funding provides a per pupil subsidy of \$50 to operators, in addition to the state's investment of \$50 per child – the same financial obligation the government has to every other public school. However, the GoL says it plans to increase its state per-child expenditure to \$101 by 2020 (MoE, 2016). The overall cost of the intervention in its year one was \$3.9 million, of which 64 percent required external funding from donors.

In order to assess the impact of PSL, a three-year randomised controlled trial (RCT) was set up by an American organisation, Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA), which specialises in running RCTs. For the RCT, a list of eligible schools agreed upon by the MoE and private contractors was generated, the schools were divided into matched pairs, and contractors were randomly assigned to one of two matched schools, thus creating a treatment group and a matched control. The matching was done based on county, district, and school-level characteristics (Sandefur et al, 2017).

The decision on whether to expand the pilot or not was initially dependent on the findings of a. commissioned a randomised control trial (RCT) that would assess the success of the pilot (Hook, 2017). However, in February 2017, the MoE announced the expansion of the second phase of the pilot even before evidence from the year one evaluation was released. This led to more criticism<sup>13</sup> as to the GoL's regard for evidence in the program and their privatisation intention of as being inherently desirable (Hook, 2017).

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<sup>13</sup>The announcement of PSL has sparked extensive national and international criticism, warning against impending outright privatisation of public education, a violation of Liberia's legal and moral obligations, and a gross violation of the right to education (UHCR, March 2016). To manage the criticisms and speculations around the project, the Liberian Ministry of Education (MoE) commissioned a randomised control trial (RCT) that would assess the success of the pilot by randomly assigning public schools to be privately managed and comparing these to the schools that remain in public hands (Hook, 2017).

• *Underpinnings of Privatisation and the Role of External Actors in PSL*

Although the GoL has refused to acknowledge its PSL project as a privatisation policy, instead dismissing criticisms and referring to these claims as 'perceived privatisation' (MoE, 2017, p.12), the PSL speaks to the discourse of neoliberal privatisation. In the final PSL document, the MoE (2018) describes the rationale for the PSL in the following words:

Bold and progressive reforms are needed if things are to change for Liberia's children. Recognising the limited capacity of government to deliver better outcomes, the Ministry of Education looked to the non-state sector to insource school management expertise into the public system through a PPP (p.1).

Such language projects the neoclassical/neoliberal ideology of questioning state capacity and extolling an innovative private sector (Menashy, 2013). However, as Verger et al (2016, p.190) argue, "low-income countries are usually vulnerable and open to external agents advocating global education policy solutions, because of the economic and administrative shortcomings that they face". Evident from the G2B-ESP, the Liberian government is in partnership with various external agents all focused on different priorities within the education sector, some of these include; World Bank (Public sector reform, Education sector planning and Early childhood education); Ark (School quality and Education management), Big Win Philanthropy (Public sector reform); UNESCO(System monitoring, TVET ...) etc. (MoE, 2017). The strong presence of the private sector and the active role of the World Bank, whose dominant ideology is neoliberal (Klees et al. 2012) raises critical questions of power<sup>14</sup> and authority in these

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<sup>14</sup>Whether between the GoL and its funding and advisory partners or the GoL and its implementing partners, Ginsburg (2012) argues, that the question of who has the most power, resources, is internal to PPPs and needs to be understood and analysed. Verger et al (2012) also argues that new policy ideas do not necessarily become dispersed because of their inherent quality and rigour but rather because of the promotional and framing activities of the experts who back them. Ball and Youdell (2008) refer to this as the mechanism of persuasion and the emerging role of ideas.



partnerships. According to Klees (2012), the trending *partnership* term is misleading in a world of vastly unequal power.

Also, Verger et al, (2016) comment that in contexts of insufficient resources and moments of crisis, whether economic, political or humanitarian, the urgency to achieve educational goals or better results, tends to be a window for promoting education privatisation.

In 2013 after all 25,000 high school students that took the state university entrance examinations failed, the then president of Liberia labelled the education system “a mess” that requires a complete overhaul (Reuters, 2013). In the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the MoE and Bridge Academy, the government acknowledged that,

After more than a decade of civil war and post-conflict stress, and the Ebola health crisis in 2014-2015...Liberia's children remain with a right to education that is unrealised...without a radical change on the existing strategy of the Government of Liberia, it is unlikely that a child's right to quality education will be actualised in this generation... (MoE, 2016, p.2)

This shows how true Hook's (2017) argument is that market-based reforms are often opportunistically promoted during catastrophe as it provides a fertile ground for legitimisation of radical policies.

### **Reviewing the Evidence in PSL**

This section reviews and analyses evidence from documents related to the PSL in year one and three. Space does not allow for a full analysis on all key issues relating to the PSL, as such the analysis in this paper focuses on three key areas: access to education for all, learning outcomes, and sustainability and cost-effectiveness of the PSL. However, other issues such as teacher's work, child safety and accountability and transparency have been highlighted in the literature on the topic.

- ***Access to Education for All***

Despite the claim that PPP increases access to schooling, evidence from the RCT finds that in year one, the PSL reduced access to schooling for children in treatment schools as well as increased dropout rate (COTAE, 2017). In year three, the share of the original

cohort of students still in any school was 84.5% in control schools, and 3.3% lower in treatment schools from a base of 15% (Romero and Sandefur 2019). This was pointed to the expulsion of students in PSL schools.

The PSL contract permits operators to have class capsizes between 65 and 55. However in Liberia, the average class size is larger than 50 (Tyler, 2007). Also, PSL schools have only one class per grade, compared to other traditional schools with two or more sections. One of the operators', BIA, which was originally capped at 55, restricted its class size to 45, thereby pushing students out of school into other already crowded schools (Hook, 2017). Some students who could not find spaces in neighbouring schools had to travel some distance to the next communities to attend schools, younger ones stayed at home. For example, in Margibi County, due to limited space, the Hilda Knight Cooper Foundation School could not accommodate all students rejected by the BIA run school in the community (COTAE, 2017).

In year 3, the RCT report reveals an overall dropout increase of 6.5% in BIA schools. It also claims that this figure is unconnected to the expulsions in the first year and driven instead by higher rates of pregnancy in female students and by overage enrolment, with older students less likely to enrol in secondary school after they finish primary school in treatment schools (Romero and Sandefur 2019). However, it is unclear how this countrywide challenge of overage enrolment seemed only to impact PSL schools as claimed.

- ***Learning Outcomes***

According to the RCT report, after one academic year, the programme improved learning outcomes by approximately 60% (Klees, 2017). English scores increased by 56% and Math by 66%. Students enrolled in Grade 1 in 2015/2016 in control schools were able to read a little over 11 words per minute on average in 2019, while those enrolled in treatment schools could read about 15 words per minute (Romero and Sandefur, 2019). However, after year three, the programme's positive impact on learning outcomes remains virtually unchanged since year one. The RCT report cited possible reason for the unchanged increase in test scores as treatment effects on teacher behaviour (such as reduced absenteeism), which dissipated after the first year. It also

mentioned that learning gains vary starkly across operators, with 3 of 8 producing zero impact, and 5 of 8 producing somewhat larger, very similar results (Sandefur, 2019).

In the light of gain in test scores, other reports argue that some other factors could account for this gain, of which RCTs are not designed to give answers to. For example, the COTAE (2017) report argue that while attempting to inequitably improve learning outcomes in the BIA schools, the MOE and Bridge were creating more challenge in already crowded schools receiving student denied access to partnership schools. Klees (2017) argued that smaller class sizes and pupil to teacher ratio, coupled with single-grade classes, could have positively impacted scores for PSL schools. Furthermore, other factors such as increased school hours of 3.9 hours per week, flexible curriculum that may have allowed for PSL schools to teach to test, better trained and higher-paid recent graduate teachers, as well as access to more resources could have possibly increased test scores in PSL schools above non-PSL schools. These issues border on equity as resources are unevenly distributed, as well as planning and funding issues (COTAE, 2017).

- ***Sustainability and Cost-effectiveness***

In year one, the total cost of PSL pilot was US\$3.9 million, of which 64% is externally funded (MoE, 2017). Government public spending per child is \$50 but for PSL schools it is \$100. Yet, the average actual expenditure per child by private operators was roughly \$300 per child, ranging from \$640 by BIA and over \$250 by More than Me and Rising Academies, and about \$50 for BRAC, YMCA, Street Child and Omega. Stella Maris never began operations and was null (Romero and Sandefur, 2019). However, the RCT report in year three stated that *self-reported* figures by operators dropped to \$161, \$164, \$63 for BIA, More than Me and Rising Academies respectively, bringing the overall average cost to \$119 per pupil, which is still above agreed amount (Romero and Sandefur, 2019).

Given the GoL's announcement to scale the program to 550 PSL over the next five years, and the cost implication already highlighted, the evidence argues against the scalability and sustainability of PSL model (Hook, 2017). According to Tyler (2017), none of the midline assessments provided a cost-benefit analysis, nor is there real data on

how much the provider was spending per student. The RCT depended on a self-reported figure by operators.

The MoE itself acknowledges that sustainability is a potential issue as PSL currently relies heavily on external funding, and “cannot rely on short-term philanthropic funding” (MoE, 2017, p.18). In light of Liberia's limited funding capability and dependence on ODA funding and partnership, it is unclear how practicable the scalability and sustainability of the PSL and its supposed impacts can be (Hook, 2017).

### **Recommendations**

Liberia's resolve to improve quality education for her citizens is hampered by limited funding and a weak enforcement system, further complicated by its vulnerability to external actors (Oxfam, 2019). The Education Sector Plan shows a commitment to improve the country's education through proposed programmes that seek to cater for out of school children; address the crisis in over-age enrolment; improve the teacher workforce; develop policies on girls' education; strengthen quality standards; establish school improvement grants; deepen school accountability and improve early childhood education. However, its controversial public-private partnership of the “Partnership Schools for Liberia” (PSL) pilot programme seems to be creating more trouble for the achievement of overall ESP plans. To this effect, the following recommendations are made:

- Rather than concentrate very significant resources and political energy on PPP schools that are not evenly spread across the country, the GoL can channel the same funds into its urgently needed systemic reform programmes that would benefit all Liberian schools.
- If the GoL insists on scaling its PPP project, then it must also provide adequate support to non-PSL schools who are suffering more pressure because of PSL presence and expulsions in their communities. The equity implication of this decision is very significant to the realisation of SDG4 in Liberia.

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- Relying on private donation to fund public education is unsustainable and abysmal. The GoL albeit late, must ensure that it stays committed and secure the full commitment of donors to supporting the PSL for as long as it lasts. The MoE must ensure that the program continues to attract donor funding by improving the credibility and transparency of the of programme
- Qualitative evaluation is essential to complement RCT reports in order to have a full understanding on PSL impacts and successes. The selection of the independent evaluator must be transparent as well to all stakeholders.

### **Conclusion**

The general lack of evidence on the effectiveness of PPPs is identifiable in the outcomes of the PSL. As Klees (2012, p.58) argues, “privatisation is based on ideology, not evidence”. It seems possible that the GoL and its PSL intervention, under the persuasion of the World Bank and its many private sector partners, have been initiated more for ideological reasons than for its potential effectiveness or cost-effectiveness (Klees, 2017). Considering the amount of resources invested into the PSL and the minimal value for money eventually realised, it is wise to suggest that these resources should be channelled to the overall public education sector where all schools can benefit equitably (Oxfam, 2019).

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