

“Educational Transition from Colonial Rule to Independence—Its Complexities and Interpretation : The Case of Zimbabwe”

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1. Introduction

There is a peculiar phenomenon in African education. Most post-colonial countries in Africa attempted to revise drastically the education policies and systems of the colonial period with various motivations: e.g., to insure the educational equality, to ascertain a better standard of living, to disseminate a new political ideology, or just to celebrate the birth of a new nation. However, most of these countries more or less continue the education systems that their rulers created. In other words, the post-colonial governments still allow the colonial education systems to exist in various forms. Why and how does this phenomenon occur? Is this situation surprising or expected, within the African context?

What frameworks or perspectives help explain this phenomenon? Keeping these questions in mind, Zimbabwe can be used as a point of study.

Jansen (1991:79) indicates that Zimbabwe inherited a colonial curriculum that has been criticized [by Zimbabwean government officials] as racist, elitist, Eurocentric, competitive, individualistic, and capitalist oriented. Based on these criticisms, drastic changes were planned in the new Zimbabwe. Research for this paper proved that the new education policy was mainly socialist-oriented, racial-

ly-integrated, and mass-targeted. The goal of mass education was achieved to a great extent, but it seems that socialist orientation played only a small role in national development and education. Racial integration still only exists in theory. At the same time, the literature review did not find explicit evidence supporting the presumption that the new policy also aimed at creating education systems that were Afrocentric (or at least non-Eurocentric), non-competitive, and non-individualistic (communal). Instead, the policy was rather individualistic, competitive and based on the British examination system. All of the above-mentioned criticisms of the colonial education policy do not seem to have fully led to policy changes. In fact, the education policy after independence seems to still maintain many of the same elements of the colonial education. Hopefully, the analysis of the new education policy and its practice may reveal the reasons why post-colonial Zimbabwe had to (or chose to) continue the colonial education system in various ways.

Following an overview of the history and education policies of colonial Zimbabwe, three major areas of educational change emerged in the transitional period; namely, ideology of education, racial relationship in the school system, and access to education will be examined comparing the situations in the colonial period with those in the post-colonial era. In so doing, a model or a perspective will be employed to explore explanations for each major area. In addition, an attempt will be made throughout the three areas to explain why there was not much action taken to make the new Zimbabwean education Afrocentric (or at least non-Eurocentric), non-competitive, and non-individualistic (communal), since post-colonial Zimbabwe wanted a fundamental change. In conclusion, the implications of the analysis will be drawn and further research goals will be explored.

2. History and education policies of colonial Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe was, directly and indirectly, a British colony for 90 years from 1890 to 1979. In the first 75 years (1890–1965), Zimbabwe (called Rhodesia during this period) was under direct British rule, and in the final 15 years (1965–1979) it was under white minority rule because of a unilaterally declared independence from Britain in 1965. Whites, who constituted only 3.5 percent of the population of 7,500,000, controlled the economic and political structures and enjoyed the highest rewards that flowed from them, while blacks, who constituted the majority, had little control and the lowest rewards (Dorsey, 1989:41). Whenever necessary, legislation was enacted to ensure that black development did not pose a serious threat to white development and interests (Dorsey, 1989: 41).

Mungazi (1985:196) claims that throughout the colonial period, education was designed to promote and to protect the political and socioeconomic interests of the whites and to keep the vast black majority in a subservient position. While education was free and compulsory (to the age of 15) for the white community, access to education for the black majority was highly constricted and punctuated with frequent bottlenecks [e.g., school fee charge, requirement of property ownership for access to education] (UNESCO, 1992). Throughout the colonial period, school systems were completely segregated as the European Division and the African Division. Particularly from 1965–1979 when the country was under the white minority control, the educational opportunity for the Africans was further restricted (Mungazi, 1985:196).

In the early stage of colonial rule, the colonial administration provided only practical training (at the primary level) for the Africans to let them acquire industrial skills and contribute to the colonial economy as manual workers. This policy (or attitude) is represented by the remarks of colonial rulers in the early

colonial stage. Earl Grey (administrator of Rhodesia, 1896–1898) is quoted as saying in 1896, “..the sole purpose of education for the Africans was to .. turn them into cheap laborers” (Mungazi, 1986:522). Consequently, even though the first independent government’s [secondary] school for Africans was founded in 1920, they were confined to the teaching of agricultural and industrial skills needed for rural community development (Atkinson, 1982:78). Even though academic secondary schools were a long–standing demand from the Africans, the first academic secondary school was not established until 1939 by a Christian mission (Atkinson, 1982:78). However, due to the labor shortages after World War II, Africans started moving into skilled employment, which ultimately led to the establishment of the first [government] academic schools for Africans in 1946 (Atkinson, 1982:78). Following these events, academic education started to become prevalent for blacks over the next decades, although practical training for Africans remained to some extent.

In 1956, Prime Minister Garfield Todd introduced the New Educational Policy for the Africans in 1956 by which he attempted to introduce educational reform that he believed would move away from the negative policies of the past and into a new era of constructive racial relationships (Mungazi, 1986:525). His primary objective of the proposal was to respond to the wave of African nationalism and to avoid a racial conflict that would ultimately lead to the damage of the whites’ interests (Mungazi, 1986:525). The policy was proposed not because of genuine interest in the development of the Africans, but because of the need to secure the white government’s power for the future; however, this proposal was not accepted by the mainstream of the colonial administration (Mungazi, 1986:525).

The education policy in 1963–1979 adopted by the Rhodesia Front (RF) government contained more oppressive educational policies than any in the past. RF was committed to the erection of progressively stronger barriers against any

erosion of white control (Atkinson, 1982:79). Access to education for blacks was further inhibited by the unavailability of school places, setting an amount of school fees beyond black parental ability, and a series of selective terminal examinations which were designated to create severe school–progression bottlenecks for black pupils (Nhundu, 1992:79). It was natural that the more oppressive policies met the total rejection of the Africans, and as a result the Africans reversed their development [goal] to the pursuit of political independence as a prerequisite of educational development (Mungazi, 1986:528). Opposition to the policy also came from the British government, which ultimately triggered the unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in 1965 by Ian Smith (Prime Minister, 1963–1979) to gain more freedom in governance (Mungazi, 1986:529–530). Five months after this declaration, a civil war erupted.

However, even after the breakout of the war, Smith's education policy became more oppressive than before (Mungazi, 1986:531):

- In 1966, the government allowed only 50 percent of black primary school graduates to enroll in secondary schools.
- In 1968, the government announced that Christian mission schools, which had been providing 90 percent of all schooling in the country, would not be allowed to operate as of 1970.
- From 1971, under a new school system funded by the African councils in the communities, the government paid only 5 percent of the teachers' salaries while the parents paid the remaining 95 percent (Mungazi, 1985:197).

These policy changes aimed at controlling the demand for education by blacks (Nhundu, 1992:79). Following these changes, the Africans became totally convinced that the colonial government had gone too far in seeking to preserve the political domination of the whites by denying Africans equal educational opportunity (Mungazi, 1985:197). As a result, the church community felt that RF's educational policy had gone too far, and the church community took sides with the

blacks [against the government] (Mungazi, 1986:531). To fight against the more oppressive governments, education for the Africans was promoted by the Africans, churches and "fair-minded" members of the colonial government. Paradoxically, when the white minority administration forced more oppressive education policies on the Africans in order to subdue them, the policies instead gave them an impetus to greater demand for education among Africans and eventually the quest for independence.

With an increasing number of primary school leavers, even the reactionary government led by the Rhodesian Front could not completely ignore the demand of blacks for secondary education (Dorsey, 1989:42-43). In 1966, it announced a 10-year plan to establish 300 two-year [non-academic] junior secondary schools to cater to the second stratum of the primary school output with an emphasis on the acquisition of "prevocational" skills to meet the demands of employers that complained about the unsuitability of the "narrow" academic education school-leavers (Dorsey, 1989:42-43). The government envisaged that by 1976 these schools would enroll 37 percent of the primary school output, while 12 percent would be selected for academic secondary schools (Dorsey, 1989:43).

However, the junior secondary schools were not accepted by the black community, because blacks felt that the [prevocational] junior secondary schools provided an "inferior" type of education: inferior to the type of education offered in academic secondary schools and inferior to the type of education that the government provided for white pupils in the country (Dorsey, 1989:43; Nhundu, 1992:93; Jansen, 1991). Thus, [black] pupils opted to enter the junior secondary schools only when they failed to find a place in an academic secondary school (Dorsey, 1989:43).

The ensuing war of national liberation resulted in the decimation of nearly all the rural education infrastructure and facilities and the exodus of tens of thousands of school pupils and refugees (Nhundu, 1992:80). The escalation of the

armed struggle after 1972 between the black liberation movements and the white minority government in Rhodesia, the conversion of South Africa to policies of détente in southern Africa during 1974, and the overthrow of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique in 1975 set off a series of events culminating in a negotiated settlement: the Lancaster House Agreement (which turned over the reigns of government from the white minority to the Africans in 1979) mediated by Britain (Atkinson, 1982:80). In 1980, Zimbabwe finally won independence. The Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) party [ZANU-PF], led by Robert Mugabe (currently President), took over the majority rule in April 1980.

Thus, the colonial education system can be characterized: Curriculum—largely academic, administration—separate; modern for whites and underdeveloped for blacks, pedagogy—rote learning sustained by under-prepared teachers in black schools, and evaluation—largely controlled by the Cambridge Examination Syndicate (Jansen, 1991:83). These colonial characteristics were the factors that the new government had to overcome in order to divorce itself from the colonial education system.

3. Ideology of education

The British colonial rule (1890–1979) was based on a capitalist economy. The colonial administration initially used practical training for Africans as a means to produce manual workers, and later provided academic education for Africans to supplement labor shortages in the modern economic sector and administrative positions in the colonial government. Thus, there was a shift in the emphasis in curriculum from vocational to academic.

Independent Zimbabwe chose a socialist path like Tanzania and Zambia.

After independence, the ruling ZANU–PF party immediately announced its intention to direct its reconstruction program in accordance with the tenets of “scientific socialism” (Jansen, 1991:79). The new education policy was based on the motive to politically, socially and culturally liberate itself from the educational chains of the colonial past (Mungazi, 1985:200).

Curriculum construction became one of the most important ideological vehicles of the socialist state (Jansen, 1991:79). The espoused curricular goals were (1) to develop a socialist consciousness among students, (2) to eliminate the distinction between manual labor and mental labor, (3) to adapt subject-matter content to the Zimbabwean cultural context, (4) to foster cooperative learning and productive development strategies as art of the school curriculum, and (5) to increase opportunities for productive employment (Jansen, 1991:79).

For the political liberation of Zimbabweans, education served as a means to produce individuals with the human consciousness of humanity and who recognize the supremacy of the individual and the importance of “critical-thinking” (Mungazi, 1985:200). Thus, the Zimbabwe’s new education policy pursued individualistic education emphasizing “critical-thinking” and “problem-solving.” Mungazi (1985) quotes Robert Mugabe as saying, “It was virtually impossible for Zimbabwe to ensure political and economic independence, unless its people were mentally emancipated.” Mungazi (1992:98–99) adds that Zimbabwe fully realized that unlike political liberation, the liberation of the individual mind is an absolute necessity if the negative effects of the colonizer’s action are to be eliminated. Most newly independent African countries in the 1960’s chose an education strategy with the “emphasis on the individual and the present modernization process” (Brown, 1975:425). The motivation behind this strategy, was mainly economic development for which these countries, both civilian and military governments alike, pursued a development process to maximize GNP (Brown, 1975:425). It is interesting to note that post-colonial African states, both capitalist

and socialist oriented, placed emphasis on the individual. This point will be explored in the later part of this paper.

However, in terms of the implementation of the new education policies in new Zimbabwe, Jansen (1991:81) indicates that with curriculum: (1) there is no single or consistent ideological orientation to the curriculum reconstruction program, (2) curricula closest to the "socialist" agenda remain marginal in the national education system with little chance of national adoption, (3) wide range of curricular choice in science or history potentially reduces any conflicts that may arise with a common socialist curriculum. In terms of economic development, "despite considerable state intervention in the economy, ... most production, whether agricultural, industrial or mineral, is still carried out by private capital" (Jansen, 1991:82).

To understand from a wider scope the inconsistency between the new education policy and practice under socialism, Jansen (1991:82) points out five political and economic factors:

- (a) Ninety years of colonial rule under a capitalist economy, which did not allow Zimbabwe to seek a complete socialist path;
- (b) Transitional Lancaster House Agreement's provisions limiting radical transformation of Zimbabwe (retention of a conservative white civil service) and the economy;
- (c) Destablizing by South Africa which sought to undermine socialist development in Zimbabwe and to increase its economic dependency on the apartheid system, through military intervention and economic sanctions;
- (d) Zimbabwe's dependence on international capital and its low-key socialist stance as results of the devastating liberation war, drought in the 1980's, and the conditions attached to Western economic aid programs; and
- (e) African elites who began gradually to find access to the same economic and social status as their white counterparts.

Although these political and economic factors did not directly determine education policy, they likely circumscribed the possibilities for radical changes in education policy (Jansen, 1991:83). In addition, it was deeply rooted among Zimbabweans through their colonial experience that they saw education as the key to jobs in the modern sector in the economy and to upward social mobility and a better standard of living (Dorsey, 1989:45). Thus, the government's "radical change" under the new ideology resulted in little actual change.

The choice of socialism with its emphasis on individual (emancipation) and the pursuit of modernization amidst an attempt to divorce itself from the colonial past may be explained by the distinction between two types of education: education in a relatively stable world and education in a changing world (Hopkins, 1992:200). In a sense, two types of education may be called respectively, traditional education and "modern" education. According to Hopkins (1992:200), traditional education has an overwhelming emphasis on the preservation and transmission of the cultural heritage in order to maintain the continuity of the society. Modern education puts emphasis on nurturing the abilities of critical-thinking and problem-solving to enable the members of the society to take an active role in the evolution, development and creation of culture; thus, in a changing world, cultural elements such as knowledge, values and skills are continually re-evaluated, modified, created and improved (Hopkins, 1992:200).

Zimbabwe adopted an education policy recognizing the urgent needs of the changing Zimbabwean society in transition from colonial rule to independence, placing emphasis on the importance of individual emancipation and self-determination (critical-thinking and problem-solving skills). The ideological orientation under these elements of the new policy was socialism. In this context, even though Zimbabwe adopted a similar path as the British (capitalist) colonialism, it seems that Zimbabwe tried to separate itself from the colonial legacy by adopting "socialist" modern education principles, instead of "capitalist" modern

education principles. Despite the “socialist” rhetoric, what really was implemented was largely in line with capitalism. Therefore, independence did little for Zimbabwe to Africanize or indigenize its education system (e.g., incorporate more African culture in the textbooks). This phenomenon may make sense if it is understood that socialism was used as a tool to pursue modernization from a different perspective from capitalism. In other words, it is likely that Zimbabweans did not feel much need to Africanize the new education, because they have an alternative conceptual base of socialism to legitimize the new education system.

4. Racial relationships in the school system

The Education Act of 1979 also provided for the integration of the “European” and “African” divisions of education and for the “gradual” racial integration of schools (Dorsey, 1989:43; Mungazi, 1985:199; Edwards and Tisdell, 1989:58). Under an “officially non-racial education system” (Lemon, 1995:103), government schools were reclassified into the following five types (Dorsey, 1989:43; Atkinson, 1982:80–81):

- (1) Private schools (mission schools and formerly-designated independent schools), with government support for teachers’ salaries;
- (2) Group A schools (in effect the former White, Colored and Asian schools), which were to be spatially zoned and would charge fees;
- (3) Community schools (a new category formed among the former White, Colored and Asian schools), which were permitted to purchase their own premises on favorable terms from the government, which would continue to pay and supply teachers;
- (4) Group B schools (effectively the former African schools), which were to

charge a lower rate of fees; and

- (5) Group C Schools (Schools in African Tribal Trust Lands — the present communal areas), which were to be free of fees.

Even through this reorganization of schools was under the theme of racial integration, only Group A schools and Community schools were racially integrated.

The regrouping clearly sought to preserve the quality of the white schools within the non-racial framework, through the division into Group A and Group B schools which were, if not overtly racial, at least based on property rights (Lemon, 1995:103). Group A schools were open to all races, but access was limited by high fees and explicit provisions excluding the children of domestic servants [i.e., blacks] and all children outside each zone [i.e., black students] (Lemon, 1995:103). Therefore, among blacks, only those who could afford to purchase or lease property in the former white areas had access to Group A schools (Dorsey, 1989:44–45). Group A schools were increasingly underutilized due to white emigration, while Group B schools continued to be overcrowded, particularly in the urban areas, where there had been an enormous influx of refugees from the war-torn rural areas (Dorsey, 1989:44). Group C schools remained under-provided and heavily dependent on community input — free in name only (Lemon, 1995:103).

Regarding Community schools, although tuition was free in all primary schools, the head of a Community school is required to establish a General Purpose Fund for extracurricular activities and additional facilities, and to collect fees in support of this fund (World Bank, 1990:134). The major disadvantage of relying on community contributions was the inequality that results from the wealthier parents being able to pay substantially more than poorer parents [for better teachers, buildings, learning materials, etc.] (World Bank, 1990:134). The greatest burden of supporting education was borne by poor parents in rural areas where the greatest number of new schools was found (Nhundu, 1992:96).

The government attempted to overcome these severe discrepancies by establishing a Disadvantaged Schools Program that sought to provide capital development for communities that were extremely poor (World Bank, 1990:134). NGOs filled some of the remaining gaps with much-needed financial support. In 1981, the Mugabe government amended the 1979 Act, ending the category of Community schools, abolishing the division between Group A and Group B schools, and removing the clause which precluded the children of domestic workers from attending the same schools as children of their employers, and lastly all children (including whites) were to learn an indigenous language either Ndebele or Shona (Lemon, 1995:105). Dorsey (1989:44-45) concludes that although the educational system had expanded, particularly at the primary school level, the continued restricted enrollment at secondary and higher educational levels was a source of disaffection and discontent throughout the country (Dorsey, 1989:45).

The shift of racial relationships from segregation to integration may be understood as cultural conflicts between Africans and Europeans. In this aspect, Brown (1975) classifies four educational strategies employed in the different stages of cultural conflicts between Africans and Europeans: (1) separate [education for Africans and whites], (2) assimilation [of Africans into the metropolitan culture through education], (3) adaptation [of education to mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of Africans], (4) independence [education for political, economic and intellectual independence]. The fourth strategy is further divided into two types: one for the promotion of social justice (e.g., Nyerere's Tanzania) and one for the promotion of economic development (e.g., Nigeria). At independence, Tanzania incorporated the virtues of social equality, obligation and cooperation in the curriculum and school management, while Nigeria considered education as an investment to optimize its GNP.

In the case of Zimbabwe, the education system was exclusively *separate*

throughout the entire colonial period. *Assimilation* was minimal in the early colonial stage because Africans served as manual workers at the bottom of the British economic hierarchy. However, later when academic education became prevalent among blacks and they started to take white-color positions in the colonial government, *assimilation* seems to have increasingly occurred. *Adaptation*, especially in the beginning of colonial rule, was based on the "myths" (or rhetoric) about aptitude, occupation or mentality that Africans were intellectually inferior to whites; therefore, Africans needed only to be trained to undertake manual labor. However, due to a labor shortage, after World War II blacks were needed for skilled jobs; thus, it seems that this need started the crumbling of the myths among the whites that blacks were intellectually unable to do more than manual labor. Consequently, colonial government officials drafted proposals for equal education for Africans in order to provide them with a sense of belonging to the country. These proposals were repeatedly submitted to the government, but each time they met with opposition from the colonial establishment. In the 1960's, in an effort to further marginalize blacks, the Ian Smith-led RF undertook more oppressive education policies. Conversely, the policies served as a catalyst for the liberation war and eventual independence. After independence, in the name of scientific socialism, Zimbabwe seems to have combined strategies exemplified by Tanzania and Nigeria to create a new education policy. The policy responded to the popular demand for education, created a more egalitarian society, and expanded and modernized the economy; thus, it functioned as an essential element in the process of nation building.

The fourth strategy (*independence*) can be defined as the involvement of the individual in assuring a considerable measure of responsibility for his own actions (Brown, 1975:424-425). The new Zimbabwe government emphasized the importance of individual responsibility, and mental liberation. *Intellectual independence* corresponds to the mental liberation of the ZANU policy. Thus,

Brown's framework of educational strategies can account for the Zimbabwe case fairly well.

5. Access to education

In Zimbabwe, as elsewhere in Africa, the advent of independence after prolonged colonial domination brought vast expansion to the educational system paralleling a policy shift from an elite system of education to one of mass education (Dorsey, 1989:40). In 1979, the government announced its plan in accordance with the Act of 1979 to establish *free and compulsory* education for all children in Zimbabwe *regardless of race* (Mungazi, 1985:199; Edwards and Tisdell, 1989:58).

The policy of educational expansion was based on the premise that education was a fundamental human right as well as being basic to economic growth and the development of a socialist society (Dorsey, 1989:45). The imperatives [for the newly elected leaders] to provide mass education had ideological as well as political rationales which were (Dorsey, 1989:40):

- To respond to the popular demand for education from the electorate;
- To create a more egalitarian society;
- To expand and modernize the economy; and
- To facilitate the process of nation building.

Individual demand for greater provision for education was conditioned by Africans' view, developed during the colonial period, that education was the only route to salaried employment in the modern sector of the economy, providing security, affluence, prestige, and a modern style of life (Dorsey, 1989:40).

In 1980, a massive program of reconstructing and building schools was put into play, involving an injection of a large proportion of the national budget into education and the participation of local communities in cash and in kind

(UNESCO, 1992:14). Many schools in the rural areas that were closed as a result of the war were to be re-opened. The majority of new secondary schools were built in the rural areas, under the management of district councils. In the 1980–1987 period, total primary school enrollment rose by 2.75 times and secondary school enrollment was multiplied by approximately 8.25 times (Edwards and Tisdell, 1989:58). Edwards and Tisdell (1989:58) commend Zimbabwe for the rate of growth in school enrollments because it was spectacular especially at the secondary school level, and no other African country appears to have achieved such a rapid rate of growth in school enrollments after independence. At the same time, nearly two million returning refugees were added to the already large pool of Zimbabwean youth, creating an unprecedented demand for education, which became one of the causes for the massive educational expansion (Nhundu, 1992:80).

But owing to the lack of amenities and poor housing conditions in the rural area, it was difficult to attract trained teachers, and many of the schools were largely staffed with primary-trained and untrained teachers (Dorsey, 1989:47–48). While expatriate teachers from Australia, Britain and Canada on 3-year contracts were hired, the 'on-the-spot' teacher training of Zimbabweans was also conducted (Edwards and Tisdell, 1989:58). In addition, those rural secondary schools suffered from the shortage of learning materials and funds, inadequate school management, resulting in a low quality of education (Dorsey, 1989:48).

Due to the rapid expansion, the construction of facilities was constantly behind the enrollment of students (Dorsey, 1989:48). Accordingly, the schools were used for double shifts (Edwards and Tisdell, 1989:58). In the development of mass education the system created a *de facto* situation in which the rural secondary schools produced pupils with academic achievement considerably lower than the products from other types of schools, and clearly this situation was contrary to the government's stated intention of creating equality of access to educational

resources (Dorsey, 1989:55–56).

However, Dorsey (1989:48) also comments that it was a remarkable achievement to expand secondary schools to the remotest areas despite all these problems, and that it would not have been possible without the enthusiasm of local communities and their cooperation with the Ministry of Education and district councils. Strategies for achieving mass education appear to be similar throughout Sub-Saharan Africa despite differing political ideologies, and the problems that have ensued also bear a remarkable resemblance from country to country (Dorsey, 1989:40).

The uniqueness of massive expansion of education in post-colonial Zimbabwe would be attributed to the collaboration between the communities and the government in terms of sharing financial responsibility, provisions of teachers and curriculum, and school management. In understanding why the communities played a key role in expanding education to the masses, Dia (1992:2–5) provides a useful chronological description of the African transformation on the societal and cultural traits and values. The description illustrates how the current “hybrid” political and administrative systems and institutions, where tradition and modernity co-exist, were created in Africa. It is as follows:

- (a) Pre-colonial period: Consensus was the norm in decision-making. Rituals and politics were well integrated to govern the society. The moral order was fairly collective. The society was fairly stable and self-confident under the social stratification and interdependence.
- (b) Colonial period: The politics of colonial governors in the redrawing of African borders ignored the already existing traditional entities and ethnic bonds, resulting in linguistic and cultural discord with high volatility and potential implosive power. During the colonial period, Africans ignored these lines on the map. It was only after independence that most of these borders became significant and compelling.

(c) At the time of independence: The superimposed hybrid governing system was further compounded by the revolution of rising expectations that accompanied the euphoria of independence. The independence created the unrealistic expectation of a centralized government accountable for abundant wealth distribution and for raising everyone's consumption and living standard to the higher European levels. In contrast, people's sense of dedication, identity and accountability remained centered around local ties to the ethnic group, village and family.

(d) After 30 years of independence: The disillusionment has set in after a worsening economic situation. The promise of improved welfare and life from independence day never materialized. It benefited only the elite in power and their families and friends thus exacerbating inequity and ethnic tension. Therefore, the sense of national patriotism eroded and the states were fragmented. The need to band together with family and friends becomes a natural safety net. The euphoria of independence has also eroded. Ethnicity still continues to play a growing role in shaping economic decisions for both individuals and government officials. In the later 1980's, the concept of sovereign and separate nation-states inherited from the colonial period is confronted with two serious challenges: that it cannot accommodate ethnic group particularities in those states, and that most of those states seem too small or too poor to be viable.

In addition, Dia lists African cultural traits:

- Self-reliance and self-interest tend to take a back seat to ethnicity and group loyalty;
- The main concern is more on maintaining social balance and equity within the groups rather than individualistic achievements;
- Generally the interest of the local and ethnic communities takes precedence over whatever the government may declare as national goals;

- Typically higher value is placed on interpersonal relations and the timely execution of certain social and religious or mystic activities than on individual achievements;
- The circumstances and sometimes the rituals are often more important than the principles; and
- The other important values are extended family, a very paternalistic, hierarchical, subordination of the younger members, importance of symbolic acts, and so on.

Zimbabwe's case of community involvement seems to largely fit this description.

True, at independence, Zimbabwe seems to have been in a revolutionary and over-ambitious mode of rising expectations in line with the euphoria of winning independence. However, in expanding education for Zimbabweans, it is highly likely that the government took advantage of the peculiar local ties and the loyalty of ethnic groups, villages and families in the form of local participation in building and maintaining schools in general, Community schools in particular.

However, from a different perspective, the communities were forced to bear heavy responsibilities which essentially the government should have assumed.

In any case, the communities gained a certain amount of control over the education of the children by accepting so much responsibility. This is a significant example of managing the hybrid system of traditional and modern characteristics effectively.

7. Conclusion

In essence, the phenomenon of the maintenance of a "hybrid" education system in post-colonial Zimbabwe seems to have occurred because of the effects of diverse factors; internal and external, political, economic and socio-cultural.

tural. The divorce from the colonial past was attempted in Zimbabwe by the adoption of a socialist orientation to pursue modern education, which was to be different from the colonial past. Thus, it seems that socialism provided Zimbabwe with an alternative way to pursue two separate goals at the same time: separation from the past, and self-motivated (active) adoption of modern education. It seems that any concepts or ideologies which may have provided different perspectives from the colonial past would be useful for post-colonial countries. Hopkins' dichotomy of education provided this paper with the hint to investigate the complexities of the hybrid system.

An application of Brown's framework indicates that the "racist" aspect of the education policy may be interpreted as one stage in the evolution of cultural conflicts between Africans and European, thus, making it possible to see the phenomenon from a wider perspective. Dia's framework was not as clearly applicable to Zimbabwe since the information on its socio-cultural context was not easily available. The assumption that the government really intended to take advantage of the local ties at the community level to promote mass education still needs more research and evidence. These three areas are all interconnected and difficult to separate clearly from each other, but the areas were selected for research purposes. Further study needs to be done in a more systematic way, and with more information. It would be valuable to interview Zimbabwean educators and Zimbabwe researchers to supplement the information obtained for the paper.

The transition process is so complicated with so many varying factors that macro perspectives are important to fully understand the process. It was found that the government's policies were not the final words, instead they were just the beginnings of a larger policy process. Through this research it was interesting to find that it was not a "failure" of policy when the new education policy of Zimbabwe did not work. Instead, the policy was "transformed" in the course of implementation due to the powerful effects of varied factors; internal and exter-

nal, political, economic and socio-cultural. Especially in developing countries where the feedback system from the people to the government is not well developed, the officially announced policies tend to be virtually revised as people started to informally influence them after the official announcements. Therefore, it seems important not to pay too much attention to the official policy statements, but instead to see how they were implemented, because the official policies are just the beginning of the policymaking process.

Thus, this study shows how a newly independent country still has deep roots in its colonial past. In addition, the frameworks illustrate how this situation is not surprising and how it is not the end of change.

Mungazi (1986:534) reflects on "neo-colonialism." He believes that although many Africans still think that colonial conditions ended with the termination of the European colonial governments, these conditions still exist in Africa in different forms. He indicates that these forms are not [Western countries'] economic exploitation, which is frequently referred to as "neo-colonialism" by African leaders, but the existence of various forms of governments that deny the people's involvement in the political and educational processes. He adds that oppressive forms of colonialism exist in the one-party government, the military dictatorships, and one-man rules (Mungazi, 1986:534).

Mungazi, as a Zimbabwean, provides deep insights on the condition in the post-colonial era, "...the conflict that had existed between the Africans and the colonial government now gave away to a new level of conflict between the people and the government" (Mungazi, 1992:132). Dorsey (1989:57) has a similar point as Mungazi that the racial component of the system's past has given way to elitist dimensions of a more classlike character. Therefore, educational opportunities in the post-colonial era are more determined by affluence rather than race.

Further research

Ultimately, I hope that I could utilize the outcomes of this analysis to contribute to more effective cooperation between donor countries and African recipients, mainly in the form of development assistance. The socio-cultural and structural study of a developing country could reveal how the country works in its unique way, and therefore supplement the traditional economics-based analysis.

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