

African Nebula

Issue 5 / 2012

Living Culture through Children's Plays

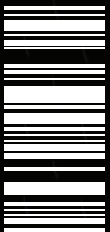
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Education in Ethiopia: Past, Present and Future Prospects

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ISSN 1837-7963

UNIOSUN Journal of Humanities

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Editorial

A nebula is celebratory of several concatenations, ranging from those that are purely aesthetic, political, cultural, philosophical and historical to contemporary concerns. The articles in this present issue of *African Nebula* aptly reflect these linkages. As usual with *African Nebula*, the contributors to this edition are drawn from five countries – Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria, the United States and Zimbabwe. The multidisciplinary horizon of the journal is also further broadened given the various disciplinary and ideological backgrounds of the contributors, hence the variety of methodologies, styles and approaches.

From a historical perspective, Simeon Maravanyika, in the first article, examines the series of local responses to colonial evictions, conservation and commodity policies among Shangwe communities in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe between 1963 and 1980. Since the eviction also coincided with the introduction of cotton in Gokwe in 1962, the author is of the opinion that Shangwe responses was also an anti-commodity response, or to put it more succinctly, an anti-cotton expression on one hand and a fight for the preservation of their old ways of life on the other.

K.O.O. Armah in the second article analyses three folklore-based plays meant for children. The three plays are Kofi Anyidoho's *Akpokplo*, Joe Manu Amponsah's *Gates to Mother*, and Sebastian Kumuar's *The Perpetual Stone-Mill*. Armah's analysis and exploration is with a view to underscoring the potential contributions of the dramatization of African folklores to cultural preservation and the rejuvenation of the study and practice of African folklores.

In the third article, Bose Okuntola, provides a lucid analysis of the restructuring of the Nigerian economy during the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida. Essentially, the paper examines the dynamics of private sector initiatives for the restructuring of the Nigerian economy under Babangida administration between 1985 and 1993.

Temitayo Amao, in the fourth article examines the place of Nigerian Pidgin among a section of Nigerian undergraduates with a view to drawing some generalizable conclusions regarding the use of pidgin among Nigerian university students. The study represents a major addition to the burgeoning literature on the use of pidgin among students of Nigerian tertiary institutions.

The history of education in Ethiopia and the pivotal role of education in engendering sustainable socio-economic development is the thematic preference of Alemayehu Bishaw and Jon Lasser in the last article. The authors trace the massive efforts by successive Ethiopian governments to bolster its educational system in the last 100 years. The article reviews the emerging trends in the growth and development of education in Ethiopia with emphasis on its historical trends and patterns. It concludes with recommendations for current efforts to improve the country's educational system.

Interestingly, this fifth issue of *African Nebula* also radiates that sense of amorphousness that is vintage nebula mainly because it reflects intellectual diversity at its best and showcases the varied human systems of thoughts and theories of knowledge. I, therefore, wish to congratulate and thank all the contributors, reviewers and editors that have made this present package of *African Nebula* possible.

Happy reading!

Olukoya Ogen.

Local Responses to Colonial Evictions, Conservation and Commodity Policies among Shangwe Communities in Gokwe, Northwestern Zimbabwe, 1963-1980

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Abstract

This article examines the eviction of Shangwe people from Mafungautsi State Forest in 1963, and their responses. The eviction followed the State's demarcation and gazettement of the forest as a protected area. This was in line with the Forestry Act, enacted in 1948, which sought to preserve the colony's indigenous timber resources. The eviction coincided with the introduction of cotton in Gokwe in 1962. The state anticipated that the Shangwe, a forest community which subsisted mainly by hunting, gathering and pastoralism, would embrace commercial agriculture. This would facilitate a transition from their forest life to full participation in the market economy as cotton growers. While the introduction of commercial agriculture in colonized regions is generally considered to have reorganized African labour, production and consumption patterns at the expense of local agrarian knowledge systems and economic and social organization, the case of the Shangwe offers another dimension to this narrative. The Shangwe resisted eviction from Mafungautsi forest. Their resistance expressed itself in the form of squatting in demarcated areas, illegal harvesting of forest products, poaching of game and land leases to Madheruka farmers, a group of large-scale agriculturalists who had in 1953 been evicted from Rhodesdale, an area set aside for white farmers. This article argues that Shangwe responses; squatting, illegal harvesting of forest production, poaching and land leases, represented more than just resistance to eviction from their habitat. It was also an anti-commodity response; an anti-cotton expression on one hand and a fight for the preservation of their old ways of life on the other. The article sheds light on the impact of colonial forest conservation and agricultural policies at a micro-level in Mbumbuze, Gokwe.

Keywords: Mafungautsi, Zimbabwe, Shangwe, Madheruka, cotton, forestry, conservation, land leases.

Introduction

The 1950s and 1960s were a momentous era of forced change for Shangwe¹ communities of Mbumbuze, Gokwe. Colonial agrarian and forestry policies combined to deliver a vicious blow on Shangwe livelihoods. The first major blow was delivered by state-induced migration of Madheruka² farmers from Rhodesdale³ in 1953 and the consequent introduction of commercial agriculture in Gokwe. The migrant group was largely composed of Shona-speaking people, the majority of whom had emigrated from their traditional homes in districts such as Gutu, Mwenezi, Chirumhanzi and Bikita to Rhodesdale in search of better agricultural land and seasonal employment on white farms.⁴ The migrants were termed "Madheruka" or "MaRhodesdale" by Shangwe people, the first name depicting their sudden and undesired relocation in government-provided lorries and the second identifying the migrants by the name of the place from where they had come, Rhodesdale Estate.⁵ The second blow was eviction of the Shangwe from their forest homeland, Mafungautsi forest.

Prior to 1953 Gokwe had largely been known as an isolated region, infested with malaria, tsetse flies and wild animals.⁶ Local inhabitants of the area, the Shangwe, had only had limited contact with the outside world⁷ with the result that the majority of people in Mbumbuze had not yet been exposed to European clothes, schools, churches and modern farming methods. Because of this, the Shangwe were in turn labeled by colonial officials and by Madheruka migrants as “backward”, “uncivilized” and “resistant to change”, among other negative tags.⁸ Unlike the migrants, the Shangwe were a forest community and not agriculturalists at any significant scale. The immigrants, on the other hand, were large-scale farmers who had gained a lot of farming experience from their contact with the white agricultural sector as seasonal farm labourers and neighbours settled on the margins of white farms.⁹ Madheruka had also acquired a lot of agricultural knowledge from government-provided conservation, extension and master-farmer programmes designed to make African agriculture more productive and environmentally sustainable on small pieces of land (in a context characterized by deliberately engineered land shortages among the African population).¹⁰ Making the two groups, with different economic organization, live in the same habitat set the stage for conflict between them, particularly over land. Madheruka agricultural activities negated the very core of Shangwe livelihood. The Shangwe lived on the forest, while for Madheruka agricultural activities to take place the forest had to be cleared. Clearing the forest did not only provide farmland, but it kept vermin such as baboons, jackals and hyenas away from their fields and domestic animals.¹¹ This was the first frontier of conflict.

The second blow - eviction from the forest – was particularly severe for Shangwe communities. This was done on the basis of the Forest Act of 1948. The legislation provided for the declaration of state-protected forests in the colony to preserve indigenous forests and their bio-diversity.¹² The Forest Act provided for the creation of a government regulatory organ, the Rhodesia Forestry Commission (FC), to preside over management of forests in the colony. Mafungautsi forest was gazetted in 1954.¹³ Nine years later, the Shangwe were forcibly relocated to Zanda plateau and areas on the margins of the 101 000 hectare forest, on the right side of Bulawayo road, such as Mafa, Matashu and Maruta villages while other Shangwe families migrated to far-off places such as Kana, Nemangwe, Chireya and Nembudziya.¹⁴ The eviction deprived the Shangwe of their livelihood. The last straw for Shangwe economic independence was the introduction of cotton in 1962. Cotton production would represent a major departure from their traditional way of life. The State thought the eviction would usher the Shangwe into the vagaries of capitalist farming. Shangwe spirit mediums responded to this onslaught by telling the communities that the ancestors, an important factor in Shangwe day-to-day life, were opposed the cultivation of a “white man’s crop.”¹⁵ The majority of Shangwe people resorted to squatting in demarcated areas, illegal harvesting of forest products, poaching of small game and land leases to Madheruka farmers for survival. This set the stage for a long drawn-out conflict, as to this day the Shangwe are still fighting for permission to return to their old habitat.

Methods and Study Site

A desk study was done to generate historical data used in this article. Two sets of data were used; first published articles and books on the economic history of colonialism in Zimbabwe. This data includes data on the mining and the peasant and settler agrarian sectors in the early colonial period, the evolution of colonial land policy and legislation and the dynamics of migration in colonial Zimbabwe. The second set of data is literature that specifically focuses on Gokwe, such as work published by the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR) on Mafungautsi State forest (the transition from top-down forest management to Adaptive Collaborative Management and resource-sharing projects in the post-colonial period). Though

this article does not cite these CIFOR records, they have been useful in making me understand the Shangwe context, especially pertaining to the value of Mafungautsi State Forest, not only in economic terms but also in social ways, as the forest is home to many Shangwe religious sites. The article also relies on various rural appraisal techniques such as interviews that were conducted over a period of two years between 2004 and 2006 and 18 months between November 2010 and April 2012. The research also relied on a developed checklist and participant observation. Interviews were in the majority of cases carried out with people who were at least over 10 years in 1960. The interviews were held in four Shangwe villages – Mafa, Maruta and Matashu and Makuwerere and in two Madheruka villages, Rumhumha and Takaendesa.

The study site, Mbumbuze, Gokwe, lies about 350 kilometres north-west of Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe. Mbumbuze is in Gokwe South, Midlands Province. The three Shangwe communities chosen lie on the margins of Mafungautsi forest, along Bulawayo road that leads to Zimbabwe's second biggest city, Bulawayo. Mafungautsi forest is the third largest indigenous forest in the country. The forest is home to several resources, including timber, thatch grass, broom grass (*Aristida junciformis*), honey, mushrooms, Mopani worms, tea leaves, herbs, firewood, small game such as warthog and hare, among others and the source of four major rivers, Sengwa, Ngondoma, Mbumbusi and Lutope. The rivers drain into the Zambezi River, where Zimbabwe's hydroelectric power is generated at Kariba dam.

Background: Shangwe and Madheruka before 1953

Prior to the 1950s the Shangwe were a forest community. They subscribed to traditional religion. Religion played an important part in their day to day lives, such as in their economic activities. Traditional ceremonies were performed before the commencement of all economic activities, such as agriculture and hunting.¹⁶ The Shangwe were not agriculturalists at a significant scale - they grew small patches of mealies on vleis and river banks, and such production was mainly for local consumption.¹⁷ There was no other market for their produce apart from their community. Ceremonies were carried out before the planting season, where all their seeds were “treated” with traditional medicine. Cattle were also “treated”, a tradition called *izikho*, to ensure increased fertility and reproduction.¹⁸ Cattle ownership was important among Shangwe men. Men derived their social status from the amount of cattle they possessed. People with more cattle could easily marry more wives¹⁹, which was important as having many children, especially sons²⁰, was highly valued. Many Shangwe men had many wives, and sometimes up to over 50 or more children. Women's activities in relation to cattle were curtailed²¹; they were not allowed, for example, to enter into kraals, which made cattle husbandry, largely men's preserve.

Hunting was an important economic activity, which accounted for the big part of Shangwe dietary requirements.²² The hunters would spend nights in traditional ceremonies singing, dancing and requesting their ancestors to grant them a good hunt whenever they went out on hunting expeditions. Hunting parties were very common, as they enabled them to pursue bigger game, while individual hunts were also done, usually in search of small game.²³ Hunting was carried out by men. Women engaged in gathering and fishing²⁴. Gathering, like hunting, also contributed to a big proportion of their dietary requirements. Women and small girls would collect *madora* (Mopani worms), roots, wild fruit, mushroom and honey.²⁵ Shangwe communities also relied on the forest for products such as firewood and poles used in the construction of their houses, medicines and broom and thatch grass. In Shangwe tradition, it was a taboo to hunt down more than what was required for their sustenance, and to wantonly cut down trees.²⁶ Shangwe fables, narratives and stories are replete with instances

where those who embarked on misconduct or insolent and contemptuous behaviour that angered the ancestors as they hunted and gathered got punished, the punishments ranging from getting lost for days, sometimes months, only to emerge after traditional ceremonies had been conducted, misfortunes, loss of mental health and even death, usually by getting mauled by wild animals.²⁷

Madheruka, on the other hand were mostly Shona people resident in Rhodesdale and other areas reserved for future white settlement. The majority of these people were not original inhabitants of these areas, but migrants in search of work on settler farms or better land for farming. Many people migrated from Gutu, Chivi, Mhondoro, Chirumhanzi and Masvingo, among other districts.²⁸ Because of their interaction with the farms, Madheruka were large-scale agriculturalists in comparison with the Shangwe. They used mechanical devices such as ploughs, which not only made work easier, but also made it possible to put more acreage under the plough.²⁹ They also used seed expertly prepared by seed companies. This was unlike the Shangwe who still utilized locally smelted hoes and locally selected seed.³⁰ Apart from gaining farming experience, especially as maize farmers, contact with the farms where they got wages, and with the cash economy and towns such as Que Que and Gatooma, also influenced other aspects of their lives such as clothing and diet. Because of contact with Christian missionaries and mission centres, the majority of Madheruka were Christians. They also had access to education, as Christian missions were the first to provide education to Africans.³¹

After the end of the Second World War, the colonial government put in place a plan to evict Madheruka settlers from Rhodesdale, an area designated for white occupation. Their removal paved the way for the settlement of ex-servicemen from the Second World War, and other white immigrants who were flocking to the colony in the wake of an agricultural and manufacturing boom.³² With the ex-servicemen settlement scheme in full swing, the government looked for alternative places for resettling Madheruka. Gokwe was one of the places selected, together with other places such as Sanyati and Mount Darwin.³³ Table 1 below shows the differences between the two groups.

Table 1: Madheruka and Shangwe

Madheruka	Shangwe
'Modern' clothing: such as trousers, shirts, shoes, had blankets	Animal hides (called <i>mabhechu neshashiko</i> , no shoes, wove "blankets" from barks of trees
Educated	Uneducated, and therefore 'backward.'
Predominantly Christians	Traditional religion (sometimes called demon worship by Madheruka).
Smaller family units, largely monogamous	Polygamous, huge families.
Good, big houses, some roofed with corrugated iron sheets.	Small, many poorly built huts to accommodate bigger families, homes had an air of impermanence, built like temporary structures of a transient group
Agriculturalists on a large scale	Hunters, gatherers, poor farmers with small 50 yard patches on river banks and streams
Shona speaking	Shangwe dialect looked down upon and ridiculed.
Richer, by local wealth-ranking standards	in poverty
Personal hygiene prioritized	Dirty, did not use/have access to soap
Had utilized dip tanks for dipping cattle, boreholes for supplies of clean water	None before the 1950s.

Source: Interviews.

Context: Evictions, Commodity Production and Forest Conservation

Shangwe anti-commodity actions should be understood in the context of the colonial land and conservation policies as they related to Africans. Colonial land policy aimed to give the best agricultural land in the colony to white farmers, whose success was seen as the only basis upon which a settler colony could be established in Zimbabwe.³⁴ The first half of the century was dominated by the land question; colonial officials did not mince words in asserting that they desired to have large chunks of land set aside for white use. “We are in this country because we represent a higher civilization, because we are better men,” N. H. Wilson of the Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Department stated matter-of-factly in 1925, “It is our only excuse for having taken the land.”³⁵ The colony’s first Prime Minister, Charles Coghlan, reiterated this point when he addressed the all-settler Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly in 1927, “This is essentially a country where the white man has come and desires to stay, and he can only be certain of doing so if he has certain portions of the colony made his exclusively.”³⁶

This view was by the majority of settlers in the colony. One settler stated in 1949, “Don’t regard the country as a Black man’s country, where the white man is the intruder, an exploiter of black labour, a superior; look at it as an empty country (which it practically is for what are 1 750 000 millions in a country three times the size of England?) to be settled with a white population.”³⁷ The Land Apportionment Act, 1930, was enacted to facilitate racially-motivated land apportionment in the colony. The Act has been characterized as the “white man’s bible” and “Rhodesian form of apartheid”.³⁸ Eira Punt has characterised it as an “attack on the African peasantry in order to safeguard (the settlers’) position.”³⁹ The Act, on one hand, “marginalised African competition by dividing land along racial lines and preserving the best land in the colony for white settlers while on the other hand denying permanent and secure tenure to Africans living in urban areas.”⁴⁰ The Chief Native Commissioner, Herbert Taylor, summarized the essence of colonial African agricultural policy in 1918, “The Native should be trained not so much as a competitor with the white man in the business of life, but as a useful auxiliary to help in the progress of the country.”⁴¹

The 1940s brought new economic realities to the colony. First, there was a boom in commodity prices due to post-Second World War conditions. The Zimbabwean economy was closely linked with the British economy because of its reliance on exporting her agricultural commodities; mainly tobacco and beef, and minerals, mainly gold, to that market. With the outset of the Second World War there was a Sterling devaluation, which saw a rise in the price of the colony’s gold, the demand for the colony’s tobacco also rose, with yields doubling between 1939 and 1945.⁴² The colony’s exports rose even further after the war, as Britain preferred to continue to trade with the colonies more than it did with the United States of America, thanks to crippling dollar shortages in the post-war period. “Lacking dollars British companies were unable to buy as much tobacco as they wanted to from American markets”, Ian Phimister has observed, “Instead they were obliged to take a growing proportion of their requirements from Empire sources within the sterling area.”⁴³ The success of the colony’s tobacco acted as a bait to new settlers, including British ex-servicemen.

The success of exports also made the state to contemplate making Africans venture into cash crops. There had been attempts to introduce cotton from 1904 without much success⁴⁴, mainly due to resistance by African farmers, to the disappointment of Native Commissioners. One example of such frustration was exhibited in 1923 by the Native Commissioner for Sinoia. The Commissioner had spent a lot of time in the reserve, talking to farmers, encouraging them to grow cotton and highlighting the financial benefits of growing cotton over maize. He got encouraging feedback, with a good number of farmers promising him that they would venture

into cotton production. These promises were, however, not kept, leading to the Commissioner, in his correspondence with the Superintendent of Natives, to complain that Africans “will agree to all that is said and do nothing.”⁴⁵ The government moved to create a key institution in July 1936, the Cotton Research and Industry Board whose mandate was to promote cotton growing, to carry out cotton research and to establish and operate cotton ginneries in the colony.⁴⁶ The Board vigorously tried to encourage farmers to grow cotton and, in the case of those who were growing it already, to increase yields in the 1940s.⁴⁷ The state soon set its sights on Gokwe, a region that had largely been ignored from the early colonial period due to its infestation with tsetse flies, malaria and wild animals. Apart from having ideal climatic conditions for cotton the region was thinly populated, making it a perfect place to move thousands of Shona farmers who were illegally settled on land demarcated for white occupation.⁴⁸

Conservation was also a cornerstone of colonial African policy. Scholarship on colonial conservation policies in Zimbabwe has focussed on how such policies were shaped in ways that reflected one major characteristic of colonial rule; the use of coercive devices. Conservation was not, as stated by Beinart, a result of ecological concern. Neither was it applied, in the Zimbabwean context, first to settler agriculture and later to peasant agriculture. A growing body of literature on conservation in colonial Zimbabwe has shown that conservation policies were first applied to African agriculture.⁴⁹ Unlike Beinart’s view that conservation policies were “apparently conceived in (African) best interests”,⁵⁰ Eira Kramer’s research shows that African policy was crafted to deal with land shortage.⁵¹ The “destructive capacity of African agriculture”⁵² was often cited as a justification for “state intervention, but also a legitimation for using force.”⁵³ “For settlers (whites), conservation entailed financial and other incentives” JoAnne McGregor has observed, “for Africans, it entailed coercion and punitive restrictions of resource use.”⁵⁴ It is in this context that forestry legislation should be viewed. Colonial conservation policies sought, in John Mackenzie’s words, “to rearrange nature as well as people and land”⁵⁵ for the benefit of the local white minority.

The eviction of the Shangwe in 1963 has to be seen in the context of failure by the colonial administration to understand indigenous forest preservation practices. Exploitation of natural resources was under the control of spirit mediums, chiefs and headmen.⁵⁶ Management of the resources was done in the interest of the entire community, though one cannot rule out that local leaders’ and individuals often place their self-interest ahead of the common good of the collective.⁵⁷ Traditional leadership had to give their permission for the harvest of forest products such as timber. These traditional system of control lingered on, in spite of colonial interference with the role of traditional leaders. A major manifestation of transformation in the role of chiefs was their being turned to becoming part of the colonial system of governance, where they became a kind of decentralized local government, answerable to colonial officials in the Native Department.⁵⁸ This development had two implications on African communities; first traditional leaders’ authority was weakened as it now derived its legitimacy from colonial officials in the Native Department who could demote chiefs or give financial and other rewards for perceived good work and secondly the chieftaincy institution itself was devalued as chiefs were relegated to become appendages of a colonial system, where their primary role became the policing of their people for the state, rendering them as collaborators and enemies of the people rather than legitimate leaders whose claim to power was purely on traditional grounds.⁵⁹

In Mafungautsi a number of traditional beliefs ensured the preservation of the forest. To begin with, many places were considered sacred because of their rain-making ceremonies. These ceremonies, called *mutoro* in the local language were a very important aspect of the local

traditional religion. There were held in sacred areas where vegetation could not be tampered with in any manner.⁶⁰ There were also places reserved for ceremonies to enthrone chiefs, called *madoraushe*. These were as important as *mitoro* as the installation of chiefs was also steeped in tradition. A new chief had to be properly installed by local spirit mediums to ensure stability in the area and the ancestors' blessings.⁶¹ There were trees and portion of forests that fell in the *marambakutemwa* category. These were trees that people believed the spirits rested in. They could not be cut, unless if they dried up.⁶² Apart from places demarcated as sacred areas, it was forbidden to cut down fruit trees under any circumstances, except if express permission was given by either the chief or the headman. Doing this was punishable by heavy fines by village heads. People also needed permission from their village heads to cut down any other tree species.⁶³ The only trees that could be cut without restriction were those that would have dried up. These were usually cut down for firewood and for the construction of cattle pens, houses and granaries. Apart from restrictions on cutting down trees people were only supposed to harvest forest products for their immediate usage. With the cash economy setting in from the early 1950s, it was made illegal by local chiefs, headmen and mediums to sell wild fruit. Spirit mediums told the people that the sale of fruit would be met by punishment from the ancestors.⁶⁴ The Shangwe cultivated small fields near river banks, called *mativi*. This was not to a large scale. A family field was only about 50 feet in extent, with the biggest fields never exceeding 100 feet.⁶⁵ The Shangwe did not cut down trees in their fields. They could prune some branches and remove shrubs, but tree-cutting was forbidden.⁶⁶

The colonial government assumed that indigenous forests would be degraded if local populations continued to reside in the forests. This fear of a "tragedy of the commons" was unjustified. Scholarship has shown that it was the colonial system itself that accounted for the destruction of the colony's timber resources. Muchaparara Musemwa and Vimbai C. Kwasirai have explored the destruction of timber by farmers and miners from the early colonial period till the 1930s.⁶⁷ "...white commercial farmers generally ignored official advice on discouraging tree cutting...miners contributed to deforestation through cutting trees for timber and fuel needs", Kwashirai has observed.⁶⁸ Musemwa has reiterated this:

...(it was) the impact of magnitude of both (white) farmers and (white) miners' activities on the colony's resources (that) saw the (Natural Resources) Commission passing a decisive recommendation which resulted in the passage of the Natural Resources Act in 1941. This was followed by the appointment of the Natural Resources Board which had powers to ensure the conservation and 'wise utilization' of the colony's natural resources such as soil, water, minerals, trees, grasses, vegetation etc. etc. Thus, unlike in other settler societies, it took the colonial state in Southern Rhodesia almost forty years to respond seriously to demands for formal conservation of natural resources, despite ample evidence...of an on-going unsustainable environmental despoliation at the hands of both farmers and miners...settler worries about conservation in colonial Zimbabwe were not entirely driven by a profound environmental consciousness...⁶⁹

It was, in fact, the activities of the white settlers, especially mining and farming in this case, that were ruinous to the environment, not activities of the Shangwe in Mafungautsi forest. Colonial forestry legislation was not primarily intended to protect only indigenous timber resources, but to promote "extraction of forestry resources for the benefit of white settlers and commercial interests..."⁷⁰

Reasons for Madheruka Resettlement

C. Latham, a delineation officer in Gokwe in the 1960s, has, through his reports, given a glimpse into the colonial psyche in his October 1963 report on the progress of land delineation in Gokwe.⁷¹ The settlement of Madheruka farmers in Gokwe was seen by colonial

government functionaries as having a five-fold benefit to the area; first it would solve the perceived problem of local backwardness by bringing a more “modern” group of Africans, a process that would inevitably result in aspects of Madheruka culture rubbing onto the backward Shangwe and placing them on the road to modernization. The second factor was that Shangwe lives would have to transform – they would have to abandon their forest lives. The government had already planned for this. In 1954 their forest home, Mafungautsi forest was gazetted in line with the Forestry Act, enacted in 1948. The Forestry Commission was created to superintend over the forest, the country’s third largest indigenous forest.

In 1963 the Shangwe were evicted from the forest, and relocated in two areas, at Zanda plateau and on the right side of Bulawayo road, mostly in three villages namely Mafa, Matashu and Maruta. An alternative life, divorced from their former forest livelihoods, had already been arranged for these people; cotton production. Embracing cotton would make the Shangwe large-scale farmers because the nature of cotton production is that the more you produce the more likely you are to get more returns, depending on the grade of your yields, and in addition to this, the more likely you are to get lines of credit and other such incentives as cotton companies jostle to make farmers remain with their stable or to lure them to change companies. The cash economy, with its sweeteners such as sugar, Coca-Cola and clothes, among such other retail products, would complete the change for the regime.

The third anticipated benefit that would accrue from the relocation of Madheruka was that it would help in the development of Gokwe as the Madheruka, described by Latham as “people with fresh ideas and more sophisticated demands”, were an agricultural class. Their thirst for agricultural land would make the relocation a win-win situation for the state; the area from which they had been relocated would be taken over by white, mostly tobacco, farmers, while Gokwe, together with its “backward” Shangwe, would be transformed from an isolated tsetse, malaria and wild animal infested jungle into a progressive agrarian zone. This was the fourth benefit; the clearing of land would help deal with tsetse flies and wild animals. Finally, the opening up of the area for agriculture would bring investment to the area, especially in light of the introduction of cotton. A lot of capital would be directed to the area to fund cotton production and other infrastructural developments such as roads to access the cotton growing areas, storage depots, new retail shops, new schools, clinics, extension services, passenger transport services and other service providers. This, it was thought, would open up new employment and consequently lead to an increase in retail activities and consumption as farmers got more disposable incomes from cotton proceeds and more people got work in the area.

The colonial government hoped that migration to Gokwe by Madheruka farmers would help bring modernization to the Shangwe doorstep. The Shangwe, it was expected, would respond to their eviction from Mafungautsi state forest by embracing large-scale agriculture. This would, naturally, the thinking went, result in them making a choice to plant cotton, which offered more remuneration than maize and other grains. This kind of thinking was reflected in the message that conservation and extension officers brought to Shangwe villages. Cleopas Mhuri’s punch line as he made his rounds in the villages was “*Warima chibage warima kabudura, warima tonje warima suit, warima mapfunde warima mamvemve*”, which can be roughly translated to mean, ‘He who cultivates maize will reap a pair of shorts, he who cultivates cotton reaps a suit, he who cultivates millet gets rags.’⁷²

Madheruka farmers were, on arrival, allocated 10 acres of land for each family.⁷³ A conservation officer, only identified as Maguranyi, was responsible for pegging the land.⁷⁴

This brought a mixture of shock and awe to the Shangwe who, because of their being a forest community, had never seen such an extent of forest clearing. When the Shangwe carried out their farming activities on their small portions of land on riverbeds they did not cut down trees but only pruned leaves and cut small shrubs.⁷⁵ The Shangwe were alarmed by the scale of land clearing. Whole villages had been brought to the place, which meant that the land they cleared was quite vast. Village heads and their people allocated land included Siwothile who was allocated land at Gwehava, Chibase, Rumhumha and Takaendesa. A good number of the new settlers cleared more land than had been pegged for them by Maguranyi.⁷⁶ This became an area of contestation between the two groups. There was also conflict over religion. The majority of the new settlers were Christians while the Shangwe practised traditional religion. The first three denominations in the area were the Methodist and Seventh Day Adventist churches at Gwehava and the Roman Catholic Church at Rumhumha.⁷⁷ The churches preached against local traditions, such as ancestral worship and polygamy. Their message attracted some converts, to the alarm of local Shangwe community leaders. The different religious beliefs manifested themselves in conflict over land. Some Madheruka farmers, such as Nzanga, Mpande and Mavesera, to name a few, cleared and farmed in areas that were considered by the Shangwe to be sacred.⁷⁸

The state played a role in reinforcing stereotypes between the two groups. The Native Commissioner for Gokwe, identified by locals as Siqanyana, advised the Shangwe to be weary of the new comers.⁷⁹ Jocelyn Alexander and JoAnne McGregor have attributed this action by the Native Commissioner to a desire by the colonial state to ensure that Madheruka, who were seen as “dangerously political” would not disseminate their nationalistic ideas to the unpoliticized Shangwe.⁸⁰ Madheruka had already been in contact with early nationalist leaders such as Benjamin Burombo. Burombo had led their resistance against their eviction from Rhodesdale and mobilized resources for legal action against the state. In addition to this, nationalist leaders were in the 1960s detained in a holding camp in the area, at Nyaradza, and at Sikhombela, a reflection of the different levels of political consciousness between the two groups. Nyaradza detention centre held prominent nationalist leaders such as James Chikerema, Maurice Nyagumbo, Ndabaningi Sithole, James Dambaza, Hamadziripi, Madzimbamuto and Marembo.⁸¹

The state put in place infrastructure in areas where Madheruka were resettled. First the state put up boreholes. Thirty seven boreholes were drilled. Table 3 below shows some of the boreholes that were drilled;

Table 2: Boreholes drilled in Madheruka areas.

Place where Borehole was drilled			
Chief Njelele	Kusiririka village	Mloyi village	At Dip tank
Chiwaya Village	Mbangiwa village	Tasiyana village	Komichi village
Mapfumo School	Dzawanda village	Chibase village	Mtupane village
Gwemsele village	Marumisa village	Rumhumha village	Chidhaka village
Mashove village	Gwehava	Chegama secondary school	Takaendesa village
Mazithulela village	Kambani village	Chegama primary school	

Source: Interview with Namunedi Dingane Maraya, Makuwerere village, Sengwa.

Dip tanks were also constructed in the area, the first at Njelele, and the second one at Sengwa. A road was also constructed, resulting in the first bus service, Kambasha, operating in the area. Two more bus services began in the 1960s, one by Matambanadzo, called Zvinemazuva Mbwayakachuta and another one, called Big 4.⁸² Kevias Mhanqwa of Mafa village

remembers their first encounter with the first bus, how the majority of people he was herding cattle with fled into the bush when they saw it approaching.⁸³ In Nemangwe the first bus service, called Mabinjano or Teki, was also introduced in the 1950s.⁸⁴ Churches established schools in the area. The first school in Madheruka areas was Hobani primary school in Njelele. The second was Chegama primary. Later on Chegama secondary school was also constructed.⁸⁵

Shangwe Eviction from the Forest

As noted earlier, in 1948 the Forestry Act was enacted. This was an attempt to refine and operationalize the Native Area Forest Produce Act of 1929, a piece of legislation that had been put in place to govern the way Africans harvested forest products in their designated reserves. This had largely been unenforced. Gokwe was unaffected by this Act as the place remained uninterfered with as a result of its infestation with tsetse fly, mosquitoes and wild animals.⁸⁶ In spite of evidence that it was the commercial activities of white farmers and miners that was causing the degradation of indigenous timber resources, the state insisted that Africans were responsible for it. The Provincial Native Commissioner for Gwelo's Report for 1949 buttressed this notion; "There is a tremendous amount of cutting down of timber by Natives for their huts, cattle kraals and grain drying platforms..."⁸⁷ The Forestry Act, 1948, was amended in 1953, providing for the establishment of the Forestry Commission to superintend over the colony's forest resources. The Commission was operationalized in 1954. That same year the forest was demarcated and gazetted a protected state forest.⁸⁸ It took the Forestry Commission (FC) a long time to operate in the area. Their presence only began to be felt around 1960. The Shangwe continued to conduct their ceremonies and to live as they had done before in the forest. In 1963 Shangwe communities were evicted from the forest, beginning with the Bandakamwe area.⁸⁹ Access to the forest was removed, leaving the Shangwe in economic limbo.

Responses to Eviction

Squatting in portions of the forest was a common method by the Shangwe to access their seized forest home. Squatting should be viewed as part of two struggles over land. First, Shangwe families have used this method to access their lost home. Secondly, the opening up of Gokwe for agriculture was followed by many waves of immigrants coming in, looking for the proverbial paradise. This resulted in Gokwe hosting two types of squatters; evicted Shangwe families or families of evicted people sometimes encroaching on forestry land, and new immigrants squatting in both communal areas and in the forest.⁹⁰ Squatting has to be seen in the context of the rising population in Gokwe. While prior to 1950 the District was very sparsely populated, this changed from 1953 – first with the government programme that brought in Madheruka farmers from Rhodesdale.⁹¹ The relocation of Madheruka was made necessary by the state's desire to settle ex-servicemen from the Second World War and many other settlers who were coming to the colony in response to the tobacco boom that was taking place.⁹²

The 1960s witnessed another big wave of immigrants as people migrated to Gokwe in search of more land. This was a manifestation of pressure exerted by colonial land legislation such as the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951.⁹³ In addition to this people also migrated in reaction to rumours that Madheruka farmers who had moved to Gokwe in the early 1950s had become successful as cotton farmers.⁹⁴ The 1970s were also characterized by migration; part of the flow was voluntary migration, mostly because of cotton. By the 1970s the contribution of Gokwe cotton to the national output hovered between 31 and 50 percent⁹⁵, a huge feat considering that cotton was introduced to

the region in 1962. Part of the flow was as a result of internal migration which had to do with the liberation war that was fought against minority white rule between 1972 and 1979, the most intense phase of the war being after 1975.⁹⁶ Table 3 below shows some migration statistics from population census results in 1962, 1969 and 1982.

Table 3

Year (National population census years).	Population	Density (persons per square kilometre).
1962	60 320	4.19
1969	130 400	9.07
1982	238 566	16.69

Source: N. D. Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1990, "Decentralization and District Development Planning in Zimbabwe", Public Administration and Development, 10, 4, p. 13.

The Table shows a phenomenal increase in population in only 20 years. The population rose by almost 400 percent in that small period. This put a squeeze on land, resulting in some people squatting on state land.

For Shangwe communities, being moved from their forest home was largely unpopular. Three villages were created on the forest's margin, the forest and the villages being demarcated by Bulawayo road. The villages; Mafa, Maruta and Matashu still have elders who remember their lives in the forest when they were younger; many generally have good memories of the time. Other forest inhabitants trekked to far-away places such as Kana and Nkai and Nemangwe. The Forestry Commission (FC) soon realized that it could not chase all people successfully. The inhabitants of Bandakamwe were moved to the western part of the forest known as Zanda.⁹⁷ Though the area was not officially de-gazetted, the FC allowed people to settle there. The relations between the people and the FC were relatively cordial, as the FC did not thoroughly enforce regulations in the 1960s. This was probably because of the extent of the forest; it was too huge to police. On the other hand the Shangwe, who had intimate knowledge of the forest and an interest in seeing it preserved against a backdrop of what they perceived to be marauding Madheruka land clearers whose appetite of land appeared to be insatiable. The Shangwe were also readily available to put out forest fires free of charge because of their attachment to the forest.⁹⁸

From the 1970s the FC became more stringent about conditions under which locals could access the forest. A permit system was introduced as the FC sought to generate revenue from the forest. Permits had to be purchased for hunting and harvesting forest products such as broom grass, thatch grass, wild fruit, honey, mushroom, edible roots and edible caterpillars, called *madora* or *amacimbi* in the local language.⁹⁹ Hunting of large game and harvesting of timber was banned. However, at the peak of the liberation war the Forestry service halted its operations as its officers became a target of liberation officers. When the Forestry service was stopped many Shangwe families took advantage of that and rushed to settle in the forest. This was done with the blessing of liberation fighters, who promised villagers that at independence African communities who had been displaced for whatever reason would be allowed to return to their ancestral lands.

Land Leases

Land leases to Madheruka farmers were another way by which the Shangwe were able to subsist without having to grow cotton. Leasing land has to be seen in the context of land hunger – there were limitations imposed by the Native Land and Husbandry Act stipulating how much land each farmer could own. Leasing of land was mutually beneficial as it satisfied

the land requirements of Madheruka farmers while the Shangwe land owner got payment, usually in the form of labour. Land leases helped farmers who were not keen to grow cotton, or to engage in agriculture on a large scale. Some Shangwe farmers even managed to increase the acreages of the land they could put under the plough using labour that was provided in fulfilment of tenancy agreements. Vincent Mafa is an example of a farmer who benefitted from such arrangements. The arrangement helped him to support his big family as he has four wives and over 30 children.

Vincent Sibanda of Mafa village is one Shangwe land owner who leased portions of his land. Sibanda had three tenants. First was Lazarus Mhande. Mhande came from Nkai. When he came to Mbumbuzi he was given six acres of land by Sibanda where he grew sunflowers, cotton and maize. Mhande prospered, by local wealth-ranking standards. He managed to buy his own scotch cart and 15 herds of cattle after a few years. In return Mhande would plough Sibanda's fields free of charge at the beginning of each farming season. The second person Sibanda leased land to was Gambiza Kamututu. Kamututu was from Rhodesdale. "I gave him 10 acres of land", Sibanda recalled, "He did not grow cotton, but groundnuts, rapoko and maize. In return we agreed that he would come with his family at agreed intervals – he had 4 sons and 6 daughters – so the 12 would weed my fields."¹⁰⁰ The third person Sibanda leased land to was Tererai Mangezi. Mangezi hailed from Zaka, Masvingo. He got a 10 acre piece of land. Mangezi ploughed for Sibanda each year, and helped with the weeding of the fields also. With the help of his tenants, Sibanda said he managed to farm on 15 acres of land each year.

There were instances where the cultural differences of the groups would really come out as a result of the lease arrangements. A good example is highlighted by Fukuto Ncube's attempt to benefit from a lease arrangement that he had with a Mudheruka for the purpose of getting a wife. While it was perfectly normal among the Shangwe to marry many wives, Madheruka did not entertain the idea, largely because of their Christian orientation, among other factors. It was also common among the Shangwe for one to marry from his friend's family, as it was thought to cement ties and to guarantee that their daughter/sister would be treated well in marriage. Ncube leased 12 acres of his land to Matsaku. He became quite close to Matsaku's family. Because of this Ncube never really pursued getting a return from this arrangement, resulting in Matsaku utilizing Ncube's land almost for free. But tragedy unexpectedly struck, and Ncube lost his wife. The Shangwe community expected that, because of close ties that had developed between the Ncubes and Matsakus, Fukuto Ncube would be allowed to marry Matsaku's sister, Ruth. After Matsaku became aware of Fukuto's intention relations soured, and the lease arrangements was terminated in the process.

Fukuto Ncube later remarried from another Madheruka family. This led to the second incident. His new wife's brother, Richard Mabhanditi was short of land. Fukuto Ncube gave him 5 acres of land, on the understanding that Mabhanditi would allow Ncube to marry his other sister, Ketty, as his second wife. Mabhanditi agreed. Ncube and Mabhanditi became quite close, a relationship that saw the two even helping each other to grow cotton. When Ketty grew up and reached a marriageable age Mabhanditi reneged on his promise, saying that in Karanga culture there was no room for arranged marriages and that if Fukuto loved Ketty he had to speak to Ketty himself. The deal fell through, with Ncube feeling that there had been a conspiracy between Mabhanditi and his wife to deceive him into anticipating marrying Ketty when she matured. This had, in the short-term, the effect of ensuring that Fukuto Ncube had one wife as he waited for Ketty to grow, to the ultimate benefit of his wife, whose Dheruka traditions opposed polygamy.¹⁰¹ Fukuto's failure does, however, mean that all Shangwe men failed in this regard. Edward Mafa successfully leased his land to three

Madheruka newcomers; Gandiwa Mpala, Chief Mpala and Amos Nyathi. Mafa got his wife from the Mpala family.¹⁰²

There were instances when the Shangwe would give each other land temporarily during some seasons. Such arrangements usually differed with lease agreements with Madheruka. Nkatazo Mafa, for example, would lease his land during some seasons to VaOne Msanika and Mudhara Kwichi. There was usually no payment for this. The person who had been given such land brewed beer and slaughter chickens or a goat. The beer and food would be taken to the home of the person who had provided the land. Neighbours and relatives would then be called, where an announcement of the agreement they had made would be made. The invited persons and the one who would have prepared the beer would publicly thank the person who had given the land, after which people would dance and make merry.¹⁰³

Sticking to past ways: Living off the forest

The Shangwe also continued to live on forest products, albeit illegally, after their eviction in 1960.¹⁰⁴ They poached for game and illegally harvested other products, such as broom-grass and thatch-grass for women and timber for men who needed it for building their granaries and houses. This was, however, in a changed context, and was therefore not the same as had been the case prior to 1950. The first change was that while in the past men like Kaisan Masango had never worked in a field, but specialized as a hunter; hunting from the 1960s became a supplementary activity.¹⁰⁵ Every Shangwe family began to engage in agriculture, both men and women.¹⁰⁶ Secondly hunting, was no longer carried out in hunting parties, it became a matter of personal choice and risk. Hunters had to take the risk to hunt, as they themselves were being “hunted down” by Forestry Commission officers in the forest.¹⁰⁷ The officers would usually beat up the people they met poaching in the forest, and shoot and kill their dogs. In the event that a more serious crime had been committed, such as cases where people used fire to drive animals into nets, the offenders would be prosecuted.¹⁰⁸

Having said that, the Forestry Commission was always crippled by its failure to get adequate staff and funding for its operations. With the size of the forest, it was almost impossible for them to keep every square inch of the forest secure. Another change was that the state began to move game into designated animal sanctuaries such as Chizarira Game reserve near Chitekete, Sengwa Gorge and Nenyunga Game Park, popularly known in Gokwe by its owner’s name, Rogers Game Park.¹⁰⁹ The fourth dimension that might be important to mention is that game meat began to lose its status as the main part of the local diet, while on the other hand domesticated animals such as goats, sheep, chickens, pigs and on rare occasions cows became more prominent in the local diet.

Hunting also became a way of controlling game movements. In Mafa village, for example, they began to have a problem with wild pigs. Pigs would leave the forest and cause havoc on people’s fields. This prompted some people to organize hunts to kill stray pigs. If these fled to the forest they would sometimes be pursued right into the forest.¹¹⁰ A contradiction worth noting in all this is that some of the pigs belonged to the Shangwe in the past.¹¹¹ As they got evicted from the forest over the years, and this is especially true of a military operation that was carried out in 1983 to rid the forest of illegal settlers who had flocked back, buoyed by pre-independence promises of ZIPRA fighters that everyone would be allowed to go back to their traditional homelands after independence. Unfortunately for the Shangwe a dissident problem began, as some dissatisfied former fighters continued to operate after independence. The Shangwe were evicted, as there was a suspicion that they were harbouring dissidents.¹¹² Many people left their pigs and other things, and this contributed to the current wild pig

population.¹¹³ Hunting also changed in another way. While people in the 1940s used spears, some guns had begun to filter into the communities from the 1950s. Some people accessed guns and ammunition at work, such as Johane Mashame. Mashame was employed by the prison service at Gokwe Centre. Because of his huge family (12 wives and over 100 children), he would bring his gun home every weekend and go out to hunt to provide meat for his big family.¹¹⁴ The majority of people, however, continued to hunt with dogs.¹¹⁵

Women continued to gather fruits and other edible forest products such as mushroom and vegetables. They also got products they used on a day to day basis such as broom-grass, thatch-grass, firewood and medicinal herbs.¹¹⁶ Because of the size of most Shangwe families, going to collect products could be a big operation that required a lot of hands and power. Women such as Mathanda Moyo, Mzanda Mpofo and Madhosvi Lunga would take their friends, young ladies and grown up children as well as donkeys with which to transport the fruit back home.¹¹⁷ Some of the things they had done in the past also began to change. For example, roots began to disappear from the daily food portion, as maize gained more importance as the daily staple. Women, before the 1960s, would get edible roots of certain shrubs and trees, such as roots of the *mtiri* tree. After digging and extracting the roots they would be washed, boiled and then eaten as part of a meal.¹¹⁸ Some people also distinguished themselves in getting honey from the forest. Fuka Dube, for example, became renowned for this. His livelihood in the 1960s was based on tapping honey from the forest and exchanging it for his needs in the villages, such as money, maize, tobacco and cannabis.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

Shangwe communities did not take their eviction from Mafungautsi state forest merely as victims of a system that could not be opposed. In spite of their political weakness as a group, they creatively responded to the challenge by devising ways by which they could keep on benefiting from their forest home. Shangwe responses fit in perfectly well with acts of resistance as described by James Scott. Scott views “foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, feigned ignorance, desertion, pilfering, smuggling, poaching, arson, slander, sabotage, surreptitious assault and murder, anonymous threats and so on” by oppressed communities and groups as “weapons of the weak.”¹²⁰ Milton Esman has described “weapons of the weak” as;

...common methods by which weaker groups in any society attempt to protect themselves against extractions, material and psychological, of those institutionally more powerful than they, to lighten the material toll of exploitation and the symbolic burdens of subordination, to achieve some minimal autonomy and control over their lives where the main rules that govern everyday existence are made and enforced by others.¹²¹

It is in this context that Shangwe responses should be viewed. Squatting, illegal harvesting of forest production, poaching and land leases represented more than just resistance to eviction from their habitat. It was also an anti-commodity response; an anti-cotton expression on one hand and a fight for the preservation of their old ways of life on the other.

The colonial state sought to re-arrange African lives in a number of ways; communities were evicted from lands deemed to be fit for white use and lands set aside for conservation purposes. The state also sought to rearrange African production, in this case to make African farmers grow cotton. Africans did not give their input to these processes. Lack of input did not however mean that they were just victims of colonial processes as they unfolded. The Shangwe came up with creative responses to this onslaught – in the form of resistance and adaptive mechanisms. These mechanisms were a sustainable reaction to preserving their traditional ways of life and to ensuring their sustenance as a social group.

Notes and References

¹ The term is not an ethnic label. It is often used to denote the early settlers as “primitive”, “backward”, “resistant to change” and “anti-modern.” For more on this see P. S. Nyambara, 2002, “Madheruka and Shangwe: Ethnic Identities and the Culture of Modernity in Gokwe, North-western Zimbabwe, 1963-79”, The Journal of African History, 43, 2, 287-306.

² Like the term “Shangwe” this term does not denote an ethnic label. It is used by early settlers (the Shangwe) to refer to settlers who came to the area from 1953 onwards. The term is “an onomatopoeic word intended to evoke the sound of the lorry engines that brought (Madheruka) to Gokwe.” For more see E. Worby, 1992, “Remaking Labour, Reshaping Identity: Cotton, Modernization and the Culture of Modernity in north-western Zimbabwe”, PhD Thesis, McGill University.

³ Rhodesdale estate stretched from the boundary with Gweru and stretched to Kwekwe, Lalapansi, Chivhu, Mvuma and Gutu. A good portion of the area later came to be owned by Central Estates. The Nicholas van Hoogstraten-owned Central Estates is still operating today, though portions of it have been allocated for resettlement. For more on Madheruka in Rhodesdale see Pius S. Nyambara, 2005, “That Place was Wonderful!” African Tenants on Rhodesdale Estate, Colonial Zimbabwe, c. 1900-1952, International Journal of African Historical Studies, 38, 2, 267-299.

⁴ Author’s interview with Isaac Gavaza, 86, Rumhumha village, 14 September 2011.

⁵ Author’s interview with Cephas Moyo, 60, Makuwerere village, 13 February 2011.

⁶ Author’s interview with Tanyanyiwa Marimbidzike, 75, at Tare township, Nemangwe, 11 February 2012.

⁷ A few people had, however had contact with the outside sector through employment. One Msanika of Mafa village, for example, was a transport rider who transported mail from Gokwe to Kwekwe using a horse-drawn cart. Sitshona Matashu already worked as a cook in Bulawayo at the end of the 1940s. Information from interviews with Samson Msanika (also known as Kohwapakuru), 87, Mafa village, 19 August 2011 and Sitshona Matashu, 84, Matashu village, 27 September 2011.

⁸ Pius S. Nyambara, “Madheruka and Shangwe”, p. 288, 291.

⁹ Author’s interview with Headman Claudio Rumhumha, 78, Rumhumha village, 14 March 2012.

¹⁰ E. Kramer, 1998, “A Clash of Economies: Early Centralization Efforts in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1929-1935”, Zambezia, XXV, I, 83-98.

¹¹ Author’s interview Tafirenyika Shumba Tafirei, 71, Takaendesa village, 13 July 2011.

¹² E. Mapedza, 2007, “Forest Policy in Colonial and Post-Colonial Zimbabwe: Continuity and Change”, Journal of Historical Geography, 33, 834.

¹³ F. Matose and Tendayi Maravanyika-Mutumukuru, “‘Squatting’ as a Means of Establishing Authority over Forest Land in Zimbabwe: A Missing Dimension to Land Reform”, 4, www.indiana.edu/~wow4/papers/matose/wow4.pdf, downloaded on the 8th of September 2012. For more on State forestry policy see E. Mapedza, “Forestry Policy in colonial and post-colonial Zimbabwe.”

¹⁴ Author’s interview with Kevias Mhanqwa, 66, Mafa village, 6 June 2011.

¹⁵ Author’s interviews with Headman Nimrod Mandava, 44, Mandava village, 14 September 2011 and Shadrack Silemba (a spirit medium), Svisvi, Nemangwe, 15 September, 2011.

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- ¹⁶ Author's interview with Mutimba Khohliso Weresi, 87, Mafa village, 11 February 2011.
- ¹⁷ Interview with Stephen Sitshela, 63, Mafa village, 18 February 2011.
- ¹⁸ Interviews with Elia Sibanda, age estimated to be in the 60s, 24 February 2011, Gramma Machiro, 56, and Kaizen Sibanda, 65, and Mazamba Maguchwa, 69, a traditional healer, Mafa village in March 2010.
- ¹⁹ Interviews with Kevias Mhanqwa, 15 March 2010 and Vincent Sibanda, 59, 16 March 2010. Mhanqwa has 4 wives and around 30 children while Sibanda has 4 wives and 32 children.
- ²⁰ Interview with Brown Kufa, 62, Matashu village, 23 February 2011.
- ²¹ Interview with Regina Lunga, 83, 16 August 2011, Mugari Tavaena, 65 and Kusha Robert Mpofu, 85, Matashu village, 21 August 2011. Women could, however also own cattle. There were a number of circumstances under which women could acquire cattle. When a woman's daughter got married she was entitled to receive a cow, *mombe yehumai* from her son in law. In cases of severe domestic abuse, tradition also required the husband to give her a beast to show his remorse and repentance. One cow was, in many instances, all a woman began with – the cows would multiply with time. Many women, such as Regina Lunga of Matashu, owned many cattle in their own right.
- ²² Interview with Silas Mapfumo, 83, Matashu village, 27 August 2011.
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Interview with Rhodiwe Matashu, 75, Matashu village, 27 August 2011.
- ²⁵ Interviews with women in Mafa and Matashu villages.
- ²⁶ Interview with King Moyo, 70, 12 February 2012.
- ²⁷ Information about the Shangwe was collected from interviews from Mafa, Matashu, Maruta, Makuwerere, Takaendesa, Rumhumha and Mandava villages in Gokwe South.
- ²⁸ Interview with Isaac Gavaza, 86, Rumhumha village, 14 September 2011.
- ²⁹ Interview with Sitshona matashu, 85, Matashu village, 29 September 2011.
- ³⁰ Interview with Maggie Mthenji, 91, 25 February 2012.
- ³¹ Interview with Isaac Gavaza, Rumhumha village, 14 September 2011.
- ³² Ian Phimister, 1988, An economic and social history of Zimbabwe 1890 -1948: Capital accumulation and class struggle, London, Longman, 219, 224.
- ³³ Madheruka generally describe life in Rhodesdale as having been better than their current life in Gokwe. For more see Pius S. Nyambara, 2005, "That Place was wonderful!": African tenants on Rhodesdale estate, colonial Zimbabwe, c. 1900-52, The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 38, 2, 267-299.
- ³⁴ See the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Agricultural Industry, 1934.
- ³⁵ N. H. Wilson, Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Department, 1925, as quoted by B. N. Floyd, 1962, "Land Apportionment in Southern Rhodesia", Geographical Review, 52, 4, 566.
- ³⁶ V. Machingaidze, 1991, "Agrarian Change From Above: The Southern Rhodesia Native Land Husbandry Act and African Response", The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 24, 3, 559.

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- ³⁷ A. S. Mlambo, 1998, "Building a White Man's Country: Aspects of White Immigration into Rhodesia up to World War II" in Zambezia, 25, 2, 131.
- ³⁸ Oliver B. Pollak, Black Farmers and White Politics in Rhodesia, 264.
- ³⁹ Eira Punt, 1979, "The Development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference to the Interwar years", Master of Arts Thesis, University of Natal, 44.
- ⁴⁰ A. K. Shutt, 1997, "Purchase Areas and the Middle Class of Southern Rhodesia, 1931-52", The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 30, 3, 560.
- ⁴¹ The Chief Native Commissioner's Report: Southern Rhodesia, 1918, 4.
- ⁴² I. Phimister, An economic and social history of Zimbabwe, 219, 224.
- ⁴³ Ibid, 226.
- ⁴⁴ T. Moyo, 2001, "A History of the Cotton Industry in Colonial Zimbabwe: 1903-1940s", Bachelor of Arts Honours Dissertation, Department of Economic History, University of Zimbabwe, 10-15.
- ⁴⁵ NAZ S138/189B, Cotton Growing, Correspondence between the Native Commissioner for Sinoia AND the Superintendent of Natives, dated 27 November, 1923.
- ⁴⁶ The Cotton Research and Industry Board (CRIB), First Annual Report for the Year Ending March 31, 1937.
- ⁴⁷ E. Matowa, 1996, "The Cotton Research and Industry Board and African Cotton Production in Southern Rhodesia: 1936-1955", Bachelor of Arts Honours Dissertation, Department of Economic History, University of Zimbabwe.
- ⁴⁸ P. S. Nyambara, 2002, "Madheruka and Shangwe: Ethnic Identities and the Culture of Modernity in Gokwe, north-western Zimbabwe, 1963-79", The Journal of African History, 43, 2, 287-8.
- ⁴⁹ See E. Kramer, 1998, "A Clash of Economies: Early Centralization Efforts in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1929-1935", Zambezia, XXV, I, 83-98 and, by the same author "The Early Years: Extension Services in Peasant Agriculture in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1925-1929", Zambezia, XXIV, II, 1997, 159-179, J. McGregor, "Conservation, Control and Ecological Change" and I. Phimister, "Discourse and the Discipline of Historical Context."
- ⁵⁰ Beinart, "Soil Erosion, Conservationism and Ideas about Development", 52.
- ⁵¹ Kramer, "The Early Years: Extension Services in Peasant Agriculture", 86.
- ⁵² D. Anderson, 1984, "Depression, Dust Bowl, Demography and Drought: The Colonial State and Soil Conservation Policy in East Africa during the 1930s", African Affairs, 83, 321-344.
- ⁵³ J. McGregor, 1995, "Conservation, State Control and Ecological Change: The Politics and Ecology of Colonial Conservation in Shurugwi, Zimbabwe", Environment and History, 1, 257.
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⁷¹ National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), S2929/7/3, Gokwe Delineation Reports 1963-5, Report by C. J. K. Latham, Delineation Officer, dated 26 October, 1963.

⁷² Interview with Regina Lunga, 82, Matashu village. To make sense of this statement one has to understand that cotton brought return than maize and millet. The comparison between a suit, a pair of shorts and rags was meant to convince the villagers that only cotton could transform their lives from poverty to riches.

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⁷⁵ Interview with Kevias Mhanqwa, Mafa Village, 65, 11 September 2011.

⁷⁶ Interview with Driver Mafa.

⁷⁷ Interview with Mafa Village Head, Driver Mafa, aged 72, 21 September 2011.

⁷⁸ Interview with Regina Lunga on the 26th of September 2011 at Matashu Village, 80 years old.

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¹⁰² Interview with Josiah Mafa, Mafa village, 66, 13 July 2011.

¹⁰³ Interview with Angeline Mafa, 62, 14 July, 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with King Moyo, 70, Mafa village, 12 February 2012.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Angeline Mafa, 62, 14 July, 2011.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Regina Lunga, 80, Matashu village.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with King Moyo, 70, Mafa village, 12 February 2012.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Manhamba Sande, Sande village, Nemangwe, 66, 10 October 2011.

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¹¹² Interview with Dhara Msanika, 65, Mafa village, 2 April 2012.

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¹¹⁴ Interview with Regina Lunga, 80, Matashu village.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Brown Kufa, Matashu Village.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Mabheu Senzela, 70, Matashu village, 26 October 2011.

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Living Culture through Children's Plays: A Close Reading of the Folklore-Based Plays *Akpokplo*, *Gates to Mother* and *the Perpetual Stone-Mill*

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Abstract

*This paper examines three folklore-based plays meant for children. Our objective is, firstly, to explore what contribution the dramatisation of our folklores could make towards protecting and growing our culture in order to safeguard our distinct identity as a people in the face of challenges posed by the thrust of science and technology which is inexorably globalising the world. Secondly, it is to help rejuvenate the study and practice of our folklore because the kind of ebullience that greeted the University of Ghana's Children's Drama Development Project, from which the three plays in this study emanated, appears to have waned over the years. The three unpublished plays are Kofi Anyidoho's *Akpokplo*, Joe Manu Amponsah's *Gates to Mother*, and Sebastian Kumuar's *The Perpetual Stone-Mill*. In *Akpokplo* the play moves from one traditional way of life to another. For instance, the children play games, tell a story and then pose philosophical questions. We travel from light-heartedness (the game of hide-and-peek) to an equally light-hearted play in logic and then to a serious phase where philosophical questions are raised. The other two are thematically existentialist, while *Gates to Mother* appears to be a surrealist representation of a troublesome boy's futile journey to the 'ghost land' to look for his deceased noble mother in order to escape the vagaries of life, *The Perpetual Stone-Mill* presents an Ewe folktale that is symptomatic of the Akan Ananse stories. We see Yiyi, an 'over-reacher,' cheating and futilely snaking his way to undeserved fortune.*

Keywords: culture, folklore, folktale, spirit world, fantasy, existentialism.

Introduction

The folktale is a big subset of folklore which is one of the most important means of expressing African culture. Various views have been expressed on the value of folklore in the African experience and development. Barbara *et al* (1961) writing on Nigerian folktales have asserted that in spite of the growth in formal education and, "... despite a marked increase in the literacy rate, the oral tradition is still very strong..." Cowley (1971) in an open lecture at the University of Ghana, Legon, also emphasises that "... folklore, i.e. orally transmitted tradition, is not at all limited to the illiterates in a literate society, but rather can be found at virtually every level in every society, and is in no danger of *dying out*."

The folktale is one of the most functional aspects of the traditional verbal art, and through it the beliefs, mores and social attitudes of the people are transmitted from one generation to another. So powerful is this medium that it survived the destructive influence of missionary activity and colonialism. The irony, however, is that in contemporary Africa there is a dearth of official patronage of this cultural means of expression, especially, as an academic area of study and

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investigation. In view of this, one cannot say with any measure of equanimity that the highly educated segment of our people knows and gives it worthy notice. Hence, Sutherland (1976) describes as 'unfortunate' the necessity to encourage our playwrights to acquire more knowledge of their own indigenous games in the first place. She explains that

... the necessity arises because of the dreadful history of how these games have been discouraged, or virtually banned by educational policy; neglected or regarded with disdain in educational institutions.

Why have traditional games been discouraged and virtually denied by officialdom? Intellectuals concerned about the deliberate desecration of African culture and who are also concerned about the need to reassert African values ought to remember that for one thing, the mission of the West to Africa after the partitioning of the continent was largely a cultural one. Dzobo (1981) has pointed out that:

the West through its missionaries accepted the 'burden' of destroying, undermining, denigrating and subverting the indigenous African culture and alienating ('saving') Africans from it through vicious and transcendentalised propaganda and through the medium of paternalistic gospel.

In fact, since the early nineteenth century it has been the overweening ambition of Christianity to 'save' Africans from their presumed primitive cultures. According to Poku (1970) Casely-Hayford, in his book *Ethiopia Unbound*, reports the imperialists at a conference as saying,

We shall go to the Ethiopians (Africans) and shall teach them our religion and that will make them ours, body and soul – lands, goods, and all, for all time. And the saying pleased them all.

For our purpose the veracity or otherwise of Casely-Hayford is immaterial. It is the persistent danger of acculturation that confronts Africans and their culture (and for which reason his words are so meaningful and necessary) that is germane to this paper. Have the Europeans, after all, not succeeded in that mission Casely-Hayford exposes? Indeed, has the implied prognostication of the cultural and mental enslavement carried in Casely-Hayford's claim not been proved accurate in actuality? Mbiti (1979) sees modern Africans as living in "two half cultures" which he describes as "shallow at least on African soil." He declares:

It is a culture of the alphabet and comics, of pop music and the transistor radio, of television and magazines with pictures of semi-naked women, of individualism and economic competition, of mass production and ever accelerated speed of life.

That is why we think Sutherland's call above imposes an intellectual responsibility on African writers to take a critical look at the need for the literary expression of African culture through dramatised folklore. Fortunately, some of the playwrights under the auspices of the Children's Drama Development Project started doing that in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In the folksy plays analysed in this paper we find that the stories provide themes on morality and

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existentialism, among others, and children as well as adults learn lessons from them for the promotion of traditional culture.

Akpokplo

Kofi Anyidoho's *Akpokplo* begins with a play and 'play' is the language of children. This introductory play of the children involves word-juggling which excitingly establishes an uncanny rapport between the characters and the audience. The children display a lot of maturity and intelligence in handling words to prepare the minds of the audience for the philosophical questions to be raised later. The following is an illustration:

Atsu: Who are you, I say?

Voices: Who are you, we say?

Atsu: Your mother.

Voices: Your father.

Atsu: Look, if I get hold of you, you'll see.

Voices: See, if you get hold of us, we'll look.

Atsu: All right, come on here, if you're your father's sons.

Voices: All left, go off there, if you're your mother's ghost.

Thus is the audience, particularly that part with adult prejudices and subterfuges, pulled to the level of children and thus, too, is the audience purged of prejudices in regard to children's intelligence. To that extent we have fascinating audience-conscious opening. The popular game of hide-and-seek of normal village children follows, during which the audience is tantalised by a seemingly foolish laughter by one of the players called Senyo who remarks tongue-in-cheek that: "if I, Senyo Katakumbe, am not a human being, how can Akpokplo be even an animal?" We see a pattern emerging; in fact, the target of the abuse, Akpokplo, is not around but when Atsu insults Senyo the latter in turn rather insults Akpokplo, all in the course of the artistic enactment of a folk-game which both pleases and instructs. Just before Akpokplo himself appears, Senyo extends his vilification of the former into a song of abuse in which he picks on Akpokplo's unattractive features. He describes Akpokplo as having the eyes of a toad and also that he has no buttocks at all. We note that a story is being told, hence Senyo's song of abuse which is in the tradition of Ewe halo poetry. This type of poetry is very abusive and bitter in tone and is often a running commentary on others. And so, Senyo, in spite of Kokui's admonition, goes on with his abuse of the innocent Akpokplo. Ironically, Kokui suddenly joins Senyo in abusing Akpokplo:

Senyo: Akpokplo is a sack of fresh cassava dough.

Kokui: His mouth spreads from ear to ear.

Senyo: His ears like tobacco leaves.

Kokui: His ears like sails.

Senyo: Yes, really like sails.

There is humour in spite of the song of abuse and we find that the value of the play is embedded in its dramatic presentation of a traditional art form which is expressive and which in a way encapsulates the African's pride. This heritage which appears to have been submerged in a cultural mix-up following alien evangelism and colonialism which saw it as profane, undesirable and unworthy of study in schools, is being restated here with poetic poignancy. Through folklore

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Africans are able to explain the whys and the wherefores of nature or creation and this fact is captured in the unfolding drama.

In the traditional African scheme of things there are causal relationships in almost all things that happen in human affairs. It is the philosophy behind traditional scientific exploration of the universe and human existence. Anyidoho appears to be engaged in such a scientific investigation in the explication of Akpokplo's creation and near-hideous appearance. The play moves from the known ugly features of Akpokplo (and therefore the familiar physical entity) into a rather detached and weird realm as Akpokplo whispers the question: "Do you know what happened to my head?" Akpokplo answers his own question in a way that may confound or befuddle non-Africans and alienated Africans alike because of the apparent superstition. However, Akpokplo is gifted with a supernatural capability to see beyond mundane things. Although it appears surrealist, it is by this means of gifting humans, animals and even non-living things with supernatural insights that we are able to probe into what defies ordinary comprehension.

This approach may be similar to the Euro-American scientific means of exploring nature and it is an important source of much native wisdom. According to Akpokplo, when God created him he was not ugly but as he stood drying in the sun he saw that God had made an ugly creature because He (God) had been very busy, as always. Akpokplo laughed and angered God whose "long arms stretched out and clapped my head." Though not yet dried he jumped into his mother's womb, an act which resulted in his poor features. Two major lessons may be gleaned here. First, the tale tells us that the African concept of God was not received from the tutelage of evangelising colonisers. In other words, the tale deprecates the assertion of the paternalistic alien religions that God, the Supreme Being, had no place in African consciousness before the coming of the missionaries and that Africans only worshipped rivers, trees and stones; second, like the Bible, the tale condemns those who deride God. Akpokplo laughed at God and God's "long arms" (a vivid symbolism of omni-presence) punished him.

Akpokplo then claims that God has forgiven him and so would have to go back to him for the necessary corrections to his ugly features. This means death; but "life here" on earth "is big fun" and Akpokplo must play with his friends before the destined end and return to God. The ensuing play is a lesson in logic for the children. Kokui is not and does not want to be a witch; Senyo is not and does not want to be a wizard. Akpokplo points out to them that if they are accusing each other of witchcraft and wizardry then their parents are evil people. They protest against this but Akpokplo pricks them more: "Does the crab ever give birth to a bird?" They have given themselves a very simple lesson in logic and they understand that. We notice, as Sutherland (1976) puts it, that,

... as the children play the game while dramatising the folktale, the game becomes a vehicle for lessons in the folktale while sustaining interest and enhancing enjoyment. The children have had a lesson in logic but then there is what appears to beat logic: "Why do people die?" When people die "where do they go?" and, "where do people come from any way?" Silence is the answer. The children would like to know but even their parents do not appear to know; certain complex questions in human existence defy quick solutions and glib answers. We think that the inability of the children (and by extension the playwright) to answer those fundamental questions of human existence clearly provokes deep reflections in the minds of the audience, condensing the atmosphere and thereby encapsulating everyone in its movement.

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The art form that has been drawn upon in *Akpokplo* is a significant factor in the total contribution of the people to the development of philosophy and humanity in general. It is an art which helps to sharpen the child's intellect whilst making them appreciate the value of their culture. Indeed, *Akpokplo* carries in its movement what Sutherland (1976) calls "authentic expressibility" because it is an example of the work of an artist who has made an adequate observation of children and also because the play represents children "faithfully in its artistic scheme and expression."

From the above, we find that the domains of folklore are limitless. Folktales can scan physical existence and rummage through the subterranean realm as well as the firmament. But while in *Akpokplo* we only have report of what happens in Heaven, in Joe Amponsah's *Gates to Mother* we experience a visual exposition of what exists outside our own world. We note that in the denouement of *Akpokplo* one of the unanswered philosophical questions posed is where people go when they die. The answer is provided by *Gates to Mother*. People go somewhere when they die but one's fortunes in the after-life are determined by the nature of life one leads in the human world. Of the subterranean world we have a graphic representation in *Gates to Mother*.

Gates to mother

Our folktales allow easy interaction among humans and those of the spiritual realms. Indeed, as Mbiti (1979) succinctly states, in the African peoples' spiritual and for that matter cultural world, "... the spiritual universe is a unit with the physical, and that these two intermingle and dovetail into each other so much that it is not easy, or even necessary, at times to draw the distinction or separate them." In *Akpokplo* and *Gates to Mother* the spiritual and physical worlds indeed dovetail into each other. Thus, in *Gates to Mother* Amofa through whom we scour the underworld for knowledge is not dead. He is a victim of excessive abuse from his step-mother, something that is not an unusual phenomenon. Amofa himself is a troublesome boy and therefore adventurous. He takes the seemingly crazy decision to go into the subterranean world to look for his mother. Initially, we may be confused by this weird decision but the decision springs from expediency. The tale, like modern science, has a didactic objective of exploring the unknown and the means is justified by the end achievement.

Amofa's journey begins at the first gate to the underworld where he meets Kayera who advises him to return to "live in the world again" since "only the dead ones pass this side." But Amofa who has "passed through the anthills" and seen "great crows on the silk cotton tree" cannot return to the world of the living. He tells Kayera,

I drop like flies into the sea,
And from the boat that sets out
I shall have to take the net
To fish for the good.
Spare me my life,
My dear mother is waiting for me
In a beautiful place,
I am troubled in the world.

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The image of flies dropping into the sea conjures a pathetic spectacle that demonstrates Amofa's haplessness. If his journey is terminated and he is unable to see his mother he might be condemned to a life of terrible labour in the physical world. The above speech which he repeats at the second and third gates becomes his armour in his precarious adventure to his mother, Densu, whose good deeds when alive is his second and most powerful armour. Indeed, when Kayera who has been moved to pity hears Densu's name he kindly comments: "Densu? Oh, she was a good woman and she continues to be good." For this reason Kayera facilitates Amofa's journey by giving him three 'asaman' (that is, ghost) coins one of which he is to offer at each of the next two gates. At the second gate Amofa encounters Sasabonsam, "keeper of the gate to the red river with jewels more precarious than gold." He threatens to devour Amofa, but after hearing about the dangerous journey he has already undertaken and also that he is the son of the good woman, Densu, Sasabonsam, like Kayera, tells Amofa: "Oh, son, pass on, for she was a good woman and she continues to be good." The same pattern is followed at the third gate which is manned by Akro. He threatens Amofa with a painful death if he does not go back but Amofa replies that if he goes back, "the woman at home will kill" him. Akro also makes a similar comment when he hears that Amofa is Densu's son: "She was a good woman and here, we all like her." Amofa ultimately reaches the land of ghosts where he meets his mother. However, there is a frightening snag; if he can live with his mother in the 'ghost land' he would need an *asaman* coin. Remembering that at the first gate Kayera had given him coins he is elated but this immediately 'vapourises' when he realises he has lost the last coin in his haste. He has seen his mother but cannot touch her; a yawning chasm separates them.

We notice that Amofa is able to make the hazardous journey largely because of two factors; first is the ill-treatment he suffers in the hands of his step-mother as a result of his own stubbornness; second, and most significant is the uprightness of his mother while alive and even in death. Uprightness therefore is the moral of the play. Obviously, Amofa and his mother are morally poles apart. He is not only disobedient but also hasty. No one would want to undertake that perilous adventure unless they are stubborn, and his inability to achieve his aim, in a way, foreshadows what Detsoevi tells Yiyi in our next play, *The Perpetual Stone-mill*: "Yiyi, hasty climbers usually suffer sudden falls." Indeed, the two plays' existentialist approach is didactic and profitable as the children are sensitised to the need to be good and upright since they would ultimately be responsible for their actions. Amofa wants to die before his time but this is not in tune with the laws of nature albeit it is part of the play's universe of fantasy. Indeed, the play brings to mind Amos Tutuola's *Palm Wine Drinkard* (1952) with its investigation into something beyond the physical world. In *Gates to Mother*, perhaps Joe Manu Amponsah's presentation of Sasabonsam appears to be the most fascinating thing. In our folktales, Sasabonsam is the supreme epitome of evil but in this play he is seen astonishingly certifying the virtue of righteousness. Thus, through Sasabonsam children are brought to the awareness that for the righteous there is a special place of rest after death. Again, judging from the hazards Amofa undergoes and the futility of his mission, children are educated that they risk their happiness in the other world if they do evil and are uncontrollable and hasty.

One striking feature of the play is that it is set in a world in which the barriers between humans and spirits are dispensed with so that they all interact on the same plane. This is done to facilitate investigation of our complex physical world and the beyond. After rummaging the spirit world we discover that there is no short-cut to salvation. Amofa comes very close to salvation yet remains very far from it. What *Akpokplo* and *Gates to Mother* succeed in doing therefore is that

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they, as noted by Owomoyela (1979), present some of our "behavioural values" and the cumulative wisdom of bygone ages to the present generation thereby preserving "them for posterity."

The Perpetual Stone-Mill

We have another case of fantasy where a stone produces corn-flour in Sebastian Kuamuar's *The Perpetual Stone-Mill*. For many, including most educated post-colonial Africans, a situation where a mere stone produces corn flour may be rather problematic but we need to understand that it is in the grain of African culture to peruse spiritual phenomenon in order to understand the universe.

The central concern of Kuamuar's tale is the menace of greed; his main character, Yiyi, who will not live and let live, and who ultimately suffers ignominy, is presented as greed incarnate. The play falls directly into the corpus of our folktales. Yiyi, in fact, is the Ewe version of the popular ever-cunning Ananse of the Akans, also of Ghana. Ananse's subterfuge is of such a monstrous proportion that, save God, no one ever escapes from his web of greed and trickery. In Akan folktales he very rarely suffers sanctions, punishment or even a mere reprimand. However, what we have in *The Perpetual Stone-Mill* is unique; Yiyi cheats his benefactor of his property but uncharacteristically he is unable to get away with it. This is unique and the author's technique of using a narrator to explain things is equally unique.

Unlike the other two playwrights, Kuamuar uses a narrator whose role is to ensure the conscious involvement of the audience in the play's movement. Sutherland (1976) attests to the effectiveness of the audience-consciousness of the play and the use of the narrator. According to her, during one of the test-productions of the play the audience who were largely children thought that they were actually being ordered to go away and some even got up when the narrator asked, among other things, "what have you come to do here?" at the very beginning of the play. One of the children registered his protest: "I have paid ten pesewas!" and when the narrator said further, "You'd better go back home" one boy replied, "then give me back my ten pesewas." The narrator, as if really accosting them then asked, "Are you still determined to stay?" to which came the emphatic answer, "Yes!" By this device the children, and for that matter the audience, are motivated or stimulated to ensconce themselves in the play's rendition. Much might be lost if the playwright allows their maturity to cloud their judgement so that they are unable to go down to the child's intellectual level. Through Kuamuar's dramaturgy, therefore, the seemingly disingenuous behaviour of Yiyi in depriving his own son of his *akple* (an Ewe dish) would make much sense to the children and prepare them to rejoice when they see the greedy Yiyi in agony in the play's exciting denouement.

There is famine and not even the cunning Yiyi whose otherwise famous belly has dwindled, has been able to escape the scourge. In such circumstances children are the most vulnerable lot who deserve kindness; but there is nothing like kindness, sympathy or pity in Yiyi's psychology. He is shocked that there should be "noises of joy" in Detsoevi's house and so he sends his son, Dzeha, to find out. Dzeha is to pretend he is fetching burning charcoal. When he returns to Yiyi, Dzeha is holding *akple*. Instead of allowing the hungry boy to eat the food, Yiyi cunningly cheats him out of it: "What poison? Who gave you this? It's bad. Turn your back and let me throw it away." Yiyi actually eats the food and pretentiously bemoans someone's treacherous attempt to

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kill his son. However, if only Yiyi can “get another lump like that!” He compels his son back to Detsoevi's house and again cheats him out of the food he gets. For the third time the greedy Yiyi sends Dzeha to Detsoevi's but this time round the nonplussed Detsoevi gives him an insulting admonition: “... tell your mother to learn how to light a fire properly.” Detsoevi nonetheless gives the boy some more food which is again eaten by the unscrupulous Yiyi. Clearly, Yiyi's behaviour at the expositional stage of the play leaves the audience bemused and depressed as they yearn for a reversal. The benevolent Detsoevi reveals the secret source of his happiness to Yiyi and promises to take him to that source upon Yiyi's promise to keep the transaction secret. The avaricious Yiyi immediately swears by his dead father's coffin and declares: “I will never tell what you say to anyone on earth, under the earth, in the sky or ... not even to my wife Funo.” Thus, Detsoevi gives his word that they would set out “when the chief's big red cock crows at dawn.” But immediately Detsoevi leaves the scene the impatient greedy Yiyi laments,

But we have the whole evening
and the night to wait before
the cock crows! I wish I had
the power to push back the sun
to the East now and call the red
cock's attention to it! Get back to the East
and give us light!

Even though it is only tomorrow that they would start the journey and Yiyi is in cahoots with Detsoevi, greed needlessly throws the former into insomnia. He cannot wait till the crow of the red cock. So, even before the chicken “settle down to sleep,” Yiyi wakes up his neighbour and pleads with him to start the journey. This peremptory behaviour compels Detsoevi to issue a new condition: “If the chief's big coconut falls come and call me.” This instruction makes the impatient Yiyi to throw needless tantrums. He just cannot wait till the coconut falls and so decides to try another trick. We do not forget that Yiyi and cunning are synonymous but his cunning is not used for the common good; egocentricity is his all. His deeds, his avid propensity to move from one repulsive act to another is such that we wish for some divine intervention. Yiyi cannot wait till the coconut falls. Therefore, he embarks on another bizarre subterfuge; he forces his son into a sack in order to drop him like a coconut from the rafters,

I have told you already about the plan.
Now, when I let you fall from the rafters,
Please for our stomach's sake, don't shout.
Be a man.

Yiyi's evil deed does not escape his neighbour's watch and as he goes for the second time to his door Detsoevi teases,

Well, how is your son faring from the fall?
Have his ribs been broken?
I woke when he fell and saw him
scrambling up the wall.

Obviously, Detsoevi needs not honour his promise but the story cannot terminate here because it must demonstrate what greed and avarice finally lead to. That is the meaning of Detsoevi's

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caution, "Yiyi, hasty climbers usually suffer sudden falls ... stop being anxious." Yiyi fails in his dangerous experiment with his son's life but until he falls into the sea like a fly there cannot be any let up. He steals Detsoevi's hunting bag, punches holes in it and lines it with ashes: "Yes, that will leave a trail which will give him away if he goes without me." Indeed, by this means he is able to visit the "marvellous grove" and returns with much corn-flower. But then, greedy people are invariably clever cheats and Yiyi is symbolic of that trite truism. At the beginning of the penultimate scene the narrator asks the audience: "Why is it bad if someone tells you that you are as greedy as Yiyi?" Not surprisingly, one week after knowing the sacred grove Yiyi muses: "This stone-mill, I must get for myself." He tells Detsoevi that when he was going to sleep he recalled what his grandfather Ayitevi had told him before, that

the stone-mill grove was found by
my great grandfather before the
Ashantis crossed the Volta into
Ewe-land. It was handed down to
my grandfather and to my father,
and by virtue of my birth it
became my bona-fide property.

Yiyi has become more than an 'over-reacher' and there is the need for an intervention. The narrator does this by trying to appeal to Yiyi's conscience:

Yiyi don't do it. You don't live in
this world alone. You can't own
everything in it alone. The greedy
belly is bound to burst with the
slightest strain. Don't try to seize
the stone-mill for yourself alone.

Here again, we see the effective use of the narrator as a device. He intervenes at the appropriate time to make the audience know the direction of the play. He sums up the general feelings of the audience who have been moved to pity and fear by Yiyi's destructive behaviour and through him we anticipate what might befall Yiyi.

Yiyi returns to the sacred grove and brings home the stone-mill. In the safety of his room he hopes to have absolute monopoly of the stone and thereby enjoy an easy source of food and wealth in these times of hunger and poverty. However, the mystery stone's haven is not the vile Yiyi's house. It refuses to come down but sits on Yiyi's head still producing corn-flower to fill the calabashes of the choruses, (that is, the representatives of the people.) Partly to save himself from his agony and partly to deny the people more corn-flour Yiyi runs away amidst hooting to the sacred grove to put the stone-mill back in its proper place.

The Perpetual Stone-Mill is a masterpiece and undeniably a glittering evidence of the richness of our oral tradition. Greed has its nemesis. Yiyi's greedy escapades please no one, and through the dramatisation of the folktale, children and society in general get positive delight and instruction.

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Conclusion

We have endeavoured in this paper to re-ignite a vigorous interest in the study of African culture through dramatised folktales for Ghanaian and, for that matter, African children. It is this paper's standpoint that through the dramatisation of African folklore, African culture could be re-asserted to deprecate western assertion that the African had been oblivious of culture until he was cruelly robbed in European religion and culture. Indeed, through acculturation present-day Africans have virtually come to accept everything European or American as the *ultima thule*. This tendency is what ought to be repudiated by African intellectuals, particularly, literary writers by studying and expressing our folklore for the edification and mental emancipation of the African child. According to Lynch (1971) E.W. Blyden, commenting on the mental enslavement of Africans, declares that,

the African has been made to disregard anything African. He even sometimes accepts that he himself and his culture are inferior to the European and European culture. There is even a want of faith in anything remarkable done or projected by their own people.

Appalled by this dangerous self-abnegation, Blyden feels that,

... it is incumbent upon the intelligent among the African race, to discountenance as much as possible this servile feeling, and to use every means to crush it wherever it appears, for its influence on the mind and the morals and general progress of the race is fearfully injurious.

We note that the injury has already been done but the thesis of this paper is that in spite of that unsavoury historical development, a conscious effort to inculcate in African children a study of African culture, especially through our folktales, could lead to a cultural renaissance. Immorality, fuelled by a blind imitation of European and American cultural mannerisms, greatly assails African societies today. And, as the three plays explicated in this paper demonstrate, unless vices like violence, child-disobedience, oppressive parental behaviour, greed and avarice among a myriad of other challenges are targeted for control in educational policy, from African perspectives, Africa would continue to be disparaged in the world's inescapable globalisation process because we would only be mimicking the ways of the white people. Therefore, it is worth giving an ear to Dzobo (1981) who justifiably points out that the true identity of Africans and their culture is found

... in the essentials of the culture, such as the concept of life and man, of human relationship as a category of being and in the tenets of the value system, and in the logical structure of the African mind and being. It is in the fundamental orientations of life that we see the essentials of the indigenous African culture.

Finally, in the effort to teach and promote African culture Blyden's admonition below may be instructive, especially, for African writers. According to Curtin (1972) Blyden said, while addressing the Freetown Unity club in 1903, that

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Your first duty is to yourselves... You need to be told to keep constantly before yourselves the fact that you are Africans and not Europeans, black men, and not white men – and that in your endeavour to make yourselves something else, you are not only spoiling your nature and turning aside from your destiny, but you are robbing humanity of the part you ought to contribute to its development and welfare.

It is the reason the study and dramatisation of African folklore should be considered utilitarian enough to merit pragmatic attention. We believe that the value systems and the generality of African culture could be studied, enriched and promoted through folklore-based drama to generate the new African child.

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The Babangida Years and Private Sector's Initiatives in the Restructuring of the Nigerian Economy, 1985-1993

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Abstract

After the Nigerian civil war, the Nigerian economy depended almost exclusively on the exportation of crude oil for foreign exchange earnings. Economic decline and crisis set in when the prices fell and exports declined starting from the early 1980s. Restructuring of the economy became imperative as foreign exchange earnings from crude oil plummeted unabated with adverse effects on the development of other crucial sectors of the economy. The need for private sector's collaboration and initiative in policy making and implementation, as the panacea for economic recovery, was therefore seriously canvassed by the IMF/World Bank under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 1980s. The adoption of SAP in July 1986 under President Ibrahim Babangida marked a watershed in the involvement of the private sector in Nigeria's economic development more than ever before. This paper seeks to examine the dynamics of private sector initiatives for the restructuring of the Nigerian economy under Babangida administration between 1985 and 1993.

Introduction

By the beginning of the 1980s, international concern focused on a declining global economy, indeed, the world economic depression of the 1980s was more pronounced among Third World nations. The details of the economic crisis have been well treated by several scholars, but it suffices to say here that the sudden upsurge in the prices of crude oil in the international market between 1973 and 1978, which was instigated by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries and the sudden collapse in the prices of the commodity thereafter, adversely affected the fortunes of the Third World countries. The heavy reliance on the commodity for foreign exchange earnings by Nigeria since the end of the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) and the total neglect of her traditional agricultural export commodities exposed the imbalance in the structure of the economy as earnings from oil exports became the determinant of the direction of growth in the economy.

As foreign exchange earnings plummeted rapidly from 1981, government took some palliative measures to alleviate the crisis in order to prevent further decline in Nigeria's foreign exchange reserves. Consequently, in 1982, government evoked GATT's Article XVIII in which it sought for restrictive measures for balance of payments. The new trade policy either reduced the importation of some food items such as chicken or prohibited importation of such items as gaming machines. Issuance of import licensing was restricted, tariff on a number of products were raised and a new method of compulsory advance deposits for imports was introduced.

The Nigerian private sector through the instrumentality of business associations such as the Lagos Chambers of Commerce and Industry (LCC & I) organised seminars, workshops and conferences in order to proffer solutions to the economic crisis (Okuntola, 2010: 31-56). Babangida took over power in 1985 and in July 1986, his administration adopted SAP, a

programme which placed greater emphasis on private sector-led-economic development. From this point, the organised private sector became more articulate and more actively recognised by

government in policy-making processes. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of literature on private sector initiative in economic development in Nigeria, particularly in the period of economic restructuring. As a major actor in the economy, the initiative of the private sector cannot be underestimated in the dynamics of Nigeria's external economic relations and the nation's economic development. This paper examines private sector initiatives in the restructuring of the economy during the Babangida era, 1985 to 1993. The paper is structured into four parts. Part one discusses Nigeria's economic crisis and government policy measures between 1981 and 1985. Part two focuses on the Babangida administration and private sector trade policy initiatives, part three examines the private sector and industrial policy initiatives and part four concludes the discussion.

Nigeria's Economic Crisis and Government Policy Measures, 1980-1985

By the end of the Nigerian civil war in 1970, Nigeria's crude oil exports increased. From 1973, favourable prices of the commodity in the international markets increased her foreign exchange earnings. At the same time, her traditional exports; agricultural produce declined not only because of policy neglect, but due to their unfavorable prices in the international produce markets. Market prices of crude oil rose from about \$3/barrel per day (b/d) in 1970 to \$11b/d in 1974. Nigeria's earnings from oil exports shot up from \$1 million in 1971 to about \$8 billion in 1974. A barrel of crude oil sold for US\$14.9 in 1978 increased to US\$33 b/d in 1979 and further rose to US\$44.4 b/d in 1980. At this point, government liberalised importation of goods and reduced import tariffs. Consequently, importation of consumer goods increased substantially from N440 million in 1974 to N2.136 billion in 1978 and to N3.897 billion in 1981 (Bangura, 1987: 96). The real sector; the manufacturing sector became heavily dependent on importation of raw materials and capital goods for survival.

The challenge of Nigeria's heavy reliance on earnings from crude oil exports became obvious when crude oil prices plummeted from the late 1970s onwards. Nigeria's oil production fell drastically from an average of 2.1 million barrel per day (mbd) in 1981 to 1.3 mbd in 1983 (; Budget, 1984). The country's official foreign exchange reserves, which stood at US\$ 8.50 billion at the end of May 1981, declined to about US\$ 2.85 billion by the end of December, 1982 (GATT, 1991). Between 1982 and 1983, the country's total income fell from N28.5 billion to 27.3 billion (Buhari 1984: 4). The deficits were financed by public sector borrowing, which further reduced Nigeria's reserves due to a large accumulation of payment of arrears on external trade credit. In 1981, inter-sectoral financing activities in Nigeria reflected an unsatisfactory economic performance. The volume of net inter-sectoral financing fell from its high level of N12, 176.4 million in 1980 to as low as N4, 381 million in 1981 (Central Bank, 1981:3). The external debt/exports of goods and services ratio which stood at 31.9 per cent in 1983 rose to 148.9 per cent in 1984, while the interest/GNP ratio which was about 3.3 per cent in 1980 rose to 13.0 per cent and 15.7 per cent in 1983 and 1984 respectively (GATT 1981:17).

Government took series of stringent fiscal and monetary measures between 1982 and 1984 in order to stem the decline. For the first time in the history of Nigeria's membership of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), it evoked Article XVIII in which it sought for restrictive measures for balance of payments in 1982. Thus, between March and April 1982, a new trade policy was introduced under the Economic Stabilisation Trade Policy. On 23 March 1982, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) directed commercial banks to stop further issuance of

letters of credit to importers in order to ensure that foreign exchange was released only for importation of essential commodities.

Despite these measures, the basic problems persisted and became even more critical than ever, as prices of crude oil continued to fall. The manufacturing sector was challenged by under-utilisation of installed capacity because foreign exchange earnings reduced the importation of essential raw materials and spare parts. Consequently, prices of consumer goods increased and inflation set in as commodities became scarce. At the time when it was not possible to increase local production of any commodity items, only N200 million worth of import licenses were approved for general merchandise to supplement the dwindling domestic output (Ogunseye, 1985: 13-14).

Despite the stringent control of imports, the country's external reserve declined from N1,005.7 million in January 1985 to N767.7 million in September same year (Ogunseye, 1985). Foreign exchange receipts plummeted from about US \$26 billion in 1980 to about US \$12 billion in 1982 and further decreased to US \$7 billion in 1986 as a result of which imports declined from US\$15 billion in 1980 to US\$5.5 billion in 1986 (Okongwu, 1987: 4). Budget deficit rose from about N2 billion in 1980 to N3.1 billion by 1985 (Egwaikhe, 1995: 47). In 1983, Nigeria's current account deficit and the government budget deficit reached about 6 and 12 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) respectively (World Bank, 1990: 39; GATT 1991: 20). The average annual GDP growth rate was 1.1 per cent between 1980 and 1988, which sharply contrasted with the average growth rate of 6.9 per cent between 1965 and 1980 (Attahiru, 1993).

The more worrisome was the debts owed bankers, contractors and suppliers, which were estimated at N17.2 billion in 1983. By the beginning of 1985, the need for public-private sectors cooperation in tackling the myriad of economic problems facing the nation became imperative. The leading Organised Private Sector associations existing then were the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCC&I); formed since 1888, the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA); established in 1971, Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN); formed in 1972, the Nigerian-American Chamber of Commerce (NACC); constituted in 1960; and the Nigeria Employers' Consultative Association (NECA); formed in 1957. They all felt the need for constant dialogues between government and the business community as the economic crisis persisted. In 1984, the Buhari administration constituted the Quarterly Luncheon; a platform for public-private sector dialogues, but no meeting was held; and all efforts on the part of private sector to initiate meetings with the government in early 1985 failed. The only meeting slated for October in that year, which was to be sponsored by NECA, was postponed indefinitely at the instance of the government (LCC&I, 1986: 5).

The Babangida Regime and the Nigerian Private Sector

President Babangida came to power in May 1985. Among the issues LCC&I quickly took up with the government was the issue of import licensing because the scheme put extra cost on business operation. The 1985 budget statement had introduced pre-payment of import duties despite the Chamber's representation against the scheme in its pre-budget memorandum. The other issue raised and, which government accepted, was the Foreign Currency Accounts domiciled with banks. The Chamber had recommended the scheme to Government in the Review of the 1984 Federal Government Budget in order to increase the flow of foreign exchange resources. At a

follow-up meeting between the representatives of NACCIMA and the Federal Ministry of Finance, the proposals were accepted, which led to the promulgation of the Foreign Currency Domiciliary Accounts (CDAS) Decree of 1985 (LCC & I, 1986).

President Babangida in his address to the nation on October 1st, 1985 declared a state of National Economic Emergency for a period of fifteen months. He also announced the adoption of Second-tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) in his address to the nation on June 27, 1986. SFEM was a progressive devaluation of the naira, which of course received the blessings of the IMF and the World Bank. The aim was to determine the realistic external value of the naira. Specifically, the objectives of SFEM were to:

- (a) Abolish import licensing system, commodity marketing boards and remove price control.
- (b) Replace import prohibitions with tariffs.
- (c) Reduce export prohibitions to a handful of commodities.
- (d) Introduce a new customs and excise tariff (LCC & I, 1986: 5).

The private sector initially welcomed the introduction of SFEM as a core element in the economic restructuring process. SFEM was considered a more efficient method of allocating foreign exchange for the sustenance of a free market operation. However, its operational limitations, which put serious hardship on importers, were quickly pointed. Within two weeks of its operation, the Lagos Chamber of Commerce suggested that government should provide:

A mechanism which will guarantee adequate supply of foreign exchange to the priority sectors, which would take the form of guidelines similar to the credit guidelines whereby banks allocate credit to the various sectors to make in-flow of private capital attractive to foreign investors (LCC & I, 1986).

Indeed, SFEM was quite different from Currency Domiciliary Account Scheme (CDAS) of the 1983-84 economic restructuring schemes. However, the business community criticised CDAS on the basis that it reduced the ability of the private sector to import raw materials and other production inputs. SFEM actually prevented fraudulent importers from engaging in mal-practices such as over-invoicing and other related commercial frauds, which prevailed under the regime of an over-valued currency. It is interesting to note that the Economic and Statistics Committee of LCC&I related with government on the operations of SFEM (LCC & I, 1986).

On September 24th and 25th 1985, NACC and the African-American Institute in the United States co-sponsored a Conference in Lagos titled: "Nigerian Economic Recovery" where a holistic evaluation of the state of the economy and the approach to its resuscitation was seriously considered (NACC, 1985: 3). The conference was a follow-up to the seminar on the U.S.-Nigerian Economic Relations organised by the African-American Institute in June 1983, hosted by the First National Bank of Boston, United States. Both conferences were organised as part of the private sector contributions to the debate on economic recovery and the necessity of adopting the IMF/World Bank Structural Adjustment Programme.

The Lagos Conference brought together more than 200 Nigerian and American participants. The primary objective of the conference was to highlight the expected roles of the private sector in

the process of revamping the economy. During the conference, the keynote speaker for the U.S. government, David Diebold, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce pointed out that:

The Reagan administration ...places strong emphasis on the private sector, guided by the marketplace, not only because of the administration's philosophic preference but also because this is how

the American economy, in general operates. The U.S. range of options in assisting Nigeria... would be greatly expanded were Nigeria and the IMF to come to mutual agreeable terms... (NACC, 1985: 3).

The conference gave United States the opportunity to publicise the Structural Adjustment Programme as the panacea for Nigeria's economic restructuring and recovery. . At the end of the conference, the Chamber's advised the Babangida regime to:

- (i) diversify export base into non-oil exports;
- (ii) increase reliance on free-markets, the most powerful motivator for the private sector;
- (iii) encourage the exports of manufactured goods and to;
- (iv) enact decrees that would provide incentives to non-oil export goods (NACC,1985:3).

During the period under review, NACCIMA also organised a seminar titled "*Industrial Development in an Era of Recession*", which reappraised Nigeria's economic relations in the international system. In its memorandum to the Federal government, the Association recommended that a more comprehensive industrial policy be adopted in order to transform the existing foreign investment policy and that private sector's inputs in the allocation of foreign exchange for imports of essential raw materials are urgently needed (LCC & I, 1986).

From the recommendations of the two Chambers, it was evident that the business community was strongly in support of the adoption of SAP. The overall aim of SAP was to restructure the economy, make it less vulnerable to external shocks and attain internal domestic prices. Its specific objectives were to correct the serious over-valuation of the naira by setting up a viable foreign exchange market and to overcome the observed public sector inefficiencies through improved public expenditure control programme and the speedy rationalisation of the parasitical sector, as well as relieve the debt burden and attract a net inflow of foreign capital (LCC & I, 1986).

Meanwhile, the monetary and credit policy measures adopted for 1987 by the government were also designed to facilitate the attainment of the goals of SAP. In line with the recommendations of the private sector, government backed up its export promotion strategies with various laws. In 1986, it enacted Decree No. 18 of 1986 to promote exports of made-in-Nigeria manufactured goods and agricultural products. It established the Nigerian Export Promotion Council (NEPC). NEPC had four inter-related components: Export Development Fund (EDF), Export Expansion Grant (EEG), Duty Drawback Scheme (DDBS) and the Manufacture-In-Bond-Scheme (MIBS). Although the roles and responsibilities of these schemes varied, applications for them had to pass through the Nigerian Export Promotion Council (NEPC), while the Export Development Fund (EDF) provided assistance to exporting companies to cover parts of their export promotion activities, EDF was channeled towards promoting training courses, symposia, seminars and workshop in all aspects of export promotion, advertising research and studies, export research and studies, product design and consultancy.

The whole emphasis of government policy was on exports of manufactured goods. Exporters were allowed to retain proceeds in foreign exchange and to open domiciliary accounts in any authorised bank into which 100 per cent of proceeds could be lodged as contained under the Duty Draw-back/Suspension and Manufacture-in-Bond Scheme (*Investment Guide to Nigeria, 1986: 51*). Government set up the Export Development Fund (EDF) for exporting companies, which covered part of their initial expenses in respect of participation in training short-courses,

symposia, seminar and workshops on all aspects of export promotion, export marketing research, advertisement and publicity campaigns in foreign markets including; press/radio/television,

catalogue brochures, product design and consultations. Such financial assistance also included: participation in trade missions, buyer-oriented activities, overseas trade fairs, exhibitions and store promotion, cost of collecting trade information and organisation of joint export groups and mutual export guarantee associations (*Investment Guide to Nigeria, 1986*).

The Manufacturing-In-Bond Scheme (MIBS) was a system that ushered in the use of Negotiable Duty Credit Certificate (NDCC) as an alternative mode of paying for incentive claims (*Investment Guide to Nigeria, 1986*). Other operational investment incentives were the tax holiday/pioneer status on agriculture and agro-allied industries, which comprised farming, cattle ranching, tree cropping and poultry/fisheries with a 5-7 years tax holiday. (*Investment Guide to Nigeria, 1986*). The tax holiday incentive further took account of employment opportunities of each enterprise. Agricultural loans from commercial banks were guaranteed to the extent of 75 per cent in a special scheme under the Nigerian Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme, which was implemented by the Central Bank of Nigeria (*Investment Guide to Nigeria, 1986*).

The commercial banks and the Nigeria Export Import Bank (EXIM) were other weapons used to actualise government's export promotion strategies. EXIM Bank was established in 1988 in order to encourage export of non-oil products. Post Shipment Financial Exports were undertaken by commercial banks and EXIM Bank. EXIM bank provided facilities which included; provision of insurance guarantee, as well as Re-Discounting and Re-Financing Facility (RRF). However, access to its facilities was subject to approval by the Banks after all documentations had been verified. The two banking institutions determined the tenure of financing, which could either be 30, 60, or 90 days, but the maximum was 180 days (*Investment Guide to Nigeria, 1986*). They also prepared documentation on loan agreement, bill of exchange which indicated evidence of indebtedness to the banks and approval of facility/loans. It was after all these stages that banks could disburse bills/credits to the account of the importers for utilisation for subsequent payment to suppliers. The fund was either disbursed in naira or dollar and the banks also undertook repayment from proceeds of exporters.

In 1988, the business community influenced government commercial policies when government constituted the Tariff Review Board and the Tariff Review Committee. These were advisory bodies through which the organised private sector became involved in trade policy formulation by way of consultation with government's representatives. The Board was attached to the Presidency, but independent of its control. In 1989, government directed the Tariff Review Board and the Tariff Review Committee to keep the level of tariff protection in constant focus and offer local manufacturers protection against dumping and unfair competition. The Board and the Committee comprised experts from relevant government departments. It attended to petitions

from corporate bodies and individuals requesting tariff revisions on particular products and advised government on appropriate tariff measures.

In January 1987, the United States Secretary of States, George Schultz visited Nigeria. His mission was to assess Nigeria's compliance with SAP and determine American response to the new trade policy. The Nigerian government seized the opportunity of the visit to express its concern over the United States' protectionist policy and demanded an open market for imports of non-oil commodities from Nigeria into the American markets (*International Herald Tribune*,

1987). Convinced by the steps taken by the Federal government so far on the actualisation of SAP, the Export-Import Bank in Washington resumed credit cover for United States' exports to Nigeria.

The Private Sector and Industrial Policy Initiatives

In 1988, the Babangida administration initiated a strategy of attracting foreign investments known as "Economic Diplomacy". In consonance with the long standing recommendations of the Chamber to government after the 1985 conference, government in the 1987/88 period proposed a new industrial policy. The objectives of the plan were to:

1. Guide and support the strategic management of the industrial process;
2. Reassess public sector's approach to industrial matters and consequently seek to re-assure and co-opt the private sector into the new industrialisation process;
3. Create the atmosphere for a private sector-led industrialization;
4. Increase the domestic content of manufacturing production, improve the nation's capacity and develop exports of manufactured goods and;
5. Encourage the growth of small and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs) (*Industrial Master Plan*, 1991:2).

In 1988, government also established the Policy Analysis Department within the Federal Ministry of Industries in which the business community was represented. The Department collected data and conducted economic research analysis for the new industrial policy. The policy focused on changes in the public sector's approach to industrial matters and sought to re-assure and co-opt the private sector into a new industrialisation process. To set this policy in motion, government commenced discussions with the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) in 1988. In August 1989, the National Committee on Industrial Development (NCID), a platform for collaboration between the public sector and private sector operators with the objective of articulating the path to the nation's industrial development process, came into being (*Industrial Master Plan*, 1991).

Moreover, the Federal Government and UNIDO also co-organised a national workshop in Abuja from 4th to 8th September, 1989 as a step in the elaboration of an Industrial Master Plan. Issues evaluated included; Nigeria' industrial strategies and policies for a competitive industrial sector, strategic options for further development, problems and constraints militating against the development of an efficient and self-sustaining industrial sector and strategic management of plan formation and implementation. Many of the observations and recommendations at the workshop were not new, except for the call for a change in the strategy of managing industrial development and the need to encourage a private sector-led industrialisation. In 1991, the Federal Ministry of Industries in collaboration with UNIDO produced a document on Industrial

Master-Plan for the Strategic Management of Industrial Development (SMID) in Nigeria. It considered the ultimate aspect of industrial development based on the recognition that documents on industrial policy would remain invalid until responses of the industrialists and entrepreneurs: local and foreign, were effectively articulated. It was predicated on the need to organise a network of sectors around an industrial activity with the aim of having a comprehensive and perceptive view of the investment problems in a particular line of industrial activity. The network of actors in the Plan was referred to as the Strategic Consultative Group (SCG). Membership of the Group was drawn from manufacturers, raw-material suppliers, transporters,

policy makers, providers of infrastructural support services, as well as distributors of industrial goods and services.

The Industrial Development Coordination Act established the Industrial Development Coordinating Council (IDCC) which served as a one-step approval centre for new ventures. The essence was to reduce the bottlenecks inherent in application processing and issuance of initial expatriate quotas.

These responsibilities were meant to make the business environment attractive, but the Organised Private Sector still felt uncomfortable as foreign investors did not respond favourably. By 1991, IDCC had considered one hundred and sixty-seven (167) applications and granted Business Permit to thirty-six (36) companies with a total investment potential of about N1.114 billion and employment prospects for about sixteen thousand (16,000) persons. It granted Pioneer Status to twelve (12) companies, which commenced operations with a total capital investment of about N1 billion and about 7,000 employees. The total anticipated capital inflow through Approved Status granted by the IDCC as at 1991 was N22.3 billion.

In 1990, government promulgated the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Act. The incentives provided to industries in the Act fell within the following categories:

1. Fiscal measures on taxation.
2. Effective protection of local industries with import tariff.
3. Export promotion of Nigerian-made products.
4. Foreign currency facility for international trade.

The essence of the Act was to encourage large scale foreign investors in order to meet local demands for export. Other strategies for attracting foreign capital included, *inter-alia*, the liberalisation of the foreign exchange regime and ease capital and dividend repatriation by foreigners. The act eliminated nearly all restrictions on foreign investment and ownership share reserve for indigenous investors.

The business community was concerned with opportunities opened to the private sector in terms of joint venture business should foreign investors respond favourably. Thus, NACC organised a seminar/workshop on “Companies and Allied Matter Decree”. The objective was to sensitise the business community on opportunities opened for joint ventures between Nigerian and American investors under the new industrial policy initiative. The Chamber later recommended further amendments to the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1989 and suggested a substantial deregulation of the regulatory and implementation requirements that were introduced under IDCC. It also criticised the maximum of sixty days requirement for the approval of all

documents within IDCC purview (“Nigerian-American”, 1992: 27-8) The association also noted that the private sector was inadequately represented on a Council that was charged with the great responsibility of making decisions that would affect the sector. In January 1991, it sent a deputation to the President asking for government’s sincerity of the industrial policy; given the history of government’s inconsistency in policy implementation.

Conclusion

The paper has examined private sector initiatives in the attempts to restructure the Nigerian economy during the Babangida regime. One of the major elements of SAP was the very vigorous

encouragement of private sector in solving the problems facing the country. The challenges in the commercial environment coupled with the global concept of economic recovery brought private sector operatives closer to commercial and investment policy-making process. The 1986 budget and the subsequent ones were developed into a formal IMF/World Bank-supported structural adjustment programme, based largely on export expansion. As one of the operators of the economy, the initiative of the business community was paramount not only for the stabilisation of the naira as well as trade and industrial policy reforms, but for setting in motion policy initiative for the diversification of the Nigerian economy. This is demonstrated through many criticisms of the Chamber against the implementation of commercial and industrial policies introduced for the revival of the economy. With the introduction of SAP, the operation of government’s non-export promotion strategies and introduction of foreign private capital came under the scrutiny of the private sector. The success of economic recovery policies depended on the exertion of the private sector, which operated as the watch-dog of government’s policy. These were expressed in memoranda to government as well as conferences, symposia, trade missions and workshops organised by the sector, which went a long way in determining the extent of government commitment to the recovery of the economy. NACCIMA captured the interests of the economy from the multilateral level. Networking was a crucial weapon. The extent to which the private sector was able to engage government’s attention depended on its relationship with it. Above all, the organised private sector maintained cordial relationship with government and was not weary of confronting government on issues of economic interests.

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The Use of Pidgin English as a Medium of Social Discourse among Osun State University Students

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Abstract

This work examines the place of Nigerian Pidgin among Osun State University students in Nigeria with a view to drawing some generalizable conclusions regarding the use of pidgin among Nigerian university students. By analysing data from a descriptive survey involving 100 male and female students of the university, the paper seeks to find out the extent to which Nigerian Pidgin is used or spoken among the students of Osun State University and the significance of pidgin for the purpose of social interaction among the students. Thus, by conducting a case study of Osun State University, Osogbo, this present study contributes to the ongoing scholarly debates on the use of pidgin among students of Nigerian tertiary institutions.

Introduction

This work examines the place of Nigerian Pidgin among Osun State University students in Nigeria. The official acronym of the university is UNIOSUN. As at the time of its establishment in 2006, the university was the 30th state university and the 80th university in the Nigerian university system. It operates a collegiate-multi-campus system and runs various degree programmes distributed across its eight colleges. It currently has a population of about 6000 students spread among its six campuses. An easily discernible trend among the students of UNIOSUN is the widespread use of pidgin as a medium of social discourse. This piece therefore deems it proper to examine this phenomenon with a view to drawing some generalizable conclusions regarding the use of pidgin among Nigerian university students.

The present study involves 100 male and female students of the university, randomly selected (50 each) from the College of Science and Engineering Technology, Osogbo Campus and the College of Humanities and Culture, Ikire Campus. Essentially, the paper seeks to find out the extent to which Nigerian Pidgin is used or spoken among the students of Osun State University and its significance for the purpose of social interaction among the students. In order to achieve its objectives, the paper is divided into several major parts. The first part introduces the discussion and provides the necessary background information. Part two concentrates on the evolution of pidgin and its place within Nigerian contemporary society. This part also provides an overview of related literature. The third part explains the procedures and research methods employed in carrying out the descriptive survey, while part four analyses the data gathered for the study and tries to answer the study's main research questions. The last part concludes the essay.

The study aligns itself with the contention that the true position occupied by Nigerian Pidgin in the different sectors of society must first be established empirically, before any clamour for the recognition of the language as Nigeria's official language or lingua franca could receive

any meaningful audience from the appropriate governmental quarters. It is against this backdrop, and in an attempt to fill part of this gap, that the present study examines the use of pidgin among Osun State University students.

Thus, by conducting a case study of Osun State University, Osogbo, this present study contributes to the ongoing scholarly debates on the use of pidgin among students of Nigerian tertiary institutions. Consequently, the study seeks to achieve the following major objectives:

1. To determine the frequency or otherwise of the use of Nigerian Pidgin among the students of Osun State University.
2. To find out the significance of Nigerian Pidgin for social interaction among Osun State University students.
3. To discover the significance of Nigerian Pidgin for purposes other than social interaction among students of Osun State University.

The Evolution of Pidgin as a Form of Language

The linguistic status as well as social acceptability of pidgin as a form of language has changed dramatically over the century. A language-form once held as *bastardized* (Holm 2000), and for that reason unacceptable, disapproved, and shunned in so many spheres of society, would appear to have eventually shed its dark cloak and emerged as a people's linguistic sweetheart. This state of affairs finds corroboration in the preponderance of research that has suffused the academic terrain on Pidgin (both in Nigerian and other similar contexts). For example Holm (2000), *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*, attempts a comprehensive evaluation of important aspects of Pidgin and Creole languages, ranging from the relationship over time between the languages, on the one hand, and linguistics (the branch of learning whose object ought to be the study of languages from an analytical, empirical and scientific point of view), to such other fundamental aspects of the language as the intricacies of terminology and the development of theory. This remarkable interest attests to the new-found friendship between linguistics and pidgin languages. Globally, several social or socio-cultural factors have also culminated in the proliferation of varieties of pidgin and creole languages in the wider world. Consequently, other linguistic aspects of the pervasive pidgin phenomenon such as Lexicosemantics, Phonology and Syntax are now flourishing.

Holm (Ibid; 1) therefore remarks that "what earlier generations thought of pidgin and creole languages is all too clear from their very names: *broken English, bastard Portuguese, nigger French, kumbuuistaaltje* ('cookhouse lingo'), *isikulu* ('coolie language')", and so on. He further acknowledges that the seeming "contempt" towards pidgins, initially, "often stemmed in part from the feeling that pidgins and creoles were corruptions of 'higher', usually European languages, and in part from attitudes towards the speakers of such languages who were often perceived as semi-savages whose partial acquisition of civilized habits was somehow an affront". To corroborate the logic of Holm in the forgoing discussion, as regards the initial attitudes towards pidgin and creole languages, the following excerpt from Aleksandra (2009; 1) is available:

The study of pidgin and creole phenomena has long been neglected in linguistics. The study attracted interest in the late 1960s. Previously they were referred to as "marginal languages" (Reinecke 1938: 107). The discussed languages were considered for a very long

time to be slave talk [di Patwa or patois] (Patrick 1995: 227), uneducated languages, and “were to be avoided”.

The Place of Pidgin in Contemporary Nigerian Society

It is important to acknowledge the fact that Holm does not stand alone in the initial crusade for (the recognition of) pidgin languages alongside other major types of languages, and specifically as encountered in Nigeria, i.e. Nigerian Pidgin. A good deal of linguists and research works fall within this trend-setting category, in the Nigerian context; And, as the 21st century unfolds, the second part of its opening decade has witnessed an even larger influx of research on the subject-matter, including works such as Ithemere (2006) *A Basic Description and Analytic Treatment of Noun Clauses in Nigerian Pidgin*; Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) *The Sociolinguistics of Nigerian Pidgin English in Selected University Campuses in Nigeria*; Iwuchukwu & Okafor (2011) *Nigerian Pidgin in the 21st Century: Any Hope of Surviving the Opposition from English, Nigerian Languages and Foreign Languages?*; Ativie (2012) *Cultural Influences as Inputs of Development of Nigeria Pidgin*; Mazzoli (2012) *The Emergence of ‘Na’ as a Copula in Nigerian Pidgin*; and so on.

A closer look at the existing literature on Nigerian Pidgin as highlighted above would however reveal two major pre-occupational trends (among the different scholars): the first is the effort to emphasize or articulate the importance of pidgin (concurrent with which is the advocacy for its upgrading as recognized lingua franca among Nigeria’s multiplex ethnicities; and the second is the daring attempt to regularize its form and structure by subjecting it to rigorous linguistic analysis. To illustrate the first research trend above, Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) “investigated varieties of Nigerian Pidgin with special focus on the variety being used on the Nigerian university campuses”. He expressed the view that “over the years, Nigerian Pidgin has expanded, stabilized and probably creolized”. In his reasoned opinion, this is probably due to the fact that, at times, “linguistic resources like borrowing and coinage are resorted to in-order to cope with day-to-day emerging functions and concepts”. For example, the word *solo* (a coinage used to mean ‘calm down’) was cited to illustrate that such words (and there are many similar others) “are introduced by Nigerian youths on campuses as well as by hoodlums in the society to swell-up the lexical register of pidgin typologies”. Abdullahi-Idiagbon (Ibid) therefore highlights the common functions of Pidgin expressions to include the following, that it is used: (i) to herald musical concert of interest within or outside [the] campuses, (ii) to womanize or talk about ladies or ladies discussing their male friends, (iii) to express basic domestic needs like eating and clothing, and (iv) for interpersonal/private discussion.

Furthermore, Ajibade, Awopetu & Adeyemi (2012) examine Nigerian youth’s perception in relation to Nigerian Pidgin. The major question they sought to answer was: what do Nigerian youths think or make of pidgin as a linguistic choice available to them in their everyday language-based interrelationship. “To accomplish this”, in their own words, “the study investigated the influence of tribe, institution, age, location, sex and social status on the youths’ perceptions of pidgin ... as a unifying /factor, and its consideration as a recognized official language in the Nigerian language policy”.

It must be stated from the outset that in a bid to examine the position occupied by pidgin (Nig.P) among students of Osun State University, this study finds it expedient to attempt

some illustrative comparisons involving other languages available to the students, such as English (the current language of instruction) and other Nigerian local languages (mother-tongues). However, considerations other than those aimed at investigating the level of importance or significance, or the degree of necessity attributed to the language, i.e. Nig.P., by the students, was deemed to have gone outside of the scope of this study. The emphasis is on the pragmatic and objective measure of *need* or *requirement* associated with the language among the students, and not on their subjective or value-laden attitudes towards it. In other words, a distinction, for the purpose of this study, has been made between the question ‘do the students feel, have and demonstrate a significant need for Nigerian Pidgin?’ and ‘do the students feel strongly, enthusiastic or passionate about it?’ The logic here is that, a second language learner of French (or even English) may feel strongly about the language but not have any real practical needs for it, and so not actively engaged in the everyday use of it, in which case the language would take an inferior place in relation to other languages spoken by that person. It was based on this logic that considerations of the place of Nigerian Pidgin among the students was, basically, held or taken to constitute the major scope of this study. It is hoped that the findings from this study will, to a large extent, tally with findings from other universities and tertiary institutions in Nigeria.

Therefore, most scholars (Jowitt, 1991; Faraclas, 1996; Egbokhare, 2003 & Igboanusi, 2008), agree that Pidgin is not just some ‘distorted’ or ‘bastardized’ form of language, as some would think, and which perhaps makes them refer to it as *Broken*, but that *Pidgin* is a complete language in its own right. Therefore, the term *Pidgin* in its abstract sense refers to a linguistic concept, not to be seen as a variety of any language until one begins to talk of the linguistic components of *Pidgin* in one particular context, i.e. in terms of the languages from which it has been formed, or in terms of what Holm (2000) and others refer to as its *substrate* and *superstrate* languages.

According to Mensah (2011), some of the explanations put forward in support of *Pidgin English* as being a sort of distortion of standard English, is that discourse-pragmatics is an imperative factor in understanding both the lexical and structural borrowings that characterize usages in Pidgin English, and that Nigerian Pidgin on the other hand is replete with adequate descriptive, prescriptive and grammatical forms. According to Iwuchukwu and Okafor (2012), Nigeria’s multi lingual background provides a veritable ground for the emergence of Nigerian pidgin as a formidable national language. But yet Nigerian Pidgin remains a marginal language.

Another level at which Nigerian Pidgin registers its way is the Nigerian music scene, particularly with the emerging Naija pop culture. Here, Fasan (2010) notes that Nigerian Pidgin is a predominant language of expression and a form of solidarity or mark of identity among the various multi-ethnic groups of young people who crave to create effective urban culture in their respective locations. It is also acknowledged as a formidable stride in the re-creation of Nigerian and African socio-cultural identity. This level of prominence carries over into the religious terrain in Nigeria, especially in Christian Pentecostal circles, characterizing most urban centers, as well as into the Nigerian film-making industry where the language enjoys unrestricted use, mirroring the way of life of Nigerian people. The foregoing serves to highlight the perceived and observable place of Nigerian pidgin in contemporary Nigerian society. The implication of this is that if enough research work that is commensurate with the

rapid rate of growth and influence associated with the language is carried out, Nigerian Pidgin may well receive more audience from the government and secure a better place in Nigeria's language policy in the nearest future.

The tables below illustrate some salient features of contemporary Nigerian Pidgin. Specifically, it identifies some superstrate and substrate influences on Nigerian Pidgin, as well as instances of reduplication, compounding and clipping in Nigerian Pidgin.

Table 1: Superstrate and Substrate influences on NP

Lexical source	NP Lexical Item	NP Meaning
English	pálè veks maintain obstacle remote control	pal/friend vex be calm meat witchcraft
Portuguese	Palava pikin dash sabi brusai	problem/trouble child gift know flirt
French	Bókû kámpé pantalun rundevu	Plenty fine/durable bogus pair of trousers reckless spending
Nigerian English	go slow machine watchnight houseboy upstair	hold up motorcycle/new car night watch man male servant storey building
Igbo	Ókóró ínyángá ògógóró ogbánjé	an Igbo man show off locally brewed gin reincarnated birth

Table 2: Reduplication in Nigerian Pidgin

Nig.P Reduplication	English base
small small	'gently'
wélu wélu	'very well'
kúlú kúlú	'calmly'
sharp sharp	'fastly'
kwík kwík	'urgently'
mágo mágo	'deceitful'
wúrú wúrú	'unfaithful/deceitful'
jágá jágá	'confusable'

Table 3: Compounding in Nigerian Pidgin

Nig.P Compound Words	Semantic Equivalent in English
long throat	‘glutton’
bad belle	‘jealousy/envy’
busy-body	‘loquaciousness’
strong head	‘stubbornness’
God pikin	‘Christian’
house boy	‘male servant’
baby girl/boy	‘girl/boy friend’
country people	‘the masses’
basket mouth	‘a talkative’
woman wrapper	‘weaking (a man)’
coconut head	‘dunce’
pure water	‘cheap/mass produced goods’
i get mouth	‘boast’
make eye	‘wink’
hear word	listen’
tear race	‘run’
fear face	‘respect’

Table 4: Clipping in Nigerian English

Clipped Words in Nigerian Pidgin	Semantic Equivalent in English
Pámy	‘palm wine’
Demo	‘show off or use style on someone’
Cáf	‘cafeteria’
Náijá	‘Nigeria’
Acada	‘academic’
Mómó	‘(early) morning’
Bros	‘brother’

Research Methodology

As noted earlier, this study primarily investigates the place of pidgin among students of tertiary institutions in Nigeria. The study adopted Osun State University as the study area, and it was within this study area that a representative population was surveyed for information regarding the (independent) variable, which was the level of significance attached to the language (pidgin) among students of tertiary institutions in Nigeria. At the end of the survey, involving the elicitation of relevant facts and information, the data obtained from the field by administering the research instrument to the students were subjected to detailed analysis.

Out of the entire six campuses of Osun State University, two (2) campuses were selected purposively to represent the University. The selected campuses are Osogbo (main) campus, and the Ikire campus of the University. Data required for the analysis were obtained from the two campuses named above, by administering the research instrument to the students using the simple random sampling technique. The instrument, named the Place of Pidgin among Undergraduate Students (PPUS) questionnaire, was a simple closed-ended instrument

employed in eliciting information required to establish the level of importance or otherwise associated with pidgin among students of Osun State University, and by inference, students of other tertiary institutions in Nigeria.

The PPUS questionnaire was administered in Osogbo and Ikire campuses of the Osun State University. The two campuses were visited in turns. The procedure (i.e. data collection procedure), was carried out with the aid of three (3) research assistants, and by visiting the different locations on campus as well as off-campus: such as the lecture rooms (when lectures were not going on), the cafeterias, the College libraries, the ICT halls, and the students' halls of residence on and off-campus. The intention was to spread the random collection process across not just the various lecture halls but also a range of other locations where students were normally found to be hanging out. The PPUS questionnaire identified three categories of *Yes* (for regular speakers), *No* (for non-speakers), and *Sometimes* (for those who speak the language only tentatively). At the end of the analysis, logical deductions and conclusion were drawn in response to the research problems stated earlier, while appropriate recommendations were also made.

Analysis of Findings

Table 4.1 Use of NP in the Classroom When No Lectures Are Going On

In-Class NP Users	Osogbo	100%	Ikire	100%
Regular Users (/50)	21	42%	22	44%
Tentative Users (/50)	09	18%	14	28%
Regular and Tentative (/50)	30	60%	36	72%
Non-Users (/50)	18	36%	13	26%
Blank Questionnaire Columns	02	04%	01	02%

The above table (4.1) reveals that for Osogbo and Ikire campuses respectively, although a remarkable 60% and 72% of the sampled population often speak Nigerian Pidgin in the classroom, only 42% and 44% of that population respectively speak the language on a regular basis in the classroom when lectures are not going on.

Table 4.2 Use of NP among Friends on Campus

On-Campus NP Users	Osogbo	100%	Ikire	100%
Regular Users (/50)	24	48%	23	46%
Tentative Users (/50)	12	24%	15	30%

Regular and Tentative (/50)	36	72%	38	76%
Non-Users (/50)	12	24%	10	20%
Blank Questionnaire Columns	02	04%	02	04%

As shown in the table above, 72% for Osogbo and 76% for Ikire are recorded as the population of students who speak the language to their friends on campus whether regularly or tentatively. Of this total population, however, only 48% for Osogbo and 46% for Ikire speak the language regularly to or with their friends on campus.

Table 4.3 Usefulness of NP for Social Interaction among UNIOSUN Students

Response Category	Osogbo	100%	Ikire	100%
Positive Responses (/50)	20	40%	20	40%
Tentative Responses (/50)	11	22%	09	18%
Positive and Tentative (/50)	31	62%	29	58%
Negative Responses (/50)	17	34%	20	40%
Blank Questionnaire Columns	02	04%	01	02%

The above table (4.3) measures the level of usefulness attached to Nigerian Pidgin for social interaction among the sampled students of Osun State University. Some believed Nigerian Pidgin is definitely useful for social interaction in Nigeria, while others are uncertain, thus believing that the language is useful for social interaction only in certain occasions (i.e. sometimes). The combination of these two (2) responses (i.e. whether the one is true or the other is true), was measured to be 62% for Osogbo and 58% for Ikire respectively. Similarly, the population of students who believed that Nigerian Pidgin is definitely NOT significant for social interaction among UNIOSUN students was measured at 34% and 40% respectively.

Table 4.4 Perception of Role Played by NP among UNIOSUN Students

Response Category	Osogbo	100%	Ikire	100%
Positive Responses (/50)	20	40%	16	32%
Tentative Responses (/50)	06	12%	07	14%
Positive and Tentative (/50)	26	52%	23	46%

Negative Responses (/50)	22	44%	24	48%
Blank Questionnaire Columns	02	04%	03	06%

The above measure of students’ perception of the role played by NP among UNIOSUN students reveals a very low significance. Even the combination of all responses beside Negative Responses comes as low as 46% for Ikire campus, while it is 52%, barely above average, for Osogbo campus. Negative Responses alone here take a handsome slash away from the entire sum of responses. Therefore, the population of students who believed that Nigerian Pidgin plays an important role among students in the individual campuses was calculated at 40% for Osogbo and 32% for Ikire respectively.

Considering the sequence of results obtained for the four different categories above therefore, i.e., it was found that less than 50% of the sampled population: (only 42% & 44% respectively) speak NP regularly in the classroom when no lectures are going on; (48% & 46% respectively) speak NP regularly to their friends on campus in general; (40% respectively) find NP definitely useful for social interaction among UNIOSUN students, while (40% & 32% respectively) think NP definitely plays an important role among students in each of Osogbo and Ikire campuses of Osun State University.

Moreover, table 5 below indicates the number and category of Nigerian pidgin speakers among the students of Osun State University. The data analysis shows that there is no significant difference in the results obtained for both Osogbo and Ikire campuses of the University.

Table 5: Number and Category of NP Speakers among the Sampled Population

NP Speaker Category	Osogbo	100%	Ikire	100%
Regular NP Speakers (/50)	28	56%	26	52%
Tentative NP Speakers (/50)	14	28%	19	38%
Regular and Tentative (/50)	42	84%	45	90%
Non-NP-Speakers (/50)	08	16%	05	10%

Furthermore, 84% and 90% of the students from Osogbo and Ikire respectively claim they speak Nigerian pidgin generally (i.e. whether regularly or tentatively). Out of these, only a minimal 16% and 10% respectively claim not to speak Nigerian pidgin at all. Of the 84% and 90% who speak the language generally, a remarkable difference exists for: (i) those who speak the language regularly (i.e. who are aware and sure of their own active everyday use of it, and (ii) those who speak the language tentatively (i.e. who may not particularly remember themselves being actively engaged in the everyday speaking of Nigerian pidgin, but who acknowledge that they must have spoken it at one point or the other anyway, i.e. sometimes).

The study further reveals that at least three different categories of speakers of Nigerian pidgin exist in Osun State University, and by extension, among Nigerian undergraduate students: (i.) those who speak the language regularly (i.e. who perhaps choose the language during

everyday conversation virtually by default), (ii.) those who only speak the language tentatively (i.e. who merely picks it here and there when the context permits), and (iii.) those who do not speak the language at all).

Interestingly, these findings are quite illustrative of what obtains in most student communities, where only a little minority can claim that they do not speak pidgin at all. However, what is quite revealing is that out of the large population of NP speakers in both of Osogbo and Ikire as stated above, a remarkable 28% and 30% respectively speak the language at least tentatively. This leaves us with about half of the entire population of the students, 56% and 52% respectively, being regular speakers of Nigerian pidgin.

Conclusion

This study examined the place of pidgin among tertiary institution students in Nigeria by conducting a case study of Osun State University. It was examined against the background of the generalization that, the Nigerian Pidgin today although relegated to the margins, possesses all that it takes to be Nigeria's lingua franca and official language. In order to provide the appropriate theoretical background for the analysis the paper engages with the prevailing literature on Nigerian Pidgin. Tables of processed data which served to show the various distributions of variables and frequencies were provided and for each section of the analysis, qualitative interpretations of the behaviour of data were provided to further clarify and answer each of the research questions. It is important to point out that the discourse of pidgin continues to gain steady momentum in Nigeria. This is so much so that the advocacy for the language to be accorded a place in the country's national language policy continues to gain more adherents by the day. The recommendation of this study is therefore that such advocacy would be more credible if it is based on empirical research findings. For example, the current researcher shares the view that pidgins and precisely, Nigerian Pidgin, has hidden potentials which even linguists are yet to chart. Indeed, given the appropriate enabling environment to develop, Nigerian Pidgin may evolve itself into a viable national language which helps to achieve a number of purposes other than the social and commercial.

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Education in Ethiopia: Past, Present and Future Prospects

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Abstract

As Ethiopians embark on a massive effort to bolster its educational system, great opportunities and significant challenges will shape the course of policy and planning for the future. To understand modern Ethiopia's needs and the context of educational reform, one must understand the history of education in the country. This article reviews the past one hundred years of education in Ethiopia with emphasis on its historical trends and patterns. It concludes with recommendations for current efforts to improve education in the country.

Introduction

Located in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia is a country of over 91 million people. Forty four percent of the population is under the age of fifteen years (CIA World Factbook, 2012). Unlike most other African countries, Ethiopia did not experience significant colonization (except for a brief Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941). According to a World Bank report, Ethiopia's stability and peace following the border wars with Eritrea have yielded "a greater potential . . . to channel more of the country's resources, both material and intellectual, into basic services that directly affect the welfare of the population" (World Bank, 2005, 1). Among the services which the Ethiopian government has dedicated its resources is education.

Following the establishment of the new government in 1994 after rebel forces overthrew the socialist Derg regime in 1991, Ethiopians witnessed a dramatic increase in school enrollment. For example, in 1990/91, approximately 2.8 million children were enrolled in primary school (grades 1-8), and by 2003-2004, that number had increased to over 9.3 million students (World Bank, 2005). However, the road to progress has been uneven, as the country faces several challenges in her efforts to improve the educational system.

The Beginning of Modern Education

Attempting to bring change from traditional models of education to the modern and secular forms was not a simple task for previous secular rulers, as there were significant obstacles (Birhanu and Demeke, 1995). This was due in part to the conservative attitude of church leaders (Popes from the Egyptian Coptic Church) and the noblemen. A modest attempt was made by Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913) to open the first school in his palace (Teshome, 1979: 28; Pankhrust, 1968: 676). It was primarily for the sons of the nobility, and the fundamental principle that dictated the development of its curriculum was political interest. The education policy makers (the Emperor, aristocracy and foreign advisors) were interested in the prevailing international order, modernizing Ethiopia and the training of interpreters for international

communication (Zewdie, 2000: 105). In this respect, the aims of education were to contribute to maintaining Ethiopia's sovereignty.

Emperor Menelik II strongly believed that the building of Ethiopia as a modern state, as well as the strengthening of existing political power, necessitated the introduction of modern education. It was believed that the country's independence could be linked to an educated populace that was fluent in foreign languages. Consequently, the curriculum included such languages as French, Italian, English, Arabic and Amharic (Birhanu and Demeke, 1995).

Observing the shortcomings of traditional schools to meet the demands of the international political atmosphere, and feeling a need to advance the nation, Menelik II opened the first modern school at Addis Ababa in 1908 (Teshome, 1979: 28; Pankhurst, 1968: 676). It was opened with the objective of educating the young to ensure peace in the country, reconstructing the country, and enabling Ethiopia to exist as a great nation among the comity of nations (Pankhurst, 1976). It was also aimed at producing administrators, interpreters and technicians.

Shortly after establishing the school, the Emperor became aware of its inadequacies and decided to import teachers from abroad. However, this idea was strongly resisted by the church, particularly by Abune Matewos, a church leader who was recruited from the Egyptian Coptic church. The reasons for the opposition of the church to recruiting foreign teachers remain unclear till date. Perhaps, it was based on fears that foreigners might corrupt the church's traditions.

To overcome this opposition from Matewos, the Emperor adopted the policy of recruiting teachers from Egypt. In 1906, ten Egyptian teachers were appointed to the newly established schools in different parts of the country (Seyoum, 1996). Following the establishment of that first school in the capital, attempts were made by the government, foreign communities and missionaries to establish modern schools across the country. For instance, a French community school was opened in the capital in 1908 and another one by Alliance Francaise in 1912. This period was also known for the expansion of non-governmental schools in the country. Between 1906 and 1935, one hundred private schools were opened (Bender, 1976).

Female education, however, was in a very poor state. Many assumed that "an educated woman would not look after the house; and the husband of the educated woman cannot live long" (Bender, 1976: 103). With such beliefs, it was difficult for the community at large to send their daughters to school. It could thus be inferred that during the reign of Menelik II, the role of females was relegated to child-rearing and household chores. As a result, women were disadvantaged as regards equal opportunity in education.

Between 1908 and 1935, the aim of education was to master different languages. As a result, the curriculum was mostly composed of such language courses as French, Italian, Geez, Arabic and Amharic. Additionally, some courses in religion, mathematics, law and calligraphy were offered (Adane, 1993). Although Menelik II valued vocational curricula and promoted the growth and development of science and technology, a stronger emphasis was placed on languages (Pankhurst, 1974).

The Ethiopian education system and its curricular components (objectives of education, contents or courses to be taught, organization of a school and its management, and the method of

evaluation) were primarily influenced by the French education system. The selection and organization of content were determined by the headmasters and teachers from France, and French was used in Ethiopia as medium of instruction up to 1935.

The application of French methods to Ethiopian students presented some challenges. For instance, the assessment methods used during this period were alien to the Ethiopians. The monarchy had depended on a non-native-Ethiopian curriculum which did not consider local peculiarities. For example, students in most schools were required to sit for the French Government Examination of Competence (Zewdie, 2000: 114). Consequently, the involvement of foreigners (particularly the significant numbers of French and Egyptian advisors) largely affected the selection and organization of the curriculum, which did not necessarily address the needs and interests of the Ethiopian people.

Though criticized for being conservative and devoting much of her time to religious purposes, Empress Zewditu Menelik (the daughter and immediate successor of Emperor Menelik II) is credited for launching universal education to all school-age children (identified by the Empress as ages 7-21) in the Amharic language. Her education proclamation in 1929 stated:

All those who do not send their sons and daughters to school so that they can learn writing and reading skills which are necessary to identify the good and evils and develop fear of God and the king, will be punished 50 Birr. The money solicited from punishment will be given to the church for the feeding and clothing of the poor. . . All God fathers should advice their religious followersto send their children to school and if they refuse to do so they have to report to local authorities as they have violated the proclamation. . .All church leaders in the rural areas apart from their religious preaching should teach reading and writing (Ayalew, 2000; 159)

Empress Zewditu also understood the relevance of vocational education, which enabled youngsters to secure money for livelihood. To this point the proclamation stated, "...after learning writing and reading to secure money for his life, the child has to learn one of the handicrafts available in our country" (Ayalew, 2000; 159). This idea was radical at the time, as leatherwork, smithing and clay making were considered low caste jobs.

Though the Empress promoted her vision to address equity in education through universal primary education to all children in the country, there were many obstacles. There were not enough schools throughout the country to accommodate all school-age children. Moreover, the implementation of universal primary education required availability of educational materials and trained professionals both in quantity and quality as teachers, school administrators, supervisors, curriculum planners, etc. Because of these pressing problems, it has, until recently, been difficult to realize universal primary education for all school age children in the country.

Another important event in the expansion of modern education was the advent of the late Emperor Haile Selassie I, as Regent and Heir to the throne in 1916. He was a graduate of the first school established in Menelik II's palace. He was credited for establishing the first printing press which greatly helped the expansion of modern education through well-organized textbooks, newspapers and other educational materials and works. Nevertheless, Ethiopia's educational

system experienced some challenges, as the high cost of printing caused shortage of books, references, textbooks and other educational materials.

Emperor Haile Selassie opened a new school in his name and empowered the different land lords (the notable owners of lands) to do the same in various provinces of the country. Consequently, the aristocracy expanded modern schools in different parts of the country. The schools were typically named after those who established them to show their political influences. Teferi Mekonen School focused on the teaching of religion, mathematics, law and calligraphy as a continuation of Menelik II School. It was also during this period that the first school for girls was established by Empress Menen in 1931. This seems to be the first attempt to practice gender equity in education by giving the girls an equal educational opportunity. The education system from its inception until the occupation by Italian Fascists (1935) was criticized for being “too European” and unable to respond to the actual needs of Ethiopian society. Plagued by a dearth of materials, alien curriculum and educational content, and untrained and inefficient teachers, the educational system was not expected to succeed (Yigzaw, 2005).

The Ethiopian curriculum was also criticized for the lack of emphasis on vocational education. Not until the 1930s, few schools prepared pupils for technical and professional works through courses related to production. One of such schools was Lycee Haile Selassie, which offered courses in mathematics, physics, chemistry, civil engineering, veterinary science, and modern languages. Another modern school was Menen Girls’ School, which offered courses in dressmaking, drawing, home management and physical training. After colonization, many African leaders and authorities perceived a need for competent wives skilled in modern house management needed to welcome their European visitors at home. Similarly, at the outset, Menen School focused on providing courses that train girls to be good wives. Later, this school included courses in science and mathematics.

The schools also have a leadership challenge. While policy makers were made up of the aristocrats, emperor and foreign advisors, there were no supervisors and coordinators at the district level who were responsible for looking after the schools and maintaining channels of communication between the schools and decision makers. Middle-tier academic management individuals had to be brought in from elsewhere, most of whom were Egyptians and French. For example, Egyptians headed Menelik II School, whereas Teferi Mekonen School (1925) and the Menen School (1931) had a French headmaster and a French headmistress respectively. In general, this period (1908-1935) is characterized by French dominance, as teachers and headmasters were not only French, examinations were also conducted in French. Therefore, it is referred to as the French Period.

The efforts of the two successive governments to expand modern education in Ethiopia, hoped by many to be the basis for the country’s development, were disrupted by the Italian Occupation. According to Seyoum, “the occupation was short lived; however, it did a lot of harm” (1996:3). Indeed, a pronounced bottleneck for the growth of education was created by the Italian invasion of Ethiopia from 1935 to 1941. The devastating war of aggression and its consequences resulted in a significant and lasting negative effect on the growth and development of education.

During the Italian occupation, schools were either closed or used for military camps and the educated few were either eliminated or joined the guerrilla fighters of the country (Tekeste,

1990). The only school that was opened in the country was that of the Catholic Mission, which emphasized religion, the Italian language and subservience to the Mussolini regime. Notable improvement of the education system was lacking in this period. The major aim of education was to create citizens that would be loyal to Italy. The content of education focused on reading, writing and simple arithmetic, semi-vocational skill training and internalizing fascist values to promote loyalty to the regime. Moreover, they suggested that local administration languages (Amharic, Oromipha, and Tigrigna) replace the unified national languages of Ethiopia, which were used for classroom instruction. This decision was not based on the pedagogical principle that instruction in one's mother tongue can help children understand and learn faster and relate what is taught in schools with their immediate environment, but rather, with the intention to create disunity among the various ethnic groups in the country (Adane, 1993).

During the occupation, Ethiopian teachers who knew the local languages were employed under the supervision of priests and nuns, with an emphasis on the socialization of the Italian ideology. However, in practice, all instructions in government-operated schools were primarily in Italian. Textbooks were written in Italian and focused on Italian history. Policies opposed equal opportunity for schooling and implemented rigid discrimination in the schools, with different schools used for Italians and Ethiopians. Education for Ethiopian nationals was restricted up to grade 4, while Italians were provided schooling similar to students of their home country. During this period, there was neither uniform and standardized curriculum nor a standardized assessment method in the schools.

Reconstruction, (1941-1955)

The liberation of the country in 1941 was accompanied by a period of reconstruction that lasted to the mid-fifties. Like that of the previous governments, the government of this period also believed that the country's independence could be assured through its educated citizens. As a result, the government encouraged the development of education. In doing so, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was established in 1942, and the effort to modernize education started all over the country again. Consequently, schools started blossoming in some of the urban centres of the country (Seyoum, 1996).

Great Britain, which assisted Ethiopia in becoming liberated from Italian aggression, was interested in the education system of Ethiopia. Accordingly, Mr. E.R.J. Hussey, who had wide experience in Africa, was appointed as an Advisor in the Ministry of Education in 1942. From 1942 to 1954 the Ethiopian education system was highly influenced by the British advisors. These advisors greatly influenced the structure of Ethiopian education, the medium of instruction, and the evaluation system (Zewdie, 2000).

Once again, this education system did not reflect the cultural, social and economic situation of the country, because it was dominated by the British education system. Therefore, this was known as the period of British domination. An expatriate educator at that time observed that, "there was nothing Ethiopian in the classroom except the children" (Seyoum, 1996:4). Consequently, it was difficult for the education system to respond to the needs and problems of the society.

As indicated previously, the fundamental principle which directed the development and implementation of school curriculum until 1952 was the political agenda of the aristocracy and

their foreign advisors (Zewdie, 2000). After 1953, reforms regarding the involvement and participation of educated Ethiopians were put in place. Human resource development was given due attention in this period, which led to the involvement of Ethiopians in areas ranging from policymaking to classroom practice.

The educational expansion was primarily aimed at producing a workforce that could serve in government, eventually replacing expatriates with native personnel (Tekeste, 1990). It was important to produce educated people who could fill the modern administration system alongside those who were already there and who had survived the Italian war of aggression. Moreover, training of technicians for service sectors like transport and commerce, and officers for police and the armed forces was emphasized. To meet these needs, academic secondary schools and technical and vocational schools were opened.

Furthermore, during this time, a gradual advancement in curriculum development occurred. The first formal written curriculum was published in 1947/48. It was developed by committees consisting of Ethiopians and foreigners of varying nationalities. Later on, the structure of the education system was changed on the basis of the perceived interests of the ruling class. After the development of the first curriculum, a total of seven revisions were made between 1948 and 1968.

In 1953, a Long Term Planning Committee under the chairmanship of the Vice Minister of Education and Fine Arts had recommended that the fundamental principle for developing and implementing school curriculum was a careful assessment of the need and purposes of the people of Ethiopia, with a particular focus on the cultural, social and economic characteristics of the country. The period was marked by the development of various curriculum materials.

Initially the structure of the education system was designed to be a three-tier 4-4-4 system (four years of primary, intermediate, and secondary education) by the Long Term Planning Committee. (Bekele, 1966). In 1947, the first 10 Year Education Plan was drafted, and a 6-6-4 system (six years of primary school, six years of junior secondary education, four years of senior secondary education) was introduced. It was in 1947 that the first official elementary school curriculum for grades 1-6, which covered a wide range of subjects, was published. It was later improved in 1949, and was extended to include grades 7 and 8. The secondary school curriculum was issued in the same year (Tesfaye and Taylor, 1976).

The subjects offered at this level were Amharic, English, science, art, geography, history, arithmetic, music, handicraft, and physical education. Amharic was the medium of instruction in grades one and two. In grades three and four, English was used as a medium of instruction for teaching of art, science, physical training, handicraft, music, geography, history, and arithmetic. In grade five and six, all subjects with the exception of Amharic were taught in English. (Ayalew, 1964).

Generally, the curriculum was not based on the economic, social and cultural realities of Ethiopia; rather, its components were copied from other countries. Textbooks for primary education were translated from other languages without reflecting the Ethiopian situation. The secondary school syllabus was based on the London School Leaving Certificate Examination. Moreover, the methods and materials used for classroom instruction were inadequate as there

was a shortage of textbooks and other teaching aids. The Bible served as an Amharic textbook from grade one to four. As a result, non-Christian peoples were obliged to follow the Bible (Ayalew, 1964).

The revised version of the first curriculum, otherwise known as the second curriculum, became operational from 1949 to 1963. The pattern of school organization was an 8-4 structure (eight years of primary education and four years of secondary education). The major reason for the change of curriculum was the need to expand education and alleviate English language deficiencies (Ayalew: 1964). As a result, the language of instruction became English starting at Grade 4. Generally, the curriculum continued to be detached from the cultural context of Ethiopia. It was replicated from Great Britain and African countries like Kenya and Sudan.

From the mid-1940s and throughout 1950s, students were expected to sit for the General School Leaving Certificate Examination of Great Britain. The practice began to decline with the successive growth of the University College at Addis Ababa in 1951. By the mid-1960s, the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination had become the only valid diploma (Tekeste, 1990).

With the introduction of 6-6-4 school structure in 1963, a national examination was set for evaluating the achievements of students in grades 6 and 8. The national grade 12 test, which was introduced in 1954, became the Ethiopian School Leaving Certificate Examination (ESLCE). At this time, the ESLCE became a test prepared by subject matter experts at the Haile Selassie I University (Zewdie: 2000).

Modern Education from 1955 to 1972

Between 1950 and 1955, there was a gradual reduction of British influence as Americans began working in the Ministry of Education. In 1955, the government set up what was known as the Long Term Planning Committee. The committee focused on the speedy promotion of universal fundamental education, as well as the relevance of the curriculum to the needs of the society. The American influence on Ethiopian education was reflected in new grade structure (6+2+4) that was introduced. This combination meant that a student had to go through six years of primary, two years of junior and four years of senior high school education. Another significant change made during the time of American influence was the promotion of Amharic the medium of instruction at primary school level. According to Tekeste, this change was "the most significant reform of the decade", (1990, 8) and was the first significant attempt made to implement multicultural education in the country's formal education system. This was strengthened by the general agreement for technical cooperation between the governments of Ethiopia and United States that marked the dominance of the American education system in Ethiopia from 1965 onward.

As Americans began to increase their influence on Ethiopia's educational system, they began to assume headmasterships and teaching positions in schools and started to participate in the process of policy making through the Education Advisory Group (Zewdie 2000:107). This group was involved in the operations of the Long Term Planning Committee and in the 1971 Education Sector Review. Because many perceived foreign involvement in Ethiopia's educational system to be excessive, the government gradually began to "Ethiopianize" the education system. Initially, the government was interested in appointing mostly qualified and experienced Ethiopians in the

process of policy making along with the Education Advisory Group. The government also focused on the training of teachers, supervisors and school administrators for various Community Teacher Training Centres, Teacher Training Institutes and the Faculty of Education (HSIU). Using interviews with a sample of Ethiopians in various occupations, the Education Commission conducted a study on the education system in the country in 1962. The results of the study identified the following problems (Girma *et al*, 1974):

- (a) The Ethiopian Education system lacked a philosophy and its aims and objectives are not properly articulated.
- (b) Curriculum materials, teaching methodologies and approaches were based on foreign countries, and instructional materials had to be adapted for Ethiopians.
- (c) Ethiopian needs, in particular with respect to culture and language, were not well treated by the education system.
- (d) The social needs of Ethiopian students were not clearly reflected in the curriculum, and the goals of education system had been equally hazy.
- (e) The inequalities in education opportunities in the past had to be evaluated.

In response to such problems, the study generated recommended objectives in the Education Sector Review (MOE, 1972: .II16 -111-6):

- To foster a rational and scientific outlook on life; to cultivate objectivity, intellectual curiosity, tolerance and broad mindedness;
- To replace the traditional negative attitude towards manual work by a positive one;
- To increase the earning capacity of the individual by providing the relevant skills and knowledge; to make people economically self-reliant;
- To cultivate the desire for life-long education; when formal schooling has been completed;
- To provide scientific, technical and vocational education, particularly at secondary level, in keeping with the needs of the Ethiopian society and economy;
- To Ethiopianize the content of education; to make Amharic the medium of instruction at the higher level, and to give practical orientation to instruction at all levels;
- To create an integrated society by drawing upon the diverse cultural and linguistic elements and creating the condition for the formation of a truly national culture;
- To reduce the generation gap between the educated young and the traditionally-oriented old; to bridge the gap between school and society;
- To prepare the nation's youth to live in a world community;
- To equalize access to education among all parts of the country;
- To provide universal access to education as rapidly as possible.

To meet these objectives, a 4-4-4 system with the proposal for basic formation education (i.e., 4+2 years) was approved with the following structure:

- a) Four years of (1-4) of minimum formation education to be made available to all children as rapidly as permitted by financial constraint.
- b) Two years of basic formation for youth who have been unable to attend the minimum formation education (MFE) programs.

- c) A four years middle school (5-8) and four years senior secondary school (9-12) program for a limited number of graduates of MFE and basic formation program.
- d) An extensive system of non-formal educational program for youth and adults which would be closely related to the formal system.

As can be seen from the proposed objectives, the Education Sector Review was an innovative approach to make education more relevant to actual Ethiopian culture and needs. It was a program designed primarily to integrate education with vocational and environmental education. Significantly, the educational objectives were designed to be free from any form of domination of emperor loyalty and church morals. Nevertheless, strong opposition came out of this proposal from the teachers, students and parents because the review suggested a four-year education for most children and reduced the salaries of certain teachers.

Although the Education Sector Review had its strong as well as weak points, one can conclude that it was an important event during this period. The study tried to link education with the actual societal activities. The study emphasized the importance of universal primary education before the year 2000. The restructuring of the educational system that was recommended was never fully implemented due to strong opposition from various corners of the society. Some of the oppositions may have been a reaction to the decision to keep the policy document secret from the educated citizens and the public at large. The secrecy caused rumours and misinformation, which fueled resistance from the society. Consequently, significant measures were not taken to change the fundamental educational principle.

The "Third Curriculum"(Experimental Curriculum)

This curriculum, which was highly influenced by the Americans, became operational from 1952 to 1974, it was essentially instigated by a Long Term Planning Committee under the chairmanship of the Vice Minister of Education and Fine Arts. American Advisors were also members of this committee. This committee recommended that the fundamental principles for developing and implementing a national school curriculum must be based on a careful assessment of the needs of the people with respect to cultural, social and environmental characteristics. In 1957, Amharic was chosen to serve as the medium of instruction in the schools. The Department of Research and Curriculum Development conducted a pilot study on Amharic as a medium of instruction prior to nationwide implementation. At the end of the pilot program, it was concluded that the teaching-learning process had been significantly improved with Amharic instruction (Habtemariam, 1970).

The "Fourth Curriculum"

The Fourth Curriculum was initiated as a result of a pilot project and then implemented after 1963. The school structure was six years of primary education, two years of junior secondary education, and four years of senior secondary education. In this new structure, Amharic continued as language of instruction at the primary level, which was divided into academic and non-academic components. Amharic, English, arithmetic, social studies, natural science and health and safety subjects were included in academic syllabus. The non-academic subjects were morals, agriculture, arts and crafts, home makings, physical training and games and music.

Subjects offered in junior secondary schools were history, geography, mathematics, science, Amharic, English and physical education.

Despite the efforts made by the Emperor to make education relevant for nation-building and modernization, the educational reforms of the Fourth Curriculum did not go far enough to address the educational deficiencies of the country. The education system was criticized for being elitist, academic-oriented, and irrelevant to the world of work and for being alien. More importantly, it was criticized for being urban- and male-biased. Most of the schools were located in a small number of locales, such as Addis Ababa, Shoa province, and Asmara. In 1974, the enrollment rate of girls in primary and secondary was 32 and 29 percent respectively.

In 1961, with only 3.3 percent of the primary-school-age population and 0.5 percent of secondary-level-school-age population enrolled in school, Ethiopia had one of the lowest enrollment rates in Africa (Tekeste, 1990). That year, at the UNESCO-sponsored Addis Ababa Conference of African States, a goal was set to provide universal primary education by 1980. Ethiopia's prospect of achieving this target by 1980 seemed unlikely at the time.

The problem of trained manpower in the teaching profession in all levels was presumed to be one of the major causes of poor education quality. Among the challenges was the fact that more than half of the secondary school teachers were foreigners and the training for primary school teachers was conducted in English while the language of instruction in primary schools was Amharic. In October 1971, government initiated a comprehensive study of the education sector. This study, which came to be known as The Education Sector Review (ESR), was indeed one of the boldest attempts at educational reform taken by the old regime (Seyoum, 1996). The aims of Education Sector Review were to analyze the education and training system of Ethiopia and its capability of promoting economic, social and cultural development. It also aimed to make education relevant to the society, national integration and development, and to prioritize studies and investments in education and training.

The ESR's comprehensive review concluded that the education system was too elitist, and that it emphasized rote learning and passing of the rigidly set examination, and did not provide employable and relevant skills to raise the earning capacity of graduates from these schools. Moreover, the ESR concluded that the education system was designed to produce a few intellectuals, as only six percent of the total primary school enrollment reached a higher level of education after 12 years. Its advantages were seen as being limited to those living in urban and industrial areas (Birhanu and Demeke, 1995).

The ESR Report presented proposals to be included in the national goals and objectives of education. The national goals became the following: to speed up economic development of the country so that the living standards of the people would improve, to create a society that appreciates its own cultural heritage and would be able to innovate with a strong feeling for modern civilization, and to build a generation that was self-reliant and who would be globally competitive (Tekeste, 1990). The objectives of education were to popularize the dignity of work and get rid of the traditional dislike of manual work, to produce trained manpower for economic development by teaching science and technology, and to make individuals self-reliant by raising their learning capacities.

To realize these objectives, certain policy-related considerations were raised. The education system should be developed in such a way that it would be useful and related to lifelong learning. Therefore, education would be linked to agriculture, small-scale industry, cottage industry, commercial enterprises, etc. Education would therefore be integrated with daily living and not remain only theoretical and academic. Furthermore, the report recommended an integrated economic development program as well as the establishment of community skill training centers in various parts of the country.

In 1972, the Council of Ministers discussed the policy-related issues raised by the ESR Report and accepted them unanimously. However, certain proposals from the Review drew criticisms from teachers and other educators on the grounds that they were allegedly designed to turn the majority of the students into tenants for the landlords under the feudal land tenure system by introducing a four-year education (MoE, 1984). Yusuf, (cited in Birhanu and Demeke, 1995) pointed out that the major reasons why the ESR report was unacceptable was that it failed to consider adequately the socio-economic and psychological condition of the country. It was also noted that the method of study was inappropriate and elitist. Consequently, teachers and students protested against the implementation of the ESR recommendations. This opposition was presumed to be one of the factors that contributed to the overthrow of the feudal government.

Modern Education from 1974-1991 (Derg Regime)

The Derg Regime came to power in 1974, chanting socialism as the fundamental political philosophy of the government. Marxist-Leninist philosophy was the central theme that guided the political, economic and social life of the country. There had been no other time in the Ethiopian history that education was conceptualized as an important means to secure political power. As a result, the curriculum during this period was highly politicized that students were required to take courses in political education (Tekeste, 1990).

The education system of the Derg regime was influenced by several factors. These factors included the strong determination and commitment of the Derg government for expanding the communist ideology and the development of curriculum based on the philosophy of Eastern European education system. Consequently, the overall education system was aimed towards the attainment of communist ideology. This view was articulated through National Democratic Revolution in 1976, General Directives of Ethiopian Education in 1980, and the guidelines of the Working Party of Ethiopia in 1984.

Under the Derg, Eastern European governments (East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc) served the Ethiopian government as policy advisors. The central theme of the Eastern European Socialist ideology was "serving better the interests of the masses and enhance its contribution towards the establishment of a socialist society" (Zewdie: 2000, 79). As a result, the education system of the country strongly followed the Eastern European educational system and the aims, content, and materials of education were designed in alignment with socialist principles. The fundamental aim of education was to "cultivate Marxist-Leninist ideology in the young generation, to develop knowledge in science and technology, in the new culture and arts, and to integrate and coordinate research with production to enable the revolution to move forward and to secure a productive citizenry" (Tekeste, 1990; 20). These broad objectives were later summarized into three slogans, namely, "Education for production, for scientific research, and for political consciousness."

Some specific aims of this educational system were:

- Eradicating illiteracy through the provision of universal education to the public masses.
- Providing schooling to help citizens develop their consciousness, participating in class struggle, and using the principles of Marxism and Leninism.
- Enabling students to acquire and own progressive cultures so that they abide by the principles of socialist morality and discipline.
- Providing education that would enhance scientific research and practice so that students would be able to integrate theory with practice, know their environment, and the society in which they live.
- Providing education that liberates the society from primitive systems of production by producing manpower trained in various professional disciplines.

It was believed that a student developed by these educational objectives would not have a narrow academic education, nor be a producer alone. He would be provided with academic and a productive education. He would be a humane and productive worker. He would not be living on the produce of others, nor would he be dependent on others for his livelihood (Tekeste 1990; 20). This statement implies that the schools were supposed to consider the relevance of the curriculum to producing a workforce in the attempt to create a modernized Ethiopia.

To implement these new socialist ideas, a task force was set up with the aim of revising the curriculum to align with the new educational goals. The new curriculum was referred to as the Transitional Curriculum. General polytechnic education, with the aim of producing middle-level trained manpower, was proposed to ameliorate the problem of unemployment of graduates of secondary education.

However, a lack of sufficient financial investment and the downfall of the communist ideology led to the collapse of the programme in the late 1980s (Birhanu and Demeke, 1995). The reasons for the failure of polytechnic education were not well documented. Aside from the government's announcement that the programme was discontinued due to budgetary problems, the pros and cons of the programme were not studied. Even the schools which were serving as experimental sites did not have the necessary data.

This period, during the times of both the Emperor and the Derg, brought a dramatic increase in enrollment at primary and secondary schools. One of the immediate measures taken by the revolutionary regime was to address the issue of primary education. Accordingly, in a policy directive issued on December 20th, 1974, it was proclaimed that "under the banner of education for all" citizens shall have the right to free fundamental education (PMAC cited in Seyoum, 1996). On the basis of this declaration, the Ministry of Education took a step to reconcile its educational priorities so as to advance universal primary education within the shortest period of time using the available resources (MoE, 1977; 1).

To accomplish this educational reform, the Ministry of Education designed a new curriculum, developed new textbooks, teachers' guides, and other materials for nearly all subjects and grades of the regular schools. The instructional materials were produced in consonance with government guidelines, the National Democratic Revolution Programme, and later on the Workers Party of Ethiopia's Programme, the 10-years Economic and Social Development

Prospective Plan, and other economic, political, social and cultural proclamations (Tekeste, 1990).

Proclamation No. 103 of 1976 ensured the public ownership of schools to reconcile the management of schools with the socialist system of ownership. However, some schools for the children of the politicians and wealthy families remained free from government control. Consequently, there was a difference in the quality of education for upper class and lower class children, reflecting the idea that in any society, education serves the dominant class (Ballentine, 1997).

One of the significant contributions of the Derg regime was its launching of a vigorous national campaign against illiteracy in 1979. By July 1990, which marked the Eleventh Anniversary of the Literacy Campaign, a 75.3 percent national literacy rate was reported. The reduction in illiteracy rate from 95 percent at the start of the Ethiopian National Literacy Campaign (ENLC) to 24.7 is certainly an outstanding achievement (Seyoum, 1996). In terms of expansion, the number of primary schools increased at a high rate in all parts of the country. The national enrollment rate reached 34.1 percent (Ayalew, 1989). The slogan of the Ethiopian government was to spread education as much as possible and the nation's economic and social development problems would take care of themselves.

Though a quantifiable expansion of the educational system on face value appears to be quite impressive, significant problems lie behind the figures. Firstly, it was not possible to make education equitably accessible to all regions. In this respect, a study by Ayalew (1989; 41) on regional disparities in primary school participation on Ethiopia was quite revealing. The southern part of the country received greater educational resources than the northern part. Secondly, the quality of education had gradually started to deteriorate, due to a number of factors. For example, the meagre educational resources had to be thinly spread because of the uncontrolled expansion of schools (Seyoum, 1996; Tekeste, 1990). Most of the literature indicates that educational quality was decreasing as compared with the previous periods (Seyoum, 1996; Tekeste, 1990). These problems were identified by the Derg government, including a review of the country's economic and educational needs. The review was primarily aimed at solving the problems created in the employment sector due to rapid expansion of secondary schools. To address this concern, the government passed a resolution to expand technical and vocational education to meet the employment demands of the country (Birhanu and Demeke, 1995 and Tekeste, 1990). Soon after the resolution, the MOE initiated a project known as The Evaluation Research on the General Education System of Ethiopia (ERGESE). The evaluation of the education sector was carried out by four committees organized from MOE and Addis Ababa University.

The study focused on curriculum development and teaching, learning process, educational administration, structure and planning, educational logistics, supportive services, and manpower training and educational evaluation and research (Tekeste, 1990; Seyoum, 1996). The major findings of the study were:

- Though the syllabus of secondary school subjects reflected the national objectives; textbooks do not reflect national educational objectives and they focus on the instruction itself rather than learning dimensions.

- The subjects suffer either from lack of clarity, coherence, and consistency of content, or from poor style of presentation.
- Amharic as a medium of instruction in the primary school (grade 1-6) has created difficulties for students whose mother tongue is not Amharic.
- Using English as medium of instruction from grades seven to twelve created difficulties for both teachers and students.
- The educational structures, namely primary (grade 1-6), junior secondary (7-8) and senior Secondary (9-12), are not satisfactorily integrated and coordinated.
- The expansion of the education system is not in accordance with the economic resources and capability of the state.
- The problem of Ethiopian education is a result of poor textbooks, lack of instruments and widespread incompetence among teaching staff.

Most of the recommendations forwarded by the ERGESE were already considered by the Ten Year National Perspective Plan (1984-1994) in 1984 (Tekeste, 1990). Consequently, the recommendations were not implemented

The Derg's education system was somewhat inhibited by problems such as budget shortfalls, which in turn affected the supply of basic educational materials including textbooks and a shortage of qualified teachers both at primary and secondary schools. To resolve the problem of the shortage of qualified teachers the government took an aggressive measure by recruiting 5,500 untrained teachers, recruited immediately after the completion of 12 grade. It is not difficult to imagine how the huge recruitment of untrained teachers affected the quality of education. But, this measure has to be seen from its contribution to the expansion of education to the rural part of the country and equal educational opportunity for all. To resolve the problem of teachers' qualification at elementary level, the government designed a summer program, lasting over three years, to certify teachers. This strategy continues to be employed as one of the mechanisms to train teachers at the primary and secondary levels today.

Recommendations for the Future

Paradoxically, Ethiopia's economic development is largely dependent on an educated workforce, yet one of the greatest limitations to educational progress is a disadvantaged economy (Hoot, Szente & Tadesse, 2006). Fortunately, the Ethiopian government understands the value of education and currently dedicates a significant amount of resources towards its development at all levels. Recognizing the need for 21st century workers who are skilled in science, technology, mathematics, and engineering (STEM), Ethiopian universities are steering students towards these STEM-related degrees. The following recommendations are thus offered to help Ethiopia develop its most precious resource, the Ethiopian people, in a sustainable way to enhance the quality of life and economic prosperity for all.

First, it is understood that the history of foreign involvement in Ethiopia's history, particularly in the area of education - where curricular decisions, selection of instructional languages, and cultural considerations - have shaped the evolution of education in Ethiopia. Consequently, while foreign investment and aids will likely play an important role in Ethiopian education, those who are developing the educational system are strongly encouraged to focus primarily on meeting the needs of the Ethiopian people, with the knowledge and skills necessary to be successful, not only in the cultural and political context of East Africa, but also to prepare Ethiopians to be world

citizens, skilled at operating in a global marketplace of commerce and ideas. Consequently, the educational system of Ethiopia must simultaneously be culturally relevant and flexible/responsive. This may be accomplished when International Non-governmental Organizations (INGO) partners effectively with Local Non-governmental Organization (LNGO) (O'Sullivan, 2006).

Second, Ethiopia must invest heavily in teacher training and development. An educational system is only as good as its teachers. One of the consequences of a rapidly expanding educational mission is the inability to build and maintain instructional capacity. Ethiopia has a deficit in quality teacher training and continuing education (Hoot, Szente, and Tadesse, 2006). It is therefore recommended that the training of teachers should be made a priority. There is also a need to increase the use of technology to aid the medium of exchange and communication.

Third, gender equity must also be reflected in Ethiopia's educational system. The concept of inclusive education is broad and encompassing not just physical inclusion, but also the active participation of all learners (Hussein, 2008). Thus, the mere presence of girls in schools is necessary but insufficient. For gender equality, the curriculum and instruction in Ethiopia must engage all learners, as the system should prepare boys and girls to meet the country's economic and social needs. Erulkar and Ferede (2009) emphasize the importance of building girls' social capital to enhance social outcomes, and Ethiopian schools would be wise to adopt this approach.

Finally, greater effort must be made to provide educational opportunities to students in rural areas. Naturally, this goal is tied to economic and political factors, particularly the provision of communication and transportation to connect rural areas and improve accessibility. As telecommunication and internet usage increases its reach across the country, schools in rural Ethiopia will have greater connectivity not only to urban Ethiopian schools, but also to educational institutions worldwide. To address this pressing problem of education, there must be an effort to minimize the cost of photocopies, computer printing, and publishing of textbooks and books.

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