

## Structural Adjustment Programme and its Negative Effect on Education in Nigeria: A philosophical Reconceptualization

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### Abstract

In this paper our attempt is to insist that there is need for a re-conceptualization of our educational system contrary to the one prescribed by World Bank and IMF through Structural Adjustment Programme(SAP). A World Bank and IMF instigated policy has had a toll on our economy and has made nonsense of our educational efforts. It has robbed us of educational freedom, building up of infrastructure, recruitment of competent teachers and the articulation of a worthwhile educational policy that will drive development in our country. Our position is that if we are going to make any progress at all, we have to review all the recommendations suggested by IMF. Our educational system must be tailored to meet our indigenous needs and challenges.

### Introduction

Education has variously been defined and described by experts. Our interest now is neither in the definitions nor in the descriptions of education, rather we are mostly concerned with the functional implication of the concept of education and how it has been allowed to operate freely. Plato earlier on wrote on education, its importance, and problem, what kind of education will be suitable for us, who are responsible for the education of the youths? Rousseau recommends public education and says that its purpose is to reproduce the national culture from one generation to another, to develop in the students the national character. Genuine freedom for him is only possible, "in subjecting one's own life to the welfare of the whole, here one finds the only freedom which is genuine. Also, Immanuel Kant sees the elevation of man out of disorderly life of egoistic desire into that of humility as the goal of education.

Interestingly all these people saw education as that which will enlighten one brings one into close contact with his culture and his society and prepare one for the future.

It must be made clear that for Nigerians, they no longer see education as the difference between ignorance and knowledge rather they see it as the difference between a marginal meaningless existence and good life (Sonni 7). It must be pointed out that no meaningful human development (physical, intellectual, psychological and sociological) can take place without freedom. Since education means so much to mankind, then freedom to go into such cognitive intellectual enterprise becomes necessary.

This work then is targeted towards highlighting the various ways our people have been pauperized by denying them their academic freedom. It then makes suggestions on how we can tackle the problem. We shall review part one of a thousand flowers.

### A Brief Textual Review of Part One of "A Thousand Flowers"

The Committee for Academic Freedom (CAFA) was formed in 1990s by some Americans and Africans who were no longer interested or disgusted on the way things were going-on in African universities. They decided to leave because things were no longer normal. In a bid to liberate the universities from these problems, the country adopted the structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), imposed by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). This was geared toward stimulating economic recovery, but then



little did the country know that it was sitting on a keg of a gun/powder and it was not long before the real crisis started.

Silvia Frederici, the editor of the work under review has this to say in the editor's introduction:

“All funds to public education were cut, many teachers and other academic staff were retrenched, and wages were frozen. As a result, in a few years, the existence of what had been one of the main conquest of the anti-colonial struggle – the development of an African educational system – was seriously undermined (Silvia Frederic, (ed.) *A Thousand Flowers: A social struggle against Structural Adjustment in African Universities*, African World Press, Inc; 1992, p x).

CAFA's formation has three main objectives then: to provide a support structure capable of responding promptly to emergency situations on African campuses; to mobilize teachers' union and other academic organisations in North America on behalf of African colleagues and students; to reframe the terms of the debate surrounding the crisis of education in Africa (x1).

Human rights violation organisations started as early as 1980s to highlight on the abuses of human right violation on our campuses. The climax of this was the Lima Declaration of 1988 which was drafted by the initiative of the world University service, and the three collections of case studies on Academic in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Prior to this time there was an assumption that the violation of academic freedom was borne by the African states so the objective to be pursued in the Lima Declaration was to move the state out of the universities, to liberalize the process of appointments and curriculum formation and ultimately to establish that academic rights are human rights.

The important fact that needs to be noted is that the ultimate responsibilities for the violations of many academic freedom and rights on the African soil was borne by international financial institutions and more specifically by the policy of “adjustment” adopted by Washington and the European Union in the 1980s, that calls for the (re) colonisation of African educational systems.

Let us now consider the structural adjustment and recolonisation of education in Africa as it was reflected by George Caffentzis. He tries to put forward the philosophy that underpinned the recommendation for African education as articulated by the World Bank (WB). He reported that from the works written by the WB staff, there is a call for drastic reduction of higher education in Africa. It purports that the reduction was geared towards raising higher efficiency and a more egalitarian distribution of educational resources. The evidence provided actually raised more doubt on the veracity of the claim by WB.

Actually the conditions for adopting SAP at the end of the day were more destructive than the claimed gain:

SAP's conditionalities include the removal of subsidies to students for food and accommodation, a currency devaluation that inflated the cost of educational materials and cuts in government funding of education (p. 5).

The most serious problem of SAP was that it then became difficult for an average family to send their children and wards to school because of their low income. Social spending in Sahara and sub-Sahara Africa fell by 26% between 1980 and 1985, Books and other materials for studies became scarce commodities.

From the foregoing, the critics of WB and IMF are of the opinion that these bodies were responsible for the decline of education in Africa. But the WB has dismissed this criticisms arguing that the real problem was Africa's post-colonial higher education system, which according to it, was bureaucratically bloated, inefficient and in a egalitarian. The WB

also accused African universities for being responsible for the under funding of the primary education, it holds that more fund was expended on it than other institutions.

In a nutshell the WB would love us to believe that SAP is a blessing in disguise for African education. It also believes that African government under pressure from SAP would have a golden opportunity to “increase the efficiency of resources use” and to keep in check the demand of urban elite and impose a new education regime egalitarian.

George Caffentzis did not waste time in considering the contradictions and implications of the WB’s new policy of African education. He says that the advocated adjustment of education is bound to have extreme negative consequences from which African education might never recover. He equally pointed out that the World Bank’s picture of African campus life was unrealistic; he rather observes that the classrooms were overcrowded; students were running one meal per day, failing water and electricity supplies, collapsing buildings, libraries without journals or books, lack of educational supplies ranging from chalk to papers, etc – these according to him, was effect of SAP (p.8). As if these were not enough the police or the Army were stationed at strategic places on the campuses to suppress students who would like to organize a protest against the unjust rule.

The WB decries overstaffing but then the interest was more on the attempt to keep the faculty running without the basic equipment. One of the major contributions is seen between WB’s policy and vision. It maintains that for Africa to survive and compete favourably in the 21<sup>st</sup> century competitive world that it must not only have both literate and in numerate citizens but also highly qualified and trained people, but then SAP’s policy guarantees that this requirement will never be fulfilled, for African education was almost on the verge of extinction.

It is of interest to note that African students and intellectuals have not resigned themselves to the dependent status that WB assigned them in the production of knowledge rather African students and intellectuals now act as test-ground for intellectual and academic excellence. Caffentzis puts it well when he says:

“Not only is the World Bank often the prime mover or *cleus absconditus* with respect to the repression of academicians and students. It is currently the grandmaster in the reorganization of African Campuses.”

Moreover the World Bank, like IMF, operates right in our midst, being financed by U.S tax dollars, and staffed by Academic colleagues.

...And we have a responsibility to make our voice heard if we stand convinced that the rationalization of African academic risks destroying millions of Africans and for years to come the possibility of schooling at all levels (CAFA Newsletter No. 3 Jan 1991).

From this long quotation one can immediately see the WB’s hostility to African universities and their students. African students were concerned for saving their heads from the impending extinction or danger that the WB and its allied bodies planned for it.

Silvia Frederici reflected on “the Recolonization of African Education” that the economic and political recolonisation of the African continent by means of IMF/WB – imposed devaluation and structural adjustment programs, cut across every other facet of African life for instance education (p.19). There is this erroneous belief that African academics cannot produce any intellectual work and therefore ought not to be present in world market of ideas. The way and means by which intellectual recolonisation is carried out by these bodies is through “demonetarization” of the continent. This is done by reducing wages to their paper values and this also makes it impossible for the African intellectual workers to survive. Another way of recolonisation was by the destruction of the autonomy of African intellectual production through systematic defunding of African academic

institutions. This is instrumental to their take over by international agencies, which can thus organize and reshape Africa's academic life for their own purposes (p.2).

The method of defunding was by cutting off all the subsidies to education. And normally WB/IMF imposes it on African countries as conditionalities for new loans or debt payment rescheduling. Such cuts have a lot of effects like (a) The escalation of the cost of education as measured by the cost of student accommodations, feeding, books and transport.

- (b) The dramatic deterioration of education infrastructure
- (c) The forced dependence of African academicians and academic institutions on foreign agencies and foreign individual donors to provide economic help to "keep things running".

In fact, it could rightly be said that the control of African academic and intellectual life by first world agencies is directly established through the loans the World Bank is giving to African government for the purposes of education reform. Finally, Silvia is of the opinion that the virtual take over of African education by international agencies and its restructuring into a costly commodity reserved only to the happy few has a triple purpose: to devalue African life and labour, to lower social expectation and more importantly to curtail any independent oppositional thinking.

He complained bitterly that these facts are hardly known to North American academicians but then most Africans are quite aware of them. He then suggested a way out of the mess. According to him, we have to educate ourselves on the situation of African teachers and students and propagate this information. Secondly, we have to refuse to become scab, by refusing to take position in African universities undergoing the 'rationalization' process. Thirdly, to expose in every possible circumstance (e.g. in academic conferences) the World Bank's and IMF's plan for African education and African future in general. Fourthly, to provide material support for African teachers and students so that they can continue to carry on their activity in conditions of genuine intellectual autonomy (CAFAS) Bulletin No. 34 1991).

In his article "Booker T. Washington in Africa: Between Education and (Re) colonization", Ousseina Alidou makes a case for an African education. First and foremost, the name Booker T. Washington is employed in a dual sense; it could refer to either the man or his ideas on the question of "black education." The major interest is on the curriculum that he adopted for the education of black people who were subjugated and enslaved and later to the reactionary effect of Jim Crows law as applied in the context of colonialism and apartheid. His emphasis was more on vocational and industrial education, less attention was given to mere book learning. The name Booker now connotes an "educational philosophy that transcends the person and his place and even his time." It must be pointed out that the British colonialist never adopted his philosophy in the construction of their own educational policies in Africa. His philosophy of education was not meant for the upliftment of Africa alone but to the whole third world countries.

The black African Nationalists saw his "philosophy of education" as something very close to the idea of philosophy of education that is needed in Africa.

During the colonial era, Booker T. Washington's educational philosophy appealed to many African Nationalists. Dube from South Africa, Koinange from Kenya and Azikiwe from Nigeria, all looked to it as an educational model that could liberate blacks from the European colonialists who controlled African education and economic resources (26).

In their view, the black Nationalists saw this recreational philosophy as that which can promote self-reliance. And this was exactly what was needed at the point in question. One

point that needs mentioning at this juncture is that both the British colonialists and southern African settlers felt very comfortable with promoting and implementing Washington philosophy in Africa. This is due to the fact that it did not seek to challenge the status quo and white domination. The colonialists even found it as one of the ways to support their racist educational policy. In summary, it could be said that both the African Nationalists educational agenda and the European colonialist agenda agreed with Washington's prescription.

A century later, we discover a kind of parallel between Washington's philosophy and the British colonialists' educational policies in Africa. Also, the same is seen in World Bank's and International Monetary Fund's (IMF's) vocational education programs in Africa. The parallel is seen more when one compares the Washington's industrial philosophy with colonialists' policy or philosophy of "Capacity Building." We have already pointed out that Washington's philosophy of industrial education centres on self reliance. But then with regard to the World Bank's Africa Capacity Building Initiative (ACBI), George Caffentzis shows and demystifies its meaning and shows its devastating effects on various grounds:

He points out the ambiguity of the term "Capacity" in relation to its products and systems of knowledge: its implicit devaluation of African intellect; the initiative's promotion of Africa's dependence on foreign agencies and "donors"; its failure to recognize that the collapse of the African university system is itself a direct consequence of the World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programs (Alidou: 30).

The African Capacity Building Initiative (ACBI) could be seen as an explicit statement used by the World Bank to dominate the development of academic institutions in Africa. Succinctly put, we can say that ACBI does not present an accurate picture of policy debate in Africa. On the contrary it devalues Africans as producers of knowledge; it also denies their ability to autonomously achieve mastery of basic cognitive skill. It equally calls for foreign agencies to take into their hands the restructuring of African education, in violation of any autonomy rights. ACBI thus represents a violation of political intellectual sovereignty, and the right to self determination. The implication of the above stand is that if the promoters of ACBI are allowed to have their ways, Africa will only be the agenda of foreign capital, with no concession made to the right of self determination. The capacity the WB wants to build in Africa tends to preclude "intellectual capacity."

Alidou examines the collapse of Francophone African Education system. He pointed out that the philosophical foundation of Francophone is the use of French as the major linguistic medium and the means by which French has achieved a cultural and intellectual control and created economic dependence between her and the African countries. The Francophone effect has several consequences for the educational system in Africa. It lacked adaptation to the development needs of Africa. It imposed the old system of education on African schools without considering her peculiarities. It made African countries to be a dumping market for French school manuals and other materials that it has considered inadequate.

Another area where French expressed her imperialist tendency was on sending to Africa some unqualified experts whose mission it was to train African educator. Here there is an inherent contradiction, for there is a Latin adage which says that "Nemo dat quod non habet" - No one can give what he has not. The inexperienced expert will surely give what he has. The implication of this would be the justification of the claim that Africa cannot be involved in any serious cognitive enterprise. And this is because they have gotten only the teaching from the inexperienced experts.

Alidou pointed out that the sad aspect of the dumping of the unqualified experts was:

...the maintenance of these useless French expatriates is at the expense of the poor African countries which have to pay their salaries according to the scale dictated by the cost of living in France (Alidou: 37).

It must be noted that the maintenance of these communities of French expatriates in Africa, in the name of technical assistance to education, forces the Francophone African countries to look for loans from agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) at interest rate that are beyond the repayment capacity of these countries. This unbearable burden has continued to weigh on many Francophone African countries, and it will even continue for generation to come.

Every attempt made by the Francophone Africans to limit the damage of French control over the African educational system was vehemently countered or opposed by the French people. The Francophone African countries were impaired by the Anglophone educational reform; such countries like Tanzania and Nigeria. They opted in the 70s to revise their curriculum according to their developmental needs. The reform undertaken by most Francophone countries resulted into laying off of French expatriates. And this also helped most of the African teachers to be employed. In reaction to this, in the 1980s France decided to cut its supply of educational equipment and materials with the aim of crippling the new educational reform.

The success of the French sabotage efforts in Francophone Africa once more witnessed the return of western experts from France, this time with the complexity of the WB and IMF whose goal was first to invalidate the achievement of the internal reform undertaken by Africans themselves, and then impose their “model” of reform. According to Alidou :

The new educational reform proposed by the World Bank and IMF insist that Africa should promote vocational training because it lacked both intellectual and technological capacity to sustain higher education (Alidou: 35).

In other words, what Africa needs are carpenters and manual skilled workers and not those with cognitive power. In the reform advocated by the Francophone African countries, they opted for the use of or introduction to African languages as a media and subject of instruction and the reshaping of school manual in the way that it will reflect African realities. Later problem arose on what should be the linguistic medium of instructions? The functionalists suggested the use of English language while the Nationalist insisted on the use of African languages. It must be noted that the European languages in which Africans are taught, therefore, are important sources of intellectual control. They aid the World Bank attempt to allow Africans learn only what promote the agenda of international capitalism.

### **Repression of Academic Freedom**

There is no gainsaying the fact that SAP is today the major threat to academic freedom in Africa. The adoption of SAP meant the adoption of all the management of educational system and other economic lives of the international agencies in Africa. It makes it difficult for the cry of the African teachers and students to be heard in international circles. According to Silvia, SAP has generated so much conflict on university campuses because it is the vehicle for dismantling of Africa’s education system (Silvia 2000:62).

It now constitutes itself into a means by which Africans are denied the right to education, in conformity with a strategy that wants African to participate in the world economy only as providers of cheap labour and nothing more. Silvia denies the fact that the present deterioration of academic freedom in Africa stems from the autocratic nature of the

African state, the conflictual relationship between state and civil society and from the state control of academic institutions. The above claim is untenable and should be dismissed on the basis of “want of substantial claim. First, it appeals to cultural factors rather than the economic policy, it also fails to know that behind the so called the state the civil society is the reproduction of labour which is the process we have to examine in order to understand why the introduction of economic liberalization in academic has been accompanied by the escalation of repression.

It was the objective of SAP to downsize the African higher education. On the average only 0.8% of the population has access to a tertiary education. The international agencies – the World Bank and International Monetary Fund – try to justify their claim that so much money was already expended on university education at the expense of the primary education. But we have tried to justify in this review “they never” meant will for the Africans. It must rather be pointed out that the rhetoric of efficiency and improvement by which SAP is promoted hides the reality of educational retrenchment and that the proposed alternative financing mechanisms are actually tools for phasing out the unwanted students and academic staff. In a nutshell it could be said that SAP was actually poised to see the demise of higher education in Africa. If this is achieved then the consequence would be obvious- the obliteration of genuine manpower in Africa and the support of the claim that Africa needed only vocational education. From the foregoing one can say that the violation of academic rights carried on in the implementation of SAP are not the only examples of academic right abuses in Africa. Yet in many ways there are the most worrisome. The World Bank being unhappy with the last generation of African intellectuals produced by the African universities decided to launch, the Africa Capacity Building Initiative (ACBI) in 1991. This was to train African policy analyst and development managers. This was not actually received by the African’s and African scholars who already believed that WB has never meant well for the future of African education.

Looking at the WB document on ACBI one notices an implicit belief by it that Africa lacked the cognitive skill to handle her affairs. Again that it needs to be guided and sustained by WB. This recommendation is justified with the claim that no serious socio-economic knowledge is presently being produced in Africa, or can be produced without the sustained intervention, direction and guidance provided by the foreign agencies (Caffentzis 2000: 70). The authors of ACBI confirmed their impression of Africans intellectual deficiency when they wrote that Africa is blessed with a greater number of foreign “technical assistants” – from senior policy analysts, managers and business executive to technician and teachers – than any other region of the world (Caffentzis: 200:74).

The purpose of ACBI was “to build, over the long term, a critical mass of professional policy analysts and economic managers who will be able to better manage the development process, and to ensure the more effective utilization of already trained African analysts and managers. Actually, in itself this project does not violate academic freedom in Africa. But the intended method of its implementation does. It must be recalled that besides disseminating the message of “Capacity Building” the ACBI tends to monopolize the distribution of fund going to African university system from all sources and to block the fund from any sources or institution that does not subscribed to WB plan for African development. The fact of channeling every fund that comes to the African universities through WB does not permit academic freedom. Also not to allow individual and institution autonomy from state control of knowledge production and dissemination to violate academic freedom. Surely a state that premised its funding of a research program on the acceptability of certain state-sponsored conclusions, and forbids any supplementary funding from other sources would be considered a violator of academic freedom. The WB intention in creating ACBI is to do exactly that (Caffentzis, 2000: 80).

We can succinctly say that the ACBI is an explicit statement that the WB intends to dominate the development of academic institutions in Africa for the foreseeable future. It attempts to justify this domination under the rubric of tracing Africans to be “Capable” but the veracity of this claim is very questionable. Now that becomes the fate of the future of the African university. In answering this, Silvia reviewed the work of Carlsson, titled “The Future of the African University” 1996. He says that the fiscal crisis of the African states has made it less and less capable of providing the necessary financing for the day to day running of the universities; so that, the most important external sources of fund is aid.

He proceeded and advised solution on how to put back the universities on course or on their feet. He mentioned three ways of solving this problem: (1) prioritizing (2) regional co-operation, and (3) phasing out the universities as an institution that is perhaps outdated.

From our discussion so far we can rightly say that the future of the African universities depends very much on the teachers and students of Africa. The curriculum must be drawn in such a way that the reality of African life is taken into consideration. The negative evaluation of African universities by international bodies like WB and IMF should be corrected. We shall now have a critical look on the concept of SAP and its philosophy.

### **A Re-examination of the Theory and Philosophy of SAP in Nigeria**

The theoretical basis for adjustment is that distortions are due to deviations from marginal cost pricing either domestically or externally. Structural adjustment has always been popularized by International Monetary Fund (IMF). Consequently, the theory is deeply rooted in the dogma that market forces represent the sine-qua-non for arriving at realistic prices. The philosophy that is behind this is that of capitalism.

The need for an adjustment programme arises when an economy experiences an imbalance between aggregate domestic supplies which usually manifests itself in a worsening of a country’s balance of payments position. The adjustment programme is usually supported and/or created by the IMF, there are equally at times when a country maintains that its adjustment programmes had been designed internally or externally, all adjustment programmes by the third world countries mirror exactly what is contained in IMF.

According to John Ndebbio (1991:226), the principal elements of an adjustment programme include the following:

- (1) adopting measures to stimulate domestic production and broaden the supply base of an economy;
- (2) adopting a realistic exchange rate policy (devaluation);
- (3) rationalization and restructuring of tariffs structure;
- (4) trade and payment liberalization
- (5) reduction and curtailment of government expenditure;
- (6) wage restraints
- (7) adoption of appropriate price policies (the removal of subsidies);
- (8) privatization of public sectors enterprises;
- (9) increase in domestic interest rates and
- (10) reducing administrative controls through a heavy reliance on market forces

The objective of adjustment entails restoring a sustainable balance between aggregate demand and supply; expanding the production of tradable, and easing balance of payments constraints. The proponents of adjustments before that very element of the package is set in motion in the medium term, an ailing economy would be on the path of sustained non-inflationary growth. The above is the claimed aim of structural adjustment programme. The

theorists of structural adjustment programme has not actually given us the real meaning of the word “structure” we can only infer that the theory of structural adjustment programme either perceived a structure as consisting of economic sectors often modeled as a system of equations. Consequently a problem in one sector creates a bottleneck for other sectors – of course; this view of structure is very unrealistic. A structure no doubt consists of parts and how the parts are related to each other. The main elements of such parts are human beings not abstract objects. It would be better to look at the structure of an economy in terms of ownership and control of the factor of production and the relations of people within the scheme of production.

The theory of structural adjustment seems to suggest that privatization of public companies will make the latter efficient and more often the yardstick for efficiency is profit. Efficiency is not synonymous with profit. The theory fails to consider the importance of some of the products of public companies to the citizens of an economy. It must be observed that privatization of public companies deprives millions of people the access to essential basic needs. Care must; therefore be taken on how privatisation is championed. The theory of structural adjustment places undue emphasis on foreign exchange availability if developing countries intend to escape from underdevelopment. It must immediately be pointed out that relying much on foreign exchange will be unhealthy for an economy. Such a motion allows a country’s economic policy to gravitate around the foreign exchange variables and thus perceives the latter as an unavoidable condition for economic development (A. H. Ekpo “Distortion in Economic and method: The Nigerian Scene in Distortions in the Nigerian Economy, Ibadan, Nigeria Economic (1987, p. 9).

Now to talk about international competitiveness, we then talk about devaluation or real depreciation of a national currency in order to increase exports and reduce imports. The a-priori assumption is that economic activity following the devaluation will focus more on production of tradeables rather than on goods not traded on international markets (like construction, haircut, etc). The merit and demerits of devaluation in the theory and practice of structural adjustment has been the subject of intense analysis by economic scholars (Linkert & Kindlebeyer 1982, pp. 278 - 300). Ndebbio observes that: The “false” assumption on the question of devaluation is that imbalances which need stabilization often result from the loss of international competitiveness caused by an over-valued exchange rate (Ndebbio, 1991, p. 30).

The theory ignores or assumes away the fact that the prices of exports of developing countries are determined not only outside the borders of such economies but also in foreign currencies. Factors such as corruption, non productiveness within an economy, the degree of dependency, the structure of production, etc, are seen as not too significant. While the theory of devaluation seems attractive, the practice of it has yielded no reasonable successes. The abundant empirical evidence against devaluation suggests that its role be de-emphasized in the theory of structural adjustment (Taylor, 1981:47).

Given this scenario, how can one then explain the issue of growth and income distribution? A priori, the theory of SAP centers on increasing supply through expansion of the endowments of the factors of production. The growth component includes measures and reforms to (a) encourage investment in physical and human capital, (b) encourage the channeling of domestic savings towards investment (Martin 1987.1). The theory of structural adjustment is silent on how income should be distributed. Consequently, the distribution of the welfare loss associated with a typical stabilization programme is skewed against the poor in any country.

In fact, it is in order to question the claim of growth as embodied in the theory of SAP that we look at the measures which limit the volume of domestic credit and the curtailment of public expenditure. The cut on public expenditure affects the supply of basic

needs such as education, health, rural and urban unemployment, etc. The sum total of these negative effects poses a challenge to the so called economic recovery objective of the theory of SAP (Ndebbio 1991:231). In a study, T. Gylfason (1987) compared the economic performance of thirty two countries implementing various forms of IMF structural adjustment with ten countries that were not implementing SAP for the period 1977-1979. His aim was to ascertain the effects of SAP on economic growth before and after SAP. The countries in his study included: Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Togo, Zaire, Zambia, Liberia, Senegal and Tanzania. After a statistical careful investigation Glyfason discovered that the growth rate performance of those countries implementing SAP was not significantly better than those not implementing. The role of the state and the class variables in SAP cannot be over emphasized. The theory of structural adjustment seems to superficially down play the role of the state or government in economic activities. Thus, Obadan asserts:

Government itself seems to have realized the limitations of market forces in determining some other economic variables in the economy – for example it cannot allow market forces to determine wages (Obadan, 1987: 37). On the contrary the role of the state is to ensure that the state is to ensure that the economy runs along the lines dictated by market forces. The state does not represent a consensus opinion but reflect the view of the dominant class. It implies that when the state intervenes in economic matter, it is synonymous with the intervention of a class. One of the ill effects of the theory of adjustment is that it has no concrete answers to the retrenched workers except to console them that they will be reabsorbed when the economy recovers, and surely for the economy to recover, it may not be immediately.

What can we say about SAP and self reliance? For most people the panacea for the ailing economy in SAP. One of the ways of re-vamping an ailing economy is through self-reliance although it is not uncommon for country implementing structural adjustment programme to argue that the theory implicitly or explicitly requires a policy of self-reliance. Usually self-reliance is taken to mean reduction in imports; utilizing domestic raw materials for industrial production and encouraging the purchase of domestically produced goods and services. It must be pointed out however that certain elements of SAP run contrary to self-reliance – According to Obadan: SAP encourages direct foreign investment through currency devaluation and expansion of the endowment of the factors of production – these will in no doubt postpone self-reliance (Obadan, 1982, p. 35).

The so-called export promotion policy reinforces the position of the developing countries as permanent exporters of primary products. Although, it is equally true, that the theory would stimulate export but this would only be beneficial if manufactured goods and services are exported. IMF structural adjustment programme is silent on self-reliance. The IMF is more honest in the sense of theory, philosophy and implementation of SAP deepens dependence especially through its financing aspect. As far as the IMF is concerned the SAP countries will experience recovery but not self reliance. For the IMF, the countries embarking on SAP are primary product exporters and/or fuel exporters. Just little the case of Nigeria, they must import the finished goods from the developed industrialized countries of the world. From what we have said it is now true that when countries like Nigeria, Brazil and Ivory Coast talk about self reliance in the context of SAP, we know that its realization is only a dream. One of the things education will do for us is the realization of our dreams through conscious effort in recognizing our problems. The only way out is to start building theories or models which will reflect the experiences of developing countries as well as including in such models a mechanism for change. In doing this, we can learn from the

experience of countries which have rejected the road to IMF's imposed structural adjustment. These countries include North Korea, Cuba, China, Ethiopia, Tunisia, Nicaragua, Vietnam, etc.

There must be a break in continuity and a search of a new way or method of understanding the problem of developing countries. It must be observed that the theory of IMF's SAP imposed policy is rooted in the philosophy of capitalism or capitalist development. We need a theory that will be an antithesis to the theory under view.

### **Educational Freedom**

In order to attempt and attain a reasonable height in our quest for educational freedom we can make recourse to a Brazilian educational liberator Paul Freire. Our attention will be focused more on the "banking concept of education as propounded by him. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter of his book *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, He says that education is suffering from narration sickness. And according to him, a careful analysis of the teacher-student relationship at any level, inside and outside the school, reveals its fundamental narrative character (Freire: 45).

This relationship involves a narrating subject (teacher) and a listening audience (student); the content is narrated in the way that it becomes lifeless. In this process education becomes an act of depositing in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating the teacher issues communiqués. In the banking concept, the student will only have the much the teacher expects him to have. The teacher imposes himself on the students, he receives patiently what the teacher wants him to receive, and he memorizes and repeats same to the teacher when he wants him to do that.

This type of education dehumanizes man and makes him a cog in the wheel. In summary Paulo Freire brings out the essentials of the banking concept of education as it mirrors an oppressive society. For instance: (1) The teacher teaches and the students are taught (2) the teacher knows everything while the student knows nothing (3) the teacher thinks and the students are thought about (4) the teacher talks and the students are disciplined (6) the teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply (7) the teacher acts, and the student have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher (8) the teacher chooses the programme content, and the students adapt to it (9) the teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in oppression to the freedom of the students (10) the teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupil are mere objects (Freire 46-47).

In the place of banking concept, Freire advocated for a problem posing method of education. The role of the problem posing educator is to create together with the student, the condition under which knowledge is at all levels good. Indeed, problem-posing education, breaking the vertical pattern characteristic of banking education, can fulfill its function of enhancing the practice of freedom only if it can overcome the contradiction inherent in the banking concept (Freire: 53). Education as the practice of freedom – as opposed to education as the practice of domination-denies that man is abstract, isolated, independent and unattached to the world; it also denies that the world exist as a reality apart from man. Authentic reflection considers neither abstract man nor the world existing without men, but men in their relations with the world. In these relations consciousness and world are simultaneous.

It must be pointed out that in problem posing method of education men develop their power to perceive reality critically. In a nutshell, we can say that problem posing education is a humanist and liberating praxis, posit as fundamental that men subjected to dominion must fight for their liberation or emancipation. To this end, it enables teachers

and students to become subject of educational process by overcoming authoritarianism and alienating intellectualism; it also enables men to overcome their false perception of reality.

Now that we are talking about academic freedom and taking our bearing from Paulo Freire's banking concept of education, let it be known that SAP is one of the main causes of violation of academic rights in Africa and also a sign of the cost African students are prepared to pay in defense of the right to study, which is the very basis of academic freedom.

The struggle for access to knowledge is not easy in Nigeria and the third world or developing countries. This is evident from the students that have died and those that are still struggling to repress every kind of violation of academic freedom. It is equally evident from the slogans of the students who are struggling to extricate themselves from the SAP's programme. Silvia and George have this to say:

In country after country, demonstration after demonstration, in its slogans, flyers, and position papers, the African student movement had shown a remarkable homogeneity of demands. "No to starving and studying," "No to tuition fees", "No to cuts in books and stationary", No to the elimination of grants and allowances" "No to the structural adjustment, to corrupt leaders, and to the recolonisation of Africa" are slogans that have unified African students in the SAP era to a degree unprecedented since the anti-colonial struggle" (Silvia & George 2000: 115).

Let us take the case of Ghana, on the month of March 6, 1987 when the students demonstrated against the government decision to withdraw food subsidies in the tertiary institution. The measure was adopted as part of planned educational reform, inspired by IMF and World Bank, intended to place higher education on a cost-sharing basis. The demonstration climaxed into a week of mourning, during which students were red wrist-bands. The demonstrators said that their food should be doubled and that education was their "inalienable right". The president of the student union said that independence is meaningless and will elude them if it is not linked with the right to free education (CAFA Newsletter No. 14, Spring 1998).

Also, in April of the same, Nigerian students demonstrated throughout the country against the fuel increase demanded by the IMF inspired Structural Adjustment Plan. Riots and confrontations with the police spread across most of the nation's campuses. Inspector General of Police Gambo described the protests as "premeditated and executed in a most professional manner (Silvia & George 2000, 123). In 1989, on January 9, to be precise, students began a strike to protest the non-payment of the grants for several months and the government intention to stop paying them altogether as part of an IMF/WB structural adjustment program in University of Cotonou, Benin. In 1990 in University of Niamey, students boycott classes protesting the education in educational funding mandated by the SAP negotiated by the government with the IMF/WB. During the course of a peaceful demonstration police fired on the demonstrators killing 3 and hundred of others wounded (Ibrahim & Niandou Slouley 1996 p. xii).

There are actually several incidences where the students had to go on strike on protest against the denial of the educational freedom as induced by the IMF/WB inspired structural adjustment programme. Another problem of educational freedom is the one Kevin Harris describes in his work; *Education and Knowledge: A new introduction to the philosophy of education* (1979). He calls it "education as political manipulation." He says that although education is the transmission of knowledge, that both the mode, method, and the content of it is being determined by the political class existing in the time. He pointed out that very often the political class will make the content of what is studied or education

to suit their interest. He says that it is difficult to separate education from the state since the state provides education and even those that is not provided by state are monitored by the state. Education in a class society is a political act having as its basis the protection of the interest of the ruling class, in fact Freire reflecting on this says:

In a class society, the power elite necessarily determine what education will be, and therefore its objectives. The objectives will certainly not be opposed to their interests. As we have already said, it could be supremely naïve to imagine that the elite would in any way promote or accept an education which stimulated the oppressed to discover the *raison d'être* of the social structure. The most they would be expected is that the elite might permit talk of such education, and occasional experiment which could be immediately suppressed such the status quo be treated.

From the above quotation one notices how the political class manipulates education and cages it. They make education to serve their purpose. They make education a manipulation of consciousness. And the moment your consciousness is manipulated it tantamount to the manipulation of the whole being of man.

As a re-cap of the high point of this area, we can say that education in a capital liberal democracy does present a way of seeing the world in a distortive, misrepresentative and moreso against the best interest of the educated. Education as a state institution is controlled by the ruling class, the capitalist, to serve their interest, and thus it functions against the best interest of majority of the educated. Education supposed to liberate the mind and make man a free critical lancer or thinker but this function of education is unreliable because it is state controlled in a capitalist state. There are other uses of education we shall consider especially as it pertains to development.

### **Relation between Education and Development**

Education has long been recognized as a central element in development. When the developing countries, like Nigeria, Kenya, etc, began their drive for social and economic development nearly three decades ago, education was perceived as a means not only of raising political and social consciousness, but also of increasing the number of skilled workers and raising the level of trained manpower- this is one of the principal works of education.

These benefits, together with the visible gains from individual to individual, stimulated an unprecedented growth of the enrolment in primary school and of substantial investment in education at the secondary and university levels. In 1970, the General Assembly of the United Nations resolved that:

As the ultimate purpose of development is to provide increasing opportunities to all people for a better life, it is essential to expand and improve facilities for education, health, institution, housing, and social welfare, and to safeguard the environment (UN Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly, 15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Sept 1970).

This approach to development is aimed at improving the welfare of human beings, primarily in terms of providing goods and service needed to eliminate manifestations of poverty, such as malnutrition, disease illiteracy and squalor. These efforts are not intended however as a social service rather they are the neucleus of the intended overall national development plan. And as we can say education is at the forefront or the vanguard of the movement. This comprehensive approach to development underlies the significance of education in three interrelated ways: as a basic human need. People needed education to acquire a broad sense of knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills on which they can build in later life, even if they do not receive further formal instruction. Such education provides people with the potential to learn, to respond to new opportunities, to adjust to social and

cultural changes, and to participate in the political, social and cultural activities. As the society develops education becomes developed and education becomes a necessary condition for the ability of the individual to identify with the prevailing culture.

Education equally acts as a means of meeting other basic needs. It influences and is in turn influenced by access to other basic needs. It also acts as an activity that sustains and accelerates overall development. It prepares trains skill workers at all level to manage capital, technology, services administration in every sector of the economy. Experience has repeatedly shown that development projects are not well implemented unless investment of capital and transfer of technology are accompanied by adequate human knowledge and skills. It has also been attested that economic returns on investment in education seem, in most cases, to exceed returns on alternative kind of investment, and that developing countries obtain higher returns than developed countries.

Education facilitates the advancement of knowledge in pure and applied field. Thus, it does through trained personal, developed methodologies and institutional settings. Again, the ability of the individuals to identify with the changing culture and find constructive role in the society depends to a large extent, on what education can provide by way of self understanding, better knowledge of the choices available to society, and a critical view of the culture. The function of education is further determined by man prevailing factors, the prevailing economic order, political power, and social structure. According to the UN report:

Education is certainly most effective in settings in which several inter-related policies and program fostering social and economic improvement are simultaneously at work (UN, policy paper, Education, NY April, 1980, 14).

Widely diffused educational activities provide and facilitate change in prevailing socio-political conditions by providing the otherwise disadvantaged persons with a degree of social and economic mobility to break through traditional barriers, with the understanding of political right and actions, these persons can be active in organizing forces for change in the community and the nation. Education is not to be considered as a sector of development – parallel for instance, to Agriculture or industry, - but as a pervasive element that must be integrated into all development efforts.

In its 1978 meeting, the General Conference of UNESCO affirmed that “by the very complexity of the problems it helps to solve, education must be conceived in an inter-disciplinary context as a factor of multidimensional development of which man is both the end and the instrument” (UNESCO Records of the General Conference Twentieth Session, Paris, 1978, vol. 1 Resolutions 23).

The concept of education as a pervasion element has several implications. First, education must cover a wide spectrum both in content and in form. The content can range from basic knowledge to an equation research; and from training in living skill to highly sophisticated production skills. The form of education can vary from the most general type of formal schooling to the most specific kind of non formal education. The evolving multi-faceted role of education in the development process underlies the need of every country, for a more flexible, comprehensive network of provisions for education and training. Such network should be diverse enough to respond to the varying needs of learners, yet sufficiently unified to avoid channeling certain groups into dead-end or unnecessarily inferior learning choices. This ideal remains for many countries elusive. In deed, it is only recently that, some of the developing countries, considered it undesirable. Right now conscious efforts are being made to make education more responsive to the needs of the changing societies.



Having considered the role of education in the development of the society and individual and also having examined how SAP has caged it, what should be the way out? We now make suggestions on how education should be liberated from the danger it found itself.

### **Suggestions**

There is the need for African business and foreign investors, whose main objective is to make African workers as cheap as possible on a glutted international labour market, to be checked. As we are struggling to stand on our own and also access to our natural resource efforts must be made to stem further exploitation of our manpower resource. We first of all request that we should not be exploited or even be deprived of any means of survival by the World Bank, the oil companies, and other business venture, as the fierce struggle of the Ogoni in Nigeria has amply demonstrated.

In all honesty we cannot talk about reshaping of African academic future without first of all acknowledging the powerful influence that the international forces exert on it. One can say then without, exaggeration that for African universities to achieve relevance for the majority of African people, it needs a social revolution. Relevance can be achieved when we actually take control of the economy of Africa. Africa must disentangle herself from that global economy that amount in fact to global exploitation by a few international corporations of the wealth of most people on this planet.

African universities must be allowed to fashion out its curriculum and activities so as to take into consideration African realities. It must always be evaluated within the paradigm of an indigenous institution. But presently, what distinguished the situation of African universities is the especially negative evaluation of their function in international business circle, due to the belief that African labour has so far failed to satisfy the requirement of what in business circle is defined as “a congenial investment environment.” Thus the consensus among some World Bank circles that African university is outdated and the new lip service attention being paid to “traditional knowledge – which, like traditional medicine, from the World Bank point of view”, has the advantage of coming at no cost.

Let it be known that any government that is committed to academic freedom should not embrace SAP otherwise it can no longer escape the logic of repression as it happened in Uganda in 1990. North American academic community should support Africans who are fighting for academic freedom. The reason being that with collectively efforts, much could be achieved by both efforts of the African academic community and North American academic community. Silvia supported this when he writes:

I conclude that the struggle of African students must be given more attention and support than they have received so far, not only by the grassroots activists, but also by academics and student in North America.

The above applies in particular, to those who are concerned with the on going “structural adjustment” of our own educational institutions, and with the propaganda of “African knowledge” that is, the knowledge produced on the African continent, whose existence and circulation are in good measure, dependent upon the success of struggles such as those that African students are fighting.

We must note that the World Bank uses its aid to encourage debt settlement and support private investment. Nations who lent money to developing countries control the economy of those states and decide what should be done and what should not be done, how, and when and for what purpose – by lending or withholding money. We now remember the words of Chinweizu (1978) when he says “An economy dominated by foreign investment, is an economy managed from foreign decision. It is a colonized economy (282).

In Nigeria, there must be a national policy on education. The type of educational policy or philosophy to be designed or adopted must be the type that will meet the societal needs. Just as it happened in Russia in 1957 when it launched her sputnik into space and caught the attention of the whole world. It all started with a well articulated philosophy of education which was implemented as the responsibility of government through mobilizing resources from its entire economy.

More emphasis must be placed on, and a critical evaluation made on the ten-year education plan of Nigeria that was launched in 1944. Their emphases were on:

1. A type of education more suitable for the needs of the country.
2. Better conditions of service for teachers employed by the missions in order to provide a better trained and more contented staff.
3. Adequate financial assistance to missions and other voluntary educational bodies
4. Financial assistance to nature administration to assist them to expand education in their areas (Adesina 1977, 85).

The crux of the matter here is that the whole plan is to be re-visited and a critical look be cast on it. For instance, the type of education needed would surely be the one to enhance our economy and also takes into account our realities. We have to draw a line between the secular and state and indicate how and where our staff are to be trained. In a nutshell, we have to be academically independent.

According to policy statement, Nigeria philosophy of education should be based on two premises the integration of the individual into a sound and effective citizenry, and; equal educational opportunities for all citizens of the nation at the primary, Secondary and tertiary levels, both inside and outside the formal school system (Adesina: 83) Now relating this philosophy to national objective, the philosophy has to be geared towards self realization, better human relationship, individual and national efficiency, national consciousness, national unity as well as towards social, economic, political, scientific and technological progress.

There should be special education and by this I mean an education of individuals who have learning difficulties because of different sorts of handicaps: blindness, hardness of hearing, mental retardation, physical handicaps, etc. It should also consider the specially gifted children. The intention of social education will reflect the demand to equalize educational opportunities for all individual in the society.

Let more money be allotted to education from the federal account. The government needs to examine critically her stand on receiving grants and loan from the international bodies like World Bank and IMF. Let there be a prudential management of our fund. More money should be channeled to research.

### **Evaluation and Conclusion**

Nigeria now has a philosophy of education, the foundation of which is the five main national objectives which the government believes education can promote. A careful appraisal of philosophy of education in Nigeria reveals the fact that our philosophy is eclectic, and the danger in eclectic philosophy which might arise from the conflict of view point can be either under “concept” or “conceptual relations”. In the problem of “concept” we might be confronted with how we can interpret various concepts, for instance, how is the government going to realize the issue of free education for all? What actually is the interpretation of “free” here? Then in respect to two concepts: how to reconcile a free and

democratic society? With the provision of equal educational opportunities for all how can one be indoctrinated and at the same time be trained to develop his/her faculty for scientific thinking?

It should however be clear from our studies so far that for us to make any head way in our academic freedom and progress; we must as a matter of utmost urgency shun SAP and its allied forces. For our conclusion therefore, we must harken to what university teachers draft code of ethics for global Education in Africa says:

We will never take a position with or cooperate with the World Bank, the IMF, USAID, or any other organization whose policies encourage the expropriation of Africa from the universal and local means of knowledge and devalues the African people's contribution to world culture (Silvia, George & Ousseina:240).

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