

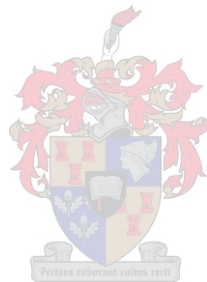
**EXPLORING THE POTENTIAL OF AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION  
INSTITUTIONS IN ASSISTING THE NEW ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP FOR  
AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (NEPAD) TO EFFECTIVELY ACHIEVE ITS GOALS.**

**REBEKKA NANGULA IIPUMBU**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the Degree of

**Masters in Education**

**(Education Policy Studies)**



at

**Stellenbosch University**

**Supervisor: Professor Yusef Waghid**

December 2008

## **DECLARATION**

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 30 April 2008

Copyright © 2008 Stellenbosch University  
All rights reserved

## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis explores the potential of African higher education institutions in assisting the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in its quest to affectively achieve its goals. My contention is that higher education institutions need to be favourably positioned in terms of institutional autonomy and academic freedom to assist the achievement of the NEPAD goals. Moreover, there is a need for deliberative democracy, if the NEPAD goals are to be achieved affectively, especially from the perspective of higher education institutions.

**KEYWORDS:** Higher education institutions, NEPAD, institutional autonomy, academic freedom, deliberative democracy

## **ABSTRAK**

Hierdie tesis ondersoek of Hoëronderwysinstellings in Afrika die Nuwe Ekonomiese Vennootskap vir Ontwikkeling in Afrika (*NEPAD*) kan ondersteun in die bereiking van die organisasie se doelstellings. Dit is my oortuiging dat Hoëronderwysinstellings in Afrika ten opsigte van institusionele outonomie en akademiese vryheid gunstig geïmplementeer behoort te wees om 'n bydrae te kan lewer tot die bereiking van die *NEPAD* doelstellings. Daar is bowendien 'n behoefte vir beraadslagende demokrasie vir die effektiewe bereiking van genoemde doelstellings, veral met die ondersteuning van Hoëronderwysinstellings.

**SLEUTELWOORDE:** Hoëronderwysinstellings, *NEPAD*, institusionele outonomie, akademiese vryheid, beraadslagende demokrasie

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

- I thank the Almighty Father for the grace and wisdom that guided me through this study.
- I sincerely thank and appreciate my supervisor- Professor Yusef Waghid, for his guidance, constructive criticism and unwavering dedication throughout the course of this study.
- My sincere appreciation goes to my parents-Mr Titus K. Iipumbu & Mrs Reginald N. Iipumbu for their endless support and patience during my studies.
- My brother Lukas Iipumbu for his loving support.
- Last but not least, a special thank you to a wonderful friend also a mother figure, Ms Olojede Funlola, for having been there for me in so many ways.

MAY GOD BLESS YOU ALL!

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	i
Abstract	ii
Abstrak	iii
Acknowledgement	iv
Table of contents	v

### CHAPTER ONE

#### THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING THE NEPAD GOALS MORE EFFECTIVELY

1.1 Background	1
1.2 Higher education on the African continent	2
1.3 Problem statement	5
1.4 Research design and methods	7
1.5 Goals and theoretical points of departure	8
1.6 Chapters' outline	10
1.7 Summary	11

### CHAPTER TWO

#### OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL OUTLINE LEADING TO NEPAD

2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 NEPAD overview	12
2.3 NEPAD links up with broader world politics	16
2.3.1 UNDP's link to NEPAD	17
2.3.2 World Bank's link to NEPAD	19
2.3.3 UNESCO's link to NEPAD	20
2.3.4 UNICEF's link to NEPAD	20
2.4 How NEPAD links with the achievement of the MDGs	21
2.5 The importance of NEPAD's goals and the Millennium Development Goals	23

2.6	The relationship of the NEPAD goals and the goals of Education for All	28
2.7	Summary	33

### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### **INSTITUTIONAL AUTONOMY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM**

3.1	Introduction	34
3.2	Autonomy and the invention of theodicy	34
3.3	Two concepts of liberty by Isaiah Berlin	36
3.4	Conceptualising institutional autonomy and academic freedom	37
3.5	Institutional autonomy and academic freedom in higher education institutions	39
3.6	The need for institutional autonomy and academic freedom in achieving the NEPAD goals	46
3.7	Summary	47

### **CHAPTER FOUR**

#### **CRISES IN AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS AND THE NEED FOR CHANGE**

4.1	Introduction	49
4.2	Institutional autonomy and academic freedom in higher education institutions	49
4.3	Status of institutional autonomy and academic freedom in African higher education institutions	53
4.4	Summary	59

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE NEED TO ENCOURAGE AND CULTIVATE DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY**

5.1	Introduction	60
5.2	Democracy	60
5.3	Conceptualising deliberative democracy	61
5.4	In defence of deliberative democracy	68
5.5	Linking deliberative democracy to institutional autonomy and academic Freedom	71
5.6	How can the goals of NEPAD be implemented following a deliberative Democratic discourse?	75
5.7	Summary	81

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONSCIOUSNESS OF AND REFLECTION ON MY EXPERIENCES REGARDING THE THESIS AND COURSE WORK**

6.1	Introduction	82
6.2	My experience	82
6.3	Methodological issue	83
6.4	Academic writing	85
6.5	Influence of visiting scholars, conferences and speeches	86
6.6	Possible pathways for future research	87
6.7	Summary	89

<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>90</b>
-------------------	-----------



## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING THE NEPAD GOALS MORE EFFECTIVELY**

#### **1.1 Background**

According to Bala & du Rand (2003:1), “The New Economic Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) was the realisation of a merger of the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery programme (MAP) and the Omega Plan, which was finalized on 3 July 2001 as the New African Initiative (NAI)”. NEPAD is an initiative by African leaders aimed at eradicating poverty to achieve sustainable growth and development on the continent. Eradicating poverty is central to the continent’s objective of meaningful participation in the global economy. Although the implementation of NEPAD would depend in some measure on Western assistance (Foreign Aid) to develop the continent, there is a focused determination to develop Africa mostly through her own peoples’ efforts. In this study, it shall be argued that higher education institutions, when afforded the right to institutional autonomy and academic freedom, can contribute considerably towards achieving the NEPAD goals effectively.

For Diescho (2002:2), “NEPAD is intended to be a holistic, comprehensive and integrated strategic framework for the socio-economic development of the African continent, articulating a vision of an improved Africa in the new millennium, stating the problems facing the continent and offering a programme of action to resolve these problems in order to achieve the stated vision”. In other words, NEPAD is a home grown development initiative (by some African leaders) to bring about African renaissance, to place Africa on the globalisation route. “The NEPAD strategic framework document arises from a mandate given to the five initiating heads of state (Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa) by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to develop an integrated socio-economic development framework for Africa” Naburere (2003:22).

NEPAD's primary objectives are the following:

- a) To eradicate poverty;
- b) To place African countries, both collectively and individually, on a path of sustainable growth and development;
- c) To halt the marginalisation of Africa in the globalisation process and enhance its full and beneficial integration into the global economy and to accelerate the empowerment of women. NEPAD (2001:22).

Concerning NEPAD, one can agree with Diescho's sentiment that:

A great deal of the African reality that forms the background of the thinking behind NEPAD is the poverty and backwardness of Africa, which stands in stark contrast to the prosperity of the developed world. The continued marginalisation of Africa from the globalisation process and the social exclusion of the vast majority of its people constitute a serious threat to global stability (Diescho 2002:2).

This study shall explore the way higher education can potentially contribute towards realising the goals of the NEPAD project effectively. As a point of departure, some background to the nature of higher education in Africa shall be given.

## **1.2 Higher Education on the African Continent**

With a background of NEPAD in mind, the study intends to explore how institutional autonomy at higher education institutions on the African continent has the potential to contribute towards achieving NEPAD's aims.

Higher education contributes to the advancement of democracy, ideally by preparing students to become participating and fully-fledged members of civil society – a vibrant society that fosters open and critical debate. It increases the possibility of participating in decision-making through its ability to deliver appropriate programmes of study. Its teaching methodologies and philosophical approach can promote a critical citizenry, create the opportunity for social advancement, and enhance the possibility to attain equity and social justice. However, autonomous institutions may be able to inculcate their charges more effectively than institutions that lack autonomy.

This is probably because people are more likely to work effectively when they are in control of their work and responsibilities. Personal autonomy creates confidence and allows individuals the space for critically engaging the ideas and views of others.

The main argument of this study is based on the premise that higher education has the potential for generating development. In fact, it (higher education) has the responsibility to create the capacity for sustainable development and the democratisation of knowledge – the key to genuine democracy. Moreover, higher education is crucial to the resolution of the complex problems and developmental challenges that face the African continent because it carries the keys to indispensable academic expertise and is entrusted with the responsibility of knowledge creation and transferring and producing the concomitant critical minds. However, unless there is institutional autonomy and academic freedom, it is doubtful that higher education can contribute meaningfully to social and economic progress by conducting relevant research that is more in line with NEPAD's primary objectives and educating the new generation of academics.

While the ability to access and apply knowledge and technologies will remain a central feature of Africa's renewal and rejuvenation, the 'African Renaissance' will not be possible without higher education producing sensitive and committed intellectuals, scholars, writers and critics (CHE 2000:44). The most devastating challenge facing higher education in Africa and hampering it from achieving the above-mentioned criteria (committed intellectuals, scholars, writers and critics) and from expressing the willingness of being autonomous is the massive brain drain of well-trained and skilled academic staff, mainly to Western Europe and the United States. The continent has lost thousands of people with specialised skills to the West. These intellectuals are lost through factors such as poor salaries and the intrusion of politicians who subvert academic freedom and institutional autonomy. This has caused the inability of African leaders to rely on their own human resources. In an attempt to bridge the education gap, plans are afoot to support the immediate strengthening of the university system across Africa, including the creation of specialised universities where they are needed and building on available African teaching staff. The need to establish and strengthen institutes of technology is especially emphasised NEPAD (2001:31).

For higher education to be of assistance in the realisation of NEPAD's objectives, there is a need for upgrading the system (a fresh approach might be required with respect to academic governance). There is, however, a need for excellence in the system in terms of quality, quantity and efficiency, which can contribute to economic growth, job creation, competition and social cohesion. The African continent might well need to remodel mechanisms and develop new initiatives that are likely to enhance quality in the provision of higher education. Furthermore, to implement the NEPAD goals successfully, it is of paramount importance to strengthen institutions and their governance. One can agree with the truism that how institutions are governed, determines what can be expected (from them) and what they will accomplish. "Good governance is considered and explicitly recognised as a substantial ingredient in socio-economic development" (Melber, Cornwell, Gathaka & Wanjala 2002:11).

Considering the important role that higher education has to play in implementing the NEPAD goals, excellent governance in the field of education is clearly essential for attaining the required academic standards. It should therefore be emphasised as a necessary condition for achieving good overall quality in higher education and should lay the foundation for the formal and informal arrangements that allow higher education institutions to make better decisions and take effective actions. Furthermore, it is crucial especially in the African context to have higher education institutions that are well managed and efficient in order to maximise their benefits to society at both local and international level. However, what higher education institutions can do is one thing, but having the ability to do so is another. It is against this background that this study sets out to examine whether African higher education institutions are favourably positioned to assist NEPAD in better achieving its goals. Before resuming this investigation, some key problems facing Africa's higher education institutions are worth noting.

"The key problems facing education in Africa are poor facilities and the inadequate systems under which the vast majority of Africans receive their training" NEPAD (2001:15). Africans, who have had the opportunity of being trained and obtaining qualifications outside Africa, have subsequently demonstrated their ability to compete successfully elsewhere. Seemingly, the problem facing higher education in

developing countries, and specifically in Africa, is rooted in the lack of resources. In other words, lack of resources lies at the heart of the deterioration of African higher education. However, higher education has the potential to increase the employability of those who have the necessary skills for a knowledge-driven economy – thus assuring the required manpower for projected economic growth purposes. In addition, Dearlove (1997:28) is of the opinion that if possible, the state should fund universities well and grant them autonomy so that they can govern themselves as ‘collegial democracies’ in a way that leaves professional academics free to teach and to undertake research of their choice. Institutional autonomy is an essential requirement for higher education and research to flourish. This implies that autonomous institutions may be able to equip themselves more effectively than institutions that lack autonomy. According to Waghid (2003:51), self-reflective people think about the ways in which their situation can be improved. In addition, Habermas (1987: 60) argues that:

For institutions to exercise autonomy and to work effectively there is need for decentralising administration needs and freeing institutions from bureaucratic interests and technical requirements. Using critical theory for enlightenment and emancipatory purposes – such as creating conditions for self-reflective critique; replacing education or social (distorted) policies; discouraging indoctrination and domination; decentralising administrative needs of institutions; freeing educational institutions from bureaucratic interests and re-theorising the role of egocentric members – institutions would maximize the possibility to become autonomous.

Therefore, institutional autonomy is central to this thesis.

### **1.3 Problem statement**

In terms of global stability, Africa has recognised the serious threats of being marginalised through the globalisation process, as well as being socially excluded because of poverty. These could be blamed on the legacy of colonialism that has left the African continent impoverished. Africa has consequently encountered difficult situations such as, underdevelopment, marginalisation and the entrenchment of dependency on aid NEPAD (2001:4). NEPAD aims to change the skewed relationship that underpins the inequalities between Africa and the developed world.

Prior to the establishment of NEPAD, there were other development programmes, such as the Lagos Plan of Action, which, unfortunately, were less successful, but fortunately (and hopefully) taught Africa's peoples a good lesson. Adejumbi (2003:144) notes that, "NEPAD is the second major attempt by African leaders, after the Lagos Plan of Action, to muster a collective will to engineer economic development in Africa". However, there remain doubts whether there is a difference between the previous programmes and the new initiative. Questions have been raised as to how the new initiative differs from the previous development programmes and what the challenges for NEPAD are in the context of the failed Lagos Plan of Action. To put it differently, what has the continent learned from previous attempts that NEPAD will hopefully not repeat?

Dahl & Shilimela (2003:7) report that:

There have been several other attempts in the past by African leaders to set out continent-wide development programmes. Africans attribute the failure of such programmes to one or more of the following reasons: timing (cold war paradigm); lack of capacity or implementation; lack of political will and questionable leadership and ownership. NEPAD is therefore believed to be a significant juncture in the history of Africa as a critical mass of leadership has developed both on the continent and abroad, which is genuinely committed to undertaking programmes aimed at revitalizing the continent.

According to NEPAD (2001:8), the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) differs in its approach and strategy from all previous plans and initiatives in support of Africa's development, even though the problems to be addressed remain largely the same. Some of NEPAD's own strategies include, firstly, NEPAD's call for the reversal of the abnormal situation in which Africa finds itself at the mercy of the industrialised countries. Secondly, it calls for a new relationship in the partnership between Africa and the international community, especially with the highly industrialised countries, to overcome the development chasm that has widened over centuries of unequal relations. It also seeks to build on and celebrate the achievements of the past, as well as reflect on the lessons learned – through painful

experience – to establish a partnership that is both credible and capable of implementation.

In a quest for contributing towards the achievement some of the NEPAD goals, the research question here is: *How can African higher education institutions effectively assist NEPAD to achieve its goals?*

In the attempt to answer the research question, particular research ‘tools’ (methods and techniques) are chosen to ascertain what possibilities institutional autonomy holds in the realisation of the NEPAD’s goals. These include conceptual analysis and deconstructive scrutiny. This leads to a discussion of the research design.

#### **1.4 Research design and methods**

The main research design in this study is education policy analysis. Both analytical and deconstructive methods shall be employed to this end. Firstly, analytical inquiry is generally considered a reflective and critical educational tool, which can produce coherent and justifiable arguments useful in any attempt to remedy distorted situations. By using analytical inquiry in this study, the topic (or concept) will be broken down into its constituent parts in order to inspect them and, through understanding gained in this way, restructure those parts in a way that would make sense in relation to other relevant concepts. However, analytical inquiry requires critical thinking, reading, and evaluation. The task, therefore, is to research information and existing views on the topic and, as in the process, attend to the research question of whether higher education autonomy can assist in more effectively achieving some of NEPAD’s goals.

Secondly, deconstructive scrutiny, like analytical inquiry, can compliment critical educational research. Similarly, when applied to critical theory, deconstructive research focuses on reflexivity and the enhancement of freedom to offer possibilities for emancipatory politics and, consequently, more effective policies. The point here is that deconstruction aims to undo (deconstruct) the *status quo*, through textual analyses and meaning in language. Waghid (2002:55) posits that:

Deconstructive scrutiny helps by asking questions about what we have not thought to think, about what is densely invested in our discourses or practices, about what has

been muted, repressed and unheard of in our libratory efforts. It helps us to both define the politics implicit in our critical practices and move towards understanding the shortcomings of theories about political transformation

Using critical theory as a point of departure, analytical inquiry and deconstructive scrutiny shall be employed to investigate the research question. Here follows an explanation of how critical educational theory relates to the research topic.

### **1.5 Goals and theoretical points of departure**

Critical educational theory is an appropriate tool for this study. Critical theory grows out of interpretive theory. However, “critical theory accepts the self-understanding of agents as both the starting point and culmination, but it insists that self-understanding itself needs to be explained” Fay (1975:92).

Three broad frameworks of thinking about educational theory (positivist, interpretive and critical) differ from each other in their logical form. According to Horkheimer (2004:9), one might be tempted to think that critical theory is critical just because it criticizes existing political life. Further, the author argues that critical theory is not merely descriptive, it is a way to instigate social change by providing knowledge of the forces of social inequality that can in turn inform political action aimed at emancipation. According to Gibson (1986:94), critical educational theory alleges that “positivist educational theory and interpretive educational theory at best only describe or explain the social world and that critical educational theory provides the resources to both criticise and change the social world”. In other words, the point of critical theory is to change situations rather than just interpreting them. For this reason, on the basis that higher education autonomy can seemingly contribute towards achieving some of the empowering goals of NEPAD, critical educational theory is more appropriate for this study.

For Fay (1975:95), “Critical educational theory considers the truth or falsity of theories as being partially determined by whether they are in fact translated into action”. The two central features of interpretive educational theory are that it insists that the self-understanding of agents is the basis of all social explanation and that human consciousness is transparent. However, while critical educational theory



accepts that the self-understanding of agents is the basis of all social explanation, it rejects the view that all human consciousness is transparent. According to Carr & Kemmis (1986:162), critical theory engenders self-reflective activity amongst individuals to bring about a clear articulation of arguments in an atmosphere of openness to overcome ideological distortions generated within social relations and institutions. Critical educational theory sets out to develop a stance, which, while it supplements the interpretive theory's view, has as its purpose to contribute to a change in people's self-understanding.

Additionally, Kant's understanding of critical theory is important for a number of reasons: it specifies the object of critique, which is what critical activities operate upon. Kant's critical philosophy directs itself at reason. His conception of critique also supplies critical theory with its understanding of the subject of critique, that is, with the specification of the agent that carries out criticism. For Kant, reason is what performs critique (Rush 2004:10). Unlike scientific (positivist) theory, critical theory claims to provide guidance as to what to do, liberating the world from inequalities and restrictions. That it might fall back into manipulation is an ever-present danger that critical theory faces. Rush (2004:21) claims that, "The positivist educational theory's view that only scientific knowledge counts as knowledge is a metaphysical, romanticization of facts and therefore a form of irrationalism".

Critical educational theory criticises social malformations and inequalities and is committed to their transformation. According to Horkheimer (2004:244), "Theory is said to be critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation to liberate human beings from circumstances that enslave them. Its guiding ideal is the emancipation of human beings and it is known as a form of education". In other words, critical educational theory is the critique of domination, emancipation interest and the fusion of social or cultural analysis, explanation and interpretation with social and cultural critique.

Critical theory has three main features. The first one is that it accepts the necessity of interpretive categories in social science. In this regard, it rests on the arguments in support of the interpretive model. In the second place, a critical social science is one which recognises that many of the actions people perform are caused by social conditions over which they have no control and that a great deal of what people do to

one another is therefore not the result of conscious knowledge and choice, i.e. unintended consequences (cf. Fay 1975:94). In other words, critical theory seeks to uncover those systems of social relationships which determine the actions of individuals and to explore the unanticipated by means of ideology critique, quasi-causal and functional explanations. Critical educational theory tries to expose the roots and consequences of the agents' self-understanding. The third (last) characteristic is considered the most important one. This characteristic is built on the explicit recognition that social theory is interconnected with social practice. In critical theory, whether the solution proposed is right or not depends on the agents accepting it as such. Here the agents' self-understanding is again invoked.

Finally, yet more importantly, this study is critical in the sense that it focuses on an African home-grown development initiative (NEPAD) aimed at changing a distorted situation on the African continent. Information that will result from this study will be better suited to the needs of the African continent and, more specifically, to the African higher education institutions. The main goals of the study are the following: (a) to give a more nuanced understanding of the characteristics of NEPAD; (b) to contribute towards assisting in raising new questions for future studies and projects regarding NEPAD and African higher education autonomy.

### **1.6 Chapters' Outline**

The main research question of this study is to explore how African higher education institutions can effectively assist NEPAD to achieve its goals. According to views expressed in available literature, in striving to develop Africa, NEPAD concentrates too much on economic competitiveness. The contention here is that higher education and the notion of institutional autonomy have the potential to help NEPAD achieve its goals beyond the narrow techniques-economic concerns.

In **Chapter 2**, an overview of the historical outline that led to NEPAD will be provided.

In **Chapter 3**, we shall examine the context of institutional autonomy and academic freedom.

**Chapter 4** will provide an overview of African higher education institutions with regard to institutional autonomy and academic freedom in order to establish whether African higher educational institutions are in favourable positions to assist NEPAD in achieving its goals more effectively.

In **Chapter 5** we shall recommend what African higher education institutions should do in order to be able to assist NEPAD in achieving its goals more effectively.

**Chapter 6** will offer a narrative account of the researcher's intellectual and professional growth acquired through the writing of this thesis and while completing the required course work. The chapter will also be offer possibilities for future research on the issue of realising NEPAD's goals in relation to higher education governance.

### **1.7 Summary**

Africa is at a critical stage, in which leaders have realised the need for a renewal of the continent. The new strategy to bring about Africa's renewal is called the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). NEPAD has set goals and objectives that will put the continent on the globalisation route and on the path of sustainable growth and development. In this section, a brief explanation of what African higher education can do in terms of NEPAD'S goals will be provided.

## CHAPTER 2

### OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORICAL OUTLINE LEADING TO NEPAD

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the historical development of NEPAD and show in turn, how the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are linked to address the crises on the African continent, with reference to problems about poverty, education, health, peace and security. Firstly, the historical outline and overview of what led to NEPAD will be explored and secondly, NEPAD's link with world politics will be discussed. This will be followed by a discussion on NEPAD's link to the achievement of MDGs and the last point will be a discussion on how the NEPAD goals are conceptually related to the goals of 'Education for All'.

#### 2.2 NEPAD overview

In order to better understand NEPAD, one needs a good understanding of its historical (and political) underpinnings. The development backlog of the African continent forced African leaders to come up with another development initiative in addition to the previous development strategies that had been initiated by the previous generation of leaders. Such strategies include among others, the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), 1980; the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, Nairobi, 1981; Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER), 1985; OAU Declaration on the political and socio-economic situation in Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the world, 1990; the Charter on Popular Participation adopted in 1990; the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC), 1991; the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, 1993; and the Cairo Agenda for Action, 1995. Others include Africa's common position on Africa's external debt crisis, 1997; the Algiers' decision on unconstitutional changes of Government, 1999; the Lome declaration on the framework for an OAU response to unconstitutional changes, 2000; the 2000 Solemn Declaration on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation and the Constitutive Act of the African Union, 2001. NEPAD was established as a result of the extraordinary summit of the Organisation of African unity (OAU), which took place in Syrte, Libya, in

March 2001 but African heads of states officially accepted NEPAD in July 2001 in Lusaka, Zambia.

The current development strategy (NEPAD), by the present generation of African leaders became necessary because the previous ones were less successful – if not completely unsuccessful. This chapter, specifically this section, shall explore the outline of what had led to NEPAD and how it (NEPAD) became the agenda of the African Union (AU).

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed in 1963. According to Kwame Nkruma, it was “a political union based on a common defence policy, common diplomacy and diplomatic representation, common citizenship, an African monetary zone and an African central bank. Nkruma Further states that we must unite to bring about liberation of our continent” (African Union 2002:2). How Nkruma thought of the OAU revealed his ideal of African ownership of the organisation.

At the beginning of the new century (2000), according to African Union (2002:3), there was a transformation from the OAU to African Union (AU). Reasons offered for the change were: it was time for the fulfilment of the vision of the founding fathers as contained in the OAU Charter and the Abuja Treaty and, secondly, it is the only possible road for Africa to take if it wanted to survive the increasingly liberalised global economy and governance, and move at internet speed.

According to Kotze & Steyn (2003:41), the OAU set up a committee of experts to design an AU, which would advance the movement towards a single political and economic body across the African continent. The Constitutive Act of the AU was presented and ratified at the OAU summit (Lusaka, Zambia) in July 2000 and implemented a year later, effectively replacing by July 2002, the OAU Charter of 1963. The difference between the OAU and AU is that the former had only three institutions while AU has a more embracing 17 institutions (African Union 2002:3). Nkrumah declared ownership of the African development strategies at the formation of the OAU. It was therefore made clear in various meetings that the AU should be something new, offering an African experience and identity. There used to be programmes called the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme

(MAP) and the Omega Plan. MAP was from the outset, a detailed project for the economic and social revival of Africa. South African President, Thabo Mbeki, was the driver of MAP, while President Abdulaye Wade of Senegal was in support of OMEGA. Since the two plans (MAP and OMEGA) had similar approaches and objectives, discussions of a merger then began. In early 2001, the two plans were merged and called the New African Initiative (NAI) and the OAU heads of state approved it on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 2001. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of July 2001, the OAU adopted NAI.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) subsequently produced a document called the Compact for Africa's Recovery. This compact played a major role in the merging of MAP and OMEGA and therefore was co-responsible for forming the NAI plan. The initiative was eventually renamed NEPAD in October 2001. In other words, NEPAD was formed out of a coalition of MAP, OMEGA, NAI and COMPACT.

At the inauguration of the AU in July 2002, three more bodies were added, namely NEPAD, the APRM and the Peace and Security Council (Kotze *et al* 2003:39). The NEPAD programme is dependent on other organs, over and above the African Union, but it is yet in its early stages, hence the small secretariat based in South Africa (African Union 2002:3). Both the AU and NEPAD were launched at about the same time in the early years of the century (from 2000 on) and both are relatively new names on the African political landscape – born out of a desire to revive a much-maligned continent (Kotze *et al* 2003:39). NEPAD is a child of the AU. In that respect, it is a way forward that was conceived by Africans for Africans, defining the instrument they want to use to indicate the way we as Africans should take, as we move forward, if we are to achieve the goals of the AU.

NEPAD recognises Africa's responsibility to create the conditions for development by ending conflict, improving economic and political governance and strengthening regional integration. African leaders are looking for support from the international community to achieve the NEPAD goals. To achieve the goals, there have been plans to include issues of good governance, peace and political stability through the establishment of NEPAD –a policy initiative of the AU (Kotze *et al* (2003:40). According to the compact document, the quality of governance is critical for poverty reduction because poor governance results in a vicious circle of impoverishment,

conflict, and capital flight. It appears that somehow NEPAD (as much as it is an African decision) had to have as one of its consequences good governance to meet the Bretton Woods Institution's requirement for loans, aid and foreign investment attraction, thus obliging the recipients to conform to international norms. In other words, it seems NEPAD kingpins are busy with mere rhetoric; good governance is simply emphasised as a requirement from donors. The question remains – is there no need for good governance without NEPAD? One would support and see the need for a contrary scenario as well. If Africa does not conform to the conditional requirements of the West, it will be left with looming economic responsibilities, which it simply cannot handle on its own at this stage.

When the features of both the previous programmes and those of NEPAD are compared, it is discovered that there are two major differences between them. Firstly, the previous strategies were sponsored essentially by either international organisations or foreign governments. Secondly, those strategies tended not to have a continental focus, but rather parochially, targeted only specific African countries or sub-regions. In contrast to these approaches, NEPAD is non-foreign in its sourcing and is developed in Africa with goals that are truly pan-African. The common ground they share is that the NEPAD strategy, just like its predecessors, aims to address the same problem, which is mainly poverty in Africa.

Kotze *et al* (2003:40) notes that, “The financing of NEPAD will partly be from the existing budgetary resources, as soon as it (the budget) is put in place by the assembly and partly from extra budgetary resources that will have to be developed”.

A debate is currently pursued among Africans regarding the feasibility of the proposed NEPAD. In South Africa in particular, the partnership has resulted in heavy ideological clashes between civil society and government. Supporters of the partnership argue that it welcomes the forces of neo-liberal globalisation to cure the continent's ills, while at the same time it embraces the World Bank, IMF and WTO in an attempt to integrate the continent into the global economy. Still others argue against this partnership, saying it is a plan by elites that will ultimately ignore the needs of Africa's starving millions (Kotze *et al* (2003:40). There is need for NEPAD to prove that African people's basic needs form the strategy's core objectives. In other

words, people need to be convinced that NEPAD is meant to serve the people and that the elites are not just enriching themselves.

Unfortunately, NEPAD has elicited wide criticism, the most publicised of this being accusations that the strategy is too elite-driven and contains no civil society implementation plan. This may be the reason why NEPAD is having a long and hard struggle in achieving the goals. The exclusion of civil society might be resulting in their deliberate indifference to the development strategy. It is essential that when changes are considered, those to be affected should at least be informed, or preferably, be involved in whatever process that leads up to those changes. Moreover, consultation of stakeholders is a fundamental principle of good governance. In this way, the process can yield a better or more positive attitude from civil society, rather than the predictable negativity when they learn about the significant changes that would affect their lives via the media, as in the case of NEPAD. In fact, this could imply a complete underestimation of the importance of civil society, thereby fostering a possibly unwarranted negative attitude towards the new initiative. At a continental civil society meeting on the AU and NEPAD in Durban, 1-3 July 2002, participants encouraged and welcomed the growing interaction between civil society organisations and the AU but challenged the NEPAD implementation committee to do the same.

Similarly, at the continental experts meeting on NEPAD and the AU, held in June 2002, over 300 scholars from the African population could in fact not claim ownership of NEPAD, given the lack of consultation and dialogue with civil society organisations. NEPAD authors such as Diescho have expressed sentiments that African countries that were not directly involved in the drafting of the NEPAD policy may be expected to express some level of scepticism on matters involving NEPAD. In the same breath, I believe that the same question being posed here is also shared among African civil societies in general. Was it the steering committee's deliberate intention to leave civil society uninformed while keeping the West acquainted with the details?

### **2.3 NEPAD links up with broader world politics**

NEPAD has a vision to address the age-old problem of poverty in Africa and this is all the more reason why the initiative needs support, even from beyond the African



continent. NEPAD is presently being supervised by a small secretariat based in South Africa. The reason for this small secretariat is that the African Union is in its formative phase and therefore not in a position to administer and supervise NEPAD from its headquarters in Addis Ababa. It is envisaged that once the AU has reached its full operational capacity, it shall be able to take up the administrative and political responsibility of managing NEPAD. Currently the South African based secretariat has developed an implementation plan and linkage with regional organisations such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Apart from a regional focus, NEPAD also has links with organisations representing world politics; this shall be discussed in this section.

NEPAD has been in existence for almost six years now (2001-2007), but despite all the problems and shortcomings that NEPAD has outlined and which it aims to achieve, not much has been accomplished. In my opinion, lack of capacity in Africa is what impedes growth and sustainable development. Due to the lack of capacity, NEPAD has fostered partnership with the developed world and its organisations. The partnership is based on mutual respect, responsibility and equity, among other things. In the mean time, Africa remains dependent on the developed countries for economic support.

### **2.3.1 UNDP's link to NEPAD**

The UNDP has been actively providing institutional and technical support to NEPAD, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) as well as to the AU, particularly for its transition from the OAU to the AU and in the areas of peacekeeping and security. The UNDP programme to assist NEPAD started in 2004. The UNDP support programme has also attracted other donors, i.e. Department for International Development (UK) and Belgium with certain similar objectives. These are to:

- strengthen the capacity of NEPAD;
- provide NEPAD with systematic access to advice from a full spectrum of key stakeholders in all regions
- integrate and synergise the AU and NEPAD communication and popularisation strategies;

- strengthen the capacity of NEPAD to manage and conduct the promotion of democracy and political governance in Africa;
- translate the concept of ‘new partnership’ into policies, principles and practices of development cooperation that ensures mutual trust, accountability and African ownership and management of its own development.

In addition, the UNDP project financed the preparation and drafting of NEPAD’s 4-year strategic plan. The project has also finalised a programme support document for a 5-year multi-partner programme for the implementation of the NEPAD strategic plan, the UN system support for NEPAD (UNDP 2005-2006).

As far as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are concerned, the UNDP supported NEPAD in the preparation of a report on the progress that countries have registered. On the other hand, the UNDP has also actively provided direct technical and administrative support to the APRM panel and secretariat. The UNDP has also been supporting all the countries in their national self-assessment processes, including institutional support to APRM focal points, setting up of national structures to oversee the process, as well as organising sensitisation workshops. In accordance with the mandate given to the UNDP by the APRM forum, the UNDP has set up a trust fund to support the implementation of the APRM. The trust fund is operational and the UNDP, in association with other partners, is currently funding an AU support project with a total budget of US\$ 7.1 million, of which the UNDP contributes US\$ 2.5 million. Other partners, namely Canada, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom, cover the remaining balance. The project seeks to provide technical and financial support to the African Union. The UNDP’s contribution greatly facilitated the launching of the African Union in 2001 and setting up the AU commission in 2002. In December 2005, the UNDP prepared a new preparatory assistance project in consultation with the African Union commission. The UNDP is providing US\$ 1.64 million through this preparatory assistance project for the period January 2006 to January 2007 as the UN system support to NEPAD (UNDP 2005-2006).

From the foregoing, it is evident that the UNDP is making significant contributions via NEPAD towards the development of the African continent by giving technical and financial support to improve issues of peace and security. However, in Africa such contributions might mean more crises-corruption regarding the management of resources, especially monetary resources.

### **2.3.2 World Bank's link to NEPAD**

According to the UN support system to NEPAD, (World Bank 2005-2006), NEPAD has received multiform assistance from the World Bank, covering three main categories: (1) financial support (lending) for specific regional projects, (2) technical assistance to regional bodies and (3) analytical work to inform policy dialogue on regional integration issues and the preparation of regional programmes and projects.

The World Bank has funded a US\$ 199 million NEPAD Trade and Transport Facilitation project in the East African sub-region. Before July 2006 (end of fiscal year), it provided an additional US\$270 million International Development Association (IDA) financing of additional NEPAD regional projects. Simultaneously, it has been developing a very strong pipeline of NEPAD projects of about US\$ 2 billion in different areas, such as transport, trade, energy and water (UN support system to NEPAD). The bank also provides technical input for the development of programmes and assists the Regional Economic Communities and the NEPAD secretariat in the preparation of projects. Additionally, the World Bank provides advisory services and helps in strengthening the capacity of regional institutions such as Economic Community of Western African States, Southern African Development Community, UEMOA-West African Economic and Monetary Union, and CEMAC-economic and Monetary Community of Central African States. The bank also gives support directly to the NEPAD secretariat's activities through its "public expenditure tracking". The World Bank has been working along with the secretariat in launching TerrAfrica – a large partnership on sustainable land management in Africa – as well as identifying needed potential support to the NEPAD Secretariat Strategic Communication Unit. The World Bank is enhancing NEPAD's ability to improve its capacity to monitor progress in projects and promoting them for financing and implementation through a project management system. Apart from this strong links with the World Bank, NEPAD has ties with UNESCO as well.

### **2.3.3 UNESCO's link to NEPAD**

In clear issues of education crises in Africa, UNESCO is forthright in assisting and supporting NEPAD. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that NEPAD is essentially the African Union agenda. The AU assembly, at its sixth session in Khartoum, devoted itself primarily to education and culture. UNESCO assisted the AU commission in the finalisation of the review of the African Decade of Education. UNESCO is playing a coordinating role in catalysing the activities undertaken at international level within the framework of the UN Literacy Decade (2003-2012) and the UN Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), a UN support system to NEPAD (UNESCO 2005-2006). Furthermore, in line with the NEPAD initiative, UNESCO has been working since August 2005 with the AU Commission to assess Africa's status in the field of culture. UNESCO also provided assistance to the AU in its attempts to encourage states to ratify UNESCO's normative instruments for the protection and promotion of African cultural heritage in the process stressing the importance of African languages (UN support system 2005:5).

UNESCO supported the NEPAD secretariat and the AU Commission in organising the second meeting of African Ministers of Science and Technology (AMCOST) in Dakar, Senegal, from 12-17 September 2005. The sixth AU summit in Khartoum endorsed the establishment of a high-level AU-NEPAD-UNESCO working group.

UNESCO has established two important bodies to increase support for NEPAD: (1) the UNESCO committee for NEPAD, the role of which is to monitor the NEPAD oriented strategies, programmes and activities carried out by UNESCO and to advise the Director General on support for NEPAD and (2) the Forum of African Regional and Sub-regional Organisations, in support of cooperation between UNESCO (Forum of African Regional and Sub-regional Organisations – FOSRASUN, to support co-operation between UNESCO and NEPAD) and NEPAD, conceived as a tool of cooperation between the RECs, African Union/NEPAD and UNESCO, meant to promote regional integration through education, sciences and culture.

### **2.3.4 UNICEF's link to NEPAD**

UNICEF has been most effective at the level of individual countries, which support national policies and programmes consistent with the NEPAD priorities. According to

the UN support system report for NEPAD (UNICEF 2005-2006); children are part of the African Development Agenda as put forward through NEPAD. UNICEF supports NEPAD because its (UNICEF) priority areas are consistent with the Medium Term Strategic Plan (MTSP) priorities and they will contribute significantly to the MDGs. UNICEF supports the implementation of programmes of cooperation with governments, which take into account the organisational priorities, global and regional priorities (such as NEPAD objectives and the MDGs) and government policies and priorities. In 2007 UNICEF launched, with the AU, the NEPAD Secretariat and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), a 50-page White Paper entitled, “*the young face of NEPAD*”, advocating for a higher priority in investing in African children to secure a better future for the continent.

UNICEF is helping to promote and build support for NEPADUN support system for NEPAD: UNICEF (2005-2006). UNICEF chairs the Human Resource Development Cluster of NEPAD, which is the main forum for coordinating activities in all areas of the cluster. Through the work of the Human Resource Development Cluster, UNICEF is furnishing advice in support of the major thrusts of human resource development, particularly in the areas of education, health, gender and HIV/AIDS.

UNICEF has recommended the strengthening of specific strategies. It was alleged that the original NEPAD strategy was not child-focused – thus serving as the rationale for the new “young face of NEPAD” strategy. UNICEF’s support for the implementation of NEPAD was not well understood in Africa because its support was focused on individual countries, while NEPAD is perceived as aspiring to serve at the transcontinental level. The UN Support Report further states that UNICEF would like to see the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) include the review on the situation of children. UNICEF suggests that NEPAD strategies should match those of the MDGs closely, as well as being more oriented at the level of individual countries. It is therefore important to consider NEPAD’s linkage with the MDGs.

#### **2.4 How NEPAD links with the achievement of the MDGs**

The Millennium Development Goals were endorsed in 2000 by 189 states. The goals and their targets were projected to be achieved by 2015. In the following year, October 2001, the New Economic Partnership for Africa’s Development was

launched. NEPAD has contributed greatly to putting African development squarely back on the global political agenda. Its drivers are to be applauded for this remarkable achievement. This has resulted in a new African and global political will, expressed in the UN Millennium Declaration, to turn Africa's socio-economic decline around (Gabriel 2003:14). NEPAD introduced African-controlled conditionality to international financing and trade mechanisms and it has outlined the conditions on which the partnerships between African and industrialised countries will be based, with the exception of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). NEPAD largely reaffirms the conditions, in terms of both governance and macroeconomic strategy that have always been demanded by past creditors and donors (Gabriel-*ibid*). However, NEPAD now provides the opportunity to extend poverty reduction strategy processes to all African countries because of its pan-African scope.

Debt cancellation is contended as the pre-condition for sustained MDG progress, especially on the side of the African countries. Gabriel (2003:15) states that:

NEPAD proposes a new approach to debt cancellation that links debt reduction to government revenues and projected spending on costed poverty reduction programmes according to nationally determined goals. Given the current poverty complex in Southern Africa, achieving the MDGs in the region requires high levels of stable and predictable development financing for effectively managed national programmes, according to national and regional priorities. Direct budget support, through such measures as debt cancellation, is a highly effective and reliable source of development financing, as demonstrated by recent research findings of the Jubilee Debt Cancellation Movement... NEPAD's developing debt cancellation proposals provide promising entry points for integrating the MDGs into its framework. The central pillar on which NEPAD strategy rests is economic development through the promotion of private capital.

Local communities and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) had no meaningful opportunities to engage in the initial planning and development stages of NEPAD. African political leaders and NEPAD officials now routinely acknowledge this. However, the complete rejection of NEPAD by some CSOs, an unfortunate case, is rooted in NEPAD's failure to engage CSOs directly. There can be no sustainable development without the informed participation of the communities affected. Like

NEPAD, the MDGs did not arise out of a process of direct CSO engagement at the local level; while NEPAD may be seen as a global policy framework (corresponding to MDG goal 8); the rest of the MDGs may be seen as a local, goal-driven framework (*ibid*).

The Millennium Development Goals aim to:

- eradicate extreme poverty and hunger,
- achieve universal primary education,
- promote gender equality and empower women,
- reduce child mortality rates,
- improve maternal health,
- combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases,
- ensure a sustainable environment, and
- develop a global partnership for development.

These MDG Targets are meant to be achieved, latest, by 2015.

### **2.5 The importance of NEPAD's goals and the Millennium Development Goals,**

NEPAD and the MDGs have certain targets to be met and therefore rely on the possible success of the plan. An average Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of above seven per cent per annum for the next 15 years needs to be achieved and sustained and, the continent needs to ensure that it achieves the following points, which are agreed on under International Development Goals (IDGs):

- to reduce the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by half between 1990 and 2015;
- to enrol all children of school age in primary schools by 2015;
- to make progress towards gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in the enrolment in primary and secondary education by 2005;
- to reduce infant and child mortality ratios by two-thirds between 1990 and 2015 ;
- to reduce maternal mortality ratios by three-quarters between 1990 and 2015;

- to provide access to all who need reproductive health services by 2015; and
- To implement national strategies for sustainable development by 2005, to reverse the loss of environmental resources by 2015.

One can argue that the achievement of a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rate of seven per cent can only be realised after a successful achievement of the MDGs. However, NEPAD believes that to achieve these goals, the pan-African annual economic growth rate will need to be ratcheted up to seven per cent per annum.

The first of the Millennium Development Goals (which are also those of NEPAD) that need to be achieved is the eradication of extreme poverty. Extreme poverty refers to “a situation in which a person or household lacks the resources to consume a certain minimum amount of food, judged to be necessary for adequate nutrition, even in the case when all resources are devoted to food”

([www.agtrde.org/glossary.search.cfm](http://www.agtrde.org/glossary.search.cfm)). The target of this goal is to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than a dollar per day. In relation to development, this goal aims to assist those living below the poverty datum line (i.e. below \$1 per day), to be able to afford at least the basic needs.

It is hard, if not impossible, to talk about (African) development at any other level, if there are people on the continent living in such extreme poverty. To start with, one cannot even talk about Education for All (EFA) if extreme poverty is still rife within the boundaries of the African continent. In this regard, it can be argued unequivocally that hungry people can neither be educated nor be expected to learn. I therefore state, in favour of NEPAD, that it has planned well to prioritise ‘poverty eradication’ as one of its first fundamental goals. Eradication of poverty shall also lay a concrete foundation for social development. People living in extreme poverty are not good participants in the activities of their respective societies. Therefore, by halving the proportion, participants will be capacitated to actively participate in social development and African development at large.

The second goal is to achieve universal primary education. The target of this goal is that, by 2015, children across the African continent, boys and girls, will be able to



complete a full course of primary schooling. The World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien stressed that every person – child, youth and adult – has the right to basic education and that this represents a fundamental human right. The point of educating every child and adult holds true in the sense that it is urgently important to educate adults, as they need to serve their community, nation and the continent right now. Yet, it is equally important to educate children as the future generation of workers and leaders.

The goal is to make progress towards gender equality and empowering women by eliminating gender disparities in the enrolment profile of primary and secondary education by 2005. Fostering gender equality is an urgent priority. Ensuring access and quality of education to girls and women and removing every obstacle that hampers their full participation in all fields of academic endeavour, must be a non-negotiable principle in Africa's attempt to join the global economy. It is important that all gender stereotyping in education be eliminated. This is an expanded version and a renewed commitment of EFA. There is need for equality in the ratio of men to women as far as education is concerned, as well as in all areas of work, in the control of all resources and in equal representation in public and political life. The promotion of equality in education should lead to equality in job occupations with concomitant benefits in other quarters.

Reducing the mortality rate is another goal aimed to be achieved by 2015. The target is to reduce under-five mortalities by two thirds between 1990 and 2015, as well as make inroads for improving maternal health. The millennium goals aim to reduce death of children under the age of five, specifically that of infants, who die mostly of preventable diseases. UNICEF and the World Health Organisation propose immunisation against measles, especially for one-year-old children. A two-third reduction of the mortality rate would no doubt indicate positive development, enabling all children) to make use of EFA, thus becoming better participants in the activities of their respective societies. This would lead to greatly accelerated social development and improvement in national development at large.

The goal of combating of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other prevalent diseases is one of the most important within the MDG and EFA. Diseases, especially the HIV/AIDS

pandemic, are major obstacles to development. The further spread of HIV/AIDS and other preventable diseases causes even more resources to be spent on medicines and contraceptives. To achieve EFA, there is need for maximum resources to be available. Diseases should therefore be combated and prevented timeously, in order to make effective use of resources for other golden priorities such as education. The target for this goal is to halt the spread by 2015 and begin to reverse the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, especially among pregnant women aged 15-24 years. Promotion of the use of condoms is the standard way of avoiding and halting sexually transmitted diseases and the best use should be made of education to promote comprehensive and correct knowledge of HIV/AIDS. People should be taught to understand the causes of diseases as well as their consequences.

Unfortunately, programmes to address major health challenges in Africa, such as HIV/AIDS and high maternal mortality rates, are under-funded and this while the number of people living in extreme poverty remains high. In 2004 alone, deaths associated with HIV/AIDS totalled three million worldwide. Sub-Saharan Africa, the region of the world most affected by HIV/AIDS, has an estimated 25.4 million people living with HIV/AIDS and approximately 3.1 million new infections occurred here in 2004. Around two million children under 15 are living with HIV/AIDS while it has already orphaned more than 12 million children. (HIV and AIDS in Africa, <http://www.avert.org/africa.htm>) Another target linked to this goal is the halting and reversal of the incidence of malaria and other major preventable diseases. This target aims to prevent death associated with diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis through effective prevention and treatment measures.

The seventh Millennium Development Goal of the UNDP is to ensure environmental sustainability. Targeting the principle of sustainable development and translating it into practical measures for the policy programmes of countries, reverses the loss of environmental resources. There is a need for a safe and beautiful environment, free of air, water and land pollution. A naturally beautiful environment, where biological diversity is maintained, should be encouraged. This is crucial for promoting the continent as an ecologically attractive destination. The issue of environmental sustainability should be included in all national policies and awareness of the danger of damaging and polluting the environment should be promoted.

The UNDP has also set itself a target of halving the percentage of people without access to clean drinking water and sanitation by 2015. Further on, for 2020, there is a target of achieving a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers. In other words, many of the continent's people who do not own proper homes should be able to secure one as part of the MDGs' achievement.

The last of the Millennium Development Goals is to initiate a lasting global partnership for sustained development. The emphasis of this point is on the issue of globalisation, when countries become interdependent on a global level; that is, there are certain kinds of development, which cannot be achieved by the efforts of sole countries, i.e. achievement of MDGs or EFA. The targets linked to this goal include commitment, both nationally and internationally, good governance, infrastructural development and poverty reduction. Countries need to be committed to the achievement of the MDG and EFA, especially by combating corruption where resources, i.e. food or funds, are concerned. There is a clear need to condemn mismanagement of finances and utilise state and parastatal funds efficiently to reduce poverty. This goal has as its target the objective to deal comprehensively, with the problem of ever-expanding debt in developing countries, in order to manage and, ultimately reduce debt in the long term. Currently, most developing countries are unable to invest capital for their own benefit, as they have perennial debt that has to be serviced and repaid to developed countries, the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In developing countries, it is conceived that poverty cuts across differences of gender, ethnicity, age, location and, very importantly, income sources. In households, women and children often suffer more than men do. In the community, minority ethnic or religious groups suffer more than majority groups do and rural poor more than the urban poor do – this is believed to be a result of poverty. More than 100 million children remain out of school (at a global level). 46 percent of girls in the developing world have no access to primary education. The target for primary education, in developing countries, is of the utmost importance. Targeting primary education in developing countries would kill several birds with one stone. Universal primary

education would keep the youth off the streets, minimising crime and solving problems associated with illiteracy.

SADC has managed to reduce gender disparity in education and improve access to sanitation and other facilities, but it is held back by the high levels of HIV/AIDS infection and poverty that always demand priority consideration. It is very important to note that while promoting primary education, gender equality should also be emphasised. “Decades of research directly tie the education of girls to the goals of reducing poverty, hunger, under-five mortality, maternal mortality and fighting major diseases” ([www.unicef.org/titles/pub.mdg\\_en.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/titles/pub.mdg_en.pdf)).

## **2.6 The relationship of the NEPAD goals and the goals of Education for All**

The Education for All (EFA) initiative began in 1990 in Jomtien, Thailand, where representatives of 155 governments (now 188), 33 intergovernmental bodies and 125 non-governmental organisations pledged to work towards the goal of Education for All World Education Forum (2000:1). The idea of providing education to the whole world was a big challenge for all the members of the international community involved. Showing strong commitment towards the EFA achievement, organisations, such as UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNICEF and the World Bank, organised an education forum, which was held in Dakar, Senegal, in April 2000. A great number of national leaders, United Nations agency heads, education policy makers and practitioners gathered to discuss the progress different countries have made towards the delivering of EFA, (World Education Forum, 2000:1). Among other things, the discussions included the strategies that would accelerate the provision of basic education, while focusing on how countries proposed to make the EFA dream a reality.

The forum held in Dakar on EFA goals was used to assess the achievements, lessons learned and failures made in the past decade. As much as the African countries are willing to achieve EFA, my take is that the dream will never become reality in the absence of donor aid. The providing of mass basic education needs maximal resources in terms of human capacity, monetary resources and other means. The need for such resources might even require a call for debt cancellations. In addition, many more sacrifices from the donors might be needed.

One of the reasons why the education system in developing countries (especially in Africa) is lagging behind is due to a lack of human capacity. African countries would need to develop mechanisms that would end the continent's brain drain. We need to attract our intellectuals ensconced in Western countries back to Africa to compliment the present intellect and help boost our education system. Oxfam (2000:10) suggests some national policy reforms for EFA, such as mobilisation of at least 3 per cent of national budgets for primary education through increased revenue collection, enhanced equity in the distribution of public spending and the conversion of military expenditure into basic education investments. Resources and a strong political will are both essential elements in achieving EFA. Resources alone will not assist countries to achieve EFA in isolation of political will or commitment towards universal primary education and to the MDG at large. It is also important that the political commitment be reflected in the policy documents. Resources should be accompanied by political will and political will needs to be underpinned by resources.

According to Oxfam (2000:3), aid can only contribute to EFA if certain key changes are adhered to. Basic education, for example, must become an explicit priority for donors; annual aid to basic education must be increased by US\$ 4bn. This can be achieved if donors give priority to basic education in their sectoral plans and raise its allocation to 8 percent of each donor's budget, thereby generating US\$ 3.1bn. Aid assistance by donors should be better coordinated, mainly by pooling resources within the poverty reduction strategy plans of national governments. Those funds should flow preferentially to those who commit to basic education. Donors therefore, must make a strong commitment to equity though basic education, specifically to guarantee education for women and children and other marginalised groups. The allocation of funding should reflect donors' commitment. Aid to basic education must therefore not be tied to donor countries' goods and services. In line with the allocation of funding, the good of EFA need to be highlighted.

Education for All goals:

- Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children,
- Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to a completely free and compulsory primary education of good quality,

- Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes,
- Achieving a 50% improvements in all levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults,
- Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to, and achievement in, basic education of good quality, and
- Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all, so that all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life-skills, achieve recognised and measurable learning outcomes.

From the foregoing, it is deduced that Education for All goals can be achieved only if the provision of primary education is made more accessible. The success of universal primary education would, after all, benefit the countries involved in so many ways. "It is widely accepted today that making education available and affordable to all is the best means of promoting social development, fostering economic growth and ultimately advancing peace throughout the world" Bah-Laiya (2003:5).

In an attempt to bridge the education gap, NEPAD (2001: Article 117) has suggested the following measures:

- To work with donors and multilateral institutions, to ensure that the International Development Goal (IDG) of achieving universal primary education by 2015 is realised;
- To work for improvements in curriculum development, quality improvements and access to ICT;
- To expand access to secondary education and improve its relevance to Africa's development; and
- To promote networks of specialised research and higher education institutions.

In Article 118 the actions to be taken towards reaching the objectives are:

- Review current initiatives jointly with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and other major international donors;
- Review levels of expenditure on education by African countries and lead the process of developing norms and standards for Government expenditure on education;
- Set up a task force to accelerate the introduction of ICT in primary schools;
- Set up a task force to review and forward proposals for the research capacity needed in each region of the continent.

Article 119 states that the key problem in education in Africa is the poor facilities and inadequate systems under which the vast majority of Africans receive their training. Africans who have the opportunity of obtaining training elsewhere in the world have demonstrated their ability to compete successfully.

The last point (Article 120) refers to strengthening the universities in an attempt to bridge the education gap. It states that: The plan supports immediate strengthening of the university system across Africa, including the creation of specialised universities, where needed, to build on available African teaching staff. The need to establish and strengthen institutes of technology is especially emphasised.

It is important to realise that African higher education should be responsible for the implementation of the NEPAD strategy, as much as the central governments are. Moreover, the success of NEPAD strongly depends on the above objectives and actions. For the African universities to be of creditable assistance, carrying out the stated objectives will make a good start. The success of bridging the education gap will however require great commitment from the political, social and economic spheres.

The relationship between NEPAD and education is formidable and seem to be standing the test of time. One of NEPAD principles is the commitment to ensuring that all partnerships with NEPAD are linked to the MDGs and other agreed development goals and targets (Matsuura 2002:10). Both sets of goals address issues, that impact on education. Although the NEPAD goals directly allude to the issue of

HIV/AIDS, considering the number of teachers who are succumbing to AIDS every year, the EFA goals should also have a great impact on the pandemic.

Both the NEPAD and the EFA goals have the eradication of poverty as their main focus. The goals are also commonly based on the idea that they will be achieved after a strengthened and successful resource mobilisation. The NEPAD goals, in relation to the EFA goals, are aimed at promoting primary education, which is still lagging behind, especially in Africa where so many children are still without access to primary education.

Again, the NEPAD and EFA goals are geared towards the development and acceleration of universal primary education, aiming to address issues that hamper the development of primary education, such as teachers who are poorly-prepared for school teaching. Thus, in the process of promoting education for all, NEPAD and EFA goals are addressing the issues of gender equality and illiteracy. Such goals (of NEPAD and EFA) are closing doors to choosing some of the unwanted activities of society, such as crime. With the presence of crime, development in whatever sphere of life is hampered. Crime is especially known to be the cause of and the dependent variable of poverty. Therefore, the promotion of universal primary education is a good strategy for preventing a generation of criminals.

There are other negative aspects to prove that African primary education is lagging behind. Illiteracy is one of them. It (illiteracy) is a great barrier to development, but hopefully, it is being addressed through the NEPAD and EFA goals.

In this thesis, while arguing that higher education can help NEPAD to achieve some of its goals, it is important to be specific about assigning higher education the task of promoting primary education. In other words, higher education institutions (can) accelerate the development of primary education. Above all, the goals are conceptually related in the sense that they are working towards the achievement of growth and sustainable development on the African continent.

In this thesis, the argument is that greater education autonomy can help NEPAD to achieve some of its goals. In other words, for higher education to be able to assist the



African initiative (NEPAD) effectively there is a need for greater autonomy. I therefore argue that education should aim to promote autonomy. The promotion of higher education autonomy should not be a difficult process, considering the fact that African nations are democratic and, with democracy, dictatorship is not supposed to be an option, but rather academic freedom should rule. However, the lack or little sense of autonomy of African higher education institutions coupled with dictatorship in African countries remain a challenge.

It is important that education keeps pace with changes in societies, more especially with global changes. The economy and technological skills should be kept up to standard, by all means, as these can have serious impact on the type of skills and critical thinking required in the emerging world economy. The skills and critical thinking required would depend on the quality of education provided.

## **2.7 Summary**

Africa has had many development strategies before NEPAD came into existence in 2000 as part of an agenda of the African Union (AU). However, NEPAD as a strategy aims to get support towards the achievement of some of its goals from external donors. Research has shown that NEPAD so far is receiving good support from some world organisations such as UNDP, UNICEF, UNESCO and the World Bank, to mention but a few. Alongside and closely linked to NEPAD goals are the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). EFA is another big project, which has goals that are conceptually related to the NEPAD goals, in terms of idealistic views and purposes. The main argument of this research is that higher education autonomy can assist NEPAD to realise some of its goals.

In the next chapter, in the process of answering the research question, I shall examine autonomy within African higher education with reference to at least five African universities.

## CHAPTER THREE

### INSTITUTIONAL AUTONOMY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

#### 3.1 Introduction

In attempt to find critically valid outcomes for the question of ‘how higher education institutions in Africa can be of assistance to the goal of the African development strategy (NEPAD)’, it is ascertained that certain conditions must be fulfilled as a prerequisite for the achievement of these goals by the relevant institutions. In particular, this refers to conditions of institutional autonomy and academic freedom. As these two important elements seem to be generally violated in Africa, I shall discuss the value of the indispensable liberal concept of academic autonomy, with reference to the work of Isaiah Berlin. Examining the prevalence of violation, determining who the violators are and analyse their motives. The importance of institutional autonomy and academic freedom (in Africa), the reasons for their significance and why they should prevail in African higher education institutions, will be highlighted.

#### 3.2 Autonomy and the invention of Theodicy

The invention of theodicy is important to this study, and ultimately to this chapter, as this is the theory (theodicy) that led to the invention of human autonomy. The history of theodicy and autonomy are simultaneously related. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and Emmanuel Kant are the names behind the theory of theodicy and its relation to autonomy. Leibniz coined the term theodicy and Kant’s critiques fleshed it out. According to Larrimore (2004:70), “The project of theodicy is to remove doubts about the goodness (of God) and the meaningfulness of ethical exertion that results from voluntarists opinions, which rests on confused notions...concerning freedom, necessity and destiny”.

Theodicy emerged in the seventeenth century when philosophers started to understand that beliefs (about God) ought to fit together in a logical and coherent system. According to Larrimore (2004:70), “theodicy means the justice (of God)”. In dealing with the problems of defining evil, however, Kant has dealt with two concepts: theodicy and defence. “The aim of defence is to show that (antitheistic) arguments (on

evil) are not successful on their own terms... The general aim of theodicy, by contrast, is to give positive, plausible reasons for the existence of evil in a theistic universe” *Larrimore (2004:70).*

The problem of evil is said to be prominent in the minds of modern Christians facing evil. This is because modern Christians feel there is still an alternative way of life for them, should they find God’s ways unacceptable. One could understand this to imply an act of autonomy, although morality might be lacking in this case (morality is fundamental to autonomy). Moreover, my understanding is that autonomy prevails in situations where people or institutions have alternative ways of life from which to choose. At times people surrender their autonomous rights to keep their jobs or, simply, as a way of survival, regardless of how much the lack of freedom seem unacceptable to them personally. Specifically in the African context, Bentley, *et al* (2007:11) notes that:

Poverty does not encourage academic freedom, because people, including university academics and intellectuals, have few alternative sources of income. In most African countries, if you lose your university job, perhaps because of political or some other kind of criticisms, you are likely to have few employment alternatives.

In attempt to rule out the problems of evil, Kant has described the problem of evil as the privation of good. In defence of theodicy, the argument is that the very existence of evil proves there is a God. Since the order of good does exist, it proves that there is a God (Kant’s argument). Similarly, in this context of institutional autonomy and academic freedom, this could mean that, for the reason that autonomy and academic freedom can be denied (or can be lacking), proves that autonomy can be gained (or frankly, that it can exist within institutions).

What holds Kant’s theism in place are not theoretical arguments for the existence of God, but proof anchored in an ingenious application of Leibniz’s mysterious, originally stoic, concept of compossibility. Kant found out that every attempt to defend the moral wisdom of God in the face of sin, pain and disproportion of crime and punishment had failed. Therefore, the problem of theism and antitheism has forced the invention of (human) autonomy. According to O’Neill (2004:182), “In

Kant's term, autonomy is a conception of practical reason and fundamental to morality". Unlike the voluntarists, who see morality as a way of God's creation, or the intellectualists, who see it (morality) as reflecting eternal truths, Kant opposes both and invented the concept of morality as autonomy, and sees morality as self-governance. In other words, Kant equates self-governance with autonomy.

Autonomy and academic freedom are also related to Isaiah Berlin's concepts of liberty, which shall be discussed next.

### **3.3 Two concepts of liberty by Isaiah Berlin**

Autonomy is a term with a considerable history and an established place in liberal theory. After Kant, autonomy has generally meant some form of self-legislation, invoking an image of a person who obeys universal laws because of his or her own recognition of obligations both to obey the moral law and to exclude any determining influence outside own reason Kerr (2006: 426).

I agree with Dworkin's (1988) claim that Berlin uses, or sees, autonomy as equivalent to liberty (a positive and negative notion of freedom). Berlin (1958:10) refers to the negative notion of liberty as being free to the degree that no other human being interferes with one's activities. Politically, it presupposes an area where one can do as one wants. Deliberate prevention or coercion to keep one from doing what one wants to do, is the lack of freedom that Berlin refers to as negative freedom. Berlin has clarified what should not be considered as negative freedom. The inability to perform certain actions, such as licking your elbow, is not lack of freedom as in this case, because regardless of what the law says, one would remain unable. The deliberate interference, or the non-interference, by others is what determines the level of freedom that one has.

Positive freedom refers to the independence man has without the interference of external forces. Man's freedom to make choices, which are expected to be rational or to make decisions and choices that are guided by morality and reason, is what Berlin calls positive freedom.

Thinkers in line with Berlin's claim have agreed that the law should decide upon limitation to freedom. They also agree that a certain minimum of personal freedom should be allowed, where any interference by other human beings would be considered as violation of law. Spoken in terms of human interest, some philosophers have agreed that there should be a part of one's life, which should be respected and strictly not interfered with; not by the state or any other authority for that matter. Each one has to be free to a certain degree and, in Berlin's words, total self-surrender is self-defeating. In defence of freedom, Benjamin Constant in Waburton & Matravers (2000:234) declares that "liberty of opinion and expression should be guaranteed against arbitrary invasion. The right to reason (from the invader) is also important when one's freedom is invaded".

Berlin describes liberty, in the sense of negative freedom, as freedom or liberty from something. This could be the freedom from making own decisions or thinking own thoughts. There should be freedom to make decisions, which people themselves, without the interference of others, consider wise and good, according to their own reasoning (implying the positive notion of liberty). In other words, carrying out plans that other people have decided for you, keeps one free from thinking and deciding (on one's own behalf), and gaining dependence on others. "All errors which a man is likely to commit, against advice and warnings, are far outweighed by the evil of allowing others to constrain him to what they deem is good" Berlin (1958:12).

Berlin argues that truth and reason should guide liberty. Man should be seen as capable and independent. Men should have the freedom to make choices, especially those that affect their lives. Making choices, acting independently, or demonstrating capability, are all possible where there is (autonomous) freedom.

### **3.4 Conceptualising institutional autonomy and academic freedom**

Different authors define autonomy differently. According to Dworkin (1988:5), "to regard himself as autonomous, a person must see himself as sovereign in deciding what to believe and in weighing competing reasons for action". Academic freedom applies to the teaching and research conducted at academic institutions and the individuals involved in these activities at the relevant institutions. It is the freedom of being able to exercise ideas and opinions without coercion. Institutional autonomy

applies to any relevant institution. It is the degree of independence within which institutions operate and make decisions on how to perform their tasks.

The question is why is institutional autonomy important? Universities are trusted with the responsibility of educating the future generation (even the current generation). Higher institutions of education are our engines for all aspects of development – the engines that fuel our critical and creative minds. Universities are expected to perform and carry out such responsibilities regardless of who funds them. It is therefore crucial for individuals, governments and the general society to respect their institutional autonomy. Furthermore, universities play important roles in societies, helping the people to keep up with the facts emanating from the modern world (accessing new knowledge) and keeping abreast of global issues. All these are made possible via research and teaching. It is therefore important for academics to have freedom in order to perform their tasks as effectively as possible. Academic freedom also benefits citizens for present and future purposes.

Academic freedom, however, is exposed to internal and external threats. Academic freedom needs to be defended, starting first of all by protecting institutional autonomy so that institutions will not be obliged to pander to the demands of any external factors. Although we hear much of the autonomous concept in political and social spheres, this would not mean that the concept is (always) applicable within our political and social structures. Politically and socially, freedom is considered an important virtue, which allows many responsibilities to be implemented or even manipulated, provided this is done without too much interference. It is just fair to say we cannot have (institutional) laws made by as many people or authorities as can possibly be involved –the process will become too cumbersome just as we can also not have established rules or laws open to be amended or altered by anyone who so wishes. Another way of explaining institutional autonomy is by saying that there should be people or authorities (preferably internal) who are qualified to make rules and laws regarding (in this case) institutions and who should under no circumstance be forbidden from doing so, nor be interfered with in the process of law-making or governing the institutions for which they take responsibility.

It is important at this point, to clarify that, as much as it is essential to have autonomous institutions, they should always be based and run on the principle of academic freedom. For good reason, those who practise autonomy ought themselves to possess the necessary (academic) freedom. Guided by freedom, academics can then be expected, under the natural restraints of reason, morals and values to (freely) govern and carry out institutional responsibilities (effectively). Kant has argued that “moral autonomy is a combination of freedom and responsibility; it is a submission to laws that one has made for oneself. The autonomous man, insofar as he is autonomous, is not subject to the will of another”. I contend that Kant’s concept (moral autonomy) would suit the demands of institutions better than just pure autonomy. This is because moral autonomy emphasises the importance of applying freedom and responsibilities (within institutions) in such a way that tasks are executed conscientiously. Moreover, freedom enables academics to practise teaching and conduct research freely, without fear of jeopardising their jobs within the universities.

### **3.5 Institutional autonomy and academic freedom in higher education institutions**

Academic freedom is an essential part of an autonomous institution. For higher education institutions to pursue their missions and achieve their goals, the focus of the institutions (i.e. teaching and research) should be done independently from external forces such as political and economic power. Yet, institutions ought to operate within the boundaries of public reason and morals. According to Nyborg (2003:1):

To find out how far a university enjoys autonomy in relation to the state, and whether the relationship departs from proper balance of interests, we have to look at all dimensions of the state-institution relationship, such as: laws and regulations; budgets for teaching and research; responsibility of study programmes; accountability; appointments and informal political and administrative relations.

In other words, there is much that determines the level of academic freedom and institutional autonomy of a university. (This will be discussed in the next chapter.)

Lack of institutional autonomy and academic freedom are great obstacles for higher education institutions to overcome. Without academic and institutional autonomy, universities’ missions are left hanging in mid-air. In other words, the violators of

institutional autonomy and academic freedom undermine the universities' capability to determine and fulfil their missions. This leaves academics feeling demoralised, even belittled.

Where do we start in attempting to discover the roots of the threats to autonomy? To deal with the issues of autonomy effectively, it is important to know who we are addressing in our search. Bentley *et al* (2007: 2) rightly states that it is important to identify who we are referring to when we engage in the debates on institutional autonomy and academic freedom. Who are the alleged violators of academic freedom? For example, Bentley *et al* further argues that the debates concerning academic freedom and institutional autonomy in contemporary (South) Africa are not the same as they were under apartheid. It is important to note that there is a difference regarding discourses of autonomy during the apartheid and post-apartheid era. "There may now be a need to exonerate apartheid for current ineffectiveness and take responsibility for issues while desisting from using the past as 'our' excuse for not rendering or practising autonomy" Bentley *et al* (2007:3).

According to the report of the Council of Higher Education (2000), scholars like Jonathan Jansen, and many of the institutional managers in the historically white universities believe that, in South Africa, the supposed violator is the state. The report also states that the ire is presently being directed at the bureaucrats at the Department of Education and perhaps even at the Council of Higher Education itself. Jansen has argued that "these bureaucrats have made severe incursions into institutional autonomy through the funding formulae and the post-apartheid legislative apparatus. The results of this are not only a violation of university autonomy but also of the freedom of individual academics" Bentley *et al* (2007:2).

As African higher education institutions are subsidised by our respective governments, the issue of viable and authentic autonomy and academic freedom seem to be questioned. It is important to have academic freedom and autonomy, regardless of subsidies or support from external forces (big business) or governments. There should clearly be boundaries when it comes to external forces "interfering" in the way universities operate. There is need to define partnership and highlight their limits. If the universities are in proper control of their day-by-day business – be it teaching,



research and planning, universities are also likely to carry out their responsibilities effectively, efficiently and in a manner that would benefit not only the institutions but in many positive ways also the societies they serve; for instance, in assisting economic development and developing society and its infrastructure.

The second set of perpetrators of this misdemeanour is said to be the institutional bureaucrats within the universities themselves. “This category of university bureaucrats includes councils as well as those in administrative hierarchies up to and including Vice-Chancellors” Bentley *et al* (2007:2). This argument (by Bentley and others) indicates that the threat to academic freedom is seen as internal, as opposed to the argument (by Jansen and others) that the threat to academic freedom has an external origin. This argument is substantiated by the claim that “institutional autonomy could in the end empower the institutional bureaucrats to such an extent that the freedom of individual academics could be imperilled” (*ibid*). This implies that academic freedom is not being violated solely by external forces But also by academic bureaucrats who sometimes misuse the power they have to manipulate others especially those in subordinate positions.

The third category of alleged violators of academic freedom is that of senior academics. The argument is that “these scholars no longer determine their research agendas themselves, but that they are determined rather by those prepared to buy their research and writing skills, most often the government or the private sector. They claim that academic freedom was being violated by senior academics wanting to sell their skills to the highest bidder to maintain their prosperity” (Bantley-*ibid*).

At the risk of repetition, it is important to emphasise a point that was raised in the first section of this chapter, that is, African poverty is slowly but surely forcing autonomy and academic freedom out of the education system. Those senior lecturers who are said to be conforming to their buyers’ (sponsors’) needs are doing so because of the TINA principle – There Is No Alternative. I maintain that where there are no alternatives to turn to, autonomy is at risk. If they (academics) autonomously engage in research, financial resources, which they may not have easy access to, will probably be needed to complete it. It may end up as a self-defeating, futile exercise.

The only option then will be to conform to the dictatorship of exterior prescription, surrendering their claim to autonomous decision making.

The new style of management within the universities also has an impact on academic freedom and institutional autonomy. The managerial principles within higher education institutions are likened to those of the business world. External people now manage institutions. They are involved in the planning of institutions, regulations, budgets and development. In the end, academic freedom stagnates and autonomy is handed over to external, non-academic control.

Regarding the new management, the Bologna process has called for changes in legislation, Nyborg (2003:4):

- Concerning autonomy – the law must delegate the necessary decision-making power to the institution, for changes in curricula and teaching methods, for internal self-governance, for interaction with other organisations nationally and internationally and for economic transitions.
- Accountability must follow autonomy. Institutions should make the decision-making process transparent and results should be made public.
- The university's academic leadership must be in charge of institutional activity. Faculties within universities should not be legally independent persons relating directly only to the Ministry of Education.
- Laws should prescribe student participation in institutional governance.
- Quality assurance systems will be important cornerstones in each national system of higher education. The quality assurance system must be independent of political and institutional interaction and it must have a basis in legislation.

Human development in many fields is greatly affected by research done at institutes of higher education such as universities. Institutional autonomy would make it much easier for universities to promote independent and progressive research, expanding human knowledge and making important contributions to the economies of their respective countries. The violation of academic freedom and university autonomy

would imperil not only academic progress but also economies and development in general.

In the case of NEPAD, nothing is more sorely needed than African human knowledge to start realising the goals of NEPAD. If the major engine of development (higher education institutions) lacks the freedom to 'act', one wonders how development strategies, as projected by NEPAD, are supposed to materialise. Judging by the sentiments expressed by Kamba it seems as if autonomous higher education may be of assistance to NEPAD in achieving its goals effectively. Kamba (2000:194) claims, "The University must produce graduates who are creative, who are capable of generating ideas. It is essential to cultivate a questioning and critical mind imbued with a spirit of curiosity. The university should be a marketplace for ideas where, in the words of the renowned American judge Wendell Holmes, *the ultimate good is reached by a free trade of ideas*".

A university is supposed to carry out research in areas it discovers to be lacking in information or is simply in need of improvement. With external forces, violating academic and institutional autonomy by dictating the type of research higher education should be engaged in, another way of impeding knowledge or academic progress has been instituted. I make this claim bearing in mind the importance of the fact that research and teaching aid human and academic progress.

Societies are important and are or should be at the heart of the mission of every higher education institutions. It is for this reason that institutions of higher education should be held accountable by the societies they serve. How does one begin to talk about institutional accountability without the concomitant institutional freedom? One can well imagine how disjointed it is (or would be) to have people running institutions while lacking the freedom to take independent decisions and make choices concerning those selfsame institutions. An institution such as a university is expected to be discovering its own loopholes and internal deficiencies, iron them out and improve service delivery. It would therefore be pointless for a particular institution to operate strictly according to pre-determined rules, set by external forces. This would almost certainly lead to conflict between the external forces and the internal staff, as the latter would be running the institution on a set of rules and instructions which has been

foisted on them from people who are exposed to a totally different environment. Their perceptions of the respective institutions are not by any stretch of the imagination the same. This is all the more reason why academic freedom should be granted. A university's internal affairs are best dealt with internally (through centralisation), and this might just be the most effective counter-argument to offer those powers who plumb for external control.

Bentley *et al* (2007:25) observe that, "Over most of the continent (Africa), the political elite was able to erode the autonomy of universities and the freedom of academics on the grounds that they did not represent the interests of the society within which they were located". Government's involvement in higher education can easily violate academic freedom within these institutions. The cause of the violation is likely to be the power of the state over universities. Freedom and institutional autonomy violation is likely to be higher in countries that are under dictatorship. Certain authorities, such as the state, might feel obliged to govern the institutions, as is currently the case in many countries, especially African countries, simply because the government subsidises the institutions. In cases of this kind, it becomes essential to set boundaries and limitations as far as partnerships and institutions are concerned – especially how far the interference from the partners may go. In other words, institutions should be clear on the restrictions of partnership interference. In support of this point, with the works of philosophers, such as Kant, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche and others, on the important content of moral autonomy are crucial.

The assumption that every institution has its own morals that guide day-to-day as well as long-term operations is important for society. Beyond that, institutions should expect to have the will to sustain those morals. Sustainability is most likely to succeed where limited interference from other authorities is current. One tends to agree with Dworkin (1988) that (African) higher education institutions cannot sustain themselves independently. These institutions of education have to somehow depend on economic institutions, the mass media and public opinions to sustain them.

The conditions emanating from the above factors clearly impinge on the autonomy of higher education institutions. For example, institutions are funded on condition and in expectance that research will be done in an area that is clearly in the interest of the

funding agents. If certain research areas at universities lack funds, they are forced to hunt around for financial support in an effort to keep going. In such a case, the respective institutions have to surrender their independence and conform to the demands of their funders. This could easily set the scene for forfeiting autonomy. This is clearly a position where external forces, to a lesser or greater degree, determine the continued existence of such a higher education institutions.

Higher education institutions must remain accountable to society at large. Academic freedom and institutional autonomy cannot be discussed in an absolute sense as if it exists in a vacuum. Because of survival needs, these institutions will at times have to conform and they are certainly greatly influenced by other institutions.

At this point, I should like to question the supposition of substantive independence within the notion of autonomy. Globalisation or interdependence among higher education institutions (as in any other kind of institution) is rife. Institutions depend on one other for advice and other information. Can one then still talk of substantive independence? No substantive independence would mean absolute freedom and autonomy, where each university independently carries out responsibilities that can be explained without reference to any other (institution). “If we are to make reasonable choices, then we must be governed by canons of reasoning, norms of conduct and standards of excellence that are not themselves the products of our choices. We have to acquire them at least partly as the results of others’ advice” Dworkin (1988:12).

On the notion of substantive autonomy, an institution that learns from others is considered not autonomous – for the reasons given above, one can agree with Dworkin (1988:21) that “Substantive independence makes autonomy inconsistent with loyalty, objectivity, commitment, benevolence and love.” I believe that within autonomy there should be room for important virtues and values such as these and others. Dworkin also gives the example of a philosopher who views substantive independence as an essential part of autonomy.

The autonomous man may do what another tells him, but not because he has been told to do it...by accepting as final the commands of the others, he forfeits his autonomy...a promise to abide by the will of the majority creates an obligation, but it does so precisely by giving up one’s autonomy.

### **3.6 The need for institutional autonomy and academic freedom in achieving the NEPAD goals**

In conclusion, the implementation of the NEPAD goals will be successful once the conditions of institutional autonomy and academic freedom are met. The following are reasons for such an expectation.

First, universities are faced with developmental challenges. Institutional autonomy and academic freedom could assist in granting academics the freedom to make decisions on what to research – in respect of the African development challenges – the NEPAD goals.

Second, institutional autonomy and academic freedom are vital elements in planning how best to respond to challenges; as in this case of how best to respond to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The teaching in universities influences development in multiple ways. It therefore becomes important for academics to have the freedom to create the content that is relevant and that is in line with the goals of development. The new struggle in post-independence universities should be for dynamic knowledge and critical minds. Dynamic knowledge, can be best gained via research work; continuous research that can provide relevant information. Lack of resources is another problem that causes the academics or institutions to conform, forfeiting their autonomy. Academic freedom and institutional autonomy will allow for the much-needed freedom that will enable academics to create networks, mostly international networks, that will lead institutions and academics to access more information, even resources needed, towards the achievement of MDGs. These resources can be utilised to gain funding that would make their research possible, provided it is without conditions that are too restrictive. Academics should have the freedom to address issues that they see as obstacles to development or advance issues that are pathways to development, without any fear of jeopardising their jobs. The liberty of unfettered decision-making would allow the academics to initiate programmes, including postgraduate programmes, which are meant for and directed to the realisation of NEPAD goals or the MDGs.

These two elements of freedom are also most likely to foster liberal education. Some authors have argued that liberal education emphasises the breadth of knowledge and

sophisticated habits of mind – the most powerful way to build students’ capacities to form their own judgements about complex and controversial questions. Liberal education is possible in the presence of academic freedom and institutional autonomy to cultivate curiosity among students; this will also force students to think ‘outside the box’. Consequently, they will become people who are able to think of alternative ways to approach situations, especially, the MDGs in this case. The ability to deal with multiple views will also be fostered among them.

Academic freedom and institutional autonomy are likely to keep academics on the continent, avoiding ‘brain drain’ (flight of academic expertise), as the rights of academics would also be protected. In fact, the two elements (academic freedom and institutional autonomy) would attract more people to employment within higher education institutions and especially in the field of research. In this way, knowledge is likely to grow and there would be progress in terms of development. I am in agreement with those who claim that development is based upon knowledge. Overall, the success of African development strategies would finally depend on the availability of free research.

### **3.7 Summary**

The freedom and autonomy of universities are important virtues in fulfilling responsibilities towards society. This chapter has alluded to the theory of theodicy that has in turn led to the theory of human autonomy and a discussion of Kant’s views. The concepts theistic and defence explain the work of evil to prove there is a God – the first agent to act autonomously. The problems of explaining the conflicting concepts of theism and anti-theism have forced the invention of the concept of human autonomy.

Berlin equates (human) autonomy with liberty by using the terms, negative and positive. These two concepts of liberty have implications for institutional autonomy and academic freedom. The chapter has discussed institutional autonomy and academic freedom for higher education institutions, identifying some of the perpetrators of violation of academic freedom and institutional autonomy. The government has this power (mostly political) and academic institutions use their own ability to undermine institutional autonomy and academic freedom from within.

However, the state through its agencies stands accused as the number-one perpetrator of these violations.

Reasons for the claim that NEPAD goals are achievable from a higher education perspective, if the right conditions are met are further highlighted.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CRISES IN AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS AND THE NEED FOR CHANGE**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I shall attempt to give an overview of the status of African higher education institutions and the underlying conditions that have a bearing on them. The general understanding is that the possibility of achieving the MDGs or the NEPAD goals (from the perspective of higher education institutions) will depend much on the type and quality of governance of these institutions and more specifically on the presence of authentic autonomy and academic freedom within the precinct of African higher education institutions. Altbach & Teferra (2006:11) comment that:

African countries slowly moved away from one party authoritarian and autocratic rule to elected democratic governments and leadership, it is hoped that academic freedom will eventually improve in African academic institutions. African universities have special responsibility to build a culture of academic freedom in teaching, research, and learning, as well as in societal expression.

#### **4.2 Institutional autonomy and academic freedom in higher education institutions**

Institutional autonomy, in my own words, is a form of self-government. It reflects the freedom from government regulations that the universities have in respect of the governance of their institutions – without much state or external interference. Wolff (2000:198) has defined this autonomy to be the right of academics to decide freely and independently on how to perform their tasks. Further arguing that, in the presence of institutional autonomy, together with its scope, the university must be treated as an independent body, capable of action. However, as they lack the resources, especially financial resources, higher education institutions cannot be absolutely independent.

The principle of academic freedom applies to scholars, students and academics at a particular institution of higher education and not to the institution itself. According to Doyle (2005:23), “academic freedom may be defined as the freedom to conduct research, teach, speak, and publish, subject to the norms and standards of scholarly

inquiry, without interference or penalty, wherever the search for truth and understanding may lead”.

Higher education institutions are expected to build capacity and respond to societal (or market) needs. Fulfilment of these responsibilities will by and large depend on the extent to which the autonomy and academic freedom of these institutions are inhibited. Without these two elements, i.e. institutional autonomy and academic freedom, African higher education institutions will not be able to respond adequately to developmental needs of the continent. They are prerequisites if African higher education institutions are to flourish and be the source of suitably qualified graduates that will address the critical shortage of skilled manpower. Academics are most likely to work best when they are in control of their own endeavours – when they have the freedom to teach and research whatever they deem fit.

The question of what institutional autonomy and academic freedom entails, seems to be an on-going issue between higher education institutions and the state (and society). The question is: when exactly is an institution autonomous and under what conditions are academics said to have the required freedom?

According to Omari (1994:56), in developing countries, the potential areas of friction between universities and the state would typically include:

a) Academic freedom, classically defined as the right to determine:

- i. Who may teach at the university?
- ii. Who may be taught at the university?
- iii. How they shall be taught by the university?
- iv. Who may be admitted to the university?

b) Appointments of key university officials such as:

- i. The vice-chancellor or university president;
- ii. Deputy or pro vice-chancellor or registrar or principals;
- iii. Deans of faculties and directors;
- iv. Council members; and
- v. Senate members.

c) Determination of enrolment growth rates, the mix and the types of faculties to be

- established;
- d) Determination of quality of life at universities;
  - e) General day-to-day management, including finances and other resources;
  - f) Management of student crises, expulsions, rustication and university closures; use of state machinery and other means of coercion on the university campus;
  - g) Management of staff, including promotions, the mix and their movements;
  - h) Freedom to criticise the state, freedom of association and assembly on campuses, e.g. student union; and
  - i) Freedom to invite guest speakers of whatever conviction including those from opposition parties.

According to Omari, these nine features explain, the nature of institutional autonomy and academic freedom, indicating how institutions ought to operate in order to be credited with autonomy and (or) academic freedom.

The next question is: why is higher education and not some other issues entrusted with the task of assisting NEPAD in achieving its goals (more effectively)? Education is a tool for development as it accompanies increasing economic productivity and growth and, seen in the global international context and the requirements of the internal African impetus to secure social advancement, it should be treated as a powerful aid to sustain progress.

Higher education is capable of performing certain tasks in relation to development that cannot be achieved in any other way or by other means. For example, training professionals across all fields of study, developing essential analytical skills and enquiring and critical minds and preparing students for the demands of the market world can only be achieved through the concerted efforts of higher education institutions. As both the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and NEPAD are development strategies, it is necessary to investigate how education can further their declared aims. Williams (2006:6), in particular, has outlined reasons why higher education assists development.

Williams's first assertion is that tertiary education improves a nation's productivity and international competitiveness, thus alleviating poverty through its direct

contributions to economic growth. It does this by training a qualified and adaptable labour force, assisting the nation to access and adapt global knowledge for local use and, in the process, generate new knowledge. In this way, it helps to enhance living standards.

Secondly, tertiary education reduces poverty through redistribution of wealth by improving employment possibilities and concomitant empowerment. Specifically, it generates empowerment through the building of social capital and aids redistribution by expanding opportunities for employability, improved income and upward social mobility.

Thirdly, it strengthens the entire education sector. Tertiary institutions train (and re-train) teachers, school principals and system managers. Their members of staff play a major role in curriculum development and evaluation for primary and secondary education. Their researchers analyse education performance, identify problems, and provide policy advice.

Fourthly, tertiary education effectively and specifically contributes towards the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals. Its research and technology adoption engender improved food supply and rural incomes. Tertiary education trains the professionals – doctors, nurses, teachers and administrators – who will oversee and implement MDG activities. In addition, they foster relevant capacities in research, applied technology and community service that are essential for improving welfare levels for poor families, particularly vulnerable women and children, in those countries targeted by the Millennium Development Goals. In addition to Williams's reasons, higher education, with an emphasis on teaching the skills of criticality and decision making, can develop a new generation of leaders and produce graduates with invaluable global perspective and competitiveness.

As developmental strategies are needed to combat Africa's dire shortage of knowledge, it is once again important to affirm that higher education institutions are well-suited to be entrusted with such a task. Furthermore, Altbach & Teferra (2006:10) note that, "For all practical purposes, universities remain the most important

institutions in the production and consumption of knowledge and information, particularly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> World”.

### **4.3 Status of institutional autonomy and academic freedom in African higher education institutions**

African higher education institutions have been faced by the challenge of gaining institutional autonomy and academic freedom. Considered as the engineers of development, higher education institutions would ideally assist in bringing about development through their core elements of research and teaching. However, it is important that research and teaching in higher education institutions be done within a framework of autonomy and academic freedom. According to Assie (2006:59), “The violation of academic freedom and institutional autonomy at African higher education institutes has been caused by dependence on Western countries. Due to economic crises in Africa, higher education or rather the public sector had to depend on Western countries for loans, which in many ways aggravated Africa’s education crises”. From this, it can be deduced that African higher education institutions’ independence was initially violated as a result of influences originating from outside the continent. The issue of resources, especially monetary resources has been the main culprit leading to the compromise of the autonomy and academic freedom of African higher education institutions.

On the continent, African governments – the main subsidisers of higher education – stand accused of being the number one violators of institutional autonomy and academic freedom. The power of government to interfere is, to a great extent, driven by aspirations for political influence and, above all, the allure of financial power. Just as Western countries attach conditions to their loans, those forces within the African continent who fund higher education institutions equally attach conditions to their funding, thus forcing academics to forfeit their independence in return for monetary resources. When institutions or academics have no other alternatives (especially where the future existence of their institutions is threatened), giving up academic freedom and conforming to the demands of their (research) beneficiaries may be their only option.

The violation of institutional autonomy and academic freedom within the continent also drives the various education systems into crises. As a result, higher education institutions no longer produce research that these institutions consider necessary in the normal course of events; rather they produce any kind of research as long as it provides them financial assistance. For example, it is crucial at this stage that higher education institutions as the prime engineers of development conduct extensive research into developmental strategies such as NEPAD or the MDGs. Unfortunately, unless research on these programmes is not specifically funded, it is likely to be neglected, irrespective of its importance to specific societies and to the continent at large. In this respect then, higher education institutions would fail in their obligation to contribute to the development of the continent.

The loss of financial and administrative independence can be so insidious that graduates of affected universities will not be well equipped to foster development once they have taken up their place in society. It is even more unfortunate that higher education institutions' accountability should be judged on such grounds and under these conditions, as higher education institutions are actually the victims of circumstance. The following question by Assie (2006:83) becomes very crucial in this respect: "How should one ensure the accountability of the universities to the wider community, composed of taxpayers from whom students are drawn, and guarantee that they pay something back to their communities, by contributing to their development, using the knowledge acquired in these institutions?" In defence of African higher education institutions and its academics, it should be unequivocally stated that the issue of accountability is undermined by the lack of independence. Higher education institutions are unable to operate independently in terms of their core missions and objectives on which accountability judgements are based.

African academic institutions face obstacles in providing the education, research and services needed if the continent is to advance. The dawning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is being recognised as a knowledge era and higher education must play a central role (Altbach & Teferra (2006: 3).

African initiatives such as NEPAD need education as their main driving force. Higher education is considered as being able to provide the necessary knowledge in striving

to overcome Africa's challenges. There is a need for critical and broad minds in the attempt to find workable solutions for the continent's persistent ills. More than any other resource, Africa needs properly educated human resources to solve its problems. The resources (human) should be well equipped in terms of knowledge – possessing broad local and global perspectives. Higher education institutions should also develop mechanisms to retain its current intellectuals and instate measures to lure back those who have left (i.e. minimising the “brain drain”), in order to keep the quality of institutions and its staff at an acceptable level. This is even more reason why there is an urgent need for institutional autonomy and academic freedom. Autonomy and academic freedom can assist higher education institutions in equipping people with the necessary knowledge through its core missions – research and teaching. This can be better done in an atmosphere of freedom and within an autonomous framework. With the elements of autonomy and academic freedom, higher education can be expected to play its central role of fostering development effectively. Moreover, there are added benefits: “Academic freedom makes it possible for new ideas, research and opinions to emerge, for widely accepted views to be tested and challenged” Altbach & Teferra (2006:10).

Universities should be freely funded without any form of dictation attached. Higher education institutions should be properly sponsored, but in order to remain accountable to the society, they need to be granted freedom of research and unfettered teaching. It is particularly in Africa that funding from state and other external interest groups drives the interference of the government and external forces within higher education institutions. African governments need to realise that if universities are to fulfil their core missions, there is need for a great degree of independence. The question by OECD (2003:61) is very important in this regard: “If higher education is indeed an important strategic lever for governments in seeking to pursue national objectives, can government achieve those ends without compromising the independence of universities?” Political interference becomes a serious issue when the government appoints key university officials; this complicates matters regarding the institutions' sovereignty and may even totally compromise it. Most universities in Africa have their key officials appointed (openly or covertly) by government. The problem is that, when taken to the extreme, government appointees may end up governing and managing the institutions in ways that are in the best interest of the

government or political system, but probably at the expense of the autonomy of their respective institutions. The highest administrative officers, vice-chancellors, rectors, chancellors, presidents—usually appointed by the heads of state, lacked autonomy and were perceived to give precedence to a political role at the expense of the efficient managerial services and leadership roles to ensure the function of the universities as academic institutions Assie (2006:79). Altbach & Teferra (2006:6) further confirm this by stating that “governmental involvement in university affairs is the norm”. The current governance structures in most African universities reflect this legacy.

Autonomy and academic freedom within institutions have to be more emphatic regarding research, teaching and the freedom of academics to criticise the state, have freedom of association and exercise the freedom of inviting guest speakers. It is quite essential that autonomy and academic freedom be respected, especially when it comes to the core elements which constitute the nature of universities. The elements of institutional autonomy and academic freedom in African higher education institutions are forfeited to the extent that government’s need for control goes as far as teaching and research. In Kenya, for example, all research proposals by faculty members and graduate students, as well as all workshops abroad, which lecturers need to attend, must be approved by the office of the president (Ngome 2006:367). This constitutes direct interference in the core mission of a higher education institution. It could also mean that academics and students are doing biased research in order to curry favour with the government, knowing that results would go via the president’s office. This aspect alone would seriously hamper important core elements of any *bona fide* university’s code of conduct.

Some countries have realised that the appointment of vice-chancellors by the government invites political interference and attempts to enforce political control into the ambit of higher education institutions. This scenario is prevalent in the case of Kenya, where political appointees clearly interfere to ensure that the personal wishes of their appointers are reflected in the course of managing higher education institutions. To eliminate this kind of interference in institutional management and governance, Nigeria has a proposed reform which is currently under discussion. If put into practice, governing councils of universities will in future have the power to appoint and remove vice-chancellors of universities without government involvement,



Jibril (2006:494). Should this kind of enlightened approach to higher education governing and issues of autonomy and academic freedom become current elsewhere, matters are most likely to improve. Of importance is that the improvement of institutional autonomy and academic freedom would hold direct positive implications for development over a wide front.

With so much government interference, one wonders how higher education institutions can possibly perform their core business effectively and at the same time remain accountable to society. African higher education institutions need to clarify their relationship with the state and clearly set boundaries to state interference. It is important for institutions to operate autonomously while remaining accountable to the society. In this way, the core objectives of institutions can be attained more successfully while giving institutions and academics a chance to focus on their priorities. In other words, African institutions should be making independent and legitimate decisions with regard to who may teach, what may be taught, how it may be taught and appointing its key officials. Education institutions themselves are most likely to know their needs better than the government or any other external force. Eisemon (1994:91) shows that:

Makerere University Act affirms academic freedom and obliges government to preserve and foster the right of the university to determine the qualifications of who may teach, what may be taught and how it may be taught and the requirements to be fulfilled in order to be admitted to study therein.

Research should be an important aspect of the activities of every university in Africa. Apart from insufficient academic freedom and institutional autonomy, other factors impinge on research in some African countries. A good example is that of Nigeria. The state of research in Nigeria like in many other African countries is not desirable. This is due to factors such as “poor funding; poor management of research funds by the universities and inadequate research infrastructures in the university and a total lack of interest on the part of the private sector” Jibril (2006:496). Most of the research carried out in Nigerian higher education institutions takes place in universities. Sadly enough, due to lack of trust, the research results are hardly used. The factors mentioned above negatively affect research in the country. Jibril

(2006:496) further argues that, “even when academics manage to carry out higher quality research, Nigeria has few publishing outlets. The best research reports emanating from Nigeria are published abroad”. By all measures and accounts, research and publishing activities in Africa are in a critical condition. The general state in Africa is extremely poor Altbach & Teferra (2006:10). Improving research and increasing research output are some of the things that individual African countries, and the continent as a whole, should concentrate on; allowing higher education institutions to play their central role more effectively and properly carry out their core missions. It is apparent that one way of giving higher education a chance to play its role more effectively, is to make provision for genuine institutional autonomy and academic freedom.

There is a lack of institutional autonomy and academic freedom in African higher education institutions. There is too much state interference in the running of universities. Institutional autonomy and academic freedom within higher education institutions in key African countries, such as Kenya, are currently just not viable options. Actual control of these institutions is concentrated mostly in the hands of the government. The institutions are almost fully governed by direct control of political offices, with the president approving decisions ranging from teaching and research to all administrative issues (Ngome 2006:367). Denying academics the freedom to run their respective institutions and teach students on their own does not only curtail institutional development, it could also be interpreted as an underestimation of academics’ capacity to manage institutions or it could be construed simply as an indication that the government has an overweening sense of its own ability to conduct academic affairs. Those who are occupying influential positions within the institutions are appointed by government and; whether they qualify or not, does not seem to be an issue as far as those wielding power are concerned. This can strongly demoralise those who are qualified but are not rendered the powers of management or governance. This kind of government interference in higher education institutions can also hamper important priorities within the education system, such as the establishing and monitoring of quality education. Overall, there is no resemblance of a balanced relationship between the university and the government.

#### **4.4 Summary**

With the current state of education in African higher institutions, it seems impossible for the NEPAD goals to be achieved from a higher education perspective. The question then is "will Africa manage to achieve the NEPAD goals without the assistance of the development engineers?" The answer to this question may have to be in the negative; unless the cultivation and encouragement of deliberative democracy (which shall be discussed in the next chapter) becomes a viable option.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE NEED TO ENCOURAGE AND CULTIVATE DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY

#### 5.1 Introduction

The overview of African higher education institutions, as presented in the previous chapter, has proven that there is an apparent lack of academic freedom and institutional autonomy. These anomalies mean that such institutions do (not) meet the minimum conditions that would enable them to assist NEPAD in achieving its goals more effectively.

I would therefore argue that African higher education institutions should do more to increase their ability to assist NEPAD in meeting its goals, at the same time suggesting some essential changes needed to facilitate this change. These institutions of higher education should encourage and cultivate deliberative democracy.

#### 5.2 Democracy

Democracy is defined as (a) government of the people especially rule of the majority; (b) a government in which supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation, usually involving periodically free elections” <http://m-n.com/dictionary/democracy>. Democracy takes different forms. Two forms of democracy, namely deliberative democracy (also known as direct democracy) and aggregative democracy (also known as representative democracy) will be outlined. The two types are also referred to as the second-order theories...in the field of democracy (Gutmann & Thompson 2004:26).

According to Rawls (1999:138):

The definitive idea of deliberative democracy is the idea of deliberation itself. When citizens deliberate, they exchange views and debate their supporting reasons concerning public political questions. They suppose that their political opinions are not simply a fixed outcome of their existing private or non-political interests. It is at

this point that public reason is crucial, for it characterises such citizens' reasoning concerning constitutional essentials and matters of basic justice.

On the other hand, "aggregative democracy-preferences or interests are formed in private, then expressed, and added together in public. The aim of aggregative democracy is to elicit these private and unscrutinized preferences and additively combine them" Crocker (2006:319).

From the above, definitions, it appears that the basic difference between the two is that while deliberative democracy emphasises public reasoning, the preferences of aggregative democracy are formed in private. Moreover, aggregative democracy, unlike the deliberative approach, is not interested in any emphasis on public reasoning or arguments and important elements of the democratic process. When having to choose between the two, deliberative democracy would better suit the promotion of policies concerned with institutional governance and, specifically, the institutional autonomy and academic freedom of African higher educational institutions. In this way, African higher education institutions will be able to assist NEPAD better in its efforts to achieve its goals. Since my argument will be focused on cultivating and encouraging deliberative democracy, I shall first conceptualise the concept (deliberative democracy) before defending it.

### **5.3 Conceptualising deliberative democracy**

Primarily, before getting to other aspects of deliberative democracy, I would like to discuss an important aspect of deliberative democracy – rationality. Some authors, such as Waghid (2003), have labelled rationality a general principle of deliberative democracy. The term rationality is associated with – the key characteristic of deliberative democracy. Rationality is an essential concept, and unless the process is *rational*, it is not deliberative democracy. The principle of rationality, according to Waghid (2003:133), is "the individual's readiness to express and provide reasons in support of his or her self-interpretations and judgements in a lucid, coherent and logical manner". Rationality needs logic to iron out contradictions.

Moreover, given the definition, the principle of rationality and the whole process of deliberative democracy are quite vital to the governing of institutions, specifically for

the promotion of academic freedom and institutional autonomy. It is vital in the sense that citizens, generally, are most likely to accept, co-operate and live by decisions if they understand (after a process of rational arguments) where such decisions will be leading them. “The requirement of rational arguments also implies well-thought out and desirable decisions with regard to reality: To understand reality, one must use reasons consistently”

[http://www.importanceofphilosophy.com/ethics\\_rationality.html](http://www.importanceofphilosophy.com/ethics_rationality.html)-15/11/2007

With rationality as a compulsory component of deliberative democracy – despite the fact that sometimes people are represented by others – deliberative democracy may result in the exclusion of those who cannot argue or present rational arguments in a logical and coherent manner. However, rationality (deliberative democracy) is nonetheless vital, because “reasons attained through a process of compromise, rather than based on power asymmetries such as majority vote, are more convincing” Waghid (2003:135).

Alternative to the idea of rationality is the substantive concept of reason-reasonableness. What differentiates reasonableness from rationality is that reasonableness does not support the idea of formal rules and procedures, unlike rationality, which strongly emphasises formal procedures. In relation to reasonableness, Burbules (2005) has identified four traits that are central to reasonableness, which, should also be taken into consideration in the process of encouraging and cultivating deliberative democracy. The four traits are:

- a. Being objective, detached and unbiased (tolerant) towards different points of view. The ability to lend one’s ears to different views, realising the importance that lies in each.
- b. Accepting fallibilism (the understanding that people learn from mistakes) and the changes that past experiences, whether success, failure or disappointment, bring to our lives.
- c. Embracing pragmatism and the ability to face challenges. Tolerating uncertainty and accepting that confusion and failure are part of the growing process.

- d. Exercising judgement and the ability to judge and distinguish in situations where a rational calculation, in a narrow sense, might be called for. The capacity to provide desired consequences/to respond in the desired manner Burbules (2005:4)

The trait of accepting fallibilism requires one NOT to avoid making mistakes, as change is inevitably dependent on the ability to admit and recognise one's own mistakes and to understand why certain mistakes happen and how they may be avoided in future. The virtue of having the ability to change, fostered by mistakes, is one way of being reasonable. All four virtues facilitates the process of communication, which is all the more reason why they should be considered as standard social practice and as useful tools for encouraging and cultivating deliberative democracy.

A closer analysis of the four traits indicates a close link with the process of deliberation, mainly because deliberative democracy is a social process, guided by different forms of communications. While deliberating, people would be aiming to reach a final decision judged on given arguments. There is therefore need for one to hear and understand each argument and to tolerate each person's contribution. Those presenting their arguments are also expected to understand that some arguments might be more rational than their own and vice versa.

Deliberative democracy is a decision-making process aimed at reaching a decision that is fair and equal to all affected, in which citizens discuss and negotiate multiple points and think critically about options, broadening their understanding and obtaining different perspectives in the process. According to Waghid (2004:31), "Theoretically defined, deliberative democracy refers to the notion that legitimate political decision-making emanates from the public deliberation of citizens". In terms of governance, deliberative democracy could strengthen the governance systems because by nature it represents all people (race, class, age and geographical regions) in the deliberation process. The intention is to strengthen the voices of all people and, as a result, all the voices consequently affect public decision-making policies. In addition, governance policies would emerge which influence people's daily lives, because of all the people's concerns being expressed during the process. According to Gutmann & Thompson (2004:2), "Deliberative democracy affirms the need to justify

decisions made by citizens and their representatives. Both are expected to justify the laws they would impose on one another.” In further arguing that point, in a democracy, leaders should give reasons for their decisions and respond to the reasoned comments that citizens give in return.

Concerning the governance of higher education institutions, it can be suggested that the need for cultivating a pervasive climate of deliberative democracy is essential. Deliberative democracy takes into consideration, fairly and equally, the views of all concerned. In fact, unlike other theories such as justice, libertarianism, liberalism and communitarianism (also called the first-order theories); deliberative democracy does not actively seek to eliminate disagreements. However, its very nature of stimulating reciprocal dialogue successfully accommodates disagreements more often than not.

If governance policies, particularly of education in Africa, could accommodate all concerned citizens in the process of decision making with regard to institutions, better and acceptable conclusions and outcomes would be reached. This would promote institutional autonomy and academic freedom, leading to a balanced relationship between these institutions and the state following the encouragement of a proper partnership. The decision to include all role players and stakeholders in the decision-making process of establishing governance policies would also require deliberative democracy. Here, deliberation will be needed to decide on who should deliberate and why, and what should be discussed. I shall be responding to these questions later on.

Encouraging and cultivating deliberative democracy would also promote institutional autonomy and academic freedom in the sense that decisions would no longer merely be imposed on academics, non-academics or even students. In the nature of things, in the case of deliberation too, both those making decisions and those who are supposed to live by the decisions made will have to justify it to each other. This is called a reciprocity process.

Gutmann & Thompson (2004:3) have identified four characteristics of deliberative democracy invaluable for interpreting the concept. These characteristics are reason-giving requirement”, “accessibility”, “binding” and “dynamic.



What is most important in deliberative democracy is the “*reason-giving requirement*” or rational arguments. The reasons given must be presented in such a way that those given the reasons cannot reject them. As long as people are not given reasons for certain decisions, particularly in the case of institutional governance, it indicates a lack of institutional autonomy and academic freedom. When an institution or a person is autonomous, decisions affecting them, and not necessarily imposed on them, are to be accompanied by reasons. Autonomous agents are not supposed to operate as if they are obligated to obey external forces – whatever decisions affect them, procedural and substantive reasons should not be an option but a mandatory requirement. Presenting reasons is also meant to promote mutual respect, which is how a society or a nation should live. Imposing decisions suggests a lack of respect on the part of the decision makers. Furthermore, misleading or unreliable decisions could be imposed on people or institutions where reasons are not *de rigueur*. Within the ambit of deliberative democracy, there is a natural need to justify decisions and so avoid misleading or inappropriate decisions becoming current.

Currently, in most African countries, decisions regarding the institutions under review are heavily influenced by politics. If there are no proper requirements of reason for decisions taken under these conditions, institutions can be misled, resulting in malfunctioning. Similarly, if institutions are not autonomous enough to be able to filter and to question decisions from external forces, higher education institutions will not achieve their respective aims. This may come about when what is happening in the institutions has no link to the decisions imposed on them. Chaotic situations can then be expected as a part of life at these institutions.

Deliberative democracy requires that all the reasons given should be ‘accessible’ to all people concerned. Deliberative democracy as a process should be made public and all those concerned should understand what is discussed.

If we take NEPAD as an example regarding the accessibility of information, in Africa, and particularly in South Africa, there is a concern that the citizens have been questioning the relevance of this body. This could justify the claims that African leaders driving NEPAD did not negotiate the strategy with the civil society. In other words, because the civil society is not familiar with the main content and thrust of the

strategy, partly due to an understandable lack of insight, it does not fully support NEPAD. There is a need for the experts on NEPAD to deliberate with civil society and present their reasons for the existence of NEPAD. The need to deliberate on NEPAD should be emphasised more because of the previous development strategies, which were unsuccessful.

There is a need to motivate society and encourage the confidence of the people for another African development strategy. As all the other development programmes have failed, it might be understandable why citizens are not supporting NEPAD and wondering what it is that makes it unique. The leaders have to come out, take their people into confidence and state their motives and reasons for supporting NEPAD. The leaders will have to explain how NEPAD is different from other previous development strategies, like the Lagos Plan of Action. Gutmann & Thompson (2004:4) observe that, “Citizens are justified in relying on experts if they describe the basis for their conclusions in ways that citizens can understand and if the citizens have some independent basis for believing the experts to be trustworthy”. On the other hand, if higher education institutions are to assist with NEPAD goals, general deliberation between NEPAD leaders and society will not make much difference. There is an obvious need to deliberate specifically on the governance of higher education institutions, with particular reference to teaching and research. This should be done with the aim of promoting institutional autonomy and academic freedom.

Decisions that are the product of deliberative democracy should be ‘binding’. These decisions should be able to stand the test of time and – should no changes arise – serve as guidelines for future change. It is also important to note that deliberation on governance should start with the original ideas on governance policies and that justification of arguments should guide the process throughout the process of policy formulation. Deliberated decisions would be enriched in the sense that they would embrace the values of citizens, even if it means indirectly, through representatives. The justification for this approach, characterised by transparent reasons, is that it increases the possibility of formulating better policies, in that it could serve as a more useful guideline for the next round of setting policy – a binding feature. However, justifying the original decision is no guarantee that the same reasons or justification will always reign. Deliberative democracy has dialogue at heart, the process

is 'dynamic' and, whatever decisions are arrived at, should remain open to challenges – no mortal knows what tomorrow will bring. The dynamic aspect serves as an advantage of deliberative democracy in the sense that decisions can be improved on whenever it is deemed necessary. The process of reciprocity also becomes relevant at this point. Should the leaders, in striving to achieve the NEPAD goals, discover that it is not necessary or it is not a good idea to use any resources from the developed nations, the decision could be revised. Being dynamic, the process also caters for irreversible decisions in that more options can be added afterwards.

Institutions should strive to work for policies, which will yield better results, especially to ensure that teaching methods and research projects achieve the fundamental and contracted aims of these institutions. It can also be expensive for an institution to be operative but not to yield appropriately relevant results; what some authors call “economic moral disagreement”. If the problems lie within the policies or if the problem lies elsewhere but can be identified, because of its dynamism, deliberative democracy is the best philosophical approach. Deliberative democracy allows for amendment of policies and ironing out of problems according to people’s rational arguments.

Before concluding this section, it seems appropriate to reflect on an article titled, ‘Deliberative Democracy, Diversity and the Challenges of Citizenship Education’ by Penny Enslin, Pendlebury & Tjiattas. that the article outlines three prominent models of deliberative democracy, created by Rawls, Young & Benhabib. The three models have bearing on the “virtues necessary for participation in public life” Enslin et al (2001:118).

The first model, by Rawls, concerns public reason. Rawls describes this model as a strategic notion on reason. Within this notion, reasonability, more specifically moral sensibility of reasonableness, is conceived as an important virtue in democratic citizenship as far as public reason is concerned. Rawls further argues that moral sensibility of reasonableness provokes the desire for conception of independent desire, which enables one to justify one’s actions towards others. Democratic citizenship, by means of the virtue of public reason, is promoted through legitimate dialogue agreed on by all diverse groups. The complexity of reason is handled through the notion of

reason and the attribution of rationality and information, leading to the acceptance of diversity and pluralism as the normal state of public culture in a democratic society.

Seyla Benhabib, who exemplifies the discursive model, believes that deliberative democracy can promote legitimacy if it (deliberative democracy) is governed by morals of equality and asymmetry, where each individual has the same rights. This makes the discursive model more inclusive and preferable than the public reason model.

The communicative model, like the discursive model, recognises legitimacy as an important aspect of democracy. The public reason model is generally accused of omitting to address social inequalities and the issue of reason is most likely to benefit the already privileged ones who are familiar with the reasoning style and the art of speaking persuasively.

#### **5.4 In defence of deliberative democracy**

Moral disagreements are rife in politics and in everything else that is politically driven, such as African higher educational institutions policies. Deliberative democracy makes provisions for these moral disagreements by means of a process of dialogue. Those who take the final decisions should justify their reasons for taking them in such a way that those who are not favoured by the final decision are empowered to be able to accept the legitimacy of further collective decisions.

According to Gutmann & Thompson (2004: 8), "...legitimacy is a response to one of the sources of moral disagreement – scarcity of resources". The issue of resources is a serious one that many, if not all, higher educational institutions in Africa are facing. It therefore becomes very important to handle the available limited resources carefully by holding the users accountable. To clearly indicate who is to be held accountable with regard to resources, it is important that higher education institutions avoid the creation of bureaucratic systems or hierarchies. Flat structures are ideal within higher education systems. In other words, universities are most likely to be considered accountable if they handle the institutions autonomously and if academic freedom features. As highlighted in the previous chapter, higher education institutions in Africa currently lack autonomy and academic freedom. Deliberative democracy can

transform these institutions in such a way that they will be able to embrace autonomy and academic freedom. The precondition is that reasons for institutional autonomy and academic freedom are argued rationally. To understand better why this research effort has led to choosing deliberative democracy as the best theoretic approach, it is necessary to discuss its competition as well.

Deliberative democracy, also known as one of the second-order theories after the first-order (justice, libertarianism, liberalism and communitarianism), provides ways of dealing with moral conflicts or disagreements which first-order theories eliminate Gutman & Thompson (2007:26). At the risk of repetition, deliberative democracy is concerned with the justification of preferences. Its second-order theory competitor, aggregative democracy, is not concerned with justifying preferences. In an aggregative democracy, preferences are counted or discarded according to the results produced. In contrast, deliberative democracy's decisions are based on merits (arguments). Aggregative democracy operates by the rules of the majority, where people are given pre-agreed on options and they vote for or against them. It (aggregative) is not pro-arguments or the judgement of reasons.

Africans need to critically engage in the governing of higher education institutions and in establishing development strategies. Critical thinking is required if we are to understand Africa's problems as deeply as is required. This is in order to be able to think critically about situations and ask critical questions in processes of decision-making. Deliberative democracy, unlike its opponent (aggregative), allows room for critical analysis via the presentation of arguments.

The other method used by aggregative democracy is putting the expressed preferences through an "analytical filter as cost-benefit analysis" Gutmann & Thompson (2004:12). For purposes of decision-making, aggregative conception takes the form of elections. Reasons in aggregative democracy are only important in respect of the particular methods used, such as election. However, compared to deliberative democracy, aggregative democracy is not as time consuming, because they arrive at unambiguous decisions and the emphasis is on the outcome rather than on the process.

Apart from these superficial advantages, aggregative democracy cannot bring about good governance of higher education institutions, nor secure institutional autonomy or academic freedom. This is, in part (but, nonetheless important) because they do not provide room for further arguments – it is not being considered a matter of rationality. Moreover, as there is no place for dialogue in the fixed process, the process is not dynamic or flexible. Aggregative democracy, unlike deliberative, does not take into consideration the views of minority. It (aggregative) does not afford minorities the opportunity to challenge and try to convince the majority by means of presenting their (minority) arguments.

Due to its cost benefit analyses, aggregative democracy does not promote all the expressed preferences equally. Preferences with a high-cost benefits are often supported (for one or more of the superficial reasons mentioned above) and not the ones with low-cost benefits. Many have argued against deliberative democracy as a theory that does not have a “single procedure of reaching a final decision” Gutmann & Thompson (2004:15). The implication here is that these other procedures, i.e. elections, which are used to reach a final decision, might not be deliberative. Arguing for deliberative democracy, one can agree that it is true, it relies on other procedures for making a final decision, but this is on condition that the particular procedures are justified by assuring many opportunities for deliberation.

Development is always contextual. NEPAD, as a development strategy, will therefore differ from other similar strategies outside Africa, both in terms of the values of the African people and the many ethical issues. That deliberative democracy is a time-consuming process, has been labelled a disadvantage of the approach. In the process of deliberation and with time, those involved will learn and come to a better understanding of the arguments of others, they will come to see the value of details and develop understanding of why certain people argue the way they do. This may even lead to certain people changing their own arguments as they develop understanding of the viewpoints of others. This again proves that the dynamic nature of deliberative democracy is a great advantage that serves multiple purposes.

It can be assumed that citizens will want to engage in a process where they can change their way of thinking, their frames of reference and consequently be in a

position to freely express their different perspectives. They will be presented with a process in which they know that there may be disagreement, even final decisions that are not in their favour, but they will trust the process, as they would be a *bona fide* part of the process throughout. All this justifies the belief that deliberative democracy has mutual respect at heart. Concerning the issues of institutional autonomy and academic freedom – if university agendas are in the hands of *bona fide* university staff and even students, in a fair partnership with the state (or any other relevant external forces), it will indicate a situation of mutual respect and trust between state and staff. The staff would feel comfortable and be willing to initiate the process, knowing they will not be doing it in vain nor be putting their jobs in jeopardy. Moreover, even if they do not get what they want, they will not feel demoralised, as they will be presented with justification for the decisions. In cases which the government fails to justify or in which it imposes decisions on the staff, it would be considered a clear sign of disrespect. In fact, when institutions are autonomous, any external intervention would have to be justified as a matter of course.

In defence of deliberative democracy, one could affirm that the positive constituents of deliberative democracy, such as reciprocity, rationality, dynamism, inclusivity and accessibility allow citizens the opportunity to deliberate on policies and ultimately influence the policies, which affect them. It is through the deliberation of policies that people's demands can be effectively considered, provided there is adherence to the constituents of deliberative democracy – especially rationality.

### **5.5 Linking deliberative democracy to institutional autonomy and academic freedom**

In this section, I shall justify the reasons for selecting deliberative democracy as a method that should be encouraged and cultivated if African higher education institutions are to achieve autonomy and academic freedom and advance sufficiently to be able to assist NEPAD in achieving its goals. This shall be done by discussing the constituents of deliberative democracy, which link to the requisite freedom associated with institutional autonomy and academic freedom.

The way higher education institutions are governed and the way their policies are formulated, are largely decided and affected by the level of autonomy and academic

freedom present in these institutions. Deliberative democracy, which is deemed necessary in the formation of policies leading to the cultivation of institutional autonomy and academic freedom, should therefore include the recognition and acceptance of reasons as a gateway to action. The important constituents of deliberation, which can essentially contribute to institutional autonomy and academic freedom, are stated below.

The first constituent is reciprocity. Deliberative democracy requires authorities to justify to citizens, by means of public reasoning, the applicable and valid reasons, acceptable to those affected, that is, why the relevant decisions were taken. Similarly, those affected are also expected, in return, to give reasons to others why they are rejecting or accepting their decisions. This process is called reciprocity. For Gutmann & Thompson (1996:55), “The good received is that you make your claims on terms that I accept in principle. The proportionate return is that I make my claim on terms that you accept in principle”.

The second constituent is publicity. According to Crocker (2006:321), “... publicity demands, among other things, that each member is free to engage directly or by presentation in the deliberation process, that the process is transparent to all (rather than being done, as Habermas would say, ‘behind their back’ and that each knows that to which he or she is agreeing or disagreeing to”. It is quite important for citizens to know the kind of policies, which are governing them. Here publicity plays a major role. More importantly, for publicity to be more efficient there should be transparency and openness in the formulation of policies and in the governing of institutions. Lack of publicity, especially in public institutions invites controversy, which leads to chaos within systems. The idea of publicity can also be associated with Rawls’ idea of public reason.

The third constituent is accountability. Each group member is accountable to all and not to himself alone in the sense of giving acceptable reasons to others. Accountability extends then not only to one’s fellow group members and to their subgroups and not only to those ones reasoning but also to those in other groups who are bound by the decisions or affected by its actions Crocker (2006:318). In deliberation, those who make decisions (the representatives) have an obligation to



explain their decisions and actions to the citizens at large or simply to those who are bound by the decisions made. Accountability also assists in making sure that representatives remain answerable and accessible to those whom they serve, i.e. the citizens. Citizens should also be able to outline unacceptable practices and hold those in charge (representatives) accountable – without jeopardising their jobs and without any fear of retribution. Other important constituents of deliberative democracy, which link to freedom that can be associated with institutional autonomy and academic freedom, include the requirement of reason giving, inclusiveness and dynamism.

The important actors in deliberation are citizens and representatives. The constituents identified above are only useful if those who are being addressed i.e. citizens, have the skills of appreciating such actions. In other words, reciprocity, publicity and accountability are worth applying, if those involved are aware of how crucial they (constituents) are and if they know how to respond...to them. “Publicity and the sense of being answerable to the public are of no use unless the public are qualified to form a sound judgement” <http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/stanford/contents.html> 13/11/2007.

There are two important questions to consider in the process of deliberation. According to Crocker (2006:320), if we are to emphasise deliberation, and some conceptions of the ideals that might guide the process of deliberation, then we must answer two related questions. (a) Which groups should practise deliberative democracy? (b) Within the deliberating groups, which members (and perhaps non-members) should deliberate and decide? Crocker did not answer these questions, but I shall attempt to answer them, based on the elements of institutional autonomy and academic freedom while alluding to the governance of higher education institutions and policy formulations thereof.

In answering the first question, I am of the opinion that as far as institutional autonomy and academic freedom are concerned, the university members (mainly academic and administrative staff) and the state (main sponsors) are the ultimate groups to be included in the deliberation process of institutional governance. The two groups are expected to deliberate on their inevitable relationship, which in the case of Africa should aim for a partnership relation or level. In the process, the two are expected to outline the different roles that are to be assigned to each group. Put

differently, they should deliberate on the limit of interference, which is the main hindrance to institutional autonomy and academic freedom, especially from the state and other external stakeholders. However, it is important that in the process of deliberation, the constituents of deliberative democracy should guide those deliberating, especially by the requirement that reasons be provided.

In accordance with the tenets of academic freedom and institutional autonomy, deliberation should focus on not only the policies, but even more on the nature of academic freedom and institutional autonomy. Asking crucial questions during procedures is important in this regard. These would include questions such as: (a) What does it really mean to have autonomy? (b) What are the parameters, which should be in existence? (c) Which practices should be in place and which should be condemned or rejected?

The second question pertains to which members within the deliberative groups should deliberate and decide. It would be suggested that from the two groups mentioned earlier, those involved in the governing bodies – be it council, senate and other members found to be relevant – should deliberate and decide. Moreover, those to deliberate must be persons with expertise in the respective field i.e. higher education policy and those who are capable of having the required knowledge. However, these members should not forget that they are representatives who should remain accountable to the rest of the respective societies. When the different members are deliberating, especially with regard to institutional autonomy and academic freedom, it should be kept in mind that freedom is an essential concept not only in deliberation but also in institutional autonomy and equally for academic freedom to flourish.

My reason for choosing the selected groups of people who should deliberate is triggered by their willingness to participate in the governance of institutions. This is because, in order to deliberate, participation is a prerequisite. The fact that they are part of the council or the senate indicates that they have opted to participate in the governance of the institutions. The difference is that, they will be required to participate in a deliberative manner. Having identified the appropriate groups and people who should deliberate and having even suggested what should be deliberated on, there are other important concerns that need clarification. The skills needed to be

able to deliberate must be determined. Crocker (2006:298) has identified the following necessary skills especially for public functioning, which can be successfully transferred also to functioning within a system of deliberative democracy:

- a) The skills of initiating public dialogue or making proposals about an issue such that one's reason "receives deliberative uptake";
- b) The ability to engage in argument and counter-argument;
- c) Skills in framing and reframing a debate, showing that some dichotomies are neither exclusive nor exhaustive and finding ways to harmonise proposals and compromise values; and
- d) Ability to employ persuasive and not manipulative rhetoric.

From the above skills, it can be deduced that deliberative democracy requires participation in a particular way to promote the use of rationality and collective decision-making. "The view that rationality of arguments is a valuable part of a human agency; that political formulations have to be consistent and without contradiction; that everyone should in principle be attuned to the order of things and the view that relevant arguments need to be advanced in inter-subjective processes of rational deliberation", are relevant in this regard Taylor (1985:137). Governance policies, guided by Taylor's ideas, should encourage and cultivate a deliberative framework where there will be hope that institutional autonomy and academic freedom's demands will be heard; although it cannot be guaranteed that, their decisions will lead to this. Therefore, this is how policies in democratic societies should be formulated.

### **5.6 How can the goals of NEPAD be implemented following a deliberative democratic discourse?**

Deliberative democratic discourses according to Crocker (2006:317) "aim to solve concrete problems or to devise general policies for solving specific problems while the goal is to provide a fair way in which free and equal members of a group can overcome their differences and reach agreements about action and policy". A productive discourse yields productive results. A deliberative democratic discourse is most likely to lead to a success of Africa's development strategic goals. Deliberative democracy can bring about better communication, which is conceived to be lacking as

far as NEPAD is concerned. However, deliberative democracy is criticised for its specific ways of communicating issues of being rational, logical and so on. The reason behind this kind of criticism is that, with the kind of communicating nature, deliberative democracy has the tendency to exclude many people from the discourse, with better ideas, as long as they fail to communicate rationally and in a logical manner. At the same time, choices or decisions reached via deliberative discourses are fairer than decisions reached based on power relations.

The goals or policies with regard to NEPAD can be better implemented through deliberative democratic discourses and specifically its use of public reasoning. Through public reasoning, people would discuss and try to reach an agreement on how to best pursue the goals of NEPAD, leading to an effective implementation of the goals. A deliberative discourse is likely to reach an effective implementation stage because having different members in the discourse, with different interests and views, deliberative democracy is ready to accommodate all on equal bases. In this way, information is likely to be effective and intensive. According to San (2003:31), “The ideal of public reasoning is closely linked with two particular social practices that deserve specific attention - the tolerance of different points of view and the encouragement of public discussion”. Deliberative democratic discourses are also likely to promote co-operation among discourse members, boiling down to co-operation between the society and their representatives. Co-operation is likely to result from equality in decision-making and the equal chances that members have in making choices. These are all characteristics of deliberative democracy.

NEPAD is conceived as an elite programme in African societies. This view can cause civil society to be reluctant to support the strategy. To achieve the goals, there is an immediate need to break the belief of social inequality and to make sure citizens feel ownership of the programme that is supposed to be for Africans and to be achieved by Africans. In such a case, deliberative democratic discourse will be appropriate, as it undermines social inequalities. Deliberative democracy seeks to be inclusive of all people’s views, whether it is those who fall in the majority or minority group. This way, there can be hopes of implementing the goals of NEPAD appropriately.

Furthermore, NEPAD goals can be better implemented if more people know about the goals and the background of NEPAD. A deliberative democratic discourse can provide room for the experts of NEPAD to elaborate on the nature of the goals. In this sense, more people, and not only experts can focus better on achieving and implementing the goals, depending on how effective the discourse is. The effectiveness of the discourse will depend on how the discourse members have adhered to deliberative democracy's constituents, such as rationality.

As far as (NEPAD) goals are concerned, it will not be of much help to have once-off decisions on how the goals are to be achieved. NEPAD goals need to be discussed continuously and there is a need to keep evaluating the progress in case there is a need for change or improvement. This is possible through deliberative democratic discourses.

Perhaps it is appropriate to take stock of NEPAD's stated goals:

- Eradicating extreme poverty and hunger
- Achieving universal primary education
- Promoting gender equality and empower women
- Reducing child mortality rate
- Improving maternal health
- Combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Ensuring a sustainable environment
- Developing a global partnership for development

Given NEPAD goals and the characteristics of deliberative democracy, higher education could assist NEPAD to achieve its goals effectively within the deliberative democratic framework. For example, deliberative democracy tends to embrace inclusivity and one of NEPAD's main shortcomings appears to be the exclusion of the civil society on the upcoming of NEPAD. Moreover, if the second goal of NEPAD, achieving universal primary education is considered in the framework of deliberative democracy, inclusivity is most likely to compliment the promotion of universal primary education. Decision-making processes with regard to this goal are to include

all relevant participants. When it comes to education, it is important that no one should be discriminated against, considering the 'Education for All' policy. Inclusivity would not only be useful in the goal of achieving universal primary education, but every goal and every decision should be inclusive.

Deliberative democracy engages people in conversations. Through public conversations, people can talk critically and can talk deeply into the issues stipulated in the goals, be it extreme poverty, gender and equality, child mortality, HIV/AIDS pandemic, environmental issues and global partnership. Engaging in public conversations, people can deliberate on how to prevent the perpetuation of the current problems and how to minimise the problems and eventually how to eliminate the problems and achieve the goals. People are encouraged to listen to one another if conversations are guided by rationality. Rationally, people will be exchanging ideas, striving for best solutions. What is most important is that each person's idea will be guided by reason. The quality of rationality also brings along the promotion of mutual respect among participants. The importance of mutual respect is that, it immediately fosters cooperation. In addition, when there is cooperation, understanding occurs, most possibly leading to the achievement of the goals. The exchange of opinions, ideas and interests in a democratic environment is likely to trigger collective solutions to problems, leading to the achievement of the goals.

Universities and other higher education institutions are the engineers of development, especially economic and social development. It is therefore important for higher education in Africa to have autonomy and for academics to have the freedom to pursue their aims as far as education and development are concerned. Through higher education institutions, Africa's problems can be tackled better by means of teaching and research. Teaching and research are regarded as essential elements for sustained development. It is through these elements that critical thinking minds, which are capable of identifying and dealing with developmental problems in Africa, are developed. The objectives of NEPAD, as an African development strategy, cannot be accomplished more successfully from outside the continent. We are strategically placed and have local insights available to drive the NEPAD programme towards its successful culmination.

My submission is that higher education can help NEPAD to achieve its goals better, but only if our higher education institutions have the freedom to carry out their core activities of teaching and research. This is where deliberative democracy comes in to play – higher education governance policies should be subjected to thorough deliberation. This will assure fair and inclusive argument in favour of institutional autonomy and academic freedom. Furthermore, once institutional autonomy and academic freedom are achieved, deliberative democracy should continue to guide these higher education policies and practices, making sure institutional autonomy and academic freedom do not lapse. I agree with De la Rosa (2007: 12) who has brought forward two important points with regard to the granting of academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

There is an absolute need for these principles to continue being discussed in open dialogue between the various sectors of society and the university academicians in a spin of partnership. However, universities are expected to achieve certain political and social objectives and respond to the demands of the market. Universities certainly have the right to decide, which means they should have the right to choose how they fulfil their short-term and their long-term mission in society.

The granting of academic freedom and institutional autonomy has pre-conditions, accountability, transparency and quality assurance. These are firm foundations for a contract between society and its universities that can provide reasonable assurance that universities will indeed serve their societies and their communities. At the same time, universities can enjoy freedom of choice regarding how best to serve their societies, how to not only react and respond to changes, but become proactive, anticipate such changes and be true leaders in initiating and accomplishing desirable developments.

The two points above by De la Rosa, link institutional autonomy and academic freedom to both deliberative democracy and to the intended achievement of the NEPAD goals. De la Rosa has alluded to the need for these principles to continue being discussed in open dialogue. The implication is that deliberative democracy should guide the process of these principles and that, even when they are granted, deliberation should be perpetuated.

This point of departure also holds true concerning the expectations of both society and the state who want universities to respond to the demands of the markets. The expectations could be realised as an achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). One solution could be to initiate research geared towards the achievement of the MDGs. Higher education institutions would then be expected to embrace MDGs not only in their research, but also in the teaching curriculum or syllabus. More importantly, universities can only do this if they are granted the freedom. Institutional autonomy and academic freedom then become important, not only to these education institutions, but also to society in general – the demands of the market being essentially the demands of the people in society. This also triggers the argument that the state and societies in general should value, respect and, in every possible way, grant freedom to higher education institutions, especially when considering that these institutions are to remain ultimately accountable for their products.

The value of academic freedom is closely linked to the fundamental purposes and mission of the modern university. The expanding role that universities are playing in the Information Age only increases its significance. The emergence of a world-wide knowledge economy, the unparalleled transactional flow of information and ideas, and the growing number of young democracies, all make necessary the continued re-examination and articulation of the nature and importance of academic freedom. Indeed, across the globe, the defence of academic freedom remains at the heart of ongoing political and economic battles over the role and autonomy of universities (Doyle, 2005: 5).

If we are determined to place Africa on the globalisation route and if the continent is to achieve sustainable growth and development, it is important at this juncture to allow institutions on the African continent the academic freedom needed to function freely. Without this stance, what NEPAD outlines as the important goals necessary to bring about Africa's renewal will not be realised. Unless suitably trained people with deliberative skills and agendas enter the job market, the initiative will flounder. However, if we encourage and cultivate deliberative democracy as a driving force for all decision-making processes the positive outcome of our development initiatives can be assured and safe-guarded.



## **5.7 Summary**

In conclusion, it is one thing to claim and demand institutional autonomy and academic freedom and another thing to put that freedom to good use, once attained. Accordingly, if Africans are serious about achieving NEPAD goals and if higher education is to play a vital role, institutions should be conscious of how they use the freedom they are accorded while implementing actions that will lead to assisting NEPAD in realising its goals. Higher education should therefore carry out all the activities that are deemed necessary for development, which are only possible in the light of institutional autonomy and academic freedom. Among these activities, the most important one will always be continuous research.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONSCIOUSNESS OF AND REFLECTION ON MY EXPERIENCES REGARDING THE THESIS AND COURSE WORK**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I present a narrative account of my intellectual and professional growth through my research, the writing up of this thesis and the associated course work. The chapter will also outline the various challenges faced, including methodological issues, which have been dealt with. Additionally, it will offer possibilities and or recommendations for future research on the realisation of NEPAD goals in relation to African higher education governance.

#### **6.2 My experience**

I have always wanted my Master's research to focus on education and its links to development. In other words, I had a desire to research how education can contribute to the development of society. In response to this desire, my supervisor suggested that I incorporate NEPAD as an African development strategy in my research, and investigate how education (and specifically African higher education institutions) can be agents for change and thus contribute to Africa's development.

Writing this thesis has been a unique challenge in my academic life. While engaged in course work, prior to writing up the thesis, thinking course work was what I had been doing at university all these years, so I was eager to finish up with course work and to start writing the thesis. I have since, however, come to appreciate the necessity of spending time on the course work. Not only has it been quite informing, it has also greatly improved the quality of my insight in the field of study and I have often wondered how I could possibly have coped without the theoretical knowledge I gained from the course work.

Then came the final phase of course work – it was time to write a research proposal for the thesis. Although I had to rewrite it a few times, the new challenge was enjoyable and I always looked forward to a supportive reply from my supervisor. Finally, the proposal was accepted and I reached the stage of actually doing the main

writing. It was at this stage that the greater challenge surfaced. At times, it was no longer as much fun as I anticipated. At first, I was ready to take it badly, doubting my own abilities, but then I remembered that we all learn best from our own mistakes. It was useful to consciously contemplate a philosophical concept I had dealt with in the course work, called fallibilism. Burbules (2005:5) defines the term thus:

In a variety of contexts, personal and professional, intellectual and emotional, we all have experience with failure, error and disappointment. If we can live with these, as we must, it is usually with the understanding that they have formed us, taught us something, and strengthened our capacity to endure change. In this broader sense, the acceptance of fallibilism is a component of a reasonable character.

### **6.3 Methodological issues**

One of the things found to be very challenging, was choosing the methodology that would best suit the research. A final decision was made on critical educational theory as the broader framework of thinking as far as this research is concerned because it explains situations. The theory helps one to understand situations and to offer possible changes for unfavourable or unsatisfactory situations. Africa's poverty conforms to these specifications, as it is a situation that is unfavourable, needs to be studied in depth and be well understood if one is to be able to bring about changes. Learning from available literature is in my opinion, one of the most important characteristics of critical theory.

As I engaged in the field of study, I discovered that, at first, I had quite vague ideas on the principles of critical educational theory. After reading several books and articles, I came to a better understanding of the theory. One of the books I read was that of Rush, in which he which describes critical theory as:

One might be tempted to think that critical theory is critical because it 'criticizes' existing political life. Critical theory is as an account of the social forces of domination that takes its theoretical activity to be practically connected to the object of its study. In other words, critical theory is not merely descriptive, it is a way to instigate social change by providing knowledge of the forces of social inequality that can, in turn, inform political action aimed at emancipation or at least diminishing domination and inequality (2004:9).

NEPAD is a development strategy seeking to find solutions in its pursuit of engineering Africa's renewal. The focus of interest of this research was to discover ways and means whereby African higher education institutions are best able to assist NEPAD on its journey towards Africa's renewal. However, conditions of institutional autonomy and academic freedom are evident prerequisites for this development. In terms of my research, the principles of critical theory need to be directed at the main thrust of the development strategy (NEPAD), which is to change Africa's situation and bring about change – described in terms of its brief as 'Africa's renewal'. This is where critical education theory becomes a necessity, as it generally has the tendency of transforming.

It is important at this stage also to state why other educational theories were found not appropriate for the purpose of this study. According to Habermas (1975:60), there are three kinds of knowledge constitutive interests – corresponding to three forms of knowledge:

- Technical interests, corresponding to empirical-analytical sciences (Positivist Educational Theory);
- Practical interests, corresponding to historical-hermeneutic sciences (Interpretive Educational Theory) and;
- Emancipatory interests, corresponding to critical theory (Critical Educational Theory).

Positivist educational theory cannot work in this study, because it claims, “there is only one genuine kind of knowledge, science” Fay (1975:10). This theory believes that we cannot argue rationally on values, only on facts.

Rationality has been another important aspect, as the study recognises deliberative democracy as an important framework, which needs to be cultivated and encouraged in social practices discussed. On the other side is interpretive educational theory. Unlike positivist educational theory, it claims that in any study of human beings and their actions, interpretation cannot be by-passed. The two central features of

interpretive educational theory are that, it insists that the self-understanding of agents is the basis of all social explanation and that human consciousness is transparent Fay (1975:79).

Critical educational theory agrees with the tenets of interpretive educational theory, but it insists that self-understanding itself needs to be explained. As human consciousness is not transparent, it needs to be explained, interpreted and understood. Ideally, critical educational theory is interested in human emancipation Fay (1975:98).

#### **6.4 Academic writing**

When I started writing this thesis, I developed an ever-growing admiration and appreciation for academic writers. It is such a challenge to order one's thoughts logically and effectively, which in my view is only understood once one is engaged in it oneself. I discovered that, as I wrote my ideas down, by the time I finished, the meaning always seemed to become a bit blurred. Earlier in the year 2007, I attended a session on academic writing, hosted by the Stellenbosch University's language laboratory. It was quite a short session, yet intensive. I must say that it has helped me a great deal with my academic writing.

My main problem was that I was writing without providing proper arguments. Every time I received feedback from my supervisor, there were always many 'whys'. That was when my supervisor also started to explain that I needed to substantiate my arguments. I found it difficult to bring forward arguments, especially in relation to literature and the opinions of others. I did not know how to argue clearly in response to what other people had written, until the time my supervisor explained that it was there that I needed to put critical educational theory to good use.

Understanding my own critique and my reasons for analysing viewpoints were also problematic aspects of research. This was when I discovered my own voice within the arguments I was putting forward. It was also at this stage that I realised how useful the course work had been – I had actually learned a lot from writing up assignments.

### **6.5 Influence of visiting scholars, conferences and speeches**

During the Masters' programme, I was privileged to meet two visiting scholars to my department, Professor Michael Peters (University of Illinois, New Zealand) and Professor Paul Smeyers (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium). Peters shared ideas on the importance of the knowledge economy. That is when I came to understand the concept better, especially its importance to the African continent. I found the concept more interesting as I related it to my research. The issue discussed by Peters that I found most helpful was "*The role of education in the global knowledge system*". I thought this would be an excellent question to include in my research. However, I tried to read about the knowledge economy and to see how it related to my research; unfortunately, I could not find its clear-cut relationship with this study.

Smeyers delivered a very fascinating presentation on the work of a reputable philosopher, known as Ludwig Wittgenstein. Smeyers has successfully simplified the philosophical work of Wittgenstein, making it interesting and understandable for everyone. Smeyers said something about the philosophy of education that has remained in my thoughts: '*Philosophy of education should be talking about what education should be – the open-endedness of education – and not only what it is.* In the statement by Smeyers I could see the need for critical theory. The 'should be' part is the most important as it actually emphasises change.

Towards the end of the year, I received an invitation to attend a session on African University Day, hosted by the International Office of Stellenbosch University. I thought it would be useful, since my research focuses on African universities. Professor Russel Botman, the rector of the university, focused his speech on African universities and the Millennium Development goals (MDGs). I felt as if he was specifically taking to me. Botman stressed the point that it is the role of higher education institutions to assist in achieving the MDGs. His precise words were: '*Higher education should tackle MDGs as a challenge. There should be knowledge behind the MDGs and in this way everyone should become a building block in the knowledge economy.* I found his speech to be a word of encouragement, which inspired me to put even more effort into my study and to stress the importance of the MDGs.

Toward the end of 2007, I was fortunate to participate in the seventh annual Education Students' Regional Research Conference, hosted by the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) in collaboration with the University of Cape Town (UCT), the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Stellenbosch University (US). The keynote speakers at this conference emphasised the importance of post-graduate studies, particularly at this time when the world is faced by challenges of globalisation and the knowledge economy. Professor Mzamo Mangaliso, president of the National Research Foundation (NRF), emphasised the importance of research and post-graduate studies among Africans. He based his argument on the demands of the market in the near future, which he presupposes will demand doctoral degrees. He encouraged students to take up the issue (of an increase in numbers of post-graduate studies) seriously. This also encouraged me to pay serious attention and to emphasise the issue in this research, specifically in relation with successfully achieving the Millennium Development Goals and, ultimately, those of NEPAD.

#### **6.6 Possible pathways for future research**

The focus of this research has been mainly on the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and its goals. The aim of the study is to determine whether African higher education institutions can assist NEPAD to achieve its goals more effectively. I must say that NEPAD should be applauded for its well-articulated goals and objectives, which I think define the core of what is needed for the renewal of our continent. If Africa's higher education institutions become well positioned (also in terms of autonomy and academic freedom) in the process, it can lead to the greater success of NEPAD and eventually bolster Africa's development.

However, NEPAD also has some serious shortcomings. The strategy has not explained or outlined the failure of the previous development strategies, such as the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA). The argument here is that, this could assist NEPAD to have a better focus on the current problems. It could also prove useful to learn from failures of previous African development strategies. Another shortfall that may impede progress – seriously disadvantaging the strategy – is the belief among civil societies that NEPAD is an elitist programme, designed to benefit only the rich. This

contention among the members of the different societies was triggered by the ongoing lack of communication between the experts of NEPAD and civil society.

Having read a couple of NEPAD documents, I have been struck by how the lack of coordination between the new strategy and past strategies has led to the current strategy being poised to make similar mistakes as those of the past. According to Zounmenou (2004:6), “NEPAD is confusing growth with development. Growth from an economic perspective is not development, but only an item of it. This mistake has been made in previous development strategies applied to the continent and had the direct consequences of throwing millions of Africans into abject poverty”.

In writing this thesis, I have discovered that there is need for African higher education institutions to emphasise the intensification of a culture of research. It is highlighted, that it is mostly through research work that African higher education institutions can assist NEPAD to better achieve its goals. The reason for repeatedly stressing this point here is that higher education institutions can discover the problems of Africa better through study and research. Only then can they hope to find better solutions.

NEPAD is but one example of how society can be assisted through research conducted by institutes of higher education. However, this type of research alone is not sufficient to bring about development. There is an essential need for a framework in which research will be freely practised. Here the call is for recognition of the need for institutional autonomy and academic freedom. This study has made the argument that these two elements are essential if higher education institutions are to assist NEPAD in better achieving its goals.

Having conducted the analyses of institutional governance, the lack of institutional autonomy and academic freedom, the study has acquired insights into the nature of higher education in various areas of Africa while discovering the need for continuous research on the practices which undermine autonomy and academic freedom (and that something can be done about those practices). Such contradictory practices in the education discipline can be effectively dealt with by applying the criteria of critical educational theory. One of the reasons for suggesting critical theory for this purpose is that it provides ways of identifying contradictions. In critical educational theory, “we



can turn away from contradictions or try to lessen contradictions, one can pursue the path of least contradictions” (Rush 2004:9).

As institutional autonomy and academic freedom are important prerequisites for effective and success-driven institutes of learning, it can be suggested that there is a need to find mechanisms that can ensure that such institutions are utilised to their maximum efficiency. This will unleash the goodness inherent in independent research and teaching and will help our continent to keep up with the demands of the knowledge economy, at the same time attending to local and global needs. Overall, the governance of higher education institutions needs to be amended in such a way that it makes provision for institutional autonomy and academic freedom, keeping in mind also, the importance of research (within an independent framework).

### **6.7 Summary**

The New Economic Partnership for Africa’s Development is, capable of bringing about Africa’s renewal by carefully looking at the goals and the objectives of the strategy. The Millennium Development Goals are likewise achievable, provided that certain conditions are met. In this respect, it has become clear that institutional autonomy and academic freedom are the *sine qua non* of the conditions identified through this research.

Research was conducted through an analysis of representative African higher education institutions (Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Nigeria and Namibia). It is unfortunate that the findings have shown a general lack of institutional autonomy and academic freedom. There seems to be too much state interference in institutional matters. In this regard, it is recommended that there be a cultivation and encouragement of deliberative democracy to bring about institutional autonomy and academic freedom leading to the achievement of NEPAD goals. My suggestion is that, if the framework of deliberative democracy as operating principle is guaranteed, African higher education institutions will be able to assist NEPAD to achieve its goals better. The development of the African continent is a matter of urgency, in which all Africans should participate. The possible research pathways and recommendations brought forward in this study, therefore, need earnest consideration.

## Reference:

Altbach, PG & Teferra, D. 2006. *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Adejumobi, S. 2003. Governance and Poverty Reduction in Africa: A Critique of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). *Journal of Comparative Education and International Relations in Africa* Vol. 5: 129-151.

African Union. 2002. African Union in a Nutshell. *Heads of State Government Launching of the African Union*. Durban, South Africa.

African Union. 2006. *Revitalizing Higher Education in Africa*. Reports of First Experts' meeting. Johannesburg, South Africa.

Assie-Lumumba, NT. 2006. *Higher Education in Africa: Crises, Reforms and Transformation*. Dakar, Senegal: Imprimerie Saint Paul.

Bah-Laiya, I. 2003. Implementing EFA: *Lessons Emerging from the Development of a Civil Society Capacity Building in Sub-Saharan Africa*. UNESCO.

Bala, A & du Rand, A. 2003. *The New Partnership for Africa's Development: Prospects and Challenges*. Pretoria: African Institute of South Africa.

Bentley, K *et al.* 2007. *Academic Freedom, Institutional Autonomy and the Corporatised University in Contemporary South Africa*. Council on Higher Education (CHE).

Berlin, I. 1958. Two Concepts of Liberty. *An Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford on October 1958*. Oxford: OUP.

Burbules, N. 2005 Rethinking Rationality: On Learning to be Reasonable. In: *MEd: Philosophy of Education 2006-2007*, Department of Education Policy Studies, Stellenbosch University.

Carr, W. & Kemmis, S. 1986. *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge and Action Research*. London: Falmer Press.

Council of Higher Education, South Africa. 2000. *Towards a New High Education Landscape*, Pretoria.

Crocker, A D. 2006. *Sen and Deliberative Democracy*. Alexander Kaufman. New York: Routledge.

Dahl, J & Shilimela, R. 2003. NEPAD and the African Resource Gap: A Critical Examination. NEPRU (Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit), *NEPRU Working Paper* No, 87.

De la Rosa, AR. 2007. Institutional Autonomy and Academic Freedom: A Perspective of the American Continent. *Journal of Higher Education Policy*. 2007 Vol. 20: 275-288.

Dearlove, J. 1997. The Academic Labour Process: *From Collegiality and Professionalism and Managerialism and Proterianism*. Higher Education Review, 30: 56-75.

Diescho, J. 2002. *Understanding the New Partnership for Africa's Development*. Windhoek: Namibian Institute for Democracy and Konrad-adenauer-stiftung.

Doyle, M W. 2005. *Report of the First Global Quolloquium of University Presidents*. Columbia University. January 18-19.

Dworkin, G. 1988. *The Theory and Practice of Autonomy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Eismon, T O. 1994. Uganda: Higher education and the State. In Neave, G & Van Vught, F. *Government and Higher Education Relationships across Three Continents: The Winds of Change*. Paris: International Association of Universities.

Enslin, P; Pendlebury, S; & Tjiattas, M. 2001. Deliberative Democracy, Diversity and the Challenges of Citizenship Education. *The Journal of Philosophy of Education* Vol. 35 (1), 115-130.

Fawole, A. 2003. Rethinking Africa's Development in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Myths and Realities of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). *Journal of Comparative Education and International Relations in Africa*. Vol. 5, No 1 and 2:71-88.

Fay, B. 1975. *Social Theory and Political Practice*. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Gabriel, N. 2003. The Millennium Development Goals: *Towards A Civil Society Perspective on Reforming Poverty Reduction Strategies in Southern Africa*. Presented at Southern Africa MDGs Forum, Johannesburg, 2<sup>nd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> July 2003.

Gibson, R. 1986. *Critical Theory and Education*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Gutman, A & Thompson, D.1996. *Democracy and Disagreement*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Gutmann, A. & Thompson, D. 2004. *Why Deliberative Democracy*. New York: Princeton University Press.

Habermas, J. 1987. *Knowledge and Human Interests*. Cambridge: Polity press.

Horkheimer, M. 2004. *Critical Theory*: New York: Seabury Press.

<http://m-n.com/dictionary/democracy-09/11/2007>

[http://www.importanceofphilosophy.com/ethics\\_rationality.html-15/11/2007](http://www.importanceofphilosophy.com/ethics_rationality.html-15/11/2007).

[http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/stanford/contents.html-Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy](http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/stanford/contents.html-Stanford_Encyclopaedia_of_Philosophy) 13/11/2007

Jarvis, D. 1998. *Postmodernism: A Critical Typology. Politics and Society*, 26(1): 95-143 in Waghid, Y. 2002. *Democratic Education: Policy and Praxis*. Matieland: Stellenbosch University Printers.

Jibril, M. In Altbach, PG & Teferra, D. 2006. *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Kamba, W. 2000. *The University's Responsibilities to Society: International Perspectives*. Elsevier Science.

Kerr, D. 2006. Teaching Autonomy: The Obligations of Liberal Education in Plural Societies. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, Springer Netherlands, 425-456.

Kotze, H. & Steyn C. 2003. African Elite Perspectives: *AU and NEPAD*. Johannesburg: Konrad-adenauer-Stiftung.

Larrimore, M. 2004. Autonomy and the Invention of Theodicy. In Schneewind, JB. *New Essays on the History of Autonomy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Matsuura, K. 2002. UNESCO Contributions to NEPAD, 2001-2003: The First Stages 165<sup>th</sup> Session of the Executive Board, UNESCO.

Melber *et al* 2002. *The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD): African perspectives*. Uppsala: Nordic African Institute.

Meeting the MDG Drinking Water and Sanitation Target. Available at: [www.unicef.org/titles/pub.mdg\\_en.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/titles/pub.mdg_en.pdf). (Accessed 26th July 2005).

Naburere, WD. 2003. The New Partnership for Africa's Development: A Historical Background and Provisions. *Journal of Comparative Education and International Relations in Africa*. Vol. 5, No.1 and 2:15-41.

New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Available at: [www.nepad.org](http://www.nepad.org) (Accessed 19<sup>th</sup> April 2007).

Ngome, C. In Altbach, PG & Teferra, D. 2006. *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 3-15.

Nyborg, P. 2003. Institutional Autonomy and Higher Education Governance, *Implication of the Bologna Process in South East Europe*. Council of European Conference, Strasbourg 2-3 December 2003.

OECD 2003. *Education Policy Analysis: Changing Patterns of Governance in Higher Education*. Paris: OECD Publishing Books.

Oxfam International, *Aid and Education: The Squandered Opportunity*, policy paper, March 2000, at <http://www.caa.org.au/oxfam/advocacy/education/aid/index.html> on 27/07/2007

Omari, I M. 1994. Kenya: Management of Higher Education in Developing Countries: The Relationship between Government and Higher Education. In Neave, G & Van Vught, F. *Government and Higher Education Relationships across Three Continents: The Winds of Change*. Paris: International Association of Universities.

O'Neill, O. 2004. Autonomy, Plurality and Public Reason. In Brender, N. and Krasnoff, L. (eds.). *New Essays in the History of Autonomy: A Collection Honouring J.B. Schneewind*. London: Cambridge University Press. Pp181-194.

Rawls, J. 1999. *The Law of Peoples with "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited"*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Republic of Uganda. 1975. Makerere University Act (amendment) Bill, Entebbe: Government Printer, Processed.

Rush, F. 2004. Conceptual Foundations of Early Critical Theory. In Horkheimer, M. 2004. *The Cambridge Companion to Critical Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneewind, J B. 2004. *New Essays on the History of Autonomy*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Sen, A. 2003. Democracy and its Global Roots: *The New Republic* 229 (4): 28-35

Taylor, C.1985. Philosophy and the Human Sciences: *Philosophical Papers 2*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The African Union. 2002. Interview with the Permanent Observer of the African Union. Available at <http://www.africanunion.org.htm> (Accessed 19<sup>th</sup> April 2007).

UN System Support for NEPAD. *UNDP Support to NEPAD*. Period Report: August 2005 to July 2006.

UN System Support for NEPAD. *UNESCO Support to NEPAD*. Period Report: August 2005 to August 2006.

UN System Support for NEPAD. *UNICEF Support to NEPAD*. Period Report: June 2003 to July 2004.

UN System Support for NEPAD. *World Bank Support to NEPAD*. Period Report: August 2005 to August 2006.

Venter, D & Neuland, E. 2005. *NEPAD and the African Renaissance*. Johannesburg: Richard Havenga & Associates.

Waburton, N. & Matravers, D. 2000. *Reading Political Philosophy: Machiavelli to Mill*. New York: Routledge.

Waghid, Y. 2003. *Community and Democracy in South Africa: Liberal and Communitarian Perspectives*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Waghid, Y. 2002. *Democratic Education: Policy and Praxis*. Matieland: Stellenbosch University Printers.

William, S. 2006. *Achieving the Millennium Development Goals: A Challenge for Global Higher Education*. [www.agtrade.org/glossary.search.cfm](http://www.agtrade.org/glossary.search.cfm)

World Education Forum. 2000. *International Consultative Forum on Education for all Convened by UNDP, UNESCO, UNFPA, UNICEF and the World Bank*. Dakar, Senegal. 26-28 April 2000.

Zounmenou, MV. 2004. *Revisiting African Development Initiatives. From the Lagos Plan of Action to the New Economic Partnership of Africa's Development*. Addis Ababa: OSSREA.