EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE
FROM COLONIAL TO PRESENT

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A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado in fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
Curriculum & Instruction
2016
This thesis for the Masters of Arts degree by
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April 19, 2016
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Education in Zimbabwe: From a Colonial to a Present
Thesis directed by Senior Instructor Jarrod Hanson

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the history of what is/was the colonial educational system in Zimbabwe, a nation within the British Settler System, with Zambia, Malawi, South Africa and Namibia used for reference purposes. The system of colonial education did not allow for the majority population Africans in Zimbabwe to become fully independent in post-colonialism/Universal Declaration of Independence or posit ability for the majority populations to be viewed as anything but subordinate to the minority population as well as Western Civilization. The period of Universal Declaration of Independence (UDI) will be referenced and included within the scope of colonization but will not be a focal point of this paper. The system of missionary and colonial education for the majority population Africans, set up under the rule of the British Empire and British South Africa Company (BSAC) did not prepare the native, majority population for economic, political or educational success in independence. Nor was the system of education developed for the native population to gain equality with the European settler population that controlled all facets of both government and society. Through a systemic curriculum of agrarian and vocational learning, the minority population was able to maintain control of both the government and society so that in independence the majority population had little experience in government. This paper is a critique of how colonial education in Zimbabwe did not and was not intended to allow for majority population citizens to gain full independence. I will showcase this by presenting a history of
Zimbabwe in both its pre-colonial and colonial period; this will be done to argue that within all facets of society, including education, colonial governments systemically disadvantaged majority population citizens to the extent that Zimbabwe currently has not fully recovered.

Colonial education in Zimbabwe, under British, and later settler (UDI), rule has allowed for structural adjustment programs by international and world banking organizations; structural adjustment programs being first introduced in 1979 by the World Bank Group (WBG) to augment the inability that debtor nations had in repaying their monetary debts. Structural Adjustment is the practice by which privatization and deregulation of a nation’s assets is implemented, here by The World Bank Group/International Monetary Fund, to reform economic imbalance in repaying debt (Nafziger, 2012, p. 711). This is pertinent, within Zimbabwe, due to the tie that economics has with spending for education in both the developing world as well as nations that are under the guidance of the World Bank Group/International Monetary Fund. Systems of systemic imperialism during the colonial era have transformed into capital imperialism in the post-colonial era; further perpetuating a loss of in an educational foundation. Educational policy in the colonial era did not allow for the people of Zimbabwe to transition into the global economy as equals, due to a lack of educational training of/for its citizens.

The form and content of this abstract are approved. I recommend its publication

Approved: Jarrod Hanson
DEDICATION

This thesis is being dedicated to my parents, Roy and Margo Robinson, for their persistence and commitment in allowing their children to educate themselves in life, grow from failure to failure and always encourage their physical and mental wandering; my sister, Amber Titus, for putting up with my antics and always having an open door for her family; my two brothers, Scott Robinson, for teaching me what patience and humor mean, and Joseph Robinson, for remaining calm under all pressures in life; both the Turner and VanDerSluis families for their support, guidance and allowing me to be apart of their lives; Brianna ‘Summer’ Fenton, whose spirit, dedication & intelligence has always been a beacon of inspiration for educators; Dr. Laxman Satya, an educational mentor and friend, always encouraging and supporting my work; the faculty and community of Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania, who instilled in me the need for education and learning. I would also like to show my appreciation towards the domestic and international wrestling community, a community that has always welcomed me and assisted in strengthening my physical and mental character.
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<td>British South Africa Company</td>
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<td>University Mission to Central Africa</td>
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<td>Dutch Reform Church</td>
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<td>Structural Adjustment Programs</td>
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The colonial system of learning of the late 19th century spread from Europe and was implemented throughout the global south. This system was not patterned to include the majority, native populations in governance or self-determination. Within South Central Africa, here being noted as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi; including both South Africa and Namibia for reference; I will explore how this system of education for native populations did exactly what it was intended to do: systematically fail the majority, native, population of Zimbabwe in post-colonization. I will be taking a broad stroke with reference towards the colonial system of Zimbabwe and focus upon systemic patterns of racism as well as separation within education policy, moving from pre to the post colonial era. Educational theorists, including Paulo Freire (1970), Che Guevara (Deutschmann & Ariet, 2013), Frantz Fanon (1965) and Peter McLaren (2000, 2005) will be utilized within context, as a praxis point in revolutionary pedagogy in a colonial state; Paulo Freires, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970) will be the primary text of reference. With the curriculum in colonial Zimbabwe centering upon missionary schooling for native population African’s and later adopting the Phelps-Stokes philosophy in vocational learning the native African population was never able to gain the necessary tools for self-governess. It is with this foundation, one based upon a curriculum and instruction that did not allow for native African populations to work in higher levels of government and society, that majority Zimbabweans’ were not able to fully govern themselves in post-colonialism. The blend of a curriculum that separated the majority population from the minority population, with systemic and overt government policy was a deterrent for later entrance as an equal into the global economy upon independence.
In acknowledging the detriments that colonial education policy, as it affects the developing South, has upon oppressed peoples around the world I use the words of Che Guevara in his final hours, whom was detained within the confines of a School; the following is his conversation with the teacher of this school, Julia Cortez.

Che: “Ah, you’re a teacher. Did you know that the ‘e’ in ‘se’ has an accent in ‘ya se’ leer?” He said, pointing to the chalkboard. “By the way, they don’t have schools like this in Cuba. This would be like a prison for us. How can peasants’ children study in a place like this? It’s anti-pedagogical.”

Julia: “Ours is a poor country.”

Che: “But the government officials and the generals drive Mercedes cars and have a host of other things… Don’t they? That’s what we’re fighting against.”


This interaction is not being introduced to memorialize a long dead revolutionary, but to showcase the cataclysmic differences in education between the global south and the global north; differences that brought on independence movements not only to Zimbabwe but also upon the entire colonial state¹. The linking of a political revolutionary such as Che Guevara, who is not a direct educator or facilitator of curriculum, within the praxis of revolutionary education is to show the connection that exists between revolutionary praxis and systems of education for an oppressed majority. By connecting the colonial past within Zimbabwe and this regions history with colonial oppression I will show how education was a tool of domination that was used by a white minority population.

Missionary education, during the early colonial period, was the format of Western learning for native peoples: a system that acted as a negative for the majority population in the colonial and later post-colonial eras. There is a connectedness that education has within how a society functions and it is important for one to look at political and social movements that, although not directly associated with education policy, address this inter-connectedness of education for liberation and/or oppression (Freire, 1970). The
importance of this can be found in the connection that education has both in political as well as personal freedoms in a society; an educated populace is the center of a political democracy². Education is a political tool and this tool was not lost upon the majority population within Zimbabwe during the colonial and later Universal Declaration of Independence (UDI) time frame. This paper is not to place blame upon one system of government, an individual, revisionary history for the post-colonial era, the Bretton Woods system or the one person rule of Robert Mugabe; but is to further a truth that centers upon colonial powers establishing a system of education that benefited the minority white African population at a detriment to the majority population so that in a post-colonial era the systems of power are still centered in the Global North, leaving former colonies to continue to work within the confines of neo-colonialism. This was not accomplished solely through the curriculum and instruction within the classrooms of the majority population but was a systemic approach in government towards the majority population by the minority population and schooling was another branch upon the tree of oppression.

The term majority population will be used interchangeably with black Africans and native populations; likewise, minority population will be used interchangeably with white, European and settler population throughout the entirety of this paper. It is important to note that in Zimbabwe, a settler colony, the European inhabitants also refer to themselves as African. This interchangeability is being used to show that the native African population was and is a majority population that was controlled by a minority, settler, and population.
In the next chapter I will give a brief history of Zimbabwe both under Universal
Declaration of Independence (UDI) and under prior colonial rule. It is important to
understand the history of Zimbabwe due to it having two separate independence
movements; one for the minority and later for the majority population. Along with this, it
is important to see the complexity of Zimbabwe and how educational curriculum cannot
be separated as apart from society but apart of society to the extend that a nations history
continues to pattern happenings in present day.
CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE UNDER UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND AS A COLONIAL STATE

Zimbabwe has been under the rule of a one party state, more importantly a one-man state, since independence from UDI. The brutal civil war that led to the toppling of the Ian Smith government brought Robert Mugabe to office. Since independence from UDI and the white power party of Ian Smith, since the hard fought war against colonization, since the majority was able to rule themselves, the people of Zimbabwe have shifted from the yoke of colonial rule to the yoke of black African rule. The political corruption, the police state, the international embargoes all point to the reality that, under Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe has not prospered economically in independence. Zimbabwe, in the 1980’s, was showing great signs of progress and success due in part to Zimbabwe gaining independence decades after other African nations and utilizing an overhaul of its education system for their majority population. Zimbabwe had a chance to view what was working in other nations of Africa through their independence movements. Yet Zimbabwe was still held to agreements made for independence that benefited both the global north and the minority population of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe did face internal strife; the nation was not unified under Mugabe. There was internal fighting, violent at times, but this did not deter the strength of independence movements post UDI independence. Zimbabwe was a nation that had spent years at war but also a nation that had the internal workings of a productive economy, infrastructure, trade relationships with regional and foreign governments and the aid of the Soviet Union. Zimbabwe was also receiving money and support from its former colonial master, Great Britain, under the conditions of their independence. Zimbabwe was and is an agricultural nation; land
under the minority government was cultivated and provided surplus product for trade. Under the new government and part of independence agreements there was to be a transfer of land from white to native hands through a system that worked under the process that if a white farmer wanted to sell their land they could but the land could not be taken. The monies for these purchases came from Great Britain who gave the Mugabe government 40 million pounds a year (Andrew, 2004).

The major political persons’ in Zimbabwe prior to their independence in 1980 were Robert Mugabe within the ZANU and Joshua Nkoma within the ZAPU movement; there were violent internal conflicts between those two parties (Raftopoulous & Mlambo, 2008, p. 185) during the pre and postcolonial period: with the knowledge that these were not the sole leaders prior to independence (further detail in subsequent paragraphs). This fighting took place prior to independence but did spill over into post-independence Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe in a post independence world fell sharply from where it sat in pre-independence. To illustrate the history of this region and how Zimbabwe has been connected with the European world prior to colonization I will provide a brief history of the region in the below paragraphs. This history will assist the reader in understanding both the currently political state in Zimbabwe but also to highlight the importance of how educational curriculum assisted this current state.

Zimbabwe owns a history of trade, commerce and familiarity with Europe. Those that inhabited the South Central African areas, in what became Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi prior to 1890, were not living in a land void of civilization. Dating back to 600 CE, the land that is north of the Limpopo River, the land that is called Zimbabwe, was populated with a multitude of people, people who created Greater Zimbabwe hundreds of
years prior to the first Portuguese traders, explorers and conquerors who mapped the area in the early 16th century (Raftopoulous & Mlambo, 2009). As British colonization of the world expanded in the 18th and 19th centuries, under the guidance of industrialization at the dawn of global capitalism, the British Empire quickly found itself at the helm of a massive land grab within Africa; culminating with the Berlin Conference in 1885. Control of land at and along the Suez Canal as well as the entirety of Cape of Africa became paramount to British interest as British ships could sail with unrestricted access to India. Exploring north from the Cape of Africa, the British expanded their mining interest of not only gold but also copper. Under the leadership of Cecil J. Rhodes, in unison with the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and with a series of questionable treaties and use of force, they secured land and mining claims to the detriment of native populations. It was also the intent of British industrialist and capitalist to expand the market for the ever-growing machine of industry and capitalism, a leviathan that needs constant and unfettered growth for survival.

As nations were gaining their independence during the post World War II era, independence in Zimbabwe took place in a format that was vastly different from that of its neighbors in Africa. The independence movements that separated colonial lands from their European masters, here being Britain, was first led by the white populations announcement of Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) (O’meara, 1975). Unlike Zimbabwe’s neighbors, both far and near, in Africa, Southern Rhodesia became Rhodesia under White Power³ in 1965, and this independence movement was first solidified by the White Power movement so that Rhodesia would not become a majority ruled nation. The new nation’s leader, Ian Smith, was adamant with his desire to maintain the White Power
system to the extent that he would alienate his nation from the global community. It should be noted that Ian Smith was the first Rhodesian Prime Minister born in Rhodesia; this allowed him to claim to be an African of European decent and not a European. It is with the vote of UDI that the movement for independence in Rhodesia gained traction, yet this is not to imply that prior to this black Africans were not working towards independence from their colonial master.

I will now provide a brief history of what was taking place in Rhodesia from 1965 until formative independence in 1980. With the declaration of UDI, Ian Smith led his new nation of Rhodesia into a period of rapid economic success and later complete failure. As Southern Rhodesia, the nation enjoyed economic prosperity in the years after World War II, manufacturing was on the incline and agriculture industry was also growing. The white population was increasing with new immigrants moving from post-war Europe, an alliance with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (to become Zambia and Malawi) ensured that Rhodesia would benefit economically, and, with the abundance of cheap labor from the black African population, the white population was able to live in relative comfort compared to what they could expect back in Europe. Prior to 1965 there were incidents of both overt and covert violence yet this violence escalated under the Rhodesian Front (RF) and the path they took to maintain their dominance in government was increased to a degree that saw to a devastating civil war. During this time there was an overt separation of schooling of schooling for the majority and minority population. A separation that looked very similar to what was taking place in the nearby nation of South Africa, as well as Jim Crow United States of America.
One should not be misled into thinking that Britain walked away from its former colony with UDI. Prior to 1965, Britain was very hesitant to allow the White Power/Rhodesian Front government to take control without the assistance of the native African population. Britain, counter to their history of overt racism in policy towards Africa, did see many of the policies that Southern Rhodesia was putting into practice as deeply harmful to a cohesive nation. Even with this knowledge, during talks between Great Britain and Rhodesia, there were no black African political leaders present and Great Britain, not Black Africa, was to represent the needs of the 4 million, majority population Africans, in Rhodesia (O’Meara, 1975 p. 31.). This illustrates not that there were no black African leaders in Zimbabwe but that both Britain and UDI Rhodesia did not recognize any black leaders to be sufficient in governing. The black African population, who were in the process of forming political parties, ZAPU, ZANU and the ANC, did not forget this slight.

It is important to understand that there were many majority population Africans who wanted liberation from the colonial state in Zimbabwe, these leaders were not always united in how this should come to fruition. Many African nationalist leaders during independence movements were both divided amongst themselves and also faced oppression from their white rulers. Robert Mugabe, the later leader of what is now independent Zimbabwe, was jailed for 11 years for his work for independence from the colonial state. Many other leaders such as Joshua Nkoma and Ndabaningi Sithole within the ZAPU and ZANU political organizations all faced alienation, violence and hardship. During Mugabe’s 11 years in prison, Ian Smith did not allow him to attend the funeral of his 3-year-old son (Norman, 2004. p. 66). The 1970’s were a trying time for South
Central Africa. Angola and Mozambique were fighting a violent war with Portugal, Zambia and Malawi were new nations and wanted to see and end to the Ian Smith government in Rhodesia, Britain was placing an embargo on Rhodesia, and South Africa was doing what it could to assist its White Power neighbor to the north. In all of this, Ian Smith was maintaining his claim to power at an almost insane level. In 1975 when Angola and Mozambique gained their independence, Ian Smith and his Rhodesian Front White Power government was slowly coming to the realization that their time was coming to an end and Rhodesia would start to be ruled by a majority. During the 5 years between 1975 and 1980 Ian Smith increased his opposition in what could only be translated as a last ditch effort in a denial of the inevitable.

The black African population that was in opposition to the Ian Smith led Rhodesian Front did not enlist violence initially, but was driven to this tactic only after they were systematically ignored politically and educationally for decades. In talks with Ndabaningi Sithole in 1978, then with the African National Congress (ANC), the future was spelled out for Rhodesia. Ian Smith was given the option to assist the majority rule that was inevitable in Rhodesia, as it became Zimbabwe. Smith did not acknowledge this and fought on, against majority rule as well as democracy for Rhodesia. The transition that took place, from minority to majority rule, in South Central Africa happened over a 90-year period. The White Power system was in control of South Central Africa and ruled under the guise of overt and systemic violence. This violence was overt, with its physicality best illustrated with policing that denied black Africans their freedom by placing them in jail and limiting their educational opportunities. There was also the less overt but far more venomous systemic violence of colonization that was held in place by
not allowing black Africans to govern and the inculcation of the belief that the White race was inherently more apt for this allocation. The White Power governments during the era of direct colonialism were ‘one-party’ systems in that the government ruled by alienating the majority population. There were multiple political parties for one to cast a vote for, but they all held to the same belief that majority rule would not be a reality. In post 1965, after UDI, Rhodesia was working against the tide in attempting to maintain colonial rule. The fighting that took place during these years, by all parties involved, left Zimbabwe greatly weakened, so that in 1980 when Zimbabwe gained full independence it was a shell of what it was in 1965. To further show the importance of the history of Zimbabwe I will now transition into looking at the history of Zimbabwe as a colonial state prior to UDI.

The people who inhabited what is now called Zimbabwe, the Shona and Ndebele peoples, had a long history of relations with the Europeans, first being the Portuguese, who were interested in gold and laid a lax foundation for settlement in this region. Even with a history of conflict and trade with the one European power, Portugal, the native populations were not prepared for the large flow of British settlement that took place after the Berlin Conference, with more settlers pouring into Zimbabwe in both the post World War I and World War II. In the Shona-Ndebele uprising in 1896/1897, a reaction against the British Settlers implementation of harsh rule amongst the native population that included forced labor, rape, looting of land and taxes in monetary currency, the Shona and Ndebele worked with initial ‘primary resistance’ against colonialism. By cleverly playing the Shona peoples against the Ndebele peoples prior to this uprising, the settlers were able to weaken both of these communities to the extent that their combined forces
against the British settlers could not bend the tide of colonization. It is stated by Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009) that when the Shona and Ndebele peoples rose in unison in 1896/1897 against British South Africa Company (BSAC), this was the start of the nationalist movement that later formed the nation of Zimbabwe.

It was not until the late 19th century when the British South Africa Company (BSAC), under the guidance of Cecil Rhodes (for which part of this land owes its colonial name), moved north from their holdings in South Africa to prospect for minerals in the region now known as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Namibia. In speaking of the ambitions of both the British Crown and that of Cecil Rhodes, Vladimir Lenin (2011) both posited and referenced colonial aspirations in this format:

Chamberlain advocated imperialism by calling it a “true, wise and economical policy,” and he pointed particularly to the German, American and Belgian competition, which Great Britain was encountering in the world market. Salvation lies in monopolies, said the capitalists as they formed cartels, syndicates and trusts. Salvations lies in monopolies, echoed the political leaders of the bourgeoisie, hastening to appropriate the parts of the world not yet shared out. (Lenin, 2011. p. 79).

The journalist, Stead, relates the following remarks uttered by his close friend Cecil Rhodes, in 1895, regarding his imperialist’s ideas:

I was in the East End of London yesterday, and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speech, which were just a cry for ‘bread’ ‘bread’ ‘bread,’ and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism…. My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population to provide new markets for the goods produced by the men in the factories and names. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists. (Lenin, 2011. p. 79).

In 1890, members of the BSAC, searching for new mining grounds, began to found a more permanent and non-trade centered establishments; rumors of vast wealth in this area
spurred their early crusade. The gold deposits that were rumored to be in this region did not materialize in the abundance that had originally been imagined. This did not deter settlers moving into this area to establish a settler colony. Settler colonies can be distinguished from economic colonies in not only whom is moving into the area but also for what reasons. A settler colony, such as the United States of America, might have their origins chartered for economic enrichment, but quickly, and as more outsiders take up residence, the new land becomes an extension of the colonizing nation. At first the movement of Europeans to this area was slow, but over time a more organized and deliberate system of settlement was established. A difference from other settler colonies (USA and Australia) is that the native inhabitants in South Central Africa always maintained a majority population. Within any settler colony, the new inhabitants want to maintain the system of government and society that they were accustomed to within their native land; thus bringing their ideals, morals, religion and educational system with them. The majority-population Africans was introduced to a Western format and curriculum of education under the missionary yoke.

Although there were divides within Catholic and Protestant missionary activities, the divide in religion is not the focus of this paper so missionary schools, both Catholic and Protestant for the use in this paper will be viewed as being under the same umbrella. The missionary force that moved in did not, solely, act as an evangelical voice but also brought with it a format for learning and thinking that deeply entrenched the majority peoples in the web of the colonial system (Raftopoulous, B. & Mlambo, A. 2008). Dating back to 1857, within a speech by David Livingston⁹ (Allen, 2008, p. 208) the edict of the mission movement in Central Africa was spelled out to open this region to commerce and
Christianity: to work in unison and not divide one from the other. Livingston and his followers felt that, with economic development and the Christian Bible, the horrors of slavery could be reversed. During the 19th century and into the early 20th century, the British Empire was a dominant force in global economics and colonization/imperialism; their influence spanned the world and influenced missionaries that sought to Christianize and educate the global south.

It would be incorrect to imply that missionary education was an elaborate orchestration to formally oppress via education; yet, it is hard to ignore that such a format for learning was a direct extension of the colonial state and with this the oppression that works within colonialism. Quoting Dr. Jonathan Osorio (ESPN, 2013) in his description for the colonial take-over of Hawaii by the United States of America, an articulation of the colonial mindset is framed.

It was a simple political coup. The United States participated in it because, they uh, Committee of Safety wanted political power and possible annexation into the United States and the kingdom didn’t stand a chance. But on a deeper level it wasn’t just economics. A lot of these men believed that no country could really govern itself unless it had a high degree of Teutonic people in charge, Aryans, White people.

When the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) entered Northern Rhodesia in 1907, it had already secured a history of mission work in Africa, primarily Zanzibar. Unlike Zanzibar, South Central Africa did not have a history of organized religion that would assist with the mission; but what did assist the settlers was that by 1907 this region had a 17-year history of colonial rule under the BSAC. By 1910 there were 14 UMCA societies and by 1930 there were 22 in Northern Rhodesia that provided limited Western schooling for the majority African population. This schooling was based upon agrarian
and industrial education. Any formal learning was provided within the context of the Christian Bible so that learning was used for industry and spiritual growth. It was during this time, between 1907 and 1910, that the UMCA first took note that the majority population Africans did not want European religion; what they wanted was education so that they could compete with the minority population settlers that were invading their world. This is not to say that black Africans were shunting their history for a superior form of living; what is being said is that within imperialism an oppressed people will, to survive, alter their outward thinking and actions to mimic those that are oppressing them (Freire, 1979). This is not a notion that is unique to Zimbabwe but is/was a reality that existed throughout the colonized world.

The following are interactions between white settlers and the black native population in Zambia to show what took place within a neighboring state under similar conditions as Zimbabwe. By 1907, there were 600 white Europeans who had taken up permanent residency; this population, small in number, was able to gain control due mainly to the advancement of their weapons and colonial policy established by years of rule under the BSAC that came prior to 1907. Of those 600, 327 joined the Rifle Association; a group that were active in claiming land and cattle from the native population (Chipungu, 1992. p. 33). The Rifle Association would, under false or outright wrong pretense, take by force and violence the land and cattle of the native population, who were ill equipped to confront the Europeans. Violence towards the native population was an accepted policy, and recommended practice as a way to ‘get things done’. It is with this violence that European settlers were not only able to gain a foothold in Zambia, but also to illustrate to the black Africans just how and what interactions with European peoples would be like.
This is a strategy used by the British in colonial North America and did not instill a cooperative or peaceful coexistence but placed one people above another people through force. This level of systemic oppression, both in education and society, came to a boiling point in the post World War II era when many black Africans fought their European Colonial governments. Many majority population Africans were conscripted to fight in Europe, to only return to their African nations and not receive the same rights they were fighting for in Europe. This was not only seen in Africa, but across the world, as oppressed peoples rose up to the status quo. In chapter IV I will illustrate the transition in education policy from colonial to UDI and how this transition did little to alter the position of majority population Africans.

In summary of this chapter I have laid out a brief history of Zimbabwe under colonial rule and later UDI rule. How this history cemented a separation of the minority and majority population and introduced how this separation was interpreted under revolutionary pedagogy. In the next chapter I will discuss the impacts of curriculum for majority population Africans and how this did not prepare this population for participation within minority and later global societies.
CHAPTER III

COLONIAL CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

As Frantz Fanon (1965) poignantly observed, “Colonialism shuts its eyes to the real facts of the problem. It imagines that our power is measured by the number of our heavy machine guns.” (p. 31) This statement, being written with regards to Northern Africa during a revolution against a European colonial power, is not lost within the context of education in Zimbabwe. Utilizing the writing and thinking of Frantz Fanon (1965) and Paulo Freire (1970) questions were arising by the colonized and the colonizer, not only in Zimbabwe, but also for the colonized world, was education for the native population a tool for citizenship and employment within a white minority ruled society or was it to allow for minimal education for a subservient population that would be solely viewed as workers and laborers? Would Africans be taught to rule their nations as equals and compete, as equals, with their former colonial masters in post-independence? Was the purpose of colonization to allow for native populations to assimilate into the society of their colonial masters as the French allowed or were the intentions to always place majority population Africans as outsiders within a system they were not allowed to take part in? At issue, within Africa, was not upon “if” majority population Africans should be educated, but to what extent this education would place them in competition with their minority rulers. The emphasis on African learning and curriculum was centered upon rudimentary practice in both industry and farming, circumnavigating the instruction of learning for leadership; an education that was being orchestrated under colonial rule by both missionary and government run schools.
Curriculum during the colonial period originated with mission schools up to World War II and was later altered with the pedagogy of the Phelps-Stokes mission in South Central Africa. The Phelps-Stokes mission worked in conjunction with the Booker T. Washington/Tuskegee model of learning that was adopted in many areas of the Southern region of the United States. The Phelps-Stokes report\textsuperscript{14} perpetuated the notion that manual labor, as the staple for education of the majority African population, was the best and perhaps only form of learning that would benefit the majority black population; in turn, this curriculum ensured minority rule in all other spheres of learning, economics, government and, to a point, society. This curriculum and pedagogy did not ferment the ability for eventual self and majority rule or governance, but instilled a manager/worker relationship based upon European, wage living: a form of income generation that was forced upon majority population Africans via hut taxes. At the time of Phelps-Stokes the voice of those that were arguing against this curriculum were in a minority and thus the Phelps-Stokes mission became an educational reality in Zimbabwe. This instituted the pedagogy of vocational learning as the curriculum for native population Africans in school. This curriculum did not place majority Africans upon a parallel path for self-governess or co-governess with the white African population. It is not revisionist history to note that, the Phelps-Stokes mission was working within the confines of its time, this does not excuse the thinking that majority population Africans were given an inferior education and that minority population Africans in Zimbabwe were searching for any claim to hold their power. The UDI period, under Ian Smith in the 1960’s posits this notion; by not allowing, within both missionary and later government run schools, learning that was on par with the education that was received by the minority population. The native Africans were, at best, not only not allowed to participate within society but
also not allowed to learn the skills to ensure equitable and equal competition. This was
not solely a curriculum, but common practice, not just bragged about, but also held as a
general belief within government. In South Africa, and under a regime that the UDI
government in Zimbabwe modeled, H.F. Verwoerd\textsuperscript{15} stated in 1953:

My department’s policy is that education should stand with both feet in the
reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society. There Bantu
education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will be
called upon to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own
community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community
above the level of certain forms of labor. Within his own community, however,
all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training
which has as its aim absorption in the European community, where he cannot be
absorbed. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him
away from his own community and mislead him by showing him the green
pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze. This attitude
is not only uneconomic because money is spent for an education which has no
specific aim but is also dishonest to continue it. The effect on the Bantu
community we find no employment which is acceptable to them. It is abundantly
clear that unplanned education creates many problems, disrupting the community
life of the Bantu and endangering the community life of the European. (Mugomba

H.F. Verwoerd was not only speaking for his department within the South African
government, but he was articulating the seeds of what would become the apartheid
regime in South Africa, Namibia and later, Rhodesia (under Ian Smith and UDI). There
are myriad reasons as to why European settlers did not ‘want’ to allow the majority
population in Zimbabwe to openly compete with the minority population, many of which
can be traced back to historic and systemic views of the Sub-Saharan African continent
and the people who were its inhabitants\textsuperscript{16}. It was not an inadvertent happening that
separated the races in this region but a well crafted and orchestrated plan, a plan that the
curriculum of learning perpetuated at all points. This was crucial for continued white
dominance and to, in perpetuity, fail the majority African population by way of not fully
educating for eventual co-governance, self-governance or inclusion.
An activity of complete societal domination by one segment of the population cannot be facilitated, especially by a minority populated people, without the assistance of segments of all members of all societies. Within the statements below we are able to see the ability that a colonial power has and how deep the roots of oppression can dig. This notion, one of collaboration within an oppressive society, is what Che Guevara was working against when he was operating in South America and Africa; it is what the Palestinians have been operating against in the occupied territories; it is what Paulo Freire (1970) wrote of. Both Freire (1970) and Walter Rodney (as cited in Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p.4) noted that the purpose of the colonial system was control over colonial people for, both, minority rule as well as further economic growth of European powers.

To train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. In effect, that meant selecting a few Africans to participate in the domination and exploitation of the continent as a whole. It was not an educational system that grew out of the African environment or one that was designed to promote the most rational use of material and social resources. It was not an educational system designed to give young people confidence and pride as members of African societies, but one which sought to instill a sense of deference to all that was European and capitalist. Education in Europe was dominated by the capitalist class. The same bias was automatically transferred to Africa; and to make matters worse the racism and cultural boastfulness harbored by capitalism were also included in the package of colonial education. Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p.8).

And further in their notes (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p.8)

The colonial school system educated far too many fools and clowns, fascinated by the ideas and way of life of the European capitalist class. Some reached a point of total estrangement from African conditions and the African way of life…

This mold for thought was not an accidental outcome of colonialism but the calculated end result. Looking at how majority population Africans, through a lens of revolutionary pedagogy, viewed Western education is looking at a curriculum that at all segments placed the majority population in an inferior role. Allowing for missionary curriculum that provided agrarian and vocational learning further cemented the majority population to suburbanite roll in colonial society. When majority population Africans were able to gain higher or none vocational levels of education it was at a great cost, both financially and societally. By doing this, as stated in the above quote, the minority population was able to supplant the role of capitalism into South Central Africa, the colonized world and Zimbabwe. It is no accident that Zimbabwe and the former colonized world is at an economically subornment position to the Global North today and this is a direct result of an inferior curriculum for learning. A curriculum that only allows for agricultural or vocational training for a person based on who they are and not what they want to learn does not allow for advanced academic progress. When the Phelps Stokes format of education was introduced as the only curriculum for the majority population, at a loss to learning for greater inclusion in society, the majority population was hamstringing on how they would later interact in society. It is not enough for the minority population to control all facets of life and government; it is a testament to occupation that those who are being oppressed believe this is the correct course of action; that through whatever means possible the oppressed believe that they should be oppressed. This cemented a population, that was only educated as far as their White colonizers would allow, in a perplexing and continual state of subordination; not providing them, the majority population, with the tools that were needed for competition within a rapidly expanding global economy.
The majority African population, in the colonial era, saw that an education similar to that of Europeans, including instruction and learning of English, was vital for them to attain employment and move up within the colonial system; the native population did not view the Phelps-Stokes philosophy with open arms for a positive future. Via revolutionary and critical pedagogy, the majority population in Zimbabwe was able to transfer what little they were learning in their mission schools to quickly ascertain that they were only being educated to meet the needs of the minority population. There was a need to learn English within Zimbabwe so that the native population would be able to participate, to their benefit, within the colonial government. Yet, there was little need by the colonial government to have the native population learn English because learning English contributed directly to competition for employment between the black and white populations. Lamba (2010) citing Gwilliam and Read (1948) states:

> There is a universal desire to learn English, both among men and women, girls and boys. It is considered the chief element in and motive for school education… A further important reason for learning English, in addition to economic advantages, is that Africans feel that they can have no direct contact with Europeans and with European thought unless they know English. (Lamba, 2010. p. 18).

To this extent and one that shadows life in Zimbabwe, many students in Malawi would drop out of school if English was not being taught or not being taught in a beneficial or sufficient manner. This, once again, illustrates the pedagogy of Paulo Freire (1970) in that an oppressed class of people is showing to their oppressor’s how, in a direct fashion, they are being oppressed. With the dominance of the colonial state, the majority population Africans did know that they needed a Western education to move through the Western world that was quickly taking hold in Zimbabwe. As all aspects of society
began to be controlled by English speaking peoples, it was important for those who were outsiders to this language learn how to speak English so they could further themselves, even if there were limitations to how far this learning would allow them to move within a minority ruled society.

Despite the Phelps-Stokes curriculum being overtly centered upon notions of black African backwardness and racial inadequacy17, the policy gained rapid traction by the minority population in Zimbabwe. As stated above, this had more to do with wanting a segregated society that would eventually, under UDI, become an apartheid state similar to South Africa; but it also had to do with notions of separation that were visible and respected themes in the United States at this time. Quoting Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, a leading North American sociologist within the sphere of African education in the 1920’s, also an expert on black American schools and a predominant researcher for the Phelps-Stokes Fund, (Kuster, 2007. p. 85),

> It is imperative that schools shall cease to give the impression that knowledge of the three R’s and of the subjects usually in the curriculums is of more importance than agriculture knowledge (for the African).

Dr. Jones “deplored” (Kuster, 2007. p. 85) the practice of teaching literacy and arithmetic skills in black African schools. Phelps-Stokes perpetuated the notion that the majority populations should be partitioned by an education that only allowed for growth within the field of agriculture and limited industrial instruction. The native population was not allowed to compete with the minority population within the facets of economic growth; they were solely being trained to be workers and not owners within white society. Majority population Africans were systematically and systemically positioned to be in an inferior and subordinate role to the white minority population. This was calculated and
expressed fully within the curriculum and format of education that was utilized in Zimbabwe. In an extensive review, in list form, Agrippah Mugomba (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980) spells out grievances, along with their realities in the post-independent world of South Central Africa.

1. There is no way the colonial model of government could be viewed as democratic. It was heavy-handedly authoritarian and, therefore, totally undemocratic. Authoritarianism and democracy in a colonial context represent irreconcilable opposites. Independence constitutions were supposed to give legitimacy to illegitimate authoritarian colonial institutions and, thereby, make them serve the interests of the majority (that being the implication of democracy). The experiences of post-independence leaderships in Africa demonstrate that this has been a futile effort.

2. Colonial constitutions are always aimed at protecting the interests of minorities (predominantly racial, but also extending to the heterogeneous political and economic minority elites). The interests of the majority (racial and other) were never referred to in such legal documents. Independence constitutions also sought to protect minority interests by entrenching “constitutional guarantees.” For all practical purposes, bills of rights written into these constitutions were more relevant to minorities than to majorities. Post-independence African leaders have attempted to live up to their commitments, with disastrous consequences. They have found themselves guaranteeing minority interests at the expense of the majority, just as colonial settlers did.

3. Independence constitutions were supposed to transform colonial institutions that promoted injustice and inequality into ones that would promote justice and equality. Numerous examples can be cited to demonstrate the cosmetic nature of changes from colonial rule to independence: (a) the colonial Government House became State House (or some other variant) following independence, with little more than a change in the racial pigmentation of the occupants; (b) Ministries of Law and Order, Native Education, and International Affairs, to name but a few, became overnight Departments of Justice, National Education, and Home Affairs, respectively. The constitutional transfer of power supposedly removed the injustice and miseducation, which those institutions had protected or promoted under colonial administration. Similar colonial structures, such as the civil service, army, and police force were also incorporated into the new political order with minimal changes.

4. Colonial constitutions protected the economic privileges of racial minorities. Independence constitutions have played a similar role throughout the continent: the first generation post-independence leadership, in control of the political kingdom, has found it necessary to co-opt the political disenfranchised settlers who have retained effective control of the economic empire. That new partnership has proved a more effective and lasting neocolonial control mechanism that classical colonialism itself could ever have been. In this context, just as the strategic allies of the settlers were externally based, those of neocolonial African regimes are also external to the political kingdom. Indeed,
African leaders have continued to preside over and state-manage the economic (and cultural) rape of their own countries. One major consequence of these neocolonial arrangements is that the overwhelming majority of African governments have remained just as distant and alienated (if not more so now) from their own people as colonial regimes were divorced from the masses. Small wonder that the masses have always celebrated the displacement of African regimes: the struggles of the masses and those of the ruling elites have remained poles apart, before and after the transition from colonialism to neocolonialism. (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980, p. 48).

The importance of using such a lengthy section of text is to illustrate the workings of black African education and curriculum in society through the lens of a black African scholar. In section 4 from above, we see the workings of Freire (1970) and a theme within revolutionary pedagogy working within curriculum; that the colonial state, although no longer in direct power, has enabled the foundation of their system to still be fluid within a society. When looking at present day Zimbabwe this is best seen with the one-man rule of Robert Mugabe; the people of Zimbabwe have only altered who is in power from colonial to current, but they have not altered the history of how colonial governments work. This is no small feat to accomplish and it is why I have used the writings of Agrippah Mugomba (1980) in their entirety to showcase this element of revolutionary pedagogy in action; albeit through the lens of showing what this pedagogy is working against. It is within the architecture of colonialism that a subordinate mindset is not only able to take seed but to grow, this allowed for continued control in post-colonialism (Freire, 1970). The official and understood policy, within all the colonial and settler governments in South Central Africa and Zimbabwe, did not want to see the majority population enter wage labor or society equal to that of the minority African population; a direct link to future employment can be drawn directly with education; both in curriculum and in purpose. In present day situations in the United States of America Jeff Duncan-Andrade points out, with reference to urban education for minority
populations, the education system is doing exactly what it is meant to: continue a system of inferiority and subordination (coffeepartyusa, 2012). This lesson is not lost when placed within the theme of colonial education in Zimbabwe. It is the reality, and because of this the curriculum for the majority was not altered but intensified in draconian patterns as education mirrored society. It is this reference to the present day that one can see why missionary education for the majority population Africans was instrumental in perpetuating the separation of peoples in Zimbabwe. Referenced above with wage earning for majority population Africans I will explain a small amount how this was illustrated by allowing for two separate societies to be living under the rule of only one of these societies. How this creates separate worlds for a people and how these separate worlds may not be recognized by both peoples.

In an appalling display of hypocrisy, those writing policy within colonial and mission education, did not want the majority population to be influenced by the morally corrupting wage employment of the European sector of the economy (Kuster, 2007. p. 84). Missionaries wanted to instill the virtues of their religion upon the majority peoples, both needing workers but not wanting those workers to fall to the vice that their countrymen had fallen to in Europe. This is directly related to the missionary model of education and curriculum for the majority African population and how the missionaries patterned a format of learning for the majority population that did not and would not include them in policy matters. Mission students were not paid outright for their labor on the mission farms or in the mission vocational training programs; their labor was utilized for sustaining the mission. Missionary students were ‘paying’ for an education that would not allow them to fully participate in society, thus forcing a separation of peoples
so that there were two distinct and separate realities in the same state. Slavoj Zizek (2008) hits upon this when he looks at the reality of two separate societies operating within the same physical locale: here these societies being within an instructional and class system between the majority and minority populations within Zimbabwe. Zizek (2008) utilizes the concept of economic capital to be the litmus test for the welfare of a society, but in reality this is only beneficial to certain population within a society.

Here we encounter the Lacanian difference between reality and the Real: “reality” is the social reality of the actual people involved in interaction and in the production process, while the Real is the inexorable... Spectral logic of capital that determines what goes on in social reality. One can experience this gap in a palpable way when one visits a country where life is obviously in shambles. We see a lot of ecological decay and human misery. However, the economist’s report that one reads afterwards informs us that the country’s economic situation is “financially sound” – reality doesn’t matter, what matters is the situation of capital. (Zizek, 2008 p. 12).

This pattern for interpreting the world, in which segments of populations live, was obvious within the settler world of Zimbabwe. Native, majority population peoples were viewing an entirely separate reality from the minority population. A visitor to Zimbabwe would view an entirely different reality depending upon both what areas they visited and if they were able to visit as either majority population or minority population. This helps to explain how South Central Africa, here being Zimbabwe, was a direct contradiction to other areas under British rule. This also helps to explain how Zimbabwe went through two separate forms of independence, UDI and later majority rule independence; the monetary capital that comes through education was not allowed to evolve within majority populations during both the colonial and UDI periods. When viewing both the spending on education for majority population Africans as well as separate treatment within economics we are able to further see how there were separate realities in Zimbabwe as well as how education played a role in this.
Spending on education in 1918–19 in Zimbabwe, for each of the 40,000-majority population Africans enrolled in some form of school was £9,000 compared to £100,000 for the 5000 minority population students. By the 1930’s educational curriculum was set to avoid the competition of majority population artisans with minority population artisans, so that learning, for the majority population involved nothing more than cursory instruction in carpentry, agriculture and building to ensure that the majority population would remain subordinate to the minority population. It is interesting to note that, in Zimbabwe between 1930 and 1940, the population in mission schools only rose by 5000, from 107,000 to 112,000. This was a time of global depression and illustrates that during this time education was not at the forefront of accessibility to all citizens; yet was important enough within the majority population to see, albeit a limited, growth in numbers. With this spending was £360,825 for minority students and £89,539 for majority students in 1939; a gross difference that, for all rational purposes, cannot be argued as anything beyond the foundation of an apartheid policy; maintaining a status quo of dominance by the minority on the majority (Kuster, 2007). In the interwar period, between WWI and WWII, there was a global depression that affected Zimbabwe as well as the rest of the world. Many policies that came into practice, with regards to education, were instituted to ensure that commerce for the white population would be placed above that of the majority population. Quoting from the Carnegie Commission Report of 1932 with regards to South Africa, Peter Kallaway (2005, p. 351) points out:

In the context the question of educational provision is directly linked to the overall plan to address poverty for all sectors of the population – a significant break from the dominant discourse of the 1920’s and 1930’s, which had often seen the problem from the perspective of “saying the poor whites” through educational “upliftment” or seeking to impose the harshest form of segregation in
the field of education, which would ensure the exclusion of blacks from direct competitions with whites in the labor market.

In Zimbabwe along with the rest of South Central Africa’s white, minority population, during the Great Depression, insisted on further segregation and an apartheid policy to sustain their control of the economy to the severe detriment of the majority population. For, in Zimbabwe, approximately one and a half years the cattle industry was closed to the African population (Kuster, 2007, p. 90) perpetuating their need to sell their stock for below market prices; resulting in irreversible financial loss and an inability to gain footing in an industry. This was not a random outcome of a global depression in capital, but a policy to ensure the survival of the white cattle industry at the loss of the black population. One cannot separate education from the greater context of society; disparities in education were only a reflection of the minority ruled society in Zimbabwe. As the Great Depression furthered its path of capital destruction into the 1930’s, more majority population Africans entered the wage industry in white sectors so that by 1941 50% of the majority population in Zimbabwe was working for subsistence wages within white industrial and agriculture firms. This hemorrhaging of majority population Africans towards wage earners under minority population Africans established a reality of worker/manager relationships. In a twist on what had become the USA and Australia, two nations that were founded by settlers through the genocide of the native populations, the minority population in Africa needed to reverse how racism works within capitalism. The minority population needed cheap workers and to do this they needed those workers to be educated for labor; at a basal level and not educated for self-rule. This worked with the findings of Phelps-Stokes as well as the needs of capitalism with the ever-present necessity of cheap labor. Peter McLaren (Trifonas, 2000) highlights this when he notes
that the characteristics of racism are viewed as inherent within the oppressed group; within Zimbabwe this oppressed group was only and with few exceptions able to branch away from basal education due to the findings of the Phelps-Stokes mission in Africa. As more majority population African’s joined the wage labor system they further lost their independence and became deeply entrenched into the minority population system of government; yet not as equals but as workers. This perpetuated the ideals of western education with the majority population, who saw education as a way out of poverty so that they could compete with the white minority population, in spite of the reality that there were very few jobs for an educated majority population of Africans.

Enrique Dussel (2013), Agrippah Mugomba and Mougo Nyaggah (1980), Peter McLaren and Valerie Scatamburlo-D’Annisale (2005) all go to great lengths when informing their audience, with regards to revolutionary praxis and critical pedagogy within the stream of Paulo Freire (1970), that a ruling class will try to separate the ruled class from a sense of self identity beyond that of subordinate peoples. The curriculum of the education system within Zimbabwe accomplished this, further highlighting the thoughts of Freire (1970)
the above authors state:

Freire, however, reminds us that the polarization of wealth and the rampant poverty, exploitation, alienation, and misery engendered by the ravages of global capitalism are historical realities whose material and objective existence can hardly be denied. (McLaren & Scatamburlo-D’Annisale. 2005. p. 307).

Enrique Dussel (2013) goes further when stating:

For Freire, pedagogy is not primordially about theoretical or moral intelligence, or about the regeneration of the affective order. Without losing sight of these problems, Freire aims, first and foremost, to educate the victims in the very historical, communitarian, and real process through which they abandon their condition as victims. (p. 312).
abandon their condition as victims. (p. 312).
Mugomba and Nyaggah (1980) also expose this by employing the pedagogy of revolutionary scholars by stating:

we can also perceive what Frantz Fanon, Aime Cesaire, and Albert Memmi have called the intellectual and psychological alienation of the African elites since their God, Christ, angels, saints, and idols are always white. (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 13)

It is this reality, one that separated the benefit of education from segments of the population by enforcing the notion that everything of benefit in the world and after-life was in direct coordination with the minority population. The reality of education for the majority population African did not instill confidence in their ability to govern by way of not allowing them to learn both the tools for government and to furthermore not show them any contributions to the greater world from their societies. Towards the end of Marx (1952) Capital Vol 1., the young German illustrates a theory that was a reality in Zimbabwe:

Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony or toil, slavery, ignorance brutality, mental degradation at the opposite pole, i.e., on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital. (Marx, 1952, p. 320)

Both Marx (1952) and Freire (1970) poignantly illustrate the separation of peoples within a class system; a system that goes beyond the physical but embeds itself in the mental thinking of the colonized as subordinate to the colonizer. This is important both within the colonial system and within the capitalist system of government and orchestration of education. This system of government was applied to Zimbabwe, as well as the Jim Crow policies in the southern United States of America and apartheid South Africa with great effect in not allowing a ruled population to see themselves beyond a subjugated
class so that, when revolutionary praxis was finally sought after it came with great social and physical harm. In 1930, the governor of Southern Rhodesia spoke of education for the majority African population to be defined as not wanting a majority population of African academics to one-day challenge the white, minority rule. It is best to quote him at length to ascertain the extent that the hindrances within majority population education perpetuated and see how this would later work towards the failure of post-colonial Zimbabwe.

The nature of the intellectual advance to be aimed at should be one of which advantage can be taken in the ordinary daily lives of the people, and should be a step forward in a field already familiar to them, rather than a violent transition into fields which belong to a different type of civilization. As the life of African peoples is to a preponderating extent agriculture, education should aim at making them better agriculturalists and better able to appreciate all the natural processes with which agriculture is connected. (Leedy, 2007. p. 1)

It did not matter if it was the governing of the BSAC, the British Crown, governors or the general minority population, the region of Zimbabwe was never a location that entrusted or encouraged the growth of a strong majority population educational system. Quoting W.M. Macmillion, Clive Whitehead (2005, p. 444) exposes this reality with the lines:

Whatever education we may have given them, the one lesson they have never been allowed to learn is responsibility. They have been allowed to talk and discuss, but never to do things for themselves, least of all to deal with money.

It is these lines that are most striking when looking at post-colonial Zimbabwe. The missionary system of schooling and later pre-independence schooling never allowed the majority population for self-rule. It was not only the intent of this system, but also what this intent fermented that caused such disastrous reality for later generations in independence.
Education, for the majority population, did not teach self-governance but instilled a system of dependence upon the minority population. Under the colonial state, society was no longer in the hands of the majority population but was controlled, in entirety, by the minority population; acceptance into this society was only allowed within segregated sectors for the majority population. If one were looking at the colonial state through the lens of progressiveness, all items of modernity were introduced and controlled by the minority population. Education was not excluded. Enrique Dussel (2013) expands upon this with an explanation of modernity and how this, under the colonial mindset, perpetuated the thought that a ‘European’ controlled society was the correct society; that a ‘European’ education was the correct education. Dussell (2013) makes this connection within the framework of a Eurocentric apparatus that was in control of not only the colonial state in Zimbabwe but all spheres of influence within the European world.

The second limit of modernity is the destruction of humanity itself. “living labor” is the other essential mediation of capital as such; the human subject is the only one that can “create” new value (surplus value, profit). (p. 39).

In the context of Modernity, the European variant of ethnocentrism was the first “global” ethnocentrism, Eurocentrism has been the only global ethnocentrism thus far known to history: with it, universality and European identity became fused into one;…”. (p. 41).

In response to Max Weber, Dussel (2013) furthers this notion:

Is it not the case that the chain of circumstances made it possible for certain cultural phenomena to be produced uniquely on European soil that, contrary to what has always been assumed and represented, and given Western Europe’s conquest of a position at the center of the world system, provided it with comparative advantages that enables the region to impose its system of domination over the rest of the cultures of the world, and in addition to impose its own culture upon them with universal claim? (p. 43)

Yes, there were those that were able to move beyond the colonial educational structure, to educate themselves outside of South Central Africa, and later return to assist with the
governance as this region moved into independence: this should not be interpreted as a substitute for a population that was not educated to become part of a global network of nations on a democratic front.

In summary of this chapter I introduced the Phelps Stokes mission of learning and showed how this curriculum, along with views of participation by minority population Africans of majority population Africans, did not allow for an adequate education for majority population Africans. By using reference to neighboring nations I was able to show that this view was not isolated to Zimbabwe but was a systemic pattern of education to not allow majority populations to participate fully within society. In the next chapter I will further spell out the separation under colonial education in both funding and patterned behaviors by minority populations to keep majority populations in a subordinate role in society.
CHAPTER IV

SCHOOLING IN ZIMBABWE PRE AND POST COLONIZATION

The lack of instruction in self-governance further allowed for a shift from direct colonization to what became, in post-revolutionary Zimbabwe, indirect colonization through the Bretton Woods System. Within Zimbabwe, the purpose of education was not to educate the native population beyond what would benefit the minority population.

The role of the African population in the economy was to provide unskilled labour for the local and Zimbabwean farms as well as for the mines of Zimbabwe and South Africa.” (Chipungu, 1992. p. 98)

Missionary schools and education did try, in South Africa and Zimbabwe, to enable black Africans to gain a, rudimentary education and become employed in semi-skilled labor. Prior to World War II there was disconnect between the education for the black population, with regards to their status with the minority-controlled society. In South Africa, a settler nation with similar demographics to Zimbabwe and under UDI a similar government policy towards majority population citizens, when the Nationalists came to power in the post World War II era, there was significant pull back in how education was to be implemented (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 63). As apartheid policy took hold in South Africa it became apparent that the education that blacks were receiving in was preparing them for jobs in white society that were not open to the black population. Notably H.F. Verwoerd criticized previous forms of education for blacks with regards to working outside the Phelps-Stokes curriculum;

Good racial relations are spoiled when the correct education is given under the control of people who create wrong impressions on the part of the Native himself, if such people believe in a policy of equality…” (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 66)
This was the start of the apartheid regime in South Africa; Verwoerd wanted the State to be in control of native education and did not want to see local administration of native education, fearing that they would work against apartheid. Ian Smith and the UDI government in Zimbabwe gained full support for apartheid South Africa both politically/operationally within society as well as militarily and economically. This was true even when sources of funding for black and white education came from the same pool and local districts were in control of white education. For majority population Africans that were able to work against the Phelps Stokes mission and gain access to education that was similar to minority populations opportunities for higher (both secondary and university) education were limited. Many from Zimbabwe went to study at these colleges in higher numbers than in other parts of the British Empire, due mainly to proximity as well as funding; scholarships for study were difficult to procure within Zimbabwe as both war-time spending and post war spending led to a ‘tightening of belts’ in an already underfunded system. In a comment made by Verwoerd, his sentiments towards native learning are summed up best: “what is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd” (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 66). Attention might want to be drawn towards the use of the pronoun IT to describe the native child; this placement of a human being as a person who has no identity further perpetuated a separate and overly unequal curriculum and policy for both education and society. To further this, Verwoerd and his workings in South Africa, who wanted support of his bill, exemplified the Nationalist party’s official policy when stating before his fellow politicians during the Hansard debates:

Honorable members always profess not to be in favour of equal rights, and therefore they should now support me in principle in what I am saying. If they, like we on the side, are not in favour of equal rights, and if they are, like we are, in favour of the Native’s development within his own sphere and in the service of
his people, then such a person should be reared in that idea right from the start.
(Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 67)

Others in the debate placed further support of an apartheid policy by stating:

One is the trend of liberalism, which means uniform development. On the other hand there is the trend adopted by the Nationalist, which means development in their own sphere. On the one hand one has liberalism which means nothing but intermingling; on the other hand one has the nationalism which means segregation. These different trends in policy are not only of importance when we are dealing with residential segregation or labour arrangements and such a matter, but it is of the utmost importance when we are dealing with education.” (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 67).

Paulo Freire (1970) sharpens this notion when writing, with regards to how this mentality is not one that is born over night but is a systemic and perplexing reality.

Since everything has its opposite, if those who are invaded consider themselves inferior, they must necessarily recognize the superiority of the invaders.” (Freire, 1970. p. 153).

The BSAC and later colonial governments as well as UDI government had little need or want for an educated population of native black Africans. This can be seen with the use of missionary schooling for majority populations and separate schools for European inhabitants (Kuster, 2007). Further, one can also see a vast difference in the funding for these separate systems of learning; during the 34-year period in which the BSAC was in control of Zambia they constructed one school for the majority population (Brendan, 1999). With the BSAC providing severely limited funds for schooling and their proclamation in 1918 that all schools (missionary) need to be registered, many within the missionary community felt that the BSAC should assume some of the financial responsibility. As noted by John Ragsdale (Carmody, 1999. p. 77).

“The administration was attempting to control an activity to which they contributed nothing. The regulations were not designed to improve the quality of education; they merely added an administrative burden of reports and
applications. The missions objected strongly, and a period of negotiations began the process towards a government mission educational system.”

Missionary schools were provided with limited, if any, funds from the BSAC (Carmody, 1999) and were designed to ensure limited education beyond basic farming and trade skills. The missionary education system did not work in opposition to the colonial state but within it. Although, at times the two parties were at odds with one another within the context of funding, they were never separated from one another in purpose of control of the majority population for the benefit of the minority population. Missionary schools were the primary and in many cases only form of schooling (European style) for the majority population.

With the BSAC providing scarce and severely limited funds for the education of the majority African population, coinciding with missionary education being such a foreign concept for the majority African population: those that attended missionary schools needed to provide their own funding to secure a place in the new, minority ruled, world that was developing around them. Native students needed to pay entrance fees as well as work within the school campus to offset tuition when funds could not be secured. The majority population was not a willing participant in the missionary education system to the extent that they were left to be a colonized people; the minority, white, population forced the curriculum upon them. True, they did pay school fees to attain an education, but this was only done due to the fact that this limited education still needed for subsistence living within the colonial system. It could be compared to the hut tax system, also imposed from above, within which majority population Africans paid taxes so they could continue to live within the colonial system that alienated them. Educational policy
during the colonial period should be looked at as an imposed structure; one that was not designed to be a transformative tool for majority population Africans to gain their independence or self-rule\textsuperscript{22}. Majority population Africans were operating within a system that was forced upon them, without their consent, so that even if future independence would become a reality they would still need to operate within the Western world; a world that they did not assist in the construction of and whose rules and operating procedures were not written with their participation.

Mission schools had always, for their use in Zimbabwe, been plagued with attendance issues, so much so that sustaining an interest in attendance for the majority African population continually placed these schools in financial straits. Students and families saw that education could be a tool for promotion within the European world but at the same time the unfamiliarity of this was a constant cause for lackluster attendance. Violence, both physical and mental, was a norm. Students, who did not feel they were receiving an education that would allow them to participate in society as equals or allow for their ability to prosper economically would strike, protest or simply walk away from the schools (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980). Students needed to pay fees to gain admittance into the school. This would be procured through wage labor, farming for the schools as well as working for a period of time outside of the school to save money for attendance. Further, students did not want to go to school when they were needed to support their families, as wage income, opposed to traditional majority population forms of commerce, was becoming the norm for majority population (Carmody, 1999). Some missionary schools found a temporary solution in paying students for their participation. This steadied attendance but further depleted already scarce funds and did not alter or help the
The wage labor system would later be used so that students could earn money for both themselves and their families. This system was assisted with newly introduced (early colonial state) ‘hut’ taxes that were being imposed upon the majority population. These taxes were used to restrain growth in competition from majority population farmers with minority population farmers.

Not all children in Zimbabwe participated within the missionary or colonial education system. Both the need to pay fees and imposed taxes were instrumental in driving some students away other factors of life should also be noted. Although a system of taxes had been in use within the Western World, this policy was novel for the majority African population during their colonial era; the people of Zimbabwe did not understand wage labor or the policy of being taxed in a monetary format. With this, as the European system of both government and schooling became further imbedded within this area there was a diaspora of youth from their local areas and towards more densely populated, urban, centers. Fathers were losing control of their sons and the effects of this were that they were losing their source of income to pay their hut taxes. With the practice of polygamy, a practice that the European missionaries detested, men were able to have large numbers of offspring; this produced both bride wealth from their daughters as well as income from their sons who worked on their land. Sons who did not want to work on the land of their fathers would run away and work in mines, labor on other farms, or within the larger cities that were growing. As missionary leaders came to local men to ‘reel-in’ their sons, fathers were at a loss. Due mainly to the society that the Europeans put in place, sons that did not want to toil in the fields would simple ‘run-away’ to urban centers in search of enjoyment, pleasure and vice. The relative young age of these
children was threatening towards both the urban centers and the rural villages as large numbers of parentless children came into their towns but also allowed for the notion of a transient lifestyle and work ethic; children and later men would walk off farm, mine, school and other forms of labor. Furthering this transient lifestyle was the detrimental policy that removed native Africans from their land and placed them upon reservations, a policy that worked parallel to hut taxes\textsuperscript{24} in both timing of implementation and restriction of the majority population in a minority population world. Resettlement of Africans throughout Zimbabwe on reservations gave minority population farmers access to better land and insured a future of oppression for the majority African population. By 1922 64\% of the majority African population in Zimbabwe were living on reservations that did not provide adequate land for the population; there was rampant over grazing of livestock and substantial lack of agriculture produce due to the poor land (Kuster, 2007). This reservation policy worked to further alienate the educational system from the majority African population. By living within a reservation system, the majority population was living separate from the minority-populated centers and not included within this system. The minority population was attempting to educate the majority population so they would return to their reservations in hopes of instilling self-determination; this was not the outcome due to colonial policy of continual repression within the reservations of competing with minority population business. Majority population peoples who were educated would leave the reservations in hopes of economic gains in larger, urban, minority population areas.

Using the words of H.S. Keigwin, the Native Commissioner for the Lomagundi District in Southern Rhodesia, in their entirety, when he spoke in 1919 of education for majority
population Africans within his area of control it is important to note that even 30 years after colonization\(^{25}\) it was not the intent to educate the native population so they would become independent.

… to maintain that annoying conceit and self-assertiveness that unfortunately is so often the mark of the ‘book-learned’ native. We maintain that education must include industrial training, and we hope by industrial training to achieve the best results for the natives themselves. It cannot be expected that they should know what is best in this respect, nor that they will seek it themselves, but it is at once our duty and our privilege to work together to guide them in the way they should go. (Kuster, 2007. pg. 83.)

With lack of funding from the Southern Rhodesian government, missionary schools did adopt Keigwin’s statements above, which was adopted as policy in 1920 by the Legislative Assembly and known as the Keigwin Scheme, ensuring racial segregation in schooling and focusing upon an industrial and agricultural pedagogy within majority population African schools. It was important for the majority population to be educated but only so far as this education would be of benefit to the minority African population; education was not intended to be used as a liberating force for the majority population. This policy acted as a harbinger and would come to be detrimental when South Central Africa gained its independence from Europe later in the century.

In Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland by the early 1920’s the Dutch Reform Church (DRC) held a monopoly on mission schools. These missionary schools were viewed with skepticism from the native population, who saw them as moneymaking enterprises for the church, at the expense of the African population. (Summers, 1992. p.11). Within this context, to a cash strapped colonial government, a blind eye was turned to DRC practices of recruitment for their pupils as well as the means by which the DRC secured funds for operations. Native students would work on both the schools’
farms, as well as the farms of the missionary teachers, who used this unofficial subsidy as part of their income. While this was taking place, there were also dramatic upheavals in how the native population viewed itself and how their society was organized. “New Chiefs” (majority population men who grew up entirely within a colonial governed state), wanted to see a link between both the colonial government as well as their own rule in their local areas of control; they also received profits from this merger via taxes that were collected or stipends from the government (Summers, 1992. p 18). This is not to ignore their commitment towards the education of their people so that they could work within the colonial world and not as outsiders, which was never the intent of the new settlers in charge.

While mission objectives might be limited, however, Africans trying to cope with the changing administration and economy of the region were anxious for relevant education. When one missionary barely able to speak Sindebele (language spoken in the Gutu region of Zimbabwe) offered an English reading class to students willing to buy their own books, 18 pupils showed up the next day with book in hand. Missionaries realized that if they wanted to keep students enthusiastic, they had to provide teachers who knew something worth learning. (Summers, 1992. p. 29).

During the General Missionary Conference of 1922 the Reverend Price, a member of the Primitive Methodists Church, who were a group of British missionaries who had a history of radical political activity back in England, began to advocate for the intellectual ability of native Africans. Reverend Price posited that:

Argued that there were examples of ‘outstanding intellect’ among local Africans and that their education was being deliberately retarded to protect white jobs. He urged development of African education to meet the needs of the highly intelligent (Chipungu, 1992. p. 102).

The white settlers merely wanted an African educational system which would provide as cheaply as possible the artisans, clerks and storekeepers needed by the expanding towns (Chipungu 1992. p. 111).
South Africa had a long history of both commerce and interactions with the rest of the world. South Africa also had upper level education for black Africans that were outside the sphere of influence of the Royal British Crown. This educational system, one that was outside the British Crown, meant that majority population students could attend universities inside South Africa and not travel to other areas of Africa, then under British Control, or back to Great Britain. This greatly reduced travel costs as well as allowed for the British Crown to save on scholarships for native Africans who would attend universities under British Control. As administrative policy changed, the format for education evolved; as Zimbabwe moved from an occupied region under BSAC rule to an area that had become a settler colony for the British Empire so two did the manner in which the area was governed. The region was in a sense no longer under ‘military’ control but was becoming an area occupied by white farmers, ranchers and citizens in conjunction with a majority population that had once been in control. Mugomba and Nyaggah (1994) state, with regards to the damages of colonialism that;

One of the most damaging legacies of imperialist and colonialist presences in Africa is the separation of education from the overall political, economic, social and cultural development of the peoples and nation-states. (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 1)

With respects to Freire (1970), both Mugomba and Nyaggah (1994) highlight that

Rather than drawing the study content from the needs of students, school education was teacher-centered and focused on the culture of the colonial power. (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 2).

By the 1930’s Britain had remodeled the school curriculum in Zimbabwe so that Africans would have English instruction, albeit on a basal level. The majority African population would not (on a large scale) be taught the intricacies of government so that they could partake in bureaucracy and management of policies. This ‘new’ design for education was not received well by the majority population, who viewed this as a means of further
control. In a pre-apartheid educational world there were movements to ensure that Africans would not be “reduced to inferiority and powerlessness in the face of the complexities of European civilization”’ (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 61). This resistance was present from the time of early colonization but was exasperated with the colossal disparities within society. Benedict Anderson (1983) posits “print-capitalism created languages-of-power of a kind different from older administrative vernacular,” this is most apparent with the need for the English language in Colonial South Central Africa.

Within South Africa and their control over Namibia;

The South African government’s dictum, extended to Namibia, that “the education of the White child prepares him for life in a dominant society, and the education of the Black child for a subordinate society” (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 156)

This is very pertinent and seen more clearly with the policy, within South Africa and Namibia, of teaching African children in their mother tongue. I use this to show that curriculum within Zimbabwe was being modeled from and by other nations within the region. Under UDI, Rhodesia was very closely linked to South Africa in many facets; education being one of them. The white population in South Africa not only started their schooling a year in advance of the black population, but was also instructed in Afrikaans or German from the age of six. Instruction for blacks was in their mother tongue till grade 8, with English & Afrikaans being taught as subjects, not as languages of primary instruction (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980). Students (all) were expected to proceed in upper level (grade 9 – 12) in Afrikaans (the official language of S. Africa & Namibia) prior to Namibia gaining independence from S. Africa in 1990, education was, for the most part free but was in no way compulsory for the black population. In Namibia, education was, according to Christopher Leu (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 157)
The main goal of the education system is to train the vast majority of blacks for menial labor and servitude to white needs and desires, rather than for genuine education or self-development. Thus, it is not surprising that the curriculum for black students introduced in the 1950’s and 1960’s by the local administration remain almost identical with that devised for blacks in South Africa.

Clive Whitehead (2005) posits that due to what was learned with the colonization of India, with regards to cultural conflict, Africa would need to be managed differently. Independence movements in India had been working against British rule, in an organized manner since the early British conquest of India. Indian scholars were educated in law and politics in British University, both in India and in Great Britain. Whitehead (2005) also noted that the missionary presence in Africa came long before the British aligned their management with a process for education; the Christian missionaries had a presence in Africa that was not seen in India and thus came a cooperative relationship between the British government and the missionary school system. This did not alleviate a strong attack on the British education curriculum for Africans by both majority population Africans and those within the British government. The management of education in Africa differed from that of India not only in elementary and secondary education but also in higher education (not mentioned in this paper in detail but should be included here for illustrative purposes). The British were able to learn from their colonization of India and this assisted with their governance of colonies in Africa. Further, India, like Africa, was a region that was of great size and populated with peoples of many different religions, languages, beliefs and with a deep history; neither of these regions was void of a prior knowledge of the world beyond their borders when the British took control.

It was not until after World War II that universities would be built in British Africa (Ibadan and Lagos were the locations of both these universities, neither of which were in
South Central Africa or Zimbabwe), these two universities were also patterned not as teaching colleges (such as those that were built in India) to avoid the cost of maintaining high teaching standards. All of this was not lost upon the native population of South Central Africa. The administrative price of maintaining the Oxford format of college that was used in India was costly, and the British did not want to sustain this process in Africa. It should be noted that the British influence in education, in this region was, roughly, less than 50 years compared to the history of British involvement in India, which was much longer. Large numbers of British citizens did populate India but not in the same manner that they did within South Central Africa or Zimbabwe. Those that did move to India were primarily there within official government roles or working within the business sector at managers; within South Central Africa large numbers of British and European citizens moved to this region as farmers and workers. The education system in India was fashioned after the British or European model and the schools/universities were for Indian citizens; in Zimbabwe there were no universities for majority population students. This is important due to further illustrating the chasm of difference in how Zimbabwe differed from other colonies within education and how this difference did not allow for the majority population to gain the tools of self-government.

This difference in learning and in structure was not lost on those in South Central Africa and to use a neighboring region to Zimbabwe, Namibia, student unrest was met with harsh terms by the S. African government (then in control of this region and, similar to Zimbabwe under UDI).

The black student body in Namibia was rapidly becoming the mouth piece which articulated growing black unrest and dissatisfaction. The white administration had the choice of entering into dialogue to resolve their problems, or crushing them by making an example of their leaders and treating them as troublemakers.
It chose the latter course. Students were carefully watched in Namibia, paid informers abounded in their midst, and the state moved in with speed to smash any opposition before it got a grip on the black community at large. It was not unknown for an entire school to be closed and the greater part of the black students expelled for what was termed “political agitation.” At one period, it was estimated at least, 1,000 black students had been forcibly removed from school with all chances of furthering their education blocked to them. Sometimes the state would agree to have them back on the condition that they submitted to a flogging” (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 161).

There were limited, if any, structures of curriculum instruction (Kallaway, 2005; Whitehead, 2005) for majority population African education in Zimbabwe. The process of instruction was based upon missionary education with allotted for basic levels of reading or vocational teaching. Quoted here, at length one can understand how education curriculum and policy was and is structured within a colony system of oppressor and oppressed.

Detailed case studies also frequently substantiate Sir Christopher Cox’s claim that educational outcomes are often determined less by the initiators of policy than by those that educational outcomes applies. For example, a variety of critics have accused the British of blatant cultural imperialism because colonial schooling was tied so closely to British subject syllabuses and examinations. British models were certainly followed but not because they were deliberately imposed on colonial schools but rather because Africans and other colonial subjects insisted on them. Anything less would have been considered second rate. It was for this reason that the policy of adaptation, so popular with colonial educators in the interwar years, failed. Africans, in particular, wanted a carbon copy of British education and qualifications acceptable for admission to British universities and University of London external degrees. A study of classics may have made little practical sense in tropical Africa but Latin and Greek were part of the European educational gold standard to which Africans aspired. (Whitehead, 2005).

Majority population Africans were able to see what the standards and curriculum were for those that were ruling them; they were able to see the education that minority Africans were receiving. Majority population Africans knew that their education was, in all facets, neither equal nor equitable to the education of the minority population. If the majority population were to, ever, be able to compete with the minority population they
would need an education system that was similar, if not identical to that which the minority population; in this case the British System.

The sentiment and truth of the above statement parallel the pedagogy of Paulo Freire (Freire, 1970) with the workings of the colonial system as well as Benedict Anderson (1983) and his theories on nationality. Although nationality, at length, was not a discussion within this paper it is important to understand that there we two separate nations being formed in Zimbabwe; between the majority and minority populations. Education was used to cement the minority rule over the majority population. The oppressor through a systemic policy of control convinces the oppressed that such an order is needed and is correct. This leads to alienation and a negative view of one’s own identity, cultural and people so that one will look at the oppressor as the model that should be followed. Within South Africa, this became the Nationalist Parties platform, with regards to apartheid and can be best seen during the Hansard debates in 1953 (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 68). Paulo Freire’s (1970) main thesis centers upon the notion that when one is not a participant within the system that governs (here defined as the educational system) they are separate from this system and operate as oppressed. Freire (1970) also holds true to the belief that, in many situations, the oppressor is not fully aware or how they are oppressing; I do not find this to be the case in Zimbabwe.

Frantz Fanon (1965), in his work, continues this praxis with his statements;

   It is the white man who creates the Negro. But it is the Negro who creates negritude. (Fanon, 1965. p. 47).

   Colonialism must accept the fact that things happen without its control, without its direction (Fanon, 1965. p. 63).

   For a long time, political action in a colonized country is a legal action that is carried on within the parliamentary framework. After a certain period, when
official and peaceful channels are exhausted, the militant hardens his positions. (Fanon, 1965. p. 101).

Prior to the 1920’s there was never a focus upon how social development, within policy for education of the majority population, would be developed so that the majority population fermented their identity inside the constraints of a colonized people. This was altered after the change in rule of the BSAC, in that, as stated above and will be stated below, education policy evoked a ‘what’ would be taught combined with a ‘who’ would be taught. In looking at the number of students in South Africa, 1955 (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 73), it is apparent that the system was not built for the overall education of the population. In first grade there are 282,910 students, this lessons in later grades to 113,499 by forth grade, 90,948 by fifth, 34,667 by eight, 16,122 by ninth and 1,392 by twelve grade. These figures show slight growth from 1955 to 1973 with .5% of the population reaching twelfth grade in 1955 and 1.6% in 1973… yet this is still cataclysmically dismal. These numbers assist to view the affects of the apartheid policy of South Africa, a nation that, under UDI, Zimbabwe gained a great deal of support from. It should be noted that not all, in South Africa, were in favor of apartheid, as one member of the South African government stated during the Hansard debates:

People must realize that the basic principles of education must be the same for all races. (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 68).

And further

I say that this Bill will be resented by the Native people as a whole throughout the country, and I say it is the most ill-advised step to take… (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 68).

Another member noted that the difference made between the liberal education policy and the Nationalist education policy was “crude” and lacked a sophisticated grasp of the meaning of education. (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 68). Within Southern Rhodesia,
there was a division between first class schools and third class schools: third class being
the majority and of lesser quality. Teachers in third class schools were trained at first
class schools, with the intent that graduates from first class schools would become leaders
within a segregated society for the benefit of the white minority. Those from both
systems of education were primarily trained within vocational or agricultural education
with little focus upon reading and mathematics beyond rudimentary and rote
memorization. Although it was the intention of schools to provide a source of revenue
for the native populations when they returned to their reserves, many never returned and
sought to make a living off of whatever level of English fluency they had gained. As
Isaac Lamba (2010, p. 13) posits “Formal western education was therefore not expected
to serve a fully liberating role on the African societies but generally as a tool for African
underdevelopment.”.

There was a high importance placed upon education by natives in South Central Africa;
in the early 1920’s in Malawi white soldiers returning or being decommissioned from
WWI were provided with free settlement farms while their black peers were not provided
with any such rewards for fighting in Europe. With this, native veterans protested not for
farmland but for better schools (Lamba, 2010. p. 22). It is apparent that the humanist
goals of mission education, that is their belief that they could create a utopia worked in
favor of the settler population as a detrimental loss to the native population. Within the
education system, native Africans were provided with an oppressive form of education
and society that did not solely ignore their history but usurped it with the history of
Europe. For them to have a future there was a need to imitate the colonial settlers that
were now in charge.
In summary of this chapter I show the funding patterns for missionary education during colonization. The importance of this further showcases the history of education in Zimbabwe and how this history continues to deter present day citizens to separate from their past. I also shine light on how the curriculum for majority population Africans was separate from minority populations and that this was done to not allow majority population Africans to take part in government or commerce. In the next chapter I will link the past with the present and show how the history of education in Zimbabwe under colonization and UDI did not prepare this nation for self governance or allow for the ability to compete with other nations in a global economy.
CHAPTER V
OUTCOMES OF COLONIAL EDUCATION IN INDEPENDENCE

In a theme similar to Vladimir Lenin (2011), Kwame Nkrumah (1965) penned Neo-Colonialism: the last stage of imperialism. Prior to Nkrumah’s death he worked upon the reality in Ghana (and the rest of Africa) that although a state may be independent, it is only a screen to which the real operations are being controlled by external capitalist entities. Such a reality was made possible with the educational structure that was not introduced, but forced, upon the native inhabitants of colonized regions. As colonized states moved away from their prior controllers, they were placed in control of a political apparatus, yet not the economic mechanics; both of which they were never truly trained to operate and were not built with the Native being the one in control (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 48). Within this section I will bring to light the post-independence environment within Zimbabwe and how, by way of international aid programs, the damages that were embedded within the colonial state have neither improved or been eradicated but have continued to grow. Although the formal intent of this aid has not been to perpetuate damages inflicted upon the majority population during the colonial and missionary period, with regards to education, their indirect consequences have been, almost, irreversible in damage done.

Within Kenya (not a focus of this work officially but being mentioned here for reference) and Zimbabwe, the first postcolonial leaders had spent large periods of their lives in government prisons because of their work with independence movements. This incarceration helped to mold a mindset among the initial leaders of the nations; a thinking that went beyond the mental incarceration of their people but into the physical
incarceration that colonialism perpetuated; furthering to drive home the result of missionary/colonial education. Long prison sentences for majority leaders during colonial times was a norm and practice: Robert Mugabe and Nelson Mandela, leaders who after imprisonment became leaders in independence, were both subjected to this policy and it can be best summed up by Michel Foucault (1997)

So, to return to the question posed right at the start—“why this strange institution of prison, why this choice of penalty whose dysfunction was denounced so early?” perhaps the answer should be sought along the lines: prison has the advantage of production delinquency, an instrument of control over and pressure on illegality, a substantial component in the exercise of power over bodies, an element of that physics of power which gave rise to the psychology of the subject. (Foucault, 1997. p. 36)

The purpose of the missionary school was to educate students to become farmers and wage level workers; missionary education was not to educate future politicians and leaders or to allow for cooperation between minority and majority peoples. This is a direct result of the Phelps-Stokes mission in Zimbabwe. Students found little use for the industrial and agricultural education that they were being taught, in that this policy for education did not adequately prepare them for entering a more empowering role in their society. Majority population Africans did see the need for education but did not see the need for an inferior education. With regards to Nyasaland;

White fellows have been here for thirty-six years, and not one of them sees a native as his Brother, but as his boy tho’ a native is somehow wiser than he in managing God’s work. Had these poor Europeans (tho’ rich in Body) taught a native to use his means and faculties properly the counted ape would have risen up 33 years ago, and whole Responsibility would have been given into the hands of natives… (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 143).

The Educational Commission report, in Zimbabwe, spoke out against the continued practice of agricultural education for the majority African population noting that by 1959 with industrial and urban population growth, students had little use or interest in
agricultural education (Whitehead, 2005). Stating more directly, and in agreement with African students, agricultural and farm training was little more than a sentence to lifelong poverty and would not be of benefit until farming in majority African populated regions became prosperous (Whitehead, 2005). Majority population African students noticed that farming as well as industrial labor required an ever-present population of low wage earners; this was not the future that many students saw for themselves in a post-World War II world. In his introduction to Ethics of Liberation: in the age of globalization and exclusion, Enrique Dussel (2013) scaffolds just what majority African populations were/are working against:

Meanwhile, we have to prepare the way. We must dismantle the philosophy that has been “institutionalized” in the “symbolics of domination, “which in Africa is, itself, and in the first place, the “effective exercise of power and domination.” This philosophy is the concrete expression of an “authoritarian” practice that accords a privileged status to Greece as European and discredits other cultures; which legitimized colonialism and justifies European particularism as if it were universal… (Dussel, 2013. p. 51).

As Zimbabwe moved away from colonization and into independence post UDI there was a severe lack of/for/in an educated class to instill the necessary bureaucracy in the newly formed nations of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. It is the structure and format of missionary education, within the colonial system, that allowed for an ill-educated majority population: a population that had severely limited formal education beyond agriculture/industrial instruction with a limited formal education. This should, under no circumstances, be nonplussed with other dynamics of failed states within the post-colonial world; the sole cause for the current state of disorder in this region (here being Zimbabwe) is a myriad history of non-amenable policies for governing the majority population: known as apartheid.
When African nations moved away from the oppression of colonial rule and towards independence they were, for the most part in desperate need of national movements of unity. Zimbabwe was no different in this need. Much of contemporary African history was written with the pen of colonialism. When Zimbabwe became independent the government was patterned after the model of the prior colonial masters; education included. Even with independence, South Central Africa was not free from the system that had ruled them. The BSAC, as a corporation, was still gaining profit from Zambia through their copper mines, Malawi was still viewed as a land of cheap labor, and Zimbabwe saw a slow process of land reform from minority white to majority black African hands. There was a strong movement within Africa to work against globalization so that Africans could be a voice at the table instead of a participant solely as a resource rich land to be mined. Within post-Cold War African educational circles there is a running theme that,

African intellectuals felt they needed to defend communities against global corporations who for example, tried to replace indigenous agriculture with ‘banana plantations’. As a result African intellectuals were forced to go to communities and help members set up developments that could resist International Corporation and at the same time help communities develop themselves. (Higgs, 2012. p. 46)

This should not be interpreted as a mindset that speaks for ‘Africa’ as a whole but one should recognize the growing need for the world to not view Africa as a source for the economic growth of foreign governments but a place for Africa to make gains in its own economic growth. In his paper on the Decolonization of Africa, Philip Higgs (2012) writes in a general format in describing a pattern that has ignored individual nations and peoples on a vast continent that contains some of the deepest deposits of natural resources yet is inhabited by some of the world’s most economically poor citizens. He utilizes the
notion of “African Philosophy” in education to re-shape current pedagogy so that ‘Africa’ can work against the hegemony of Western globalization patterns. This format for study is needed but speaks more to a universal movement in the Developing South against the Developed North and not to individual African states and what they should do with their education.

Within Zimbabwe in post UDI, there are gross systemic failures in the state to such a degree that educational development for those beyond the elite is nothing more than a dream. In Zimbabwe, the ravages of HIV/AIDS have decimated a population so that teachers are unable to handle students that lack parents and families (Tshabangu, 2006. p. 56). Sharon Subreenduth (Subreenduth, 2010. p. 622) speaks to the instructional racism with the colonial system that, albeit in the view of South Africa and lifted from the work of Kwesi-Kwaa Prah when stating:

    racism did not only affect the social, political, economic and other infrastructural base of knowledge production in South Africa, but, more importantly, it also affected the substance of what passed as knowledge itself.

Sharon Subreenduth’s (Subreenduth, 2010) words speak towards the contextual complexity of racism within the colonial state; a racism that was not eradicated with independence but has continued to perpetuate within the context of a global economy. To further this by setting the education in South Central Africa into what it was facing, and through the lens of South Africa “South Africa’s educational system, like those in other national contexts, has been forced to respond to the needs of a global economy.” (Schafer, 2012. p. 43). This shines light on the fact that Zimbabwe needed to base its educational system not upon what would benefit its development but what would benefit the global world; further cementing a colonial approach to independence and not
allowing adequate time to develop a voice of its own. With Zimbabwe, the first decade of independence in the 1980’s saw an expansion of education by the government, yet this was done by rapidly training teachers so that when they entered the classroom they were inadequately prepared for the task of teaching in an impoverished state; a state that was short of adequate government officials to write beneficial policy. The focus of policy and curriculum was not centered upon quality education, but upon the people’s access to education; getting more students in school yet providing teachers without the training, resources or guidance for success. With a long history of either limited education or total lack of education under colonialism the majority population was implementing a new format of both learning and government upon a people who had little exposure to this from the side of those that were in control. This process had a detrimental outcome on the civil services in that there was an educated population growing but the population was not properly educated for global competition or direct rule in their nation. In the second decade of independence in Zimbabwe, teacher training was reformed so that in 1990 54% of teachers were properly trained and in 2001 77.2% were trained (Gibbs, 2005. p. 67). This training for teachers does not reflect the growing disparities within the overall economic situation within Zimbabwe, so that even with more trained teachers there is a severe lack of jobs for graduated students. Also, there is no reference in the research conducted for this paper, to what this teacher training entailed and if it was adequate training for the population being served. As of 2005 primary education in Zimbabwe, was mainly free beyond levies that families would pay for building maintenance and sport clubs. Here is what is important to note with education in Zimbabwe: primary education is compulsorily and relatively free; secondary education is neither free nor compulsory. With school being an added cost on an already financially poor population,
secondary education is limited and forces the majority of the population to remove themselves from formal learning. This has a negative cost to a nation with a population that is both facing structural adjustment within the economy and a population that is not educated beyond the elementary levels.

Focusing upon structural adjustment programs (SAP) and how the World Bank Group (WB), the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are affecting education in Zimbabwe, one does not need to go far to see how this has had a negative impact on education and further emphasizes the poor structure of pre-colonial education in adapting to the post-colonial period28. In the first 17 years of World Bank Group operations, there was not a single loan given for schools, health units, drainage systems or drinking water (Toussaint, 2008. p. 21). Quoting the words of Lawrence Summers, the former chief economist of the World Bank who sent an internal memo to his peers on December 12th 1992 (Summers, 1992. p. 67).

Just between you and me, shouldn't the World Bank be encouraging more migration of the dirty industries to the LDCs (author’s note Least Developed Countries)? I can think of three reasons:

(1) The measurement of the costs of health-impairing pollution depends on the forgone earnings from increased morbidity and mortality. From this point of view a given amount of health-impairing pollution should be done in the country with the lowest cost, which will be the country with the lowest wages. I think the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest-wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that.

(2) The costs of pollution are likely to be non-linear as the initial increments of pollution probably have very low cost. I've always thought that under-populated countries in Africa are vastly under-polluted; their air quality is probably vastly inefficiently low [sic] compared to Los Angeles or Mexico City. Only the lamentable facts that so much pollution is generated by non-tradable industries (transport, electrical generation) and that the unit transport costs of solid waste are so high prevent world-welfare-enhancing trade in air pollution and waste.

(3) The demand for a clean environment for aesthetic and health reasons is likely to
have very high income-elasticity. The concern over an agent that causes a one-in-a-million change in the odds of prostate cancer is obviously going to be much higher in a country where people survive to get prostate cancer than in a country where under-5 mortality is 200 per thousand. Also, much of the concern over industrial atmospheric discharge is about visibility-impairing particulates. These discharges may have very little direct health impact. Clearly trade in goods that embody aesthetic pollution concerns could be welfare enhancing. While production is mobile the consumption of pretty air is a non-tradable.

The problem with the arguments against all of these proposals for more pollution in LDCs (intrinsic rights to certain goods, moral reasons, social concerns, lack of adequate markets, etc.) could be turned around and used more or less effectively against every Bank proposal for liberal-isolation.

These words, either written for a few eyes or the world, either written in jest or in earnest, spell out a theme that sharpens a truth; that colonial education did not instill a propensity for formal learning, for the majority population, that would adequately allow for a beneficial government after independence. If former colonial nations viewed the nations that were their formal colonial subjects as equals, within global economics, a statement such as this would not have been uttered, much less written. Missionary and colonial education allowed for the minority population as well as the former colonial powers to never alter their views of how they administered policy; they solely augmented a direct to an indirect role. In the Monthly Review, John Belamy Foster (1993) states that

The world bank later told The Economist that in writing his memo Summers had intended to “provoke debate” among his Bank colleagues, while Summers himself said that he had not meant to advocate “the dumping of untreated toxic wastes near the homes of poor people.” Few acquainted with orthodox economics, however can doubt that the central arguments utilized in the memo were serious. In the view of The Economist itself (February 15, 1992), Summers’ language was objectionable but “his economics was hard to answer.

Summers writes of Africa, the continent, and although this text is focused upon Zimbabwe, the reality that is the Continent of Africa has become cemented with a difficulty to view a global positive within the Bretton Woods system. Since its inception, shortly after World War II, the Bretton Woods/World Bank Group has fallen far short of
its mission statement to end poverty; in many aspects it has increased poverty within the developing world. This is done, all-the-while, within a system that has increased revenue for both itself and allowed for strong-arm governments (Zimbabwe under Mugabe) to retain power; albeit the World Bank Group has a long-standing and very formal policy of not interfering with governments; the reality of indirect involvement is a substantial level of involvement. James Ferguson (2006, p. 2) brings to light a crucial notion that:

When we hear about “Africa” today, it is usually in urgent and troubled tones. It is never just Africa, but always the crisis in Africa, the problems of Africa, the failure of Africa, the moral challenge of Africa to “the international community, “even (in British Prime Minister Tony Blair’s memorable phrase) Africa “as “a scar on the conscience of the world.

This theme, one that not only ignores a history of the effects of a colonial system upon a continent and how this history has been transformed to a current form of colonialism; when one looks at SAP programs in South Central Africa, as James Ferguson used the words of Nicholas van de Walle (Ferguson, 2006 p. 11) when explaining the negative impact that SAP has on Africa and that the reform process has:

Motivated a progressive withdrawal of governments from key developmental functions they had espoused in an earlier era. All over Africa, the withdrawal from social services is patent, particularly, outside the capital. In the poorest countries of the region, donors and NGO’s have increasingly replaced governments, which now provide a minor proportion of services. Even in the richest countries, the state’s ability and willingness to service rural constituencies has atrophied. Paradoxically, many of the states in the region are both more centralized and bigger, and yet they appear to do less development work than they did before adjustment.

Once again, using a neighboring nation to Zimbabwe to illustrate the affects of structural adjustment; SAP in Zambia during the 1970’s took place as Zambia was seeing its primary source of income, copper, decline in global value, combined with the increased cost of oil and economic instability of the region an initial SAP loan of 35 million was
acquired in 1985 (Babalola, Lungwangwa, Adeyinka, 1999). Although this loan was originally sought out on a short-term basis with the hopes of copper gaining in value and global oil prices decreasing, as adjustment to a global slump took longer than expected. Zambia, under World Bank Group SAP instruction, took measures to ensure payment on their loan. The currency was devaluated so a balance could be sustained between import and export of goods, and a rapid reduction in public spending instituted. Public spending for education in Zambia was adjusted during this time to reflect a repayment plan. The result was a drop in spending per pupil: spending in 1984 was $97.68 in 1988 it dropped to $55.11 with a low in 1987 of $38.67. This can be compared to, on average, $4,654 in the United States during the same period of time (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2014). The reader should also note that adjustment for an original loan in the 1970’s was being implemented in the late 1980’s. This adjustment further placed strain on an already wavering economy. Teachers needed to find ways to supplement their salary as teaching supplies and income all but dried up. With the need to pay back external loans, Zambia instituted policies within its educational systems that did little to benefit the future of the nation and caused the departure of many citizens in search of employment outside the nation. With this the Zambian elite grew to look away from notions of democratization; this was not isolated to Zambia or South Central Africa but Africa on a whole and can be seen with the lack of ‘democratic’ governments in many nations across the continent.

The failure of SAP within Zimbabwe, the further isolation of the poor in independence, combined with the neoliberal notions that emphasized less spending within and for the public sector, as well as a more development of the private sector, left South Central
Africa in a state of loss for what to do. Policies put into practice in the 1980’s were not novel to Africa, but there is a vast difference between nations that are able to neutralize SAP with strong ties to the global market and own a population that is able to respond by changing policies with those that are not. Europe, on the whole, has recovered from Bretton Woods’s augmentation after WWII, yet much of the global south has yet to wean away from such policies. South Central Africa, unlike the developed, global north was ill prepared for this economic system due to the lack of an educated population that was left in a post-independent world (Carnoy, 1995). William Easterly (2002) posits

The disadvantages of backwardness could explain why Chad didn’t catch up to the United States in the same way that Japan did. We have seen that there is no general tendency for the poor countries to catch up to the rich; instead, on average they are falling further behind. (p. 185).

This notion helps to shine light on, not the backwardness of a nation, but upon how nations are able to remain backwards despite myriad formats for economic growth via international banking agencies. Yet, even with free-trade polices, there is a history in Zimbabwe and the developing world to continue to act as resource exporters at a loss for domestic industrial growth; playing back to colonial educational structures that did not allow for independence. In post UDI Zimbabwe the curriculum that is being utilized is not preparing the population for, not only democracy but due to colonial curriculum has only altered who is in control.

In summary of this chapter the results of colonial education on post-colonial education in Zimbabwe can be viewed. That, systemic failures of allowing the majority population to have similar educational opportunities during colonization allowed for a nation, upon post-colonial independence, allowed for debilitation structural adjustment programs.
These programs further assisted in inadequate education for the majority population so that global governments and organizations do not see or treat Zimbabwe as equals. In the next and conclusion I will tie together how missionary education during colonization did not prepare the majority population for self rule and thus led to the current political and economic instability within this region.
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

Missionary and colonial education in Zimbabwe did not prepare this nation for independence. It is apparent that the initial wave of education for Africans came within the form of missionary education with the intent of Christianizing the population (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 129). The lack of focus for beneficial education for the majority population was hard to escape and ensured that an uneducated class of citizens could not improve the economy of their nations. William Easterly (2002) posits that there is a lack of incentive in developing/poor nations to solve their internal and external problems, “Since countries with large poverty problems get more aid, those countries have little incentive to alleviate their poverty problems” (p. 116). This notion, albeit not directly linked to the World Bank and penned with the notion of neoliberal assistance, works in detriment to economically poor nations by ignoring the systemic and historical impacts of colonialism and colonial education. Easterly (2002) further expands on this by, in articulated matter, victim blaming poor nations;

HIPCs *(highly indebted poor county)* were not any more likely than non-HIPCs to be at war over this period. The “irresponsible government” hypothesis explains much more how the poor countries’ high debt came about than does the “back Luck” hypothesis. (p. 131).

This ignores, once again, the involvement in negative aspects of developed nations. The SAP programs that became a reality in the 1970’s and1980’s further exploited an already impoverished region so that, in the case of Zimbabwe, education was compulsory for elementary levels but due to cost was left to the public to fund individual education at the secondary level. Zambia, in a similar practice, put into place a policy; by way of decreased government spending to such a low, that effective learning was not sustainable for the population. Training that should have taken place in teacher education programs
was cut back or deleted from the curriculum due to lack of funding, so that those that are
teaching were/are not prepared for the profession. Combined with governmental
ineptness, graft, nepotism, and, with Zimbabwe the rule of one person and one party since
independence, citizen’s cannot/could not move out of their impoverished reality. With the
international banking system taking a finance-driven approach to reforms allowed for
gross neglect in the public service industry. SAP is instilling three main polices upon
nations that seek loans and are unable to maintain payment or are potentially going to
default on their payments:

1. Shifting funding from higher to primary education.

Zimbabwe is adjusting their policies not for the citizens of this region but for
international bankers by lowering qualifications for teaching and adjusting pupil/teacher
ratios to World Bank Group ratios of 45 to 1. Not providing adequate opportunities for
both genders, this being done with the knowledge that educated women have a
substantially positive impact upon their societies and communities. (Carnoy, 1995. p.
665). SAP programs are doing little to steer away from detrimental policies and continue
to advocate for programs that function on non-macro levels and allow for further
economic and cultural isolation; that is building large construction projects such as dams
instead of investing more directly with the people on macro levels (Farmer, 2005). In
educating a post-colonial population, the new nations set out to counter the imbalances
that were apparent within the missionary and colonial educational system for the majority
population Africans. This led to, in the case of Zimbabwe, a readapting of curriculum to
support the rule of the one-party state and not the needs of the Zimbabwean people
(Matereke, 2012). This was not the original intention of the educational system in this
region but with the adjustment from colonial to independence, much was left unanswered and the citizens needed to work within the confines of the reality in their lands and that of the imposed outside world. There is a process in, what is called, political decolonization, in what is best explained in the words of William Zartman (1976).

Metropolitan countries block African development by co-opting African leaders into an international social structure that serves the world’s capitalist economy. By training and conditioning the upper layer of African society into Western habits of consumption, reading, vacation, style, and other European values, the dominant politico-economic system removes the need for direct intervention and indirect colonial rule; the more the news elites “develop,” the more their expectations rise, the more they become programmed to look North, to think Western, and to alienate themselves from their national society, which is locked into its underdevelopment. Since mass development is such a monumental task in the best of conditions, and since it is even more difficult against the wishes of the dominant capitalists, these alienated, Westernized elites are motivated to repress the spread of development in their society and thus to maintain themselves in power as a political class. The end result is that national development is impossible: foreign predominance is maintained by the co-opted elites, a neocolonial pact as firm as its colonial predecessor was in its time.

This can be seen with the WB directly influencing matters of politics in the developing world: in spite of section 10 of article 4 of the World Bank Charter²⁹ (Toussaint, 2008. p. 35). Education was prominent within the plans for development. In the early years of post-colonialism, African nations knew that they would need to shore up massive holes in the education of their people. Trevor Coombe, (Whitehead, 2005 p. 447) noted in his research that the colonial mismanagement (‘mismanagement’ used here lightly with reference to glaring inequalities in sustaining and ensuring an uneducated African population) during and after the 1930’s in Zambia ensured complete failure for a majority population run nation. The rush for independence ignored the need for a stable governing force and bureaucratic system so that these nations could move into independence able to compete within the global market. The due diligence of former colonial powers to not ensure a smooth transition to independence by government’s post, 1924 (when the BSAC
moved away from formal control of this region) and after World War II (when European nations, devastated by their self-inflicted destruction and awakening to the reality of conscription of colonial peoples to their rank and file military). This conscription assisted in the revolutionary praxis of colonial states is not a reflection of the inability of majority population Africans to learn or govern them but shows the true nature of colonialism. Had the British Crown not allowed what became apartheid policies in their settler colonies, provided equity in education, commerce and governance, had they not rushed out of Zimbabwe; matters would have been different for the ability of the majority population to self-govern. It is this lack of due diligence in management, governance and humane practice of governing peoples that ensured the calamity that is now taking place in Zimbabwe. Post-colonial scholars need to acknowledge that South Central Africa was not ready to govern themselves at independence and they were unable to compete in a global economy, not because of an inherent inadequacy in birth (Freire, 1970) but because the education system that was in place prior to independence did not allow for this. Those that came into power post-independence were educated, yes, but they were governing those that such education was denied. An educated population is a, if not the, key to a democracy without this a democracy cannot evolve and be sustainable.

It is this sustainability that has been lacking in post-UDI Zimbabwe. In the above chapters the notion of economic education and education for self-rule has been written about with the understanding that these two formats of education were not only limited but structurally denied to the majority population. For peoples to govern themselves, compete in a global market and allow for success of its peoples these concepts of instruction need to be developed within the curriculum in conjunction with the policies of
the Phelps Stokes mission. By focusing the conclusion of this paper upon how systemic patterns of how colonial peoples were educated and not comparing this curriculum directly with non-colonized peoples (here being majority vs. minority populations) one is able to see the outcomes of pedagogy. As stated in the introduction this paper was written in the theme of Paulo Freire’s text Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970) view of systemic issues of how peoples of the world are educated. It is in how peoples are educated that one is able to fully grasp the negative outcomes of colonial education in Zimbabwe: the Phelps Stokes mission and missionary education could have been a liberating pedagogy but was not intended to be so due to the reasons for how it was not only instructed but in what the end results of this instruction were meant to accomplish. To close with the words of Vladimir Lenin (2011) by subsisting capitalism in the opening sentence with oppression the full mission of colonization as a means of instilling economic advantage by systemic disadvantage the purpose of missionary/colonial education comes full circle, colonial education did exactly what it was built to do (coffeepartyusa, 2012) even is a post-colonial world.

As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will never be utilized for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalist; it will be used for the purpose of increasing those profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. (Lenin, 2011. p. 63).
REFERENCES


Whitehead, Cl. (2005). The Historiography of British Imperial education policy


Notes:

1 Colonial State being defined here as the systemic political apparatus that became the reality of the developing world.
2 An educated population within a democracy is the centerpiece for a system that allows citizens to vote and thus be the government. If a citizen is purposely not educated about a topic or is restricted from voting they are not part of a democracy. This is separate from a citizen refraining from voting or not educating oneself on a topic.
3 White Power is used as a term to symbolize the minority, White, population over the African population.
4 ZANU being a largely Shona and ZAPU being largely Ndebele but early on both parties were working together for independence.
5 Robert Mugabe was imprisoned for the 2nd longest period of time, Nelson Mandela, in South Africa being the longest, in African liberation movements.
6 This statement was not spoken of within the research that was done. I would highlight pg. 111 of Tamarkin (1990) with mention of Zambia assistance after the failure of the Nkoma-Smith talks in 1976. Likewise, Tamarkin (p. 14, 2004) in quoting Smith in 1974 “If it takes one year, five years, ten years, we are prepared to ride it out rather than give way on our standards, give way on our principles... Our stand is clear and unambiguous. Settlement is desirable but only on our terms.” It appears that Ian Smith is acting in a fashion that would ignore the logic of the world.
7 This is a strategy that was used both with the colonization in Ireland and to a far more advanced level within the British Colonies in North America.
8 I was unable to find a reference for who Lenin was referencing with ‘Stead’.
9 David Livingstone was a prominent Scottish missionary in the late 19th century; he died in Zambia in 1873.
10 Livingston spoke of Central Africa and Africa on a whole, it was not until 1890 that Britain (Empire) had an influence in South Central Africa but one can use his words and extend them into this region due to the over arching goal of both the mission movements of Europe as well as the mentality that was within settler colonies. It should also be noted that Livingston did not speak for the Catholic Mission in South Central Africa but for the English protestant church.
11 Zanzibar had and has a deep history with the Islamic faith and with this a structure that religious missionaries were familiar with. This is not to imply that Christian missionaries viewed Islam as an equal to Christianity but they were familiar with the religion, its history and its structure. There was also the use of the Swahili language that was spoken by the inhabitants of this region. Although English would replace Swahili by 1873 in academic instruction, Swahili was instrumental in allowing for Christian converts to move off the island and onto the mainland where Swahili was also a familiar language.
12 Within the scope of European terms of definition; South Central Africa is no exception to the colonialist policy of ignoring indigenous religions and culture. Within South Central Africa there was a history of religion and societal customs that were disbanded and demolished under colonialism; to the extent that the native populations viewed themselves as inferior to the Europeans in all facets of society.
13 Although the historic power base for colonization included both Portugal and Spain by the late 19th and early 20th century both of these nations had long since lost their monopoly. France and Great Britain had both risen to become the two largest Colonial powers in the world.
Put forth in the 1920’s and adopting the curriculum of Booker T. Washington in manual and vocational education for blacks in the United States of America, a format that was used in the U.S.A. southern regions after their Civil War (Kuster, 2007). To further this, (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980.) “First, its purpose was to provide an elementary level of schooling which would focus on the supposedly basic needs of economically backward, socially isolated, and politically disenfranchised communities. Second, to the extend that it produces leaders, they were to work in a spirit of cooperation with and deference to philanthropically minded whites-hence the absence from discussion of political and social problems, since the probing of such topics was not conducive to a spirit of cooperation.” (p. 86). This was done, within the Settler Colonies of South Central Africa, to avoid the political nationalism within India, that would be in direct conflict with ‘supremacists’ views in South Central Africa; who, in part, blamed Indian education as the source of British India’s problems (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 87).

H.F. Verwoerd was the acting minister for native affairs in South Africa during this period.

These views, perpetuated by missionary practices of viewing Africans as in need of European saving via. Christianity have been at a historic and substantial loss of African peoples and culture.

Both critiques during the implementation of Phelps-Stokes but also a historical critique.

In South Central Africa, the spread of European style schools and learning was in a vein opposing that of British West Africa. Schools, both missionary and later government, were underfinanced, understaffed and set for, at best, a substandard education and at worst a purposeful failure for future development of a strong and educated African population. Also, I am looking at spending without noting general population statics for this region.

This is a reference back to a BSAC controlled time, so the author assumes that these funds, for the majority population were from a mix of funding sources. The author did not find a direct location for where these funds came from in his research.

The Hansard debates took place in 1953, following the Eiselen report (a report put forth by the Nationalist Party under the guidance of Dr. Eiselen) with regards to the Bantu Education Act. It was the foundation of the Nationalist Party apartheid policy. (Mugomba & Nyaggah, 1980. p. 65).

Zambia being used here for reference to what was taking place under a similar government in a neighboring county to Zimbabwe.

This was true within the scope of South Central Africa. The ‘jewel’ of the British Empire, India, was controlled in a format that was separate from British holdings in Africa. So much so that much of Africa’s colonial policy hardly resembled what was taking place in India. This further emphasis is needed to expel any doubt that the missionary system of education set the majority population on a clear path for self-government. It also shows that not all British colonies were ruled under the same, blanket, system.

A penny a day was introduced as payment for student attendance (Carmody, 1999. p. 83). This both encouraged, albeit limited attendance, but also began to introduce wage employment and economics. This can be viewed as a contradiction with earlier statements that missionary schools had issues with funding; this is a direct contradiction and is being introduced to show the complexity of the missionary system, the vast
funding issues, the separate Catholic and Protestant forms of management as well as the truth that in such a large area contradictions are inevitable.

24 In some instances, when hut taxes were not paid land was confiscated.
25 1890 being utilized here as the date of colonization; within South Central Africa there had been a long history of Colonization.
26 India is being mentioned here for several reasons. India, like portions of Africa, was under the control of the British.
27 Referencing the work of Paulo Freire (1970) the driving force within an oppressor/oppressor relationship, here being utilized within the context of colonialism, the systemic workings of this relationship breed a mentality of inadequacies not solely in mentality but within person. Many, within the majority population, during the time of colonialism were incarcerated due to their involvement with behaviors that were not deemed beneficial for/towards the colonial state. When independence was no longer a dream but a reality for the majority population; who had been educated, both formally and informally, by a colonial state that did not perpetuate the majority populations ability to self govern but also instilled within an inadequacy that a prison state (here within apartheid) perpetuates.
28 “The World Bank is a very different institution in different countries” (Marshall, p. 5). The World Bank policies provide separate serveries to nations.
29 Article 4, Section 10 of the World Bank charter forbids political involvement of member states. “The Bank and its officers shall not interfere in the political affairs of any member; nor shall they be influenced in their decisions by the political character of the member or members concerned. Only economic considerations shall be relevant to their decisions, and these considerations shall be weighed impartially in order to achieve the purposes (set by the Bank) stated in Article 1.” (Toussaint, 2008. p. 276).