

THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF THE SADC PROTOCOL ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN TWO SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES



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ABSTRACT

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Pamela Watson

Regional integration is being proposed as a means to development in Southern Africa. As a part of the formal agreements regarding this cooperation, a Protocol on Education in the Southern African Development Community region has been signed. This research set out to compare the higher education systems of two Southern African countries and to examine the extent to which this Protocol has had an impact on national policies and practices. The research sought to investigate this by means of exploring the extent to which the Protocol has provided an institutional frame which is guiding the development of higher education policy in each of the two countries.

The findings of the study indicate that the Protocol, rather than providing leadership in the area of education policy, is to a large extent a symbolic document, reflective of norms already existent in national policy in the two countries studied. The analysis found that the Protocol is not strong on the regulative domain, and that this may reflect the general tensions that exist in the region between regionalism and national sovereignty. Although, in general, educational practices in the two countries were found to be in line with Protocol aims, no areas of national policy were found which could be specifically ascribed to the Protocol. On the other hand, the accounts provided of policy development in each of the national contexts illustrate clearly how policy has grown in these two contexts, and how it is connected to broader national goals and previous education achievements. The national logic thus appears to be a far stronger determinant of policy than regionalism aims. The analysis also found that differences in higher education policy between the two contexts were not as great as had been expected, and over time, the systems appear to be becoming, at policy and structural levels, more similar. There is little in the Protocol itself which appears to be driving this increasing isomorphism, although undoubtedly, the processes which the Protocol has set in motion, such as regular meetings of the Education Ministers of the different countries, is acting to diffuse models of appropriateness with regard to education policy. However, it seems more likely, given trends in the global context towards apparent increasing uniformity in higher education policy, that global isomorphic pressures are being exerted directly onto the two countries, and that similarities between their policies can be explained as a result of this.


November 2010

DECLARATION

I declare that The Institutionalisation of the SADC Protocol on Education and Training: a Comparative Study of Higher Education in Two Southern African Countries is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Pamela Watson

November 2010



Signed:



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Abbreviations

AU	African Union
BODOCOL	Botswana College of Open and Distance Learning
BOTA	Botswana Training Authority
CHE	Council for Higher Education (South Africa)
ETSIP	Education and Training Sector Improvement Plan (Namibia)
EFA	Education for All
FLS	Frontline States
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV / AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Disease
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
NAMCOL	Namibian College of Open Learning
NEPRU	Namibian Economic Policy Research Unity
NQA	Namibian Qualification Authority
NCHE	National Council for Higher Education (Namibia)
NDP	National Development Plan
NPE	National Policy on Education (Botswana)
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
AU	Organisation of African Unity
RISDP	Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan
RNPE	Revised National Policy on Education (Botswana)
SADC	South African Development Community
SWAPO	South West Peoples Organisation
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAPs	Structural adjustment policies
TEC	Tertiary Education Council (Botswana)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This research aims to contribute to the developing literature on higher education in southern Africa. This is important for three reasons. Firstly, because higher education in Africa has been historically under-researched, and there is insufficient data and analysis done in the area. Secondly, because recent understandings have emphasized the role that higher education plays in development. Social and economic development is a priority in the southern African region, and renewed understandings of the role that higher education can play in this regard suggest that higher education can no longer be neglected. Thirdly because, driven also by the need for development, regional agreements with regard to education in the area have been signed, although little has yet been achieved with regard to implementation.

The research examines the extent to which the regional agenda is impacting on national higher education policy in two countries in the southern African region. A central assumption of this research is that, in order for meaningful discussions around regional cooperation to be held, a greater understanding of the national systems in the region is necessary. This would need to take into consideration not only the evident cross-sectional properties in the systems at a single point of time, but also their histories and contexts. This research contributes to the development of these understandings through applying an institutional and comparative lens to higher education in the two countries. The two countries chosen for analysis represent the most economically successful (Botswana), and one of the youngest (Namibia), of the southern African states.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Higher education in Africa

Higher education (defined as the education offered traditionally by universities) or tertiary education (defined as all post-secondary education, definitions following Whitman, 2003) is a relatively new institution in Africa, with the majority of universities being less than fifty years old. Prior to colonial independence, very few universities existed in Africa: Sall (2004), for example, estimates that by the late 1950s, there were only about ten universities in sub-Saharan Africa outside of South Africa. Research, to the extent that it existed at all, tended to be independent of universities, and concentrated in research centres, most commonly with a medical research focus. There remain

vestiges of this tradition today and the majority of research emanating from Africa is in the field of tropical medicine (Mouton, et al., 2008).

The first wave of university creation in Africa was specifically an independence project. These universities were specifically set up to serve the needs of the newly independent states and were intended to produce the person-power necessary for state functioning: primarily professionals such as administrators, lawyers; but also with a focus on the liberal arts (Sall, 2004). Higher education was essentially seen as a nation-building project. As Nabudere (2006) puts it:

When the African countries separated from the colonial domination of European states, most African governments in the post-colonial era invested heavily in education at all levels and particularly in higher education. Education was placed at the centre of the national project of social advancement and progress. The ministries of education were given the task of formulating relevant educational policies and programmes aimed at producing relevant human resources equipped with skills and knowledge necessary for the realisation of national development... they were meant to be 'development universities', expected to play much the same role as the land grant colleges of the United States in the nineteenth century (Nabudere, 2006, p. 1).

Many of the early institutions in Africa achieved remarkable success in the early years, with the 1960s to mid 1970s being the 'golden period' of African higher education. Institutions in Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, and Zimbabwe, for example, were, in these decades, producing top level intellectuals and research. The quality of provision was good, although systems were small and elite. Autonomy and academic freedom were problematic in some cases (Sall, 2004). Nonetheless, as Sall points out, the new institutions had symbolic value, in addition to being seen as a means of solving development problems, and despite these problems, were relatively successful for a while.

Yet, in Nabudere's view: "forty years on, the African University and the African governments that created them had dismally failed to chart new paths for Africa's emancipation and liberation and Africa finds itself in deep, multidimensional crisis" (2006, p. 1). Much of the blame for this situation can be ascribed to the introduction, in the 1980s, of structural adjustment policies (SAPs) in Africa. These adjustment policies, which took the form of loan conditionalities, contained a set of prescriptions regarding the rolling back of the state and increasing liberalisation of the market. In educational terms, under these policies higher education was, for many years, seen as of relatively low importance in comparison with primary and secondary education, and government investment in this area was discouraged (World Bank, 2008; Mamdani, 2007).

Higher education suffered immensely under the impact of SAPs. Funding was withdrawn, and institutions were left to stagnate, with infrastructure and libraries allowed to run down, and insufficient funds to attract and retain top staff (Mamdani, 2007). Many intellectuals left their home countries in this period for better prospects elsewhere. This has left a situation where the African diaspora is today larger than home-based capacity in terms of highly qualified and academic staff.

It is only recently that major international organisations have adopted the view that higher education can contribute to development (see section 2.3.2 below). Their adoption of this position provides, on the one hand, a crucial opportunity to develop higher education systems in Africa. On the other, there are now huge expectations on systems which are weak, and which are not in a position to be dynamically engaging with development issues. The advent of the 'knowledge economy' (UNESCO, 2004; Smith, 2002; Abrahams & Melody, 2005) places further pressure on these systems, and the danger of falling further behind.

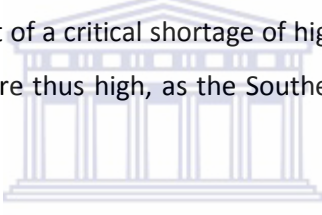
Over the past decade, and with the change in approach to higher education by major multi-nationals, higher education in Africa has shown substantial growth. However, for the most part, African higher education remains characterised in negative terms. Hahn (2005), for example speaks of "a lack of resources, quality deficiencies, high drop-out rates, de-contextualised curricula, decoupling of research from teaching, mismanagement, brain drain, limited access, privatisation, (and) HIV / AIDS" (Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome) (p.11) as issues which face higher education systems in Africa. This is not an unrealistic portrait. Efforts to research in the area are hampered by the fact data is not readily available. In addition, different systems (which apply different definitions of what constitutes higher or tertiary education) are in use in different countries. There is also little accurate information about private provision in Africa, although it is well known that the sector has grown phenomenally over the past decade.

In this context, Mamdani suggests, what is necessary, and lacking, is a "vision that should inspire African-rooted higher education, research and knowledge" (2007, p. 54). He argues:

Higher education is where teachers are trained; it is where curricula are developed; more than likely, it is also where the range of leadership of an independent country is cultivated; finally, because it is where research is located, higher education is where we develop the range of choices which make democracy meaningful in different spheres of life. If your objective is to transform general education, you have to begin with higher education. For higher education is the strategic heart of education (Mamdani, 2007, p. 54).

Higher education in Southern Africa has a similar history to that of the rest of the continent, although the region had fewer top level institutions even in the 'golden period' of African higher education¹. Although there have been considerable increases in student numbers in a number of southern African countries in recent years, an examination of the gross enrolment ratios in the region shows that, with the exception of Mauritius and South Africa, these ratios are all below 6%. It is clear that enrolment rates in the region are well below the world mean for lower and middle income countries (20%), and considerably below the mean for upper-middle income (42%) and high-income countries (72%, data drawn from World Bank Edustats database, 2009).

The region is also characterised by differences in terms of what is offered in higher education: in most instances, the colonial background of the different countries continues to determine the type of higher education system in place. In addition, higher education in the region is characterised by uneven capacity, the effects of civil wars, and the lingering effects of apartheid on equity in Namibia and South Africa. This is in a context of a critical shortage of high skills in the region. The challenges for higher education in the region are thus high, as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) states:



The challenges faced by Education and Training in the sub-region are largely common to all countries. These are access, equity, quality, efficiency, relevance and democracy in their educational and training policies. Other challenges of the sector include: HIV and AIDS's negative impact on the education and training sector; low literacy rates; low enrolment rates specially at secondary and higher education levels; limited provision of early childhood education; inequitable access especially by disadvantaged groups such as women and disabled people and people from rural areas; limited access to vocational education and training; mismatch between supply and demand for vocational education and training, and higher education and training; inadequate education and training facilities and equipment; shortage of teaching and learning materials; lack of comparable standards and qualification across all training institutions and countries (SADC, 2001, p. 55).

1.2.2 The SADC Protocol on Education

In 1997, under the broader Southern African Development Community (SADC) treaty which provides a legal framework for economic cooperation and integration between countries in the Southern

¹ South Africa was an exception to this rule, and has a well developed university system in which a number of institutions date back to the early parts of the 20th century, with a now well-established system developed in the 1960s. Currently, South Africa dominates the region in terms of number of institutions, and student registrations, particularly at the postgraduate level (Butcher et al, 2008).

African region (discussed further in Chapter 2), a Protocol on Education was signed as the outcome of a political consultative process which involved the relevant Ministers of Education in the national states. The agreement is an acknowledgement of the need to develop the human resource capacity of the region, and the intention of the Protocol is to overcome the disadvantages faced by individual states in their attempts to build successful education systems. The Preamble to the document testifies:

Aware that human centred development is one of the most essential means by which to achieve the objectives of the treaty; Recognising that the development of human resources to its fullest potential is the for tackling socio-economic problems facing the region; Recognising further the high literacy and numeracy are the major contributing factors to the achievement of sustainable development; Acknowledging that socio-economic and technological research is crucial for sustainable development; Acknowledging further that no SADC Member State can alone offer the full range of world quality education and training programmes at affordable costs and on a sustainable basis... (member states agree to cooperate) (SADC, 1997, pp. 1-2; word missing in the original).

The Protocol aims at the “implementation of coordinated comprehensive and integrated programmes of education and training that address the needs of the Region” (p2), and its overall purpose is given as “to progressively achieve the equivalence, harmonization and standardization of the education and training systems in the region” (1997, p. 4). A considerable proportion of the Protocol is devoted to higher education (see Chapter 5 below).


The Protocol’s implementation date was 2000, with certain provisions intended to be achieved within ten years of this date (i.e. by 2010), and the overall aims of the Protocol intended to be achieved within twenty years (i.e. by 2020). The agreement has now been in existence for ten years, and it is appropriate at this stage to ask questions regarding whether it has been or is being successful in attaining its goals. This project seeks to examine the extent to which the Protocol has impacted on national policy in two countries in the region by means of investigating the extent to which the Protocol has provided an institutional frame which is guiding the development of higher education in each of the two countries.

1.2.3 Regionalisation initiatives in higher education internationally

In Africa, the idea of regional cooperation in higher education is not new, and has been on the agenda since the signing, by twenty African states, of the Arusha Convention in December 1981

(Arusha Convention, 1981). Under this Convention, countries agreed to work towards the enhancement of collaboration and sharing of resources in higher education, cooperation in curriculum development, the promotion of lifelong learning and the democratisation of education, joint development of regional human resources, and mutual recognition of qualifications. The agreement was revised in Cape Town in June 2002, and amended in Dakar, June 2003, and is currently under further review.

Stemming from the Arusha Convention, in recent years, the African Union (AU) has released a Plan for the Second Decade of Education (African Union, 2006) which identifies higher education as a priority area. Under this Plan, the AU has developed a policy on the Harmonisation of Higher Education Programmes in Africa (presented for review and endorsement at the Conference of African Ministers of Education (COMEDAF III) in July 2007), which aims at 'revitalisation of higher education in Africa', (African Union, 2007). It is proposed that the AU strategy and the Arusha process work together so that there are not two different policy processes at work, but rather that the Arusha process becomes part of the AU strategy:



The African Union Strategy for Harmonisation of Higher Education... will facilitate the comparability of qualifications awarded across the continent and help drive quality assurance measures which will ultimately contribute to greater quality of education in Africa... Harmonisation will benefit Africa, since it will allow for greater intra-regional mobility, thereby fostering increased sharing of information, intellectual resources, and research, as well as a growing ability to rely on African expertise rather than skills from elsewhere in the world... On a broader level, it has the potential to create a common African higher education and research space, and achieve the AU's vision that African higher education institutions become a 'dynamic force in the international arena' (African Union, 2007, pp. 3-4).

In line with the general AU strategy (see section 2.2.1 below), the intention is to use regional structures to implement this agreement. Although the issue of harmonisation has been under discussion in the various regional groupings, only in Southern Africa has the lead been taken directly through the Economic Community itself, in a move which predates the African Union's strategy. Although discussions are underway in other regional structures (for example, the Inter-University Council of East Africa), none have yet resulted in any formal agreements.

Internationally also, there has been an increasing trend, in recent years, towards regionalisation initiatives in higher education. Many of these initiatives are an extension of traditional international cooperation in higher education. Cooperation activities of this nature are increasingly being

promoted by major international organizations. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), for example, suggests that

Some countries lack the domestic capacity to meet all their tertiary education demand, or could benefit from foreign experience and knowledge to improve the quality of their tertiary education system. Cross-border education can typically help to expand quickly a tertiary education system and to increase the country's stock of highly skilled human capital. It also gives a benchmark to academics and institutions on the quality and relevance of their services and can lead to organizational learning, thanks to partnerships, both at the institutional and system levels, which may lead to healthy competition and quality enhancement (OECD, 2007, p. 12).

On the other hand, formal agreements of international cooperation in higher education are also becoming more common. Of these, the Bologna process in Europe is, perhaps, the best known and the leading exemplar. The Bologna Declaration (European Ministers of Education, 1999) aimed at the creation of a European Higher Education Area, and represented, for Europe, a major step towards qualification parity and portability, and the removal of obstacles to the creation of a continental higher education area. Although the Bologna Declaration followed the formation of the European Economic Union, unlike in the SADC context, the process was not driven politically but rather was the outcome of negotiations between higher education institutions and ministries directly. The intention is to create a broad European Higher Education Area with the aim of making "European Higher Education more compatible and comparable, more competitive and more attractive for Europeans and for students and scholars from other continents" (http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna_en.html, 2007). The original Declaration set six objectives to be achieved in a decade. These relate to achieving comparable degree structures, agreement on the broad structure of undergraduate and postgraduate studies, co-operation in quality assurance endeavours, the establishment of a credit transfer system, overcoming obstacles to student and staff mobility, and the promotion of co-operation in European curriculum and institutional development (European Ministers of Education, 1999). Subsequent agreements have related to the need for the creation of a regional qualification framework and quality assurance principles (Hendriks, 2005).

The Bologna process has had a major impact on systems around the world, both indirectly through raising awareness of the potential of regional cooperation, and also directly, particularly in Africa where changes, in line with those in European countries, have been contemplated to higher education systems based on colonial models. Moreover, both this process and similar other regional

initiatives are evidence of the beginning of a trend towards a level of organisation above the national in higher education governance.

1.2.4 Other global developments in higher education

Changes that have been experienced in African higher education, as well as initiatives towards regionalisation in higher education around the world, must be seen in the context of broader changes in the institution of higher education internationally in recent years. Over the past two decades, higher education has experienced a period of profound change. Although, in Africa, these changes have perhaps not been on the scale experienced elsewhere, and have arisen from different sources, Africa has not been immune to these trends (discussed further in Chapter 9). This section thus briefly discusses some of these major developments.

Perhaps the single greatest influence on international higher education policies and practices during the 1980s and 1990s was the huge growth in the sector, combined with decreasing state subsidies for tertiary education in many countries (Henkel, 2000). The number of institutions worldwide increased dramatically in this period (Schofer, Ramirez, & Meyer, 2000). In the United Kingdom, student numbers increased by 91% between 1982 and 1992 (Trowler, 1998). A similar rate of expansion was experienced in America and Europe (Taylor, 1999), in Australia (Kenway & Langmead, 2000), and in Africa, particularly in Kenya and Nigeria (Herman, 1998). Partly, this expansion was in response to a demand for social mobility, and for increased equity in the system. Partly also, however, it was in response to economic imperatives. 'Massification', rather than elitism, is necessary for the production of workers for the new 'information age' (Trowler, 1998; Scott, 1995; Bundy, 2006).

During this period of expansion, expenditure on higher education diminished in many countries, particularly of Anglo origin. For example, in the United Kingdom, between 1988 and 1993, public expenditure on higher education fell by 25%. More significantly, this same expenditure between 1976 and 1996 fell by 40% (Henkel, 2000). As a result, higher education institutions were increasingly under pressure to incorporate the values and mechanisms of the market into their management and to reduce their financial dependency on the State. As Henkel (2000) describes, "(universities) were encouraged, or in some cases forced, to embrace a range of markets, in which they competed for industrial partnerships in research and teaching, for commercial funding, for consultancies, and for new students" (p.46). Income generation thus became a prime pre-occupation.

The consequences of the increased access / decreased funding situation for higher education have been significant. The increased numbers of students in higher education have changed the demography of the student population, with a higher representation of previously under-represented groups: ethnic minorities, female students, older students, students from working-class backgrounds, part-timers, and disabled people (Biggs, 1999). Increasingly, students have become seen as consumers, with 'customer rights': "(t)his feeds into the corporate model and potentially shifts responsibility for learning from the student to the academic" (Kenway and Langmead, 2000, p.156). Academic staff must learn to teach these non-traditional students, and must, at the same time, deal with increasing staff / student ratios. There are also other pressures on academic staff: within institutions, there have been rationalisations and downsizings, academic salaries have fallen relative to other public sector professions, the employment of part-time staff is becoming a frequent practice, and the traditional tenured academic career path is under threat. The context in which these changes are being experienced, moreover, is one in which there has been a reduction of resources for research and teaching and learning, and a decline in physical infrastructure (Kenway & Langmead, 2000; Craft, 1994).

The need to develop sources of funding other than the state has resulted in a set of changes within higher education which has been described as 'marketisation' (Bundy, 2006). These include competition for students; the introduction of tuition fees; commercialization of university knowledge, competition for research grants and endowments; closure of non-revenue generating disciplines; the development of "third stream" income: contract research, consultancies, spin-off companies, science parks, professional fundraising, the commercialisation of intellectual property, and an increase in university-held patents. In response to the inability of the public sector to meet demand, as well as the need for public institutions to supplement their incomes by assuming 'private' roles in non-traditional markets, there has been a massive expansion in private provision internationally. This has resulted in an unbalanced competition between public and private providers: most private providers have no research requirement, and can operate in commercially viable fields only. The General Agreement on Trade in Services, which lists education as a service sector subject to trade agreements on increasing liberalisation, has also played a role.

The rise of neo-liberalism as the global economic paradigm in the late 1980s, and its continuing effect on education has meant also a renewed emphasis on labour market responsiveness. Stress has been placed on the economic value of education (rather than its social aspects). Education is

expected to respond to national human resource or skills development planning models. This has led to a reductionist view of higher education as 'training' for labour needs. Alongside this view are notions of 'student as customer' and an increased emphasis on academic / industry links. On the one hand, universities are expected to be responsive to the demands of the state for the production of knowledge workers for its economy, workers who have a pre-specified range of skills competencies and attitudes; on the other, they must have the flexibility to be able to compete nationally and internationally for student registrations, and must have the capacity to lead in this new knowledge era.

The new conditions under which universities have been operating have, in turn, affected the nature of the knowledge with which those universities work. Gibbons et al (1994) describe a shift in the mode of knowledge production in universities, from type-1 knowledge, to type-2 knowledge. Type-1 knowledge is characterised by its disciplinary nature, by its production within universities, and by its insularity. In contrast, type-2 knowledge is trans-disciplinary, is produced in multiple sites, and is socially useful (Kraak, 2000, p. 15). The value shift from abstract theoretical knowledge to propositional applied knowledge is towards the pragmatic, and funding shifts have reflected this. 'Relevance' has become key.

The rise of the market-driven values has had a significant effect on governance within higher education. In particular, governance structures have moved towards centralized power structures, operating with quantitative models of efficiency and effectiveness. This has been described as 'managerialism'. As Walker explains:

In higher education this is a time of benchmarks, measurable and comparable outcomes, a hard-edged accountability and the bottom line. Academics face dilemmas of fragmentation, consumerism, individualism, efficiency, regulation and the erosion of community and collegiality. The dominant paradigm in academic staff development emphasises the practice and perfection only of methods and techniques, rooted in a training tradition and a language of skills, objectives, prediction and control of what is to be learnt and how. Thus teaching has become a focus of attention in higher education, but much of this attention has been marked by a technician discourse and a 'surface learning' about teaching (Walker, 2000, pp. 2-3).

Henkel (2000) describes the result as a kind of 'economic instrumentalism', and shows how the rise of managerialism has been at the expense of the professionalism which previously underpinned higher education. Increased regulation has been an essential part of this process, and now routinely

(in many contexts) includes aspects such as institutional accreditation and programme approval, quality assurance bodies and mechanisms, performance targets, and data submission, as well as institutional mergers and rationalisation of offerings. As Marginson (2001) notes,

“(t)o a greater or lesser degree, governments took the opportunity (of the conditions posed by globalisation) to reduce public spending, to encourage higher tuition, market activity and industry links, and to introduce a performance economy and business-like management, while tightening control over academic life through accreditation, evaluation and quality assurance. In other words, the global was joined to neo-liberal economics and quasi-corporate management” (brackets my inclusion) (Marginson, 2001, p. 1).

The changes that have resulted have not only been in response to external accountability drives: internal institutional rationalisation in the name of efficiency has also become frequent, and is linked to quantitative models for workload determination, performance appraisal models, new academic planning structures, and new policies regulating the admission of students and student assessment, and staff appointment, development, workload and time. These are linked to decision-taking mechanisms that favour bureaucratic rather than collegial structures.

1.2.5 Discussion

Underlying these changes experienced in higher education internationally are two key shifts in the global political economy. The first, already alluded to, is the rise of neo-liberalism and a world order which (prior to the 2008 market collapse) has been substantively defined by the tenets of a free market agenda. The second, which is often invoked as a means of explanation for why these changes have happened on such a wide scale internationally, is globalisation. Although the term ‘globalisation’ is often invoked broadly, it is generally meant to encompass the context in which first-world developed-capitalist economies are increasingly dominating world markets, holding a position which was traditionally the preserve of governments. Simultaneously, there has been the creation in this context, through the application of advanced technology, of an ‘information age’, in which communication is enhanced such that distance becomes irrelevant and traditional national borders meaningless. The relationship between capitalism and the new technologies is not arbitrary:

Information technology has shaped capitalism and capitalism has shaped information technology... technology is central to capitalism’s rejuvenation and expansion and is the new material base to capitalism (Kenway & Langmead, 2000, pp. 163-164).

In the new world order, it is the needs of capital rather than those of the state that are seen to be gaining ascendancy. Although more recent work on the topic suggests that the role of the state is not diminishing, but rather, is changing, the notion of a global order that is arising, and which changes the character of a landscape dominated for centuries by the unit of the nation state remains:

While there is considerable debate over precisely how to define globalisation..., there is broad agreement that it is an historic process involving the uneven development and partial and contingent transformation of political, economic and cultural structures, practices and social relations... whose distinctive features (in contrast to modernism) involve the denationalisation and transformation of policies, capital, political subjectivities, urban spaces, temporal frameworks. Crucial in these unfolding processes is the rise of powerful globalising actors; the intensification of accumulation; and new political, social and class struggles... Having said this, it is also important to note that globalisation is also taking place within as well as beyond national boundaries (Robertson & Dale, 2008, p. 19).

The effects that 'globalisation' has had on education are on multiple levels, and include many of the effects listed above (Carnoy, 2000). In addition, new technologies and diminished boundaries have led to what some have termed a 'knowledge economy': an increasing dependence on knowledge and its commercial value in leading economic change. In this vision, higher education, as a key role player in knowledge development and dissemination, becomes the "engine of development in the new world economy" (Castells, 1994, p. 14).

Clark (1983) provides a scheme for plotting the relations of higher education with its broader context that is useful in understanding the changes that have occurred. He outlines three 'ideal' system types which operate in different combinations in different contexts: state systems, market systems, professional systems. State systems are tightly linked: "the tight end is a unitary context in which all units are parts of an inclusive formal structure and have common goals" (p. 137). In market systems, "there is a social choice context in which there are no inclusive goals, and decisions are made independently by autonomous organisations" (op. cit.). Thus, "(h)igher education systems vary widely between dependence on authority and dependence on exchange; the more loosely joined the system the greater the dependence on exchange" (p. 138). Over time, movement in either direction is possible. The third system type, professional system, is control or coordination by academia itself, with a high degree of power over their own operations, and often, buffer bodies insulating them from the state. Clark's scheme allows plotting of where an existing system sits in relation to the

three forces (state, market, professional), and how relations between these dimensions are shifting over time.

Drawing from this schematic, Maassen and Cloete (2002) suggest that many of the changes that have occurred in higher education can be ascribed to changing relations in the ‘triangle of coordination’ between government policy, society and institutions. They suggest that globalisation has created a context “within which nation states had to consider a reorientation and repositioning of their still predominately public higher education systems” (pp. 14 – 15), and argue that, although there are differences in specific national arrangements, traditionally the state has acted as a “mediator between higher education and society”(op. cit.). New reform agendas driven by globalization have, however, encouraged a withdrawal of the state and more direct interaction between society and institutions. Many of the changes currently being experienced in higher education, such as increasing privatisation, marketisation and commercialisation, and global trade in services can thus be seen to have resulted from changing relations between higher education and the state, and more particularly, from more direct relationships between higher education and society. At the same time, the new focus of the state has been on the neoliberal values of effectiveness, efficiency, competition and accountability.

Trends towards regionalisation in higher education may be further evidence of the diminishing role of the state. Olds (2009) suggests that this trend is both partly because of, and leading to, a denationalisation of higher education and research:

By denationalisation, I mean the reframing of scopes of vision, and institutional structures and strategies, to cultivate linkages beyond the national scale... (T)here are a variety of causes behind the denationalisation impulse, - from the geoeconomic, to the geopolitical, to the geocultural – though it is clear that the geoeconomic dimension of global higher education is coming to the fore (Olds, 2009, p. 4).

Trends experienced in the international higher education arena, and those evident within the African context share some similarities, most specifically in the increased impact of the market on institutions. In Africa, however, this has been driven not so much by deliberate state policy as by funding neglect (e.g. Mamdani, 2007). In fact, there is little evidence that the state, in African countries, is willing to relinquish its traditional tight hold over the higher education sector, and calls for higher education’s participation in national development today are similar to the calls, half a century ago, for higher education to contribute to the project of nation-building. Increasingly also, in African contexts, are calls for accountability measures which, both in form and substance, closely

resemble similar initiatives elsewhere, and which raises questions regarding institutional isomorphism (see Chapter 8).

These new relationships surrounding higher education raise a number of tensions, most pertinently a tension between the need for higher education to serve the developmental purposes of the state and global pressures to reduce the role of the state. The 'development' orientation, in many respects, stands in strong contrast to the neo-liberal marketisation agenda, and raises questions regarding whether higher education is a public or private good. Other tensions raised include equity demands versus increasing inequity in labour markets; tensions between a reduced state and increased state apparatuses; and the tension arising from increased international competition and trade agreements in education (Maassen & Cloete, 2002).

Fundamentally, the changes which are occurring in higher education internationally are thus not isolated instances of new practices developing, but rather are intricately tied to, and a symptom of, a broader societal change which is occurring on a global scale. This is impacting on higher education in a number of specific ways. One of these ways, as already mentioned, is in the growing policy connection of higher education with economic development concerns. It is this understanding which frames many recent initiatives in the development of higher education, specifically in the African context.



1.3 Research outline

1.3.1 Research question

Regional integration is being proposed as a means to development in Southern Africa (see Chapter 2). As a part of the formal agreements regarding this cooperation, a Protocol on Education in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region has been signed. General impressions are that progress in achieving the goals of this agreement has, however, been slow. Speculatively, this could be due to a number of causes: lack of capacity (financial or managerial) to implement; irreconcilable systems; or lack of political will. Partly also though, these impressions may reflect the fact that the area has been under-researched. There is little available literature on the extent of achievement of Protocol aims, or on the constraints faced by individual countries in implementation. Through a comparative study of two of the countries in the region, this research attempts to contribute to the development of these understandings.

More specifically, working from the understanding that history and context must be taken into account in analysis of country educational policy and practice, this research aims to compare the higher education systems of two Southern African countries and to examine the extent to which the SADC Protocol has had an impact on national policies and practices. It is possible to ask this question in a purely technical sense, which would require an evaluation of the extent to which Protocol agreements have been implemented in each of the country signatories. However, this is not the approach adopted in this research. Rather, the research seeks to examine the impact of the Protocol in a manner which takes into account the history and context of the countries examined.

Most specifically, as given above, this project seeks to examine the extent to which the SADC Protocol on Education has impacted on national policy in two countries in the region by means of investigating the extent to which the Protocol has provided an institutional frame which is guiding the development of higher education policy in each of the two countries.

In order to examine this issue, the research addresses the following sub-questions:

- How can the Protocol be described and understood, and what key themes of the Protocol can be derived for use in analysis of national policy?
- What are the 'national logics' guiding higher education development in each of the two contexts, and how are these related to the political, economic and education contexts of the country?
- To what extent are the specific goals of the SADC Protocol (identified above) evident in national policy and legislative documents, and when did these issues arise in national policy? This is used to determine whether the adoption of these goals can be ascribed to the Protocol.
- What are the similarities or differences in the two accounts?

To investigate these questions the research builds a case study of the development of education policy in each of the national contexts over a period of twenty years, working from national policies and key documents. The focus in analysis is purely on evidence available through these policies and documents. The study thus does not seek to examine practices at the level of specific higher education institutions in the country, and cannot speak to the impact that the Protocol may be having at this level. However, the project seeks to provide a clearer understanding of the regionalism initiative in higher education in the SADC region, and of the extent to which this is currently providing a guiding frame for national higher education policy development. Particularly

since this regionalism initiative has been driven politically, rather than through the higher education sector itself, this understanding may prove useful in guiding further activities with regard to cooperation in higher education in southern Africa.

1.3.2 Chapter outline

The project is contextualised, in Chapter 2, by a discussion on regionalism and development in Africa. Chapter 3 of the study provides the methodological frame adopted, and Chapter 4 outlines the methods used in analysis. In Chapter 5 of the study the Protocol on Cooperation in Education in Southern Africa is examined, and key dimensions relevant to this study are described.

Drawing from available literature as well as a reading of the relevant policy documents, Chapter 6 then provides a brief case study account of the development of higher education within the broader educational and historical location of each country.

Chapter 7 draws on the data outlined in Chapter 6, supplemented by additional information available in key documents, to provide an analysis of the extent to which the aims of the SADC Protocol are evident in national policy, and whether, if evident, this can be ascribed to the Protocol. This Chapter thus addresses the question of whether the SADC Protocol is providing an institutional logic guiding national developments in higher education, or whether such developments can be ascribed rather to the path dependencies of the national domain.

Chapter 8 provides a summary of the findings of the study and examines the extent to which policy choices in the local context may be reflective of similar trends in the international arena. This chapter provides the conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 2: REGIONALISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, this study adopts an institutional perspective in its examination of the impact of the SADC Protocol on national higher education policy. An understanding of context is theoretically important to this perspective, as this provides the broader institutional setting in which this study is located. As Neave points out,

For those working in a historical setting, context – the subtle variations that go to make up the social, cultural and political fabric within which an issue is situated – are essential. Having an intimate grasp over say, the historical or contemporary development of a given system of higher education, of the laws that regulate it, the procedures that govern its administration, the conditions which govern access, are certainly necessary, but not sufficient. For the higher education system of any nation is seated not simply within the academic culture of that nation. It is also firmly anchored within the whole range of social values and beliefs which, by their nature, tend very often to be opaque to the outsider... (Neave, 1996, p. 409).

Chapter 1 of this study began the process of examining these contexts by reference to the background of higher education in Africa, as well as changes that have been experienced in higher education internationally in the past two decades. This chapter continues this discussion by means of examining further the issue of regionalism in Africa, and the concept of 'development' which underpins it. This discussion is intended to provide the historical contextualisation of this study, and to frame the empirical project on regionalism in higher education in Southern Africa.

2.2 Regionalism

Mansfield and Milner (1997) note that there are a variety of definitions of the term 'regionalism' in the literature. The term is used often, but not always, to denote relations between states as a result of geographical proximity. Within that frame, some authors construe regionalism as an outcome of the 'natural forces' of trade that ensue, whilst others focus on conscious policy choices. Nzewi (2009a), for example, follows Wyatt-Walter in defining regionalism as "a conscious policy of states or sub-state regions to co-ordinate activities and arrangement in a greater region" (p. 22). She points out that the term is sometimes used interchangeably with 'regionalisation', 'regional integration', 'regional cooperation' and 'economic integration'. In her view, the last three of these terms can be seen as elements of regionalism because they are state driven. 'Regionalisation' on the other hand

implies “a historical and emergent structure of complex social interactions and institutions and rules between non-state actors” (ibid.); it is thus broader than regionalism and may or may not be associated with it. She further points out that ‘regionalism’ is sometime seen as implying economic integration, and sometimes as implying both economic and political integration. The mechanisms of integration may be regional institutions or inter-governmental agreements, but fundamentally involve agreements between states. Khadiagala similarly construes regionalism as

the process of building multilateral institutions to enhance political, security and economic integration among states. Around the world, regionalism has been built on the foundations of functional states, at the same time striving to transcend them. Thus while states are the locus of regionalism, regionalism often seeks to overcome the deficiencies of states by erecting mechanisms that diminish the states’ salience (Khadiagala, 2008, p. 1).

The understanding of regionalism adopted in this research draws on the definitions provided by Nzewi and Khadiagala, and implies formal and legal agreements signed between participating states.

2.2.1 Regionalism in Africa

The issue of regionalism in Southern Africa grows out of a long continental engagement toward integration. As discussed below, there have been two, somewhat distinct, rationales for this engagement. The first is political, based on a rejection of borders and dependencies established during colonial times, which are seen to contribute to current instability in the continent. The second is a belief that regionalism could contribute towards the economic development of Africa: a view increasingly pushed by international agencies, and based on technical capacity arguments, as well as pragmatic concerns. As Breytenbach (2002) points out, the political and economic integration issues have different trajectories: the first linked to Pan-Africanism and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the second to the Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 and to the Abuja Treaty of 1991. Only in more recent times, with the Sirte Declaration in 1999 and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) formation in 2001, have the unity and integration visions been combined.

The vision of a unified Africa dates back to the post-colonial period of the 1960s. The Pan-Africanism of this period, led by Kwame Nkrumah, saw in unification a means of moving beyond the artificial borders created during the colonial period, and a means of creating “collective self reliance” (Ikome, 2009, p. 7) and ending dependence on the colonial powers and the West more generally (Mair, 2001). Nkrumah’s pan-Africanism was a vision for true unification, and resulted in the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 as the means for beginning the process of

integration. However, the OAU Charter contained a fundamental contradiction: “This was the dual stipulation... that the OAU will not only promote supranational unity... but also defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent states” (Breytenbach, 2002, p. 146). The OAU thus worked on a “principle of non-interference in political relations between African nations” (Nzewi, 2009b, p. 2).

Evident also from the early times of the OAU was a dispute as to the desired pace of unification, with some arguing for immediate integration and others believing that a more gradual approach is necessary. Thus, as Nzewi points out, historically, the debate has been between ‘gradualist’ and ‘federalist’ approaches to unification, and between radicals suggesting African unification as a means to overcome colonial legacies and conservatives who wished to retain state sovereignty (Nzewi, 2009a). This debate is still current, and is evident, for example, in the African Union (AU) Executive Council 2007 declaration: “All Member States accept the Unites States of Africa as a common and desirable goal (but) differences exist over the modalities and timeframe for achieving this goal and the appropriate pace of integration” (cited in Khadiagala, 2008, p. 6).

The formation of the OAU was the first of many agreements on the question of regional integration. Ikome tracks the crucial moments in this process:

Although Africa won political independence as a fragmented continent, and notwithstanding the fact that various African states inherited different colonial legacies, they have consistently pursued the twin objectives of political unity on the one hand and collective self reliance in the field of economic and social development on the other.... This has provided the impetus for various regional and continental integration initiatives that have been crafted by Africans over the years, beginning with the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, through the Lagos Plan of Action and the Full Plan of Action in 1980; the Abuja Treaty in 1991, the signing of the Sirte Declaration in 1999, and the adoption of the Constitutive Act establishing the African Union in 2000; and the launching of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) in 2001; to the most recent project for the establishment of a Union Government (Audit Report, December 2007). Each of these initiatives represented a collective response to the challenges the continent faced at different moments in history. However, the record of achievement of these initiatives has been very disappointing, partly explaining the failure of the continent to achieve any meaningful political and economic integration (Ikome, 2009, p. 7).

Prior to the 1990s, the OAU’s focus was predominantly on ending colonialism and apartheid. However, the signing of the Abuja treaty in 1991 signalled a growing sense of the need for economic

reform in the continent. In addition, there were, in this period, increased calls for 'good governance' of African nations. Ultimately these two strands led to formation, in 2000, of the African Union (AU):

If the Abuja Treaty laid the foundation for structural reform in African integration, the AU Constitutive Act provided the necessary tools to begin its implementation. The significant point of departure in the Abuja Treaty and the AU Constitutive Act is that, while incorporating the economic and development objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action, these treaties also detail the institutional, democratic and governance framework to support the process of integration in relevant Protocols (Nzewi, 2009b, p. 3).

Nzewi points out that some scholars "see the 1990s as reflecting a shift from political grandstanding towards more realistic and practical efforts aimed at regional integration" (Nzewi, 2009b, p. 1). The current structure of the AU has a stronger institutional basis than the OAU did, including the AU Commission, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council, the Pan African Parliament, and the African Court of Justice. Following the Abuja Treaty, the intention of the AU is to use sub-regional structures (regional economic communities) as mechanisms ('building blocks') for achieving economic integration, through a 'variable geometry approach' (Nzewi, 2009a, p. 24).

The move to the AU was more than structural: it reflected an ideological change also, from the political rationale of the early years to a more dominant economic imperative. The economic arguments for regionalism include: the achievement of bigger markets; greater economies of scale and increased competition; preferential trade agreements; increased investment as a result of market enlargement; lower marginal costs of production; and collective bargaining power (World Bank, 2007). In addition, as Mair points out, whilst earlier forms of regional integration had aimed for import-substitution,

(i)n contrast, the new regionalism of the 1990s is geared towards the paradigm of world market integration. It aims to enable African countries and regions to participate in the global market, and to increase their international competitiveness and their attractiveness as a location for foreign investment (Mair, 2001, p. 9).

Economic globalisation thus adds pressure towards regional cooperation. This is in a context in which the emergence of regional bodies in other areas of the world pushes African countries to follow the same route. As Mair points out, this is

(a) third, final factor contributed to the speeding up of African integration efforts: the realisation that the shaping of the global order has been influenced increasingly by regional organisations in other parts of the world, above all by the (European Union), the Association of South East Asian Nations..., Mercosur and the North American Free Trade Area... (Mair, 2001, pp. 9-10).

There is thus a political and economic necessity to the issue of regional integration derived from global trends in this regard. Yet, there are a number of challenges facing regionalisation in Africa. These include powerful state executives and weak legislative institutions; cross-border migrations; fragmentation from artificial nationalism; poor implementation capacity; weak governance and implementation capacity; instability; external interference; new economic conditions; and poor alignment of regional policies and planning capacity (institutional architecture). There is an over-abundance of regional structures in Africa that has created inabilities to coordinate integration efforts, and many countries hold multiple memberships of these organisations (Economic Commission for Africa, 2008).

Khadiagala points out that there is a tension that arises between continentalism and sub-regionalism (regional economic communities) which arises because of the different underlying logics: “the political logic that drove continentalism and the promise of economic integration that informed sub-regionalism” (Khadiagala, 2008, p. 1). The OAU was a compromise solution between these two, but never resolved the fundamental tension. The AU Constitutive Act, like the OAU, was a compromise between continentalism and sub-regionalism. However, these structures have experienced problems with staffing and capacity. Moreover,

The governance of regionalism in Africa is mired because of the unresolved questions of managing the relations between continental and sub-regional institutions. As long as the bulk of the continental agenda is framed largely in the context of subduing and submerging sub-regions, these tensions will not be resolved any time soon. Protective of sub-regional identities and comparative advantages, Africa’s sub-regions will continue to contest the terms of engagement with the continent. More than ever before, these conflicts will occupy a large part of Africa’s international relations in the near future (Khadiagala, 2008, p. 8).

Despite the recent leanings towards economic rationales for regionalism, the argument for integration as a means of overcoming colonial relations has not abated with the end of formal colonialism. Shivji, for example, speaks of the need to respond to globalisation, the ‘hegemony of neo-liberalism’, and the ‘resurrection of the imperial onslaught’ with a redefined notion of Pan Africanism:

The Pan-Africanism that we need to resurrect therefore is political Pan-Africanism at the continental level, which transcends regionalism, whether economic or political. Only thus can Africa resist the present day imperialism called globalism. In short, the nationalism of the present era is Pan-Africanism (Shivji, undated, p. 22).

In summary, Africa has been profoundly affected both by nationalist ideologies and by neo-liberal shifts in the world context. Regionalisation, which has been an issue under discussion since independence, has similarly been affected by these ideologies and has been driven by both political and economic ideals. There are, in addition, tensions that have arisen between continental and sub-continental initiatives, between sovereignty and regionalism, and on the pace that regionalism should take. Southern African initiatives towards regionalism of education are situated within these debates.

2.2.2 The Southern African Development Community

2.2.2.1 Context

The fifteen African states currently comprising the Southern African Development Community are located in the southern half of Africa, including the island countries of Madagascar, Mauritius and Seychelles. The countries differ in terms of their histories, traditions, cultures, languages, geographies, political structures, economic systems, and their extent of infrastructure development. All have a history of colonial conquest, although the colonial power and the nature of the colonial relation vary. The countries of the region range in size from extremely large in surface area and population (e.g. Democratic Republic of Congo) to extremely small (e.g. Lesotho). The region is characterised by economic imbalances, with South Africa earning 65.7% of the total regional gross domestic product (GDP). Angola has the second largest economy at 6.1% of GDP. Botswana is at 3.1% and Namibia is at 1.9% (SADC, 2001). In terms of GDP per capita, the countries range from low to middle income (see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4).

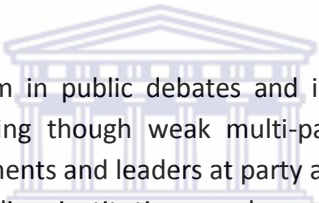
The economies of the region, on the whole, are based on agriculture and mining, with only Mauritius and South Africa having manufacturing sectors of above 25%, and these two countries as well as Namibia and Botswana having more than 15% of the labour force employed in industry (SADC, 2001). As stated in the SADC Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP):

The main economic challenge of the region is clearly to overcome the underdeveloped structure of the regional economy, improve macroeconomic performance, political and

corporate governance and thus, unlock the untapped potential that lies in both the region's human and natural resources. In sum, the main economic challenge facing the region is the development of an environment conducive to regional integration, economic growth, poverty eradication and to the establishment of a sustainable path of development (SADC, 2001, p. 14).

The region was de-stabilised for most of the past century by the conflicts that took place at the Southern tip of Africa, led by Apartheid South Africa. Although most countries received independence around the 1960s, at the same time as much of East and West Africa, independence came much later for Namibia (1990) and South Africa (1994). These late developments have led to a much greater degree of stability in the region, marred only by recent conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Madagascar, as well as ongoing civil violations in Zimbabwe.

For the most part, the SADC region is characterised by a high level of democratisation. Molutsi lists the democratic achievements of the region as follows:



existence of political pluralism in public debates and in parliaments; regular though imperfect elections; functioning though weak multi-party parliaments; smooth and democratic change of governments and leaders at party and national levels; existence of relatively autonomous custodian institutions such as election management bodies, ombudsperson institutions and the courts of law; existence of a striving and critical civil society; increased attention to democracy development by universities and research institutions; sustained donor interest in democracy support and poverty alleviation; and an evolving culture of democracy (Molutsi, 2005, pp. 19-20).

In terms of human development, seven states fall into the 'medium' human development category, with six classified as 'low'. The region showed an average decline in the late 1990s on this index of about 5% between 1995 and 1998, primarily due to decreased life expectancy and dropping real per capital income. Poverty is the most pressing developmental concern of the region: in 2001 it was estimated that 70% of population lives below \$2 a day, with 40% below \$1 a day. In some states, as much as 80% of the population lives in extreme poverty (SADC, 2001, p. 15). HIV / AIDS infection is also one of the most critical challenges facing the region: it is estimated that over one million people died of the disease in 2001, with a cumulative death rate since the start of the epidemic of over 20 million (op. cit., p. 18). 20% of the total population between the ages of 15 and 49 in nine countries in the region (including Namibia and Botswana) is estimated to be infected, and many more are affected.

Other human development challenges for the region include high infant mortality rates, low levels of education participation, unemployment, gender equality, sustainable food security, and low literacy rates (see, for example, United Nations Development Programme Indicators, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>). In conjunction with the economic challenges given above, as well as those relating to increasing science and technology, environment and sustainable development, private sector development, data and statistics, trade, and infrastructure development, the region faces enormous pressure.

2.2.2.2 History

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) traces its roots to two organisations existent in the latter part of the twentieth century. The first, formed in the mid-1970s, was the organization of the Frontline States (FLS), a group of countries which included at various stages Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, and whose main objective was the “discussion of mainly political and, to a lesser extent, military problems common among the liberation movements, and the problems faced by newly independent governments” (Institute for Security Studies, 1999) in Southern Africa. A key issue on the agenda was the formation of a united front against the apartheid regime and vestiges of colonialism in Southern Africa.

A second body in the region, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was formed in 1980, specifically to deal with economic issues. Although some documents see this body as a progression from the Frontline States (e.g. Southern African Development Community, 2001), the Institute for Security Studies points out that the two co-existed: “As long as there were still states under colonial rule or minority regimes, the SADCC and the FLS remained separate forums, respectively accepting responsibility for economic co-ordination and for mutual political and military support” (Institute for Security Studies, 1999, p. 1). SADCC’s priorities were

to reduce economic dependence, particularly, but not only, on South Africa, to forge links to create genuine and equitable regional integration; to mobilise resources for implementing national and interstate policies; and to take concerted action to secure international cooperation within the framework of the strategy for economic liberation. Above all, SADCC reflected the spirit of Pan Africanism and the latter’s preoccupation with the need for regional integration as the means towards African continental unity and the recovery of African dignity and status in global affairs (SADC, 2001, p. 2).

However, by 1990 the priorities for the region had changed. Apartheid in South Africa was ending, and Namibia was soon to be independent. The OAU was preparing to sign the Abuja Treaty, which

envisaged regional economic communities as the 'building blocks' of the continental strategy. Globally there were political and economic changes around the end of the cold war, and 'regionalisation' was becoming a norm. SADCC was thus restructured into what is currently SADC, whilst the Frontline States ultimately became the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security (Institute for Security Studies, 1999). As with other regionalisation initiatives in Africa (see 2.2.1 above), the history of SADC thus combines economic concerns with a political history which had its roots in Pan Africanism.

The structure as it is today was created in 1992, through the signing of the SADC Declaration and Treaty, with a deliberate shift from a focus on political liberation, to "the promotion of economic and social development through cooperation and integration" (SADC, 2001, p. 1):

The purpose of transforming SADCC into SADC was to promote deeper economic cooperation and integration to help address many of the factors that make it difficult to sustain economic growth and socio-economic development, such as continued dependence on the exports of a few primary commodities. It had become an urgent necessity for SADC governments to urgently transform and restructure their economies. The small size of their individual markets, the inadequate socio-economic infrastructure and the high per capita cost providing this infrastructure as well as their low income base made it difficult for them individually to attract or maintain the necessary investments for their sustained development (SADC, 2001, p. 3).

The treaty "redefined the basis of cooperation among member states from a loose association into a legally binding arrangement" (ibid.), and marked the beginning of its transition to a full economic community. As Mair points out, "The deletion of the second "C"... means more than a more cosmetic correction. It stands for the expansion of the new organization's objective: from development cooperation to development integration" (2001, pp. 10-11). There was also a change in political intent: SADCC had been formed to reduce dependency on South Africa, SADC on the other hand was formed to integrate post-Apartheid South Africa into the structure. Mair (op. cit.) suggests that this was for two reasons: firstly to tap its economic potential, and secondly to keep it in check politically.

2.2.2.3 Vision and treaty

The need for development in southern Africa is high. The primary objective of SADC is thus to "achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration" (<http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/64>).

Broadly, the Community has as its aims economic and social development of the region and to “build a Region in which there will be a high degree of harmonisation and rationalisation to enable the pooling of resources to achieve collective self-reliance in order to improve the living standards of the people of the region” (op. cit.). The SADC treaty covers a wide variety of sectors, including energy, tourism, environment and land management, water, mining, employment and labour, culture, information, sport, transport and communications, finance and investment, human resource development, food, agriculture, natural resources, legal affairs, and health. The SADC vision is:

one of a common future, a future in a regional community that will ensure economic well-being, improvement in the standards of living and quality of life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the peoples of Southern Africa. This shared vision is anchored on the common values and principles and the historical and cultural affinities that exist between the peoples of Southern Africa (SADC, 2001, p. 4).

Officially, SADC aims at economic integration and has no political integration agenda. Political cooperation is all that is required:

Political cooperation aims for the achievement of regional peace and stability as well as the consolidation of democracy, human rights and the rule of law in the member states. The realisation of these objectives is, however, subject to the principles of national sovereignty and equality (Mair, 2001, p. 18).

SADC’s objectives with regard to the creation of a full economic community include the formation of the SADC Free Trade Area (this was formally established in 2008, but is not yet functioning effectively), the formation of a SADC Customs Union (intended to be established in 2010), the formation of a SADC Common Market in 2015, a full SADC Monetary Union in 2016, and a SADC single currency in 2018. Simultaneously, SADC has signed an intergovernmental agreement (in 2009) with the Common Market of East and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African Community (EAC) to form the Africa Free Trade Zone. This signifies a process

from shallow integration to deeper integration as a free trade area (with duty-free trade among member countries) develops into a customs union (with a common external tariff), to a common market (with full factor mobility) and an economic union (with common policies and macroeconomic convergence). These stages of regional integration also signal important political changes, for example the change from a customs union to a common market requires the free movement of people (Hartzenberg, 2003, p. 176).

2.2.2.4 Challenges

SADC has made some progress. These are listed as regional security, infrastructure and projects, and the creation of a legal framework of protocols (SADC, 2001). However, there are a number of challenges still facing SADC, and the countries in the region. At the national level, Molutsi points to the fact the many SADC countries are still predominantly one-party states. In addition, intrinsic democracy is threatened by aspects such as

limited access to the media, poor organization and fragmentation of opposition political parties and their limited experience which contribute to the failure of such parties to evolve into viable contenders of power... The success of democracy in the region is also seen as continuing to depend on international pressure and the benevolence of individual political leaders (Molutsi, 2005, p. 21).

Moreover, he suggests that that have been very few gains in instrumental democracy: “there have been little if any positive improvements in economic growth, job creation and integration of the SADC economies into the global market economy” (op. cit., p. 22). Economic growth has not been sufficient to provide for broad-based social upliftment.

SADC, as a mechanism for development, has therefore not achieved much. Hansohm and Peter-Berries claim that, although SADC often held to be a model of regional integration, and although it has “established a regional transport and communication system unequalled by any other regional body” (2001, p. 1), it has not developed appropriate structures for delivery, and has been “paralysed by internal political conflicts and dissent over the past 5 years” (2001, p. 2). Inter-regional trade has increased, but this is less due to SADC intervention than to private sector involvement (see also Mair, 2001). In general,

SADC shows an uneven and generally slow process of integration; SADC has adopted a trade-led strategy of regional integration, which has incrementally overtaken the concept of developmental integration; a growing discrepancy between the ability to deliver and the demands for providing services regarding the organisational structure slowed the speed of practical implementation down; and the private sector became increasingly involved in driving the integration process in SADC as it realised the inherent regional economic potential to be freed by further integration (Hansohm & Peters-Berries, 2001, p. 4).

The focus on trade, rather than development, they point out, has led to the agenda being shaped in a particular way and has put finance, investment, transport, communication, labour and industry as

its priorities. Even within this domain it is still unclear how tangible the benefits will be. At this stage, only South Africa, as the only established industrialised economy in the region, stands to gain from market expansion. The primary commodities produced, in most SADC countries, are similar, and trade within the region may be competitive rather than advantageous.

Movement within SADC is intended to become increasingly liberalised, with the ultimate goal of a permanent permit of residence to all citizens. The abolishment of visa requirements and the simplification of immigration requirements are intended to be the first steps towards achieving this goal. However, achievement on this dimension has, to date, been limited by South African policy (Mair, 2001).

South Africa's relations with the region, particularly its commercial expansion into the region, raises tensions: although this may bring investment to SADC countries, it may also "integrate African markets into the South African one, instead of the other way around" (Breytenbach, 2004, p. 153). Other possible scenarios linked to South African dominance include a strengthening of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU – a smaller body than SADC which has an explicit focus on customs and excise and which provides a large proportion of government revenue in the smaller southern African states) at the expense of SADC, or possible regional disintegration, if South Africa chooses global integration over regional concerns (Hahn, 2004).

Other challenges facing the regional body include

the duplication of membership in other regional communities; the lack of clear commitments to the merger of RECs; the need for 'harmonisation' of standards, regulations and practices; issues internal to the national states such as poor health and education, corruption, food and water security and the widespread shortage of skills; the relative strengths of some economies against others; poor information and data systems; the external challenges arising from the global slowdown and its impact across a range of economic and social areas; and the maintenance of peace and security in the area coupled with the problems of governance (Motala, 2009, p. 16).

Finally, regional integration, at its core, necessarily involves a tension between the regional and the national aspirations. Hansohm and Peter-Berries (2001, p. 1) speak of the "complicated interface between hopes for increased socio-economic gains and fear of the consequences of renouncing national sovereignty", as a result of which integration never proceeds "in a linear fashion".

2.3 Higher education and development in Africa

'Development' is the ostensible rationale underlying regionalism initiatives in Africa. It is also the rationale for the renewed interest, by major multi-national and international bodies as well as national governments, in higher education in Africa. Yet, the concept of 'development' itself is contested, and dominant understandings have changed over the past half century. Thorbecke (2007), for example, shows how the term has evolved from an understanding of development as GDP growth, in the 1950s and 1960s, to an understanding incorporating the social aspects of development in the past decade. The concept has reflected the dominant ideologies of the time: socialist models in the 1950s put emphasis on the role of the state; in contrast the neo-liberal ideologies of the 1980s and 1990s emphasised the role of the market, and were reflected in development policies focused on structural adjustment and the rolling back of the state (Nayyar, 2007; Kanbur, 2005). It is only recently that a focus on human development, and an emphasis on poverty alleviation, has come to dominate development debates (Emmerij, 2007). These shifting conceptions have impacted on development models in use in Africa (Mkandawira, 2008; Edigheji, 2009). The purpose of this section is thus to provide a brief background to 'development' in Africa, and the role that higher education is expected to play in this.

2.3.1 Development in the African context

'Development' is widely regarded as having been a failure in Africa. Although progress has been made on some dimensions since independence in many African countries (there is less conflict, more democracy, and positive GDP growth in many countries, UNESCO and AU Commission 2008), by the turn of the century, most countries were in a similar position to where they were 30 years earlier in terms of share of trade, foreign direct investments and manufacturing capacity (Stein, 2000). Stein refers to Africa being in a 'developmental crisis', which "refers to the generalised incapacity of an economy to generate the conditions necessary for a sustained improvement in the standard of living" (2000, p. 2). In his view, the problem is structural in nature, and is both due to governments' inability to transform economies, and to the consequences of structural adjustment programmes.

Stein traces the historical roots of under-development in Africa back to colonial times, and to the economic legacy of colonialism which included lack of development of infrastructure, little investment in health and education, limited business opportunities for indigenous people, little investment in agriculture, extensive state control of commerce, and no substantive development of the manufacturing or industrial sectors (Stein, 2000, pp. 6-7). He points to the huge challenges that this legacy created for the post-colonial governments, at a time when they were still trying to

develop their own systems and processes. Typically this resulted in short term planning. The early post-colonial period, moreover, often developed its own pathologies: expanded bureaucracies based on politics rather than professionalism, antipathy for the private sector or patrimonial relations with private sector, state-owned industries often tied to non-local technology and interests, little investment in infrastructure, little technological transformation of agriculture, and untransformed economies (Stein, 2000, p. 18).

Some authors point to the successes of the early colonial states. Others are a little more cautious in interpreting growth in the early years as evidence of development success. Mkandawire (2008), for example points to the “deep commitment” of the early leaders to the eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease, and to positive developments particularly with regard to savings. Nabudere, on the other hand, draws from Rweyemamu (1980) in suggesting that the gains made in this period were simply a function of the very low base that they were operating from. Thus, “high levels of growth merely reflected the absolute low levels of industrialisation that existed before” (Nabudere, 2006, p. 14), but did not reflect substantial industrialisation, or freedom from aid reliance. Thus, as Olukoshi says,

while on almost all fronts, the record of post-colonial governments in the period to the end of the 1970s was superior to what the colonial authorities registered, and most economic and social indicators were generally on an upward trend, they were unable to establish the solid, diversified and integrated economic base that would enable them to meet both their own developmental targets and the full range of citizen expectations (2009, p. 31).

By the late 1970s, the lack of sustainable success by African states had resulted in a ‘lack of confidence’ in their capacity for development. Mkandawira (2008) suggests that this ‘lack of confidence’ was based on fallacious reasoning and an inaccurate understanding of the post-colonial contexts. Nonetheless, this was to become the basis of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) which were to follow. The 1981 Berg Report argued that the solution to the problem lay in the rolling back of the state, based on empirical evidence (subsequently found to be inaccurate) regarding the success of the East Asian Tigers. The SAPs, which were linked to the granting of aid, therefore required of recipient countries that they free up their markets, and draw back their states. The underlying ideology was that of neo-liberalism.

In many countries, prior to SAPS, the state had previously been the primary employer. Under the SAPS, state capacity was hugely reduced, and at the same time, there was a massive loss in formal

sector employment. Unemployment, or informal sector employment, grew and in most instances, without the benefit of the type of social safety net that could have been provided by a welfare state. (Obasi, Motshegwa, & Mfundisa, 2008). In addition, “most countries recorded negative growth or simply stagnated; the social gains of the post-independence years were virtually wiped out; and political instability associated with the pains of adjustment was commonplace” (Olukoshi, 2009, p. 31).

Structural adjustment programmes failed, Stein (2000) says, for theoretical reasons: misinterpretation of the problems, theoretical inconsistencies, and vulnerability to external shocks leading to the need for ‘perpetual’ short term stabilisation policies. He says that the theories underlying adjustment programmes are inadequate to understand, and thus transform, economies in struggling countries:

The imperatives of stabilization have, as a rule, taken precedence over development. It has been very hard for these low-income countries, with their fragile structure and production capacities, to absorb huge terms of trade shocks and at the same time to generate resources for investment (Stein, 2000, p19).

Mkandawira similarly claims that the Berg Report in particular, and other policies of the era on which the SAPs were based, resulted from a misreading of the economic history of Africa. First, they underestimated the effect of externalities on the African state, and the extent to which African countries are affected by issues external to their economies and over which they have no control. Second, contrary to widespread belief, there was in fact little ‘embeddedness’ or ‘capture’ of state policies by the ruling elite; third, economies had performed well until the oil crisis, particularly with respect to savings; fourth, policies were in fact not hostile to trade, but rather, were based on comparative advantage in land instead of in labour (although this led to lack of economic diversification); fifth, countries were not hostile to capitalism, but rather tried to encourage foreign direct investment. This misreading of the African context, in his view, has led to a situation of ‘self-fulfilling predicaments’ (2008, p. 16):

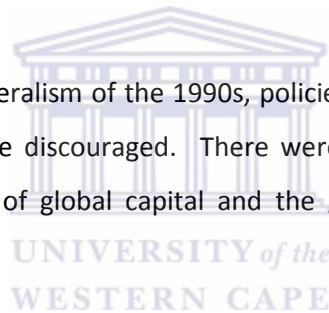
They have led to a set of measures that have so maladjusted African states that they provide proof of the impossibility theorems. To avoid clientism and rent seeking, the state is squeezed fiscally and even politically. This weakened state then exhibits incapacity to carry out its basic functions (partly because of demoralisation, moonlighting by the civil servants, corruption, etc.). This is then used to argue that the state in Africa is not capable of being developmental and therefore needs to be stripped down further and be buffeted by legions of foreign experts. And so we witness in Africa

the reinforcement of policies that continue to erode the economic and political capacity of the state even as considerable noise is made about 'good governance' and 'capacity building' (Mkandawira, 2008, p. 16).

In partial acknowledgement of the failure of the SAPs approach, the World Bank in 1989 published a report (Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth) which acknowledged the role that the state must play in development, with an emphasis, however, on 'good governance' (Mkandawira, 2008). However, two subsequent reports (1994; 1995) retreated to an 'anti-state view', suggesting that, even if states had played a role in Asia, this would not work in Africa:

In the African case, two additional arguments were added – first, even if industrial policy had worked in the successful economies, African states were too weak and too prone to 'capture' by vested interests, so that the pursuit of such policies would produce perverse outcomes. And, second, in any case in the World Trade Organization... trade regime most of the policies central to industrial policy were no longer acceptable (Mkandawira, 2008, p. 4).

Most specifically, under the neo-liberalism of the 1990s, policies which relied upon a strong central state to drive industrialisation were discouraged. There were, in addition, new demands placed upon economies by the influence of global capital and the growth of a 'global economy'. As Nabudere points out,



The imposition of the neo-liberal agenda based on the Washington Consensus was ... an attempt to readjust the economies of the Southern world to respond to the new dynamics of global capitalism and to reorganise 'national development' to accord with the needs of a global economy....In the way the 'Washington Consensus' now saw it, industrialisation had to be part of a global allocation of investment as a single market. Hence the older import-substituted industries and locally devised networks had to be streamlined into globalised production and markets and deregulation, privatisation and the liberalisation of the economies. This had the effect of pushing the 'developmental state' into a corner so it could be 'reformed' and made to assume new roles in this new global conjuncture or what came to be called globalisation (Nabudere, 2006, p. 2).

The implications of economic globalisation are yet far from clear. Some argue that it will lead to higher growth and less inequality, whilst others suggest that it will lead to growing polarisation of the world's economies (Nayyar, 2007; Obasi, Motshegwa, & Mfundisa, 2008). Emmerij (2007), for example, points to evidence that countries which have adopted the universalist policies of the international financial institutions have declined, and now show greater inequality, more poverty, and more unemployment. He maintains that it is necessary to find the appropriate balance between

the global and the local, and suggests that this balance may lie between the adoption of universal values, such as Sen's universal desirables of "political, cultural, social and human rights issues" (p. 41), and local determination.

There are also new challenges that the continent must deal with. These include climate change (particularly given the continent's dependence on agriculture), water scarcity, rising energy costs (which may benefit oil producing nations, but will have a deep impact on oil importers), and emerging social sector challenges particularly with regards to HIV / AIDS (UNESCO and African Union Commission, 2008). The knowledge economy will also impact, and this may serve to perpetuate disadvantages. Stein, for example, talks of the "shifting nature of global production" (2000, p. 3), which increases the challenges for developing nations:

(An) emphasis on raw material and primary product exports is very problematic in an era in which knowledge becomes a larger proportion of the value added of commodities. Advances in biotechnology and material science are leading to synthetic substitutes for primary products such as vanilla and sugar. Products such as cocoa and palm oil are also being challenged by Western firms as they undertake genetic research to develop outright synthetic substitutes or alternate methods of production. On the demand side, the usage of resources like copper is being replaced by optical fibres or microwaves putting downward pressure on process. Processing which would provide employment opportunities to African economies is discouraged by tariffs and other forms of protectionism which tend to be at higher levels relative to unprocessed commodities (Stein, 2000, pp. 3-4).

Yet, as Olukoshi points out, despite all previous attempts and current efforts with regard to poverty reduction strategy papers and the Millennium Development Goals, no coherent alternative approach for developing African countries has yet been formulated. In his view, Africa has become a "giant laboratory for a succession of experiments that inevitably failed" (2009, p. 29). However, with neo-liberalism having culminated in the global crisis of 2008 and a resulting revived interest in the role of the state, he suggests that, "it is obvious that the *nunc dimittis* of development, which was announced with glee in the early 1980s, was completely misplaced" (2009, p. 16). 'Development', in his view, is not an existing state to be attained, but is rather an ideal:

a permanent work in progress and an unfinished business, in need of constant refinement. Every bit of advancement in the development project begets its own contradictions and shortcomings that sooner or later have to be revisited. What is considered as the summit of development at any given moment in history is, in a sense,

an imperfect, even incomplete sum total of all the experiences and experiments that have preceded it (Olukoshi, 2009, p. 18).

2.3.2 Higher education and development

Increasingly, in recent years, the role of higher education has become seen as crucial to national and regional socio-economic development. Evidence has been cited to show that there is a relationship between the extent of higher education provision and economic growth (Bloom, Canning, & Chan, 2005; Jung & Thorbecke, 2003; De Meulemeester & Rochat, 1995; Kapur & Crowley, 2008), which, although it cannot be causally attributed, is highly suggestive that increasing provision and economic development may be linked. For developing countries, higher education has now become seen as a major source of potential growth and development.

This view has, in the past decade, been adopted by major international organizations such as the World Bank (World Bank, 1999; World Bank, 2004), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO, 2006). A report by the World Bank in 1999 (the 'Knowledge for Development' report) showed a correlation between education in maths, science and engineering and improved economic performance. Also in 2000, a report of the Task Force on Higher Education and Society (a joint UNESCO/ World Bank initiative) was released entitled "Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise" (Task Force on Higher Education and Society, 2000). This report based its investigation on the assertion that knowledge is more important to the current economy than physical capital, and strongly suggested that the development of higher education is critical to developing countries who "need to work harder to maintain their position, let alone catch up" (op. cit., p.10). Following from this, in 2002 the World Bank released a policy report entitled "Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Institutions". This report endorsed World Bank support for higher education on the basis that

social and economic progress is achieved principally through advancement and application of knowledge; (and) tertiary education is necessary for the effective creation, dissemination and application of knowledge and for building technical and professional capacity (World Bank, 2002, p. xix).

The belief that higher education can contribute to development has not always been the view of major multinationals, and contributed, in the later decades of the twentieth century to a lack of prioritisation and resulting neglect of the sector in Africa (see Chapter 1). Cumulatively, these reports have signalled a change in the World Bank's strategy with regard to higher education (Post et al, 2004). The significance of these reports for higher education in the developing world cannot be

over-estimated: there is a high reliance in developing countries on donor funding, and World Bank policy is a major determinant of funding priorities (Banya & Elu, 2001).

Higher education has always been seen as a development tool in Africa. As discussed in Chapter 1, in the early post-independence years its role was primarily seen to be nation building. However, just as development has not been a success in Africa, so too has education failed to play the developmental role expected of it. Partly, this is due to the fact that systems have been too small and underfunded to undertake more than the most basic functions. This has resulted in a situation where education, and higher education in particular, is itself in desperate need of development, rather than being a tool for broader societal development in any but the most basic way.

The failure of higher education to contribute to development in Africa can be ascribed to a number of factors. Firstly, it has been subject to development trends more broadly. The impact of SAPs on higher education was direct, and led to a decrease in funding to the sector. As Sall (2004) points out, the reforms of the higher education sector in Africa under SAPs had some (small) success with regard to encouraging funding diversification; however, in most instances, they have led to a decline in quality and working conditions, and simultaneously to an increase in external consultancy work by staff, and a general 'market orientation'. Nabudere concurs in suggesting that the impact of SAPs has led to a new relationship between universities, the state and the market. In his view, the impact on the university has been that it

finds itself subjected to new pressures for relevance at the very time African states were subjected to pressures of structural adjustment programmes of the Bretton Woods institutions and neo-liberal economic ideology. Unable to finance University research and teaching, most African governments have abandoned them to the devices of the 'market'. The University and the education system are generally being required to make themselves 'relevant' to the needs of business and to respond accordingly by providing 'market-friendly' courses and subjects. They are being argued to 'interface' with business and create 'partnerships' with them in new 'national systems of innovation'... Thus investment in higher education and research are becoming increasingly interfaced with the economic activities of companies and this is in turn creating new problems of relevance of the University as an institution of research and learning (Nabudere, 2006, p. 1).

Secondly, the failure of higher education to contribute to development in African states is a broader reflection of the failure of development models in Africa. Nabudere ascribes this to the adoption of prevailing western models which "proved completely unsuitable for Africa's socio-economic and cultural transformation" (p.1):

the expectation that the state would become developmental when the conditions for such a state did not exist negatively affected every facet of social and economic life on the continent. This included the university and other institutions of learning which were supposed to contribute to development but which also failed because of the malaise in the post-colonial states, leading to the present crisis in education. Embarking on investment in education, without addressing the factors that have been responsible for Africa's underdevelopment is therefore not the way to proceed (Nabudere 2006 p27).

Thirdly, there is a lack of theorisation about the specific relation between higher education and development. Although there does seem to be some emerging support in the literature for the view that higher education can contribute to economic growth, this has (at least) three caveats, usually not taken into account in the argument. The first is that content is not irrelevant: specific types of education, fields of study or programmes may contribute to the economy in different ways (Wolf, 2004; Murphy, 1991 cited in De Meulemeester and Rochat, 1995; Ashworth, 1998). Second, there must be a correspondence between labour market needs and educational supply. Account needs to be taken of the extent to which an economy can absorb the graduates of higher education (Keep and Mayhew, 2004, citing Hepworth and Spencer, 2002). Third, that there are certain "complimentary requirements" that must be in place for education to generate growth (Levin and King, 1994, cited in Ashworth, 1998). Of these, the policy environment is most crucial: "(o)nly when the economic policy environment is appropriate can education promote growth, allowing skills (human capital) to be brought to bear effectively", (Wolf, 2004, p.7). Yet development planning models, in African states, are not at the level of sophistication that would allow for the kind of nuanced understanding of higher education's contribution to development that these caveats would suggest. The extent to which higher education systems can contribute, in a planned fashion, to development is questionable under these conditions.

The view that higher education can contribute to development is not uncontroversial. In her review of the literature regarding the relationship between education and economic performance, Wolf (2004) concludes that the "actual empirical evidence is, in fact, very weak" (p.1), and that there are many studies in which no relationship has been established. Similarly, Stevens and Weale (2003) after providing a comprehensive review of the history of research on the link between education and economic growth conclude:

(i)t is difficult to be left completely satisfied by the wide range of studies looking at the effects of education and economic growth... There is, however, some evidence to support the view

that education is needed as a means of allowing countries to make good use of available technology ... (2003, pp. 25-26).

However, many of the criticisms that have been raised against the 'education for economic development' perspective have arisen in the industrialised world, where graduate production has exceeded demand (Wolf, 2002). Concerns raised in those contexts regarding the diminishing social benefits of higher education should not be read simplistically as relevant also in other contexts. Given the low levels of provision in the southern African context (with an average gross enrolment rate of around 5%, Butcher et al., 2008), it is unlikely that the effects of over-provision will be felt in the short term, and a failure to provide education at a level similar to that of the rest of the world is bound to further disadvantage the continent.

The controversy surrounding understandings of the importance of higher education for development is only partially due to the lack of adequate direct evidence. More fundamentally, it is precisely the connection of higher education to an economic role, and the view of higher education as 'instrument' for this agenda (Olsen, 2005), which many reject. Barnett (2000), for example, suggests that the values underlying knowledge have moved from disinterested pursuit of 'truth' to a more pragmatic value basis, which threatens the traditional pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Altbach makes a similar argument:

(u)niversity education has come to be seen as an industry, with attendant expectations of efficiency, utility and economic returns. Less and less is it seen as providing a public service with intangible social benefits, as a source of enlightenment, and as a contributor to the critical, cultural, aesthetic and liberal democratic sensibilities of the state (Altbach, 2001).

These concerns are fundamental as they relate specifically to the role that higher education plays, or is expected to play, in society. An overly instrumental and short-term view may lead to a reduction on the long-term value of higher education. In Africa, where the need for development is high, the likelihood of such a short-term view being adopted is equally high. The regionalisation agenda, with its strong focus on the economic domain, is further likely to promote this instrumental view.

2.4 Conclusion

As this chapter has attempted to show, there are a number of tensions inherent in the regionalism debates in southern Africa. The first is the tension, long inherent in broader African debates, between the political rationales for integration and the economic rationales. This plays out in a

related series of sub-tensions: between continentalism and regionalism; between nationalism and neo-liberalism; and between cooperation and integration as primary aims of regionalism. Economic arguments which favour neo-liberalism and economic integration, at this stage, have the upper hand. This has implications for the type of regionalism envisaged, and, in the case of SADC, has led to the current favouring of a trade-led strategy of integration over a developmentally-orientated strategy.

The extent to, and manner in, which education, and higher education in particular, contributes to development is a matter of debate, although there is little question that increasing the availability and quality of higher education in the SADC region would have social, political and economic benefits. However, the extent to increasing provision of higher education in the region can, and should, be linked to a regionalism agenda which has at its core an economic integration agenda could be questioned. Firstly, this may lead to the kind of instrumental views of higher education which could, in the long term, prove detrimental to its ability to contribute meaningfully to society. Secondly, the neo-liberalism inherent in such an agenda has already impacted negatively on higher education in Africa, and has placed limitations on the extent which higher education can contribute to development. Questions around the appropriate role of the state and the market in development are thus echoed both with regard to the appropriate means of governance of higher education itself, and in regard to higher education's ability to contribute to development.

Moreover, the absence, in many arguments for higher education's contribution to development, of a clear understanding of the link between higher education and development, suggests that current emphasis on this domain has become a 'catchphrase without content'. This raises questions regarding the extent to which bureaucratic attempts at regional integration on this domain are likely to result in improvements in development for the region.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAME

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, the account offered in this research brings together two key dimensions - context and history - in its reading of the higher education systems in the countries under study and of their achievement of SADC Protocol goals. A key contention of this research is that higher education systems are positioned both in terms of their relations within the institutional structure of their national contexts and by their own path dependencies, and that this location will fundamentally influence their engagement with a new super-imposed policy arena. The perspective of new institutionalism has been chosen to frame this research in a manner that will allow for the development of this understanding.

This chapter provides an overview of new institutionalism and uses this overview to situate the perspective adopted in this study. Key concepts drawn from the field of institutionalism which are useful to framing the empirical study are also discussed.

3.2 New Institutionalism

3.2.1 Introduction

New institutionalism, broadly speaking, provides a framework which allows for an understanding of how context and history act, through social structure, to shape possibilities and constraints for action. Simply put:

A neo-institutionalist perspective holds that institutions provide a temporal order in political life and that the content and implementation of policies and reforms are influenced by the political and historical context within which the policies and programmes are positioned (Gornitzka, 1999, p. 22).

Although definitions of institutions differ in different variants of new institutionalism (see below), the definition adopted in this study, drawn from Olsen, is:

An institution is a relatively enduring collection of rules and organised principles, embedded in structures of meaning and resources that are relatively invariant in the face of turnover of individuals and relatively resilient to the idiosyncratic preferences and expectations of individuals and changing external circumstances. There are constitutive rules and practices prescribing appropriate behaviour for specific actors in specific situations. There are structures of meaning, embedded in identities and belongings: common purposes and accounts that give direction and meaning to

behaviour, and explain, justify and legitimate behavioural codes. There are structures of resources that create capabilities for acting. Institutions empower and constrain actors differently and make them more or less capable of acting according to prescriptive rules of appropriateness (March & Olsen, 2005, p. 4).

Institutionalism, as a field, has a long history. In politics, versions of institutionalism prior to the 1950s primarily involved comparisons of the structure of institutions, with little theorising about their nature (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992). In reaction to this, the post-war period saw a rise in behaviourist theories, which tried “get beyond the formal structures of the old institutionalists ... by looking at the actual, observable beliefs and behaviours of groups and individuals” (op. cit., p.4). However, the behaviourist approach was itself subject to a number of criticisms (March & Olsen, 1983), including that it was both functionalist (seeing outcomes as the result of efficient goal seeking behaviour) and utilitarian (relying on the notion of strategic individual action). ‘New institutionalism’ (the term introduced by March and Olsen, 1983) was a reaction to “a widespread disenchantment of social scientists with models of social and organisational action in which relatively autonomous actors are seen as operating with unbounded rationality in order to pursue their self-interests” (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 1) by drawing on and building from aspects of older institutional theory.

3.2.2 Types of new institutionalism

New institutionalism, as a methodology, is characterised by a wide range of approaches with different theoretical concerns and assumptions. The term describes approaches used in disciplines ranging from economics, to politics, sociology, and international relations. Even within disciplines there are a variety of versions of institutionalism in use. Peters, for example, claims that there are “at least six” (2005, p. 18) major types of institutionalism in political science, as well as those in other disciplines. He suggests that a key feature of all versions is that institutions are seen as “in some way a structural feature of the society and / or polity” (op. cit., p.18), either in a formal sense (laws) or less formally (norms): “As such, an institution transcends individuals to involve groups of individuals in some sort of patterned interactions that are predictable, based on specified relationships among the actors” (op. cit., p. 18). Other features shared by all approaches are that institutions must have some stability over time, “must affect individual behaviour” (op. cit., p. 19) by constraining the possibilities for action, and that there must be “some sense of shared values and meaning among the members of the institution” (op. cit., p. 19). The different versions differ in their specific definitions of institutions, in their ideas of institutional formation and change, in how they relate institutional to individual behaviour, and in their assumptions regarding how institutions function.

The method adopted in this study borrows in an eclectic fashion from a number of varieties of institutionalism (an approach suggested by Peters). The discussion below thus briefly examines the main tenets of five versions of new institutionalism: rational, normative, historical, sociological and international. The discussion draws heavily on distinctions drawn by Peters (2005).

3.2.2.1 Rational choice institutionalism

Rational choice institutionalism (which is most common in economics, but of which there are a number of varieties in politics also) has, at its core, an assumption that agents operate in a rational manner to achieve their, exogenously determined, goals (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Institutions in this understanding perform a role as coordinating devices “imposing constraints on self-interested behaviour” (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992, p. 7). Institutions are thus “conceptualised as collections of rules and incentives that establish the conditions for bounded rationality and therefore establish a ‘political space’ within which many interdependent political actors can function” (Peters, 2005, p. 48), or as

rules used by individuals for determining who and what are included in decision situations, how information is structured, what actions can be taken and in what sequence, and how individual actions will be aggregated into collective decisions... all of which exist in a language shared by some community of individuals rather than as physical parts of some external environment (Ostrom, 1982, cited in Peters, 2005, p. 58).

Although institutions are seen as impacting on individual choices through imposing constraints on action, the model is strongly actor-centred, assuming that actors operate in an independently rational manner, and constraints are, to some extent, chosen through choices regarding institutional participation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The source of individual goal choices, or preferences, is primarily exogenous to the model, although there are some growing understandings of how “institutions and individuals interact to create preferences” (Peters, 2005, p. 49). Thus, the different versions of this approach

all assume that individuals are the central actors in the political process, and that those individuals act rationally to personal utility. Thus, in this view, institutions are aggregation of rules that shape individual behaviour, but individuals react rationally to those incentives and constraints established by those rules (Peters, 2005, p. 50).

Constraints comprise both rules and incentives, external to the individual, and compliance is ‘calculative’ rather than moral. Institutional formation may be seen as the outcome of deliberative processes of rule and incentive creation, and institutions are created or emerge where there is a

need to structure interactions between individuals. Institutional change is generally not viewed as an important dimension, but would be seen as a conscious process or 'discrete event' "when the existing institution has failed to meet the requirements for which it was formed" (Peters, 2005, p. 62).

The method typically employed in this tradition relies on "deduction from a limited number of theoretical assumptions and the application of a set of concepts which are held to be universally applicable" (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992, p. 12). Main critiques against this approach include the difficulty of falsifying claims (since "it is difficult to find any situation in which individuals could be said not to be acting rationally in the context of some possible set of incentives or another", Peters, 2005, p. 67), a divergence between institutions in theory and practice (over- abstraction), and that the models used can't generate the prediction of policy outcomes (op. cit.).

3.2.2.2 Normative institutionalism

Normative institutionalism was formulated in the work of March and Olsen (1983) as an argument against the individualistic assumptions of the dominant theory at the time (rational choice and behaviouralism). This version of institutionalism gives a central role to norms and values, and individual values and behaviours are seen to be shaped by membership in (multiple) institutions.

Institutions, in this view, are (as defined above) "an enduring collection of rules and organised practices, embedded in structures of meaning and resources that are relatively invariant in the face of turnover of individuals and changing external circumstances" (March & Olsen, 2005, p. 4). A key feature is the notion that "institutions empower and constrain actors differently and make them more or less capable of acting according to prescriptive rules of appropriateness" (op. cit.). Thus,

Constitutive rules and repertoires of standard operating procedures prescribe appropriate behaviour for specific actors in specific situations. Structures of meaning, involving standardization, homogenisation and authorisation of common purposes, vocabularies, ways of reasoning and accounts, give direction to, explain, justify and legitimate behavioural rules. Structures of resources create capabilities for acting. Resources are routinely tied to rules and worldviews, empowering and constraining actors differently and making them more or less capable of acting according to behavioural codes... (Olsen, 2007, p. 3).

These rules and worldviews are transmitted through socialisation and membership of particular communities, and it is "the rules, routines, norms and identities of an 'institution', rather than micro-

rational individuals or macro social forces (that) are the basic units of analysis” (March & Olsen, 2005, p. 20).

Preference formation in this model is seen as endogenous to the political process (not exogenous as in rational choice versions), since values and beliefs are carried by the institution and act as internalised constraints. These constraints proscribe a ‘logic of appropriateness’ (rather than a logic of consequentiality) within this institutional setting. Thus,

The assumption of bounded rationality is that individuals cannot really meet the conditions for full rationality and therefore use a variety of mechanisms to facilitate making decisions. In this context the logic of appropriateness created by membership in the institution - along with the routines, standard operating procedures, and symbols that help to define the institution - provides the context of behaviour of the members (Peters, 2005, p. 28).

The model is not clear on the issues of institutional formation and change. Peters suggests that, to some extent, institutions may be formed from broader societal values and enacted routines, but that this does not sufficiently account for values that might develop which are in contrast to those found in broader society. Adaptation and learning may partly account for new values arising and for broader institutional change in response to environmental changes. However,

(i)f the institutionalist perspective is to provide a useful alternative to more individualistic and purposive explanations of political life, then it must be able to say how the institutions that are so central to the theory come into being in the first instance. Further, once created there needs to be a clear logic for change... this approach describes the change process well but tends to reify the institution as the dynamic element in the changes (op. cit., p. 36).

As with rational choice theory, he also criticises normative institutionalism as being non-falsifiable (“the criteria for the existence of a ‘logic of appropriateness’ within an institution are sufficiently vague that it would be difficult to say that they did not exist and that they did not influence the behaviour of the members of the organization”, op. cit., p. 41) and suggests that the model goes too far in removing the concept of agency (op. cit.).

3.2.2.3 Historical institutionalism

Historical institutionalism is based on the understanding that “policy choices made when an institution is being formed, or when a policy is implemented, will have a continuing and largely

determinate influence over the policy far into the future” (Peters, 2005, p. 71). The definitions of institution used by various authors in this tradition vary between those who adopt definitions in line with those used by rational choice theorists and those who “embrace a more expansive view of institutions, not just as strategic context but as a set of shared understandings that affect the way problems are perceived and solutions sought” (Thelen, 1999, p. 371). Hall (1986, cited in Peters 2005, p. 74), for example, defines institutions as “the formal rules, compliance procedures, and standard operating procedures that structure the relationships between people in various units of the polity and economy”. However, Peters suggests, a distinctive emphasis in this tradition is placed on the role of ideas in defining institutions.

As Hay and Wincott describe,

the basic (ontological and foundational) premises of historical institutionalism are highly distinctive. They represent a considerable advance on their rationalist and sociological antecedents. Actors are strategic, seeking to realise complex, contingent and often changing goals. They do so in a context which favours certain strategies over others and must rely on perceptions of that context which are at best incomplete and which may very often reveal themselves inaccurate after the event. In common with rationalist variants of institutionalism, the context is viewed in largely institutional terms. Yet institutions are understood less as a functional means of reducing uncertainty, so much as structures whose functionality or dysfunctionality is an open empirical and historical question (Hay & Wincott, 1998, p. 954).

Rather than seeing institutions as ‘coordinating devices’ which tend towards a state of equilibrium, historical institutionalists see them as “the legacy of concrete historical processes” (Thelen, 1999, p. 382). As such, they have their own trajectories and logics. Moreover, in this model, institutions are not neutral: “institutions do more than channel policy and structure political conflict: rather, the definition of interests and objectives is created in institutional contexts, and is not separable from them” (op.cit., p. 375, citing Zyman, 1994). Thus, as in normative institutionalism, it “is not just the strategies but also the goals actors pursue that are shaped by the institutional context” (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992, p. 8). Preferences, goals and strategies are endogenous in this model, and can be subject to analysis and interpretation.

Historical institutionalists see institutions as path dependent, in the sense that, at any point in time, they represent the outcomes of choices made at a previous point in time, which limit the scope of the choices that can be made in the future:

The order in which things happen affects how they happen; the trajectory of change up to a certain point constrains the trajectory after that point; and the strategic choices made at a particular moment eliminate whole ranges of possibilities from later choices, while serving as the very condition of existence of others (Hay & Wincott, 1998, p. 95).

Moreover, “(o)nce governments make their initial policy and institutional choices in a policy area, the patterns created will persist, it is argued in this approach, unless there is some force sufficient to overcome the inertia created at the inception of the programme” (Peters, 2005, p. 73). Past practices impact not only in a linear fashion, but also affect the creation of other rules and structures (some of which may be attempts to solve problems which the initial rule has created); there is thus an ‘evolution’ (op. cit., p. 74) rather than simple path-following.

Institutions in this view are seen as “enduring legacies of political struggles” (Thelen, 1999, p. 388), and are relatively stable and resistant to change. However, change does occur, and may be in response either to design, or to external forces. Institutions evolve either rapidly, through ‘punctuated equilibria’ (resulting from changes in the external environment which disturbs the equilibrium of an institution) and ‘critical junctures’ (a confluence of forces that create the conditions or need for change, or through a more continuous series of smaller adaptations to environmental changes (Peters, Pierre, & King, 2005). Analysis of the sequencing and timing of particular events is important, since “causal analysis is inherently sequence analysis” (Thelen, 1999, p. 390, citing Rueschemeyer et al, 1992).

A major theoretical implication of this model is that by examining “processes over time” (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002, p. 5), the analysis moves beyond description and allows analysts to “theorise about historical dimensions of causation” (op. cit., p. 6). This is done not merely by isolating variables which appear to have a relation, but by specifically theorising about what the nature of that relation may be. Hypotheses generated in this manner can subsequently be confirmed through comparative study. Through “process tracing” (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992), examination of timing and sequencing, and understandings of path dependency, the method allows for an examination of both why the institution has taken a particular form, and how that form may constrain or enable change. Unlike rational choice institutionalists, historical institutionalists do not proceed deductively from ‘grand theory’, but rather work inductively with data in order to generate hypotheses based on empirical observation (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992, p. 12). This allows for the generation of mid-level theory, bridging grand theories such as culture and class with micro-level accounts. Institutional analysis further draws attention to the patterning and structuring of relations amongst other entities.

Historical institutionalism has been critiqued as being overly focussed on structure, since individuals may choose to participate in institution but action is subsequently framed by that institution. Other critiques include that its explicit purpose is comparative, not normative; that it is not always easy to distinguish from other approaches that place attention on history; and that the status of ideas (independent or part of institutions that convey them), not always clear (Peters, 2005). Moreover, since the focus is on past occurrences, although it does provide an understanding of why particular arrangements were reached, it cannot predict future directions. Peters suggests that, in this sense, the approach is more descriptive than explanatory.

3.2.2.4 Sociological institutionalism

There are different variations within sociological institutionalism, within which institutions may be differently defined. Most build from Berger and Luckman's conception of institutions:

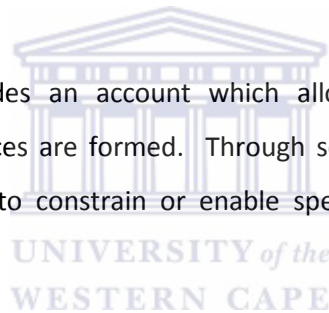
Institutionalisation occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habituated actions by types of actors. Put differently, any such typification is an institution. What must be stressed is the reciprocity of institutional typifications and the typicality of not only the actions but also the actors in institutions ... Institutions further imply historicity and control. Reciprocal typifications are built up in the course of a shared history. They cannot be created instantaneously. Institutions always have a history, of which they are products. It is impossible to understand an institution adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced. Institutions also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction, as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible (Berger & Luckman, 1967, lines 1095-1106).

A broad definition in this field is given by Scott: "Institutions are multifaceted, durable social structures, made up of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources... They are resistant to change. They tend to be transmitted across generations, to be maintained and reproduced" (Scott, 2001, p. 49). Typically, sociological perspectives on institutionalism are more concerned with the cognitive dimension of institutions than normative institutionalism. The cognitive dimension is seen as providing a 'frame' of reference that individual has and brings to situation, and which "determines how the member of the institution interprets data from the environment" (Peters, 2005, p. 113). Individual action is therefore socially constructed to a far greater degree than simply via rules of appropriate behaviour (op. cit.). As DiMaggio and Powell state,

The new institutionalism in organization theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supra-individual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individuals attributes or motives. In the sociological tradition, institutionalisation is both a 'phenomenological process by which certain social relationships and actions come to be taken for granted' and a state of affairs in which shared cognitions define 'what has meaning and what actions are possible' (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991a, pp. 8-9, citing from Zucker, 1983).

They point out that the definition of institutions adopted in sociological institutionalism is, in some ways, more limited than that applied in other disciplines, since only those norms which "take on a rule-like status in social thought and action" (p.9, citing from Meyer and Rowan, 1991) are regarded as institutions. However, it is also broader, in that the focus is not necessarily on economic or political structures, but could cover all aspects of social life.

Sociological institutionalism provides an account which allows for an understanding of how individual or institutional preferences are formed. Through socialisation, specific beliefs or world views are formed, and these act to constrain or enable specific forms of behaviour in specific circumstances. This theory thus



emphasises the ways in which action is structured and order made possible by shared systems of rules that both constrain the inclination and capacity of actors to optimise as well as privilege some groups whose interests are secured by prevailing rewards and sanction (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 11).

Peters draws from Mohr a distinction between variance and process theories in sociological institutionalism, or between "institutions as entities and the process of institutionalisation" (Peters, 2005, p. 107), and suggests that the distinction is not always clear. In his view, the strength of this field is in the latter, and in its means of accounting for institutional creation and change. Change is a process of institutionalisation or deinstitutionalisation: "institutionalisation increases by adding more roles and features to the institution, for example firmer commitments to the prevailing cognitive 'frames' of the institution or weakening those commitments" (op. cit., p. 119). DiMaggio and Powell (1991b) outline mechanisms of change that include 'institutional contradiction', ideas spread through networks and professional bodies, and exogenous changes, including actions related to power and interests of ideas. Institutions thus have adaptive capacity. Importantly also, they have the ability to influence and shape their environments (Peters, 2005).

Peters concludes that sociological institutionalism is stronger on process issues than most other forms of institutionalism. However, he suggests that, in much of the literature in this field, there is confusion between 'organization' and 'institution'. He suggests that there is a strong overlap between sociological and normative institutionalism, and that many of the same critiques apply:

(n)ot least among those critiques is that the emphasis on rather amorphous normative and cultural statements assumed to function as guides for action in institutions ... is not adequately defined and researchable. This makes these theories almost unfalsifiable, and hence suspect on theoretical grounds (Peters, 2005, p. 108).

The model has also, in some accounts, been criticised as being overly deterministic, and de-emphasising the role of agency (Hay and Wincott, 1998, but see discussion below).

3.2.2.5 International institutionalism

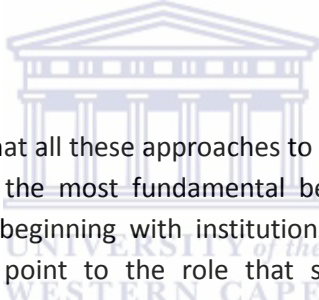
Institutions, in international relations, have been defined as "sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991a, p.8 citing from Krasner, 1983), or as "recognised practices consisting of easily identifiable roles, coupled with collections of rules or conventions governing relations among the occupants of these roles" (op. cit., citing from Young, 1986). The understandings of institutions in this discipline are thus close to those of normative or sociological institutionalism, and are not further examined here.

It is worth noting, as Peters points out that, that it is less easy to conceive of institutions in the international arena ("given the apparent absence of enforceable rules", 2005, p. 139). However, there are international organisations which do structure activities in this sphere (such as the World Trade Organization). Although rules tend to be less enforceable than in the national sector, internal rules or norms may be "as viable" (op. cit., p. 141) and may have broader impact. The concept of 'regime' is used in international relations to "capture the patterned interactions that were increasingly observable in international politics" (op. cit., p. 142), however the definitions of regime do not differ substantially from understandings of institutions used elsewhere. Regime theories are used to explain increasing similarities in the international sphere: "(t)he assumption ... is that the 'expectations' of the actors involved will converge through their interactions over time so that there will be substantially less variance in values and behaviour when there is an operative regime than when there is not"(op. cit., p. 148).

Other useful concepts in this tradition include that of an 'epistemic community' – "(t)hese communities are conceptualised as agreements on certain fundamental bodies of knowledge that can then function as a mechanism for pressing those professional and scientific views on to government" (Peters, 2005, p. 145 drawing from Haas, 1992 and Adler, 1992). As Peters points out, this concept is similar to that of a 'network' in political studies, but operating across borders. The concept of an 'international order' is also used "to describe a more encompassing structure of values and rules that coordinate the overall behaviour of nations" (op. cit., p. 145, drawing from Rosenau, 1992). Institutions thus arise from "acceptance of a common definition of a policy area or a repetitive pattern of interaction among the participants in a regime that is governed by rules (whether formal or informal)" (op. cit., p. 146).

3.2.3 Perspective adopted in this study

Peters points to the fundamental similarities between the different approaches in new institutionalism:



On the one hand, it appears that all these approaches to institutionalism stress the same fundamental analytic points, the most fundamental being that scholars can achieve greater analytic leverage by beginning with institutions rather than with individuals. Further, all the approaches point to the role that structure plays in determining behaviour, as well as its role in determining the outcomes of political processes. In addition, all the versions of institutionalism create greater regularities in human behaviour than would otherwise be found. At a practical level institutions do have the capacity to mould individual behaviour and to reduce (but not eliminate) the uncertainty that otherwise dominates much of social life. To the extent that the environment of one institution is composed largely of other institutions... that uncertainty can be reduced even further. For the social scientist, this reduction of uncertainty makes prediction more feasible, and provides a better route for social explanation (2005, pp.155 – 156).

However, there are differences between them in understandings regarding the extent of agency that is exerted and how this is constrained. This is reflected in the different definitions in use, in the focus on exogenous or endogenous preferences, and in understandings of how change occurs (see also DiMaggio and Powell, 1991a). Peters' view, however, is that, although there are differences, there is sufficient underlying commonality to regard them as variations of same theory.

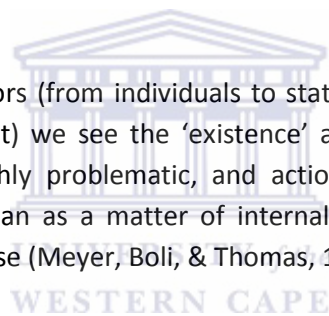
Others would reject this notion, seeing the different versions as reflecting fundamentally different understandings. Scott (2001), for example, distinguishes between regulative and constitutive rules in

social institutions: “Social institutions refer to types of social reality that involve the collective development and use of both regulative and constitutive rules. Regulative rules involve attempts to influence ‘antecedently existing activities’, constitutive rules ‘create the very possibility of certain activities’” (p. 64). He suggests that, since regulative perspectives on institutions tend to focus on the former, and cultural-cognitive on the latter, “they differ in their ontological assumptions or, at least, in the ontological level at which they work” (op. cit.):

Constitutive rules operate at a deeper level of reality creation, involving the devising of categories and the construction of typifications: processes by which ‘concrete and subjectively unique experiences... are ongoingly subsumed under general orders of meaning that are both objectively and subjectively real’ (Scott, 2001, p. 64, citing from Berger and Luckman, 1967).

Sociological perspectives particularly work from this understanding. Meyer, Boli and Thomas, for example, state that:

Most social theory takes actors (from individuals to states) and their actions as real, a priori, elements... (in contrast) we see the ‘existence’ and characteristics of actors as socially constructed and highly problematic, and action as the enactment of broad institutional scripts rather than as a matter of internally generated and autonomous choice, motivation and purpose (Meyer, Boli, & Thomas, 1994 , pp. 12-13).



The perspective adopted in this study is a personal choice, based on a background in social psychology and an understanding that individual thought and action is constituted through social interaction. Sociological versions of institutionalism resonate with this understanding, and serve to frame the social domain in a manner that incorporates social structure into this perspective.

The study thus adopts eclectically from the models above elements which are in line with this understanding. The understanding of institutions in the rational choice method is rejected on ontological grounds. The deductive method that would be suggested in this paradigm is also rejected in this study. Rather, the definition of institutions adopted in this study is drawn from normative institutionalism (see 3.2.2.2 above). This definition is not at variance with a sociological perspective, but more clearly limits institutions to social ‘structure and resource’ (see 3.3.1 below) than many of the definitions adopted in other fields. Understandings of institutional change are critical to this study and are drawn from the sociological perspective. The project is fundamentally a process account, concerned with a “series of occurrences of events rather than a set of relations among variables” rather than a full identification of variables and an examination of their relations to

other variables (variance account, Scott, p.3). As such, it is necessarily historical, “assum(ing) that ‘history matters’ and that how things occur influences what things happen” (Scott, 2001, p. 93 citing Zald, 1990). Although this study does not delve into aspects of power and power relations in the national or international realm, in this I concur with Bidwell:

there are biases in current versions of institutional theory that direct attention away from the process of institutionalism and, hence, have led to a neglect of historical analysis. They also direct attention away from the mechanisms of institutionalisation, in particular, power and its uses, and away from its effects on behaviour. I argue that institutional theory becomes useful in educational research when it specifies the mechanisms that drive this process and when it considers how institutionalisation affects both the organisation and the conduct of schooling (Bidwell, 2006, p. 33).

Finally, from international institutionalism are drawn understandings of the role that epistemic communities, or an ‘international order’, may play in framing policy choices.

3.3 Key institutional concepts

Building from the perspective adopted above, key concepts drawn from sociological institutionalism perspectives which are valuable to provide a framework and key analytic terms for this study are provided below. The section draws strongly from Scott (2001).



3.3.1 Structure and agency

Scott draws from Giddens’ (1979, 1984) account of ‘structuration’ to examine the nature of social structure, and the relations between structure and agency. In Giddens’ account, “social structures only exist as patterned social activities, incorporating rules and resources, that are reproduced over time” (Scott, 2001, p. 75). In this model, social structures are made up both of rules (“generalised procedures applied in the enactment / reproduction of social life”) and resources (“objects, both human and non-human ‘that can be used to enhance or maintain power’”, op. cit., citing from Giddens, 1984). Institutions, in this model, are “those types of social structures that involve more strongly held rules supported by more entrenched resources”, and which endure over time and distance (op.cit.).

Giddens talks of the ‘duality of social structure’, in that it is both the outcome of social action, and the means of social action. Thus, “(a)ctors in interaction constitute social structures, which, in turn, constitute actors. The products of prior interactions – norms, rules, beliefs, resources – provide the

situational elements that enter into individual decision making” (Scott, 2001, p. 67). As Scott points out,

The basic theoretical premise underlying the concept of agency is strongly aligned with the phenomenological assumptions that undergird sociological versions of neoinstitutional thought. Between the context and the response is the interpreting actor. Agency resides in ‘the interpretative processes whereby choices are imagined, evaluated, and contingently reconstructed by actors in ongoing dialogue with unfolding situations’ (p. 76, citing from Emirbayer and Mische, 1998).

Individual action is thus “simultaneously constrained and empowered” (p. 75) by the surrounding social structure, and agency itself is socially structured. Scott points out that

(m)any treatments of institutions emphasise their capacity to control and constrain behaviour. Institutions impose restrictions by defining legal, moral and cultural boundaries setting off legitimate from illegitimate activities. But it is essential to recognise that institutions also support and empower activities and actors. Institutions provide guidelines and resources for acting as well as prohibitions and constraints on action (Scott, 2001, p. 50).

Moreover, the reflexiveness inherent in the notion of agency and structure adopted does not imply that individual behaviour is determined by the social domain. Rather, there is an increasing understanding of the “ways in which both individuals and organisations innovate, act strategically, and contribute to institutional change” (op. cit., p. 75).

3.3.2 Levels

Institutional theory operates, and can be applied, at a number of levels. Scott identifies six: world system, society, organisational field, organisational population (collection of organisations of a similar type), organization, and organisational subsystem.

The concept of an ‘organisational field’ is particularly important to this research. The organisational field is defined by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) as “those organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organisations that produce similar services or products” (Scott, 2001, p. 83). Scott continues “The notion of a field connotes the existence of a community or organisations that partake of a common meaning system and whose participants interact more frequently and fatefully with one another than with actors outside of the system” (2001, p. 84, citing

from Scott, 1994). He points out that the understanding of a field as a level of analysis implies that this domain is not a passive construction, but rather has its own organising principles. Further, the environment of the organisational field does not equally affect the organisations that are operating within it (op. cit., p. 136).

Scott identifies four field-level characteristics which can be used to describe field organization: boundaries, logics, governance and structuration. The boundaries of a field may be delineated formally, through government policies or regulations, or may be more informal, delineated, for example, through the work of professional groups, cultural models, or research paradigms. Often also it is the perceptions of those working in the field regarding what is included that sets the parameters. Boundaries are thus, in many instances, loosely defined and shifting. In the case of higher education, the major role players in the field are usually defined in policy, although more peripheral actors, such as trade unions or suppliers, may not be.

Field logics “refer to the belief systems and related practices that predominate in an organisational field... (and) provide the ‘organising principles’ that furnish guidelines to field participants as to how they are to carry out the work.” (p. 139). Scott outlines four dimensions of these logics: content (the beliefs themselves), penetration (the depth of the logic), linkage (connections with other belief systems) and exclusiveness (the extent to which other belief systems co-exist within the field).

Scott defines governance structures as “all those arrangements by which field-level power and authority are exercised involving, variously, formal and informal systems, public and private auspices, regulative and normative mechanisms” (p. 140, citing from Scott, 2000). There are a wide range of governance mechanisms that operate across and within fields, and different understandings (connected to field logics) of ‘how things should be’.

The concept of ‘structuration’ is drawn from Giddens (1979) as “the recursive interdependence of social activities and structures” (p. 142). Scott draws also on the narrower definition provided by DiMaggio and Powell (1983): “the degree of interaction and the nature of the inter-organisational structure that arises at the level of the organisational field” (Scott, 2001, p. 142). Drawing from and supplementing DiMaggio and Powell, he suggests the following as indicators of the degree of structuration: the extent of interaction between organizations in a field and increasing amounts of information to be processed; the emergence of “inter-organisational structures of domination and patterns of coalition”, the development of a sense of common enterprise, agreement on institutional

logics, increased similarity (isomorphism) of structural forms, increasing “structural equivalence of organisational sets within field”, and an increasing demarcation of field boundaries (pp. 142-143). Increasing structuration may indicate the development of a field, but is also reflective of and dependent on level of formality associated with that field. Moreover, the extent of structuration of a field can influence policy processes and outcomes (p. 145).

3.3.3 Components of institutions

Scott suggests that there are three fundamental analytical elements or ‘pillars’ of institutions: these are the regulative, normative and cultural cognitive elements. The regulative domain comprises the formal regulations (laws) and mechanisms which prescribe, constrain and regulate action. These are often the focus of economic and rational choice analyses. Normative elements, often the focus of political and sociological analyses, include norms and values, and

introduce a prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory dimension into social life... Values are conceptions of the preferred or the desirable, together with the construction of standards to which existing structures or behaviour can be compared and assessed. Norms specify how things should be done; they define legitimate means to pursue valued ends (Scott, 2001, pp. 54-55).

The cultural cognitive pillar stresses shared conceptions and understandings as a basis for constraining and enabling behaviour: “In the cognitive paradigm, what a creature does is, in large part, a function of the creature’s internal representation of its environment” (p. 57, citing from D’Andrade, 1984). Socially derived meanings and symbolic systems, in these accounts, provide a framework within which choices for action are made.

These three institutional ‘pillars’, along with behaviours and material resources, are, in Scott’s view, the “building blocks of institutional structures” (p. 49). These pillars have different compliance modes (expedience, social obligation and shared understandings respectively); have different modes of order (regulative rules, binding expectations and constitutive schema respectively); have different mechanisms (coercive, normative and mimetic); a different logic (instrumentality, appropriateness and orthodoxy); different indicators (rules, certifications, common beliefs), and a different basis of legitimacy (legally sanctioned, morally governed, or culturally recognisable) (drawn from table, p. 52). All are important and they may work in combination (p. 47), but analyses may focus on different elements (as with the different variants of new institutionalism) and may reflect different understandings of social reality.

3.3.4 Institutional creation

Scott distinguishes between institutions as structures which exist at a particular point in time, and the process of institutionalisation, “the growth (or decline) over time of cultural-cognitive, normative, or regulative elements capable, to varying degrees, of providing meaning and stability to social behaviour” (Scott, 2001, p. 92). Analysis can focus on either aspect: variance approaches tend to examine existing characteristics and relations, process accounts tend to focus on development over time (p. 92, drawing terminology from Mohr, 1982). Historical accounts fall into the latter category, and assume that “how things occur influences what things happen” (p. 93). Fundamentally, such accounts are concerned with processes of institutional creation and change.

Scott draws from Suchman (1995) that the “impetus for institutional creation is the development, recognition, and naming of a recurrent problem to which no existing institutions provides a satisfactory repertoire of responses” (p. 96). This results in a cognitive process of ‘sense-making’ and a subsequent process of meaning generalisation. At level of the organisational field this may result in the creation of new institutional frameworks – the development of boundaries, players, and ground rules through conflicts that play out in determining what becomes institutionalised. At population level this may result in the creation of new organisational forms. There are also ‘supply side processes’ which can result in the creation of new institutions:

certain types of actors, particularly those in the sciences and professions, occupy institutionalised roles that enable and encourage them to devise and promote new schemas, rules, models, routines and artifacts. They see themselves as engaged in the great project of rationalisation whereby more and more arenas of social life are brought under the ‘rubric of ideologies that claim universal applicability’. The adoption of these generalised principles and procedures is promoted as evidence of modernisation, regardless of whether local circumstances warrant or local actors need or want these developments... (2001, p. 109, drawing from Meyer, 1994).

Institutional creation, particularly in normative and cultural cognitive understandings, can also develop through a “more organic process, as moral imperatives evolve and obligatory expectations develop in the course of repeated interactions” (p. 96).

3.3.5 Persistence and diffusion

Scott points out that the issue of institutional persistence is often over-looked but is important. He refers to Giddens’ notion that “(s)tructure persists only to the extent that actors are able to continuously produce and reproduce it” (Scott, 2001, p. 110). However, this maintenance does not

need to be conscious, since the cognitive basis may have become internalised: it has become 'the norm'.

Institutional diffusion is evidence of increasing institutionalisation. The agents of diffusion could be regulative processes, normative processes or cultural cognitive processes. The mechanisms of regulative processes are those of power "involving imposition of authority, where the coercive agent is viewed as a legitimate agent of control" (p. 115), or inducement. He points out that "(n)ation-states with statist or corporatist traditions are more likely to successfully employ coercive, regulative power in introducing innovations and reforms – mechanisms emphasise for e.g. information, inspection and control systems" (ibid.). Normative processes would rely for diffusion on networks and relational processes. In cultural cognitive models, diffusion happens through 'theorisation' processes: this notion relies on an understanding that similar actors across different spheres may adopt similar causal accounts, resulting in 'objectification' or consensus around values and practices.

DiMaggio and Powell (1991b) provide an account of how institutional practices spread through the concept of isomorphism: "a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions" (p. 66, drawing from Hawley, 1968). They distinguish between two types of isomorphism: competitive which arises out of market competition and is a rational process; and institutional, which takes into account that legitimacy and power, as well as economic ends, are organisational goals. Their account sets out three mechanisms of institutional isomorphism: coercive, mimetic and normative.

With regard to coercive isomorphism, they suggest that this "results from both formal and informal pressures exerted on organisations by other organisations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society within which organisations function" (op. cit., p. 67). The notion of coercion implies some element of force, which could be wielded by persuasion or regulative means. It may be legitimised by the state, so that

organisational structures increasingly come to reflect rules institutionalised and legitimated by and within the state... As a result, organisations are increasingly homogenous within given domains and increasingly organised around rituals of conformity to wider institutions. At the same time, organisations are decreasingly structurally determined by the constraints posed by technical activities and decreasingly held together by (intrinsic) output controls. Under such circumstances, organisations employ ritualised controls of credentials and group solidarity (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, p. 68).

Mimetic processes, according to DiMaggio and Powell, are processes of imitation which may occur particularly in areas of high uncertainty. Mimicry, in these situations, may be an attempt to enhance legitimacy, and may explain why “isomorphism is often enhanced where goals are ambiguous and where technologies are uncertain as organisations seek safety” (p. 151). Normative processes proceed less directly, and stem primarily from professionalism:

Such mechanisms create a pool of almost interchangeable individuals who occupy similar positions across a range of organisations and possess a similarity of orientation and disposition that may override variations in tradition and control that might otherwise shape organisational behaviour (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, p. 71).

DiMaggio and Powell suggest a number of predictors of the extent and rate of isomorphism. At field level these include centrality of support, extent of interaction with the state, lack of viable alternate models, greater uncertainty, greater extent of professionalization, and greater structuration. Furthermore, they predict that

Each of the institutional isomorphic processes can be expected to proceed in the absence of evidence that it increases internal organisational efficiency. To the extent that organisational effectiveness is enhanced, the reason is often that organisations are rewarded for their similarity to other organisations in the fields (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991b, p. 73).

3.3.6 Institutional change

Scott points out that the traditional focus, in institutional analysis, has been on creation of new forms and their diffusion, with attention only recently shifting to change, which requires a process of deinstitutionalisation and replacement of existing forms. Deinstitutionalisation, he suggests, can be seen, for example, in weakening regulation, norms or cultural beliefs, and may be evident both at the level of beliefs and at that of resources. Pressures towards de-institutionalisation could be functional, political or social (2001, p. 183, drawing from Oliver, 1992).

He suggests that factors driving change could be exogenous or endogenous, or both. Exogenous factors would include the introduction of new technologies, management innovations, political policies, economic crises, changing cultural beliefs etc. Endogenous factors might include tensions between micro and macro levels, or between overlapping institutions (p. 188). He cites from Stark (1996): “Change, even fundamental change, of the social world is not the passage from one order to

another but rearrangements in the patterns of how multiple orders are interwoven. Organisational innovation in this view is not replacement but recombination” (p. 193).

Scott suggests that the concept of structuration (as well as destructure and restructure) is useful as a means to study institutional change processes. Change can be plotted with regard to both ideas (scripts, schemas, logics) and activities (organisational routines, systems, form, p. 186), or in Giddens’ terms, schemas and resources, which “interact to produce structures which, over time, are reproduced but are always subject to change” (p. 187). Thus,

Change processes within organisational fields can be charted by attending to changes over time in (a) the numbers and types of social actors, both individual and collective; (b) the nature of institutional logics; and (c) the characteristics of governance systems. Actors, reflecting changing archetypes, tap into significant changes in cultural-cognitive, constitutive processes; logics, because they deal with the selection of appropriate ends and means, tap into a combination of cultural-cognitive and normative processes; and governance systems capture changes in both normative and regulative processes (Scott, 2001, p. 202).

3.4 Application of these concepts to this study

3.4.1 Structure and agency

This research takes the perspective that higher education, in its broadest sense, is an institution, and as such is both structure and agency: it is both affected by and affects its socio-political environs. Simultaneously it both enables and constrains individual action, or action at the level of the individual organisations which fall into its domain. The perspective of higher education as an institution, in the sociological tradition, is perhaps best explored by Meyer et al (2007). They write,

in the alternative sociological institutionalist perspective... one can view higher education as deeply affected by - indeed something as an enactment of - structures whose nature and meaning have been institutionalised over many centuries and now apply throughout the world. The meaning of categories such as student, professor, university, or graduate, or of topics such as physics or literature, may be locally shaped in minor ways but at the same time have very substantial historical and global standing. These wider meanings obviously have pervasive impacts on the content and character of local settings, and they help explain many of the features and effects of higher education that seem problematic from other analytical purchases (Meyer et al, 2007).

They stress that an institutional view entails an understanding of higher education as highly embedded in broader societal structures, and that these structures may derive from cultural scripts which do not reflect local circumstances. This tends to be overlooked in much research on higher education which focuses on the national field. Thus, as Ramirez puts it:

Much of the literature on universities emphasises the importance of the national context in shaping its institutional goals and organisational forms. Within this literature differences in how universities react to a wide range of educational innovations reflect differences in historical legacies. In formal organisational terms these historical legacies constitute the organisational decisions and structures, which add up to the path dependencies, which in turn explain persistent differences in higher education across national contexts. Within this scholarly tradition the weight of historical legacies is paramount in explaining university trajectories across national contexts. An alternative perspective focuses on the world context and emphasises the degree to which world models of progress and justice have influenced national states and national educational institutions. From a world society perspective one expects to find growing educational commonalities across nation-states. In organisational parlance one expects growing institutional isomorphism, as different universities increasingly experience common rationalising influences from a common organisational field (Ramirez, 2006, pp. 123-124).

This understanding is picked up in Chapter 9 of this study.

3.4.2 Levels

The perspective adopted in this study is that the domain of national higher education can be seen as an institutional field, where this defined as above, following Scott (2001) and DiMaggio and Powell (1991), as “those organisations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognised area of institutional life” (Scott, 2001, p. 83). Nationally, this sector is comprised of the organisations (universities or other tertiary organisations), national education ministries and other national bodies, professional bodies, student bodies and the like, that make up the domain of practice of higher education. The field is partially connected with, and dependent upon, the institutional field of education more broadly.

Field level characteristics identified above include boundaries, logics, governance, and structuration. These concepts are used in description in the empirical analysis in this research. In particular, the concept of an institutional ‘logic’ is used to frame the research question addressed. The research thus examines the extent to which higher education in the national domain is responding to the regional logic, or is framed rather by logics provided in the national sector.

3.4.3 Components of institutions

Scott's distinction between regulative, normative and cultural cognitive components of institutions, as outlined above, is used in this research to frame the empirical analysis of the SADC Protocol, and the subsequent analysis of national policies and documents in terms of the Protocol themes identified under each component.

3.4.4 Institutional creation, diffusion and change

In this research, the SADC Protocol on Education is seen as an instance of institutional creation. The extent to which this has impacted on national policy and practice is examined as an instance of institutional change. Finally, the concept of isomorphism is drawn upon to explain apparent similarities in the two case studies.

3.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this study, as outlined in Chapter 1, is to examine the extent to which the SADC Protocol on Education has impacted on national policy in two countries in the region, taking into account both context and history in the national domain in this examination. Institutional theory allows for this examination, firstly, by providing a broad understanding of how the social domain is both structure and agency, simultaneously constructed and constructing. Secondly, the frame provides a means of investigating this issue through the concept of 'institutional logics' which guide the development of the institutional field in the national sector. This allows for the research question to be phrased as "the extent to which the Protocol has provided an institutional frame which is guiding the development of higher education policy in each of the two countries". Finally, as discussed above, this frame provides concepts which guide the empirical analysis in this research.

CHAPTER 4: METHOD

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 1 of this study, the research question posed was to examine the extent to which the SADC Protocol on Education has impacted on national policy in two countries in the region. As discussed in that chapter, the intention in this research is not to approach this task in a technical manner, but rather to adopt a method that brings into consideration national contextual and historical factors. The adoption of institutional frame as a methodological frame in this research (see Chapter 3) provides a means of taking this into account. In institutional terms, the question that is asked is: to what extent is the SADC Protocol providing an institutional logic guiding national higher education development? This chapter sets out the method that is used in this research to investigate this question.

4.2 Method

In order to provide an account which takes seriously the domains of context and history, this research must necessarily rely on in-depth accounts of higher education development in the two countries under study. Case study method is most appropriate for providing this kind of thick description, and is adopted in this research.

The definition of a case study used in this research draws from Gerring (2007). Gerring defines a case as “a spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time” (2007, p. 19). He points out that this unit can be located at any level of analysis, from individual to nation state, depending of the research topic. A case study, in his view,

may be understood as the intensive study of a single case where the purpose of that study is – at least in part – to shed light on a larger class of cases (a population). Case study research may incorporate several cases... (2007, p. 20).

Gerring’s definition, as he describes it, is a ‘minimal definition’. He points out that case study research is also usually, but not always, reliant on a small sample; it is usually hypothesis-generating rather than hypothesis-testing; it usually relies on internal validity (relating to the internal causal relationships pertaining to individual case) rather than external validity (related to extent to which findings are generalisable to larger population); and the causal insight is typically to mechanisms rather than effects. In contrast to large sample size cross-case research, case study research is more suited to in-depth reviews: holistic analysis and thick description (2007, p. 49). However, he points

out, the trade-off for depth is at the expense of breadth, and, in research of this nature, “units(s) under special focus (may not be) perfectly representative of the population” (p20). Gerring points out that case study research can be used with any technique, either quantitative or qualitative: the appropriate technique would be determined by the nature of the data and question.

Gerring provides a distinction between five types of case study distinguished on the basis of the number of cases examined, spatial variation within the case, and temporal variation within the case. The resulting case study types include the single case study which is diachronic (temporal variation), the single case study which is synchronic (spatial variation), or single case study which is both synchronic and diachronic. Where two or more cases are involved, the case study is either comparative (where the variation is spatial), or comparative-historical, where the variation is temporal (p. 28).

In order to trace whether the SADC Protocol on Education has impacted on national higher education policy, as described above, this research examines two cases diachronically. In terms of Gerring’s distinction, the case study method adopted in this research is comparative-historical. As Mahoney and Rueschemeyer (2003) describe, comparative historical analysis “is defined by a concern with causal analysis, an emphasis on processes over time, and the use of systematic and contextualised comparison” (p. 6):

First, comparative historical enquiry is fundamentally concerned with explanation and the identification of causal configurations that produce major outcomes of interest... Second, comparative historical researchers explicitly analyse historical sequences and take seriously the unfolding of processes over time... As a result, comparative historical analysts incorporate considerations of the temporal structure of events in their explanations... Finally, comparative historical inquiry is distinctive because its practitioners engage in systematic and contextualised comparisons of similar and contrasting cases (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003, pp. 11-13).

Case study research has been subject to critique that it lacks methodological rigour (Gerring, 2007). There is a danger in this methodology of “merely telling stories” (Thelen, 1999, p. 372). Comparative analysis can aid in overcoming this:

What all ... comparative historical studies share is a perspective that examines political and economic development in historical context and in terms of processes unfolding over time and in relation to each other, within a broader context in which

developments in one realm impinge on and shape developments in others (Thelen, 1999, p. 390).

Thelen (1999) cites a number of studies which have successfully combined comparative method with historical process tracing to yield productive results. This method can be used to generate hypotheses, which can then be examined against further data, or could be used to set up propositions regarding the likelihood of success of specific policy interventions. The ideal, however, is to aim to “go beyond ... historical particularity and aim for theoretical generalisation” (op.cit, p. 373). Although this study is more modest in aim, it draws from this insight.

4.3 Level of analysis

The primary concern of this research is to examine progress towards regional cooperation in higher education in Southern Africa, using the examples of two countries in the region. Although the topic of research is thus regionalism in higher education, the focus of analysis in this research is at the national level. The ‘unit’ or case (in Gerring’s terms) is thus at the national level. This is important, since it is at this level that policy resides.

This research does not focus on the specific organisations that comprise the higher education systems in the countries under study. Rather, the focus is on the higher education system at national level, and its relation to similar systems at international level.

4.4 Sample

This research limits its study to the higher education systems in two countries. This small sample size is due to the fact that the research relies upon an in-depth case study of higher education development in each country, and it would not be possible, within the scope of this project, to cover all of the countries of the Protocol. The sample size is not felt to be a limitation on validity in this study, since the research does not attempt to generalise its specific findings at the national level to other countries in the region. However, findings with regard to the success of the Protocol in providing an institutional frame guiding higher education development in the region have a broader applicability, and could be used to generate hypotheses regarding the success of the Protocol more broadly in the region.

The population, in this study, comprises of the fifteen countries who are signatories to the SADC Protocol (although Seychelles does not yet have a higher education system). The full list of countries covered by the Protocol is given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: SADC Country Comparison

Country	Population in millions (2008)*	Gross domestic Product per Capita (2006)*	Number of public Universities**	Total enrolment in public higher education**
Angola	17.0	1 410	1	47 373
Botswana	1.9	5 720	1	15 710
Democratic Republic of the Congo	62.4	300	4	31 478
Lesotho	2.0	668	1	8 508
Madagascar	19.7	309	6	41 691
Malawi	13.9	175	2	7 869
Mauritius	1.3	5 273	2	9 720
Mozambique	21.4	364	4	46 865
Namibia	2.1	3 242	1	8 378
Seychelles	0.1	11 060	0	0
South Africa	47.6	5 358	23	746 538
Swaziland	1.1	2 300	1	5 785
Tanzania	40.4	332	8	33 420
Zambia	11.9	910	3	14 395
Zimbabwe	13.4	453	9	52 453

*Data drawn from World Bank Database 2009

** Data drawn from Butcher et al, 2008

As Table 4.1 above shows, these fifteen countries vary considerably in terms of their population size, their GDP per capita, the number of public universities in their higher education systems, and the total enrolment of students in public higher education (number of students enrolled in private higher education institutions are unknown). Countries differ considerably also on aspects regarding security and stability and the extent to which they have been affected by structural adjustment programmes. Moreover, higher education systems, including definitions of what comprises higher education, differ between the different countries, typically following a historical colonial pattern,

with a French system followed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Madagascar and Mauritius; a Portuguese model followed in Angola and Mozambique, and an Anglo model followed in most other countries.

Gerring (2007) outlines a number of sampling methods. These include typical samples (where cases are typical of a cross-case relationship) and diverse samples (cases which represent a range of variation on the variables), as well as extreme; deviant; influential; crucial; pathway; most similar; and most different samples (pp. 89-90). 'Most similar' samples, as he describes them are where "the chosen pair of cases is similar in all respects except the variable of interest" (p. 131); often the cases chosen are 'typical' in other respects. Gerring describes this method of sampling as "one of the oldest recognised techniques of qualitative analysis" (p. 138), but suggests that this sampling method may be "prone to problems of non-representativeness" (p. 139).

In a population size of only fifteen, where contextual differences are so large, it is difficult to speak of issues of representivity of the data. However, as already noted, representivity is not regarded as crucial to this research, as the research does not purport to make generalise findings at the level of the individual country to other countries in the region. Rather, the import of the research is at the level of the region, and findings relate to the extent to which the Protocol has impacted on national policy in two cases. From this, it may be possible to hypothesise about the extent to which the Protocol has been successful, as an institutional frame guiding national policy, in the region as a whole. In a population size of only fifteen, a finding which indicated that the Protocol had not been successful in two cases would have implications for the region as a whole, even in the absence of generalisation. The 'most similar' sampling method, as described by Gerring, has thus been chosen for this research.

The two countries chosen as case studies for this analysis, Botswana and Namibia, whilst not typical of the region, are not extreme on any measures. Whilst they are both small demographically, economically they are both middle income countries which have been stable over the twenty years that the study covers. Despite this, both countries experience a high level of inequality, and thus a high level of poverty, similar to other countries in the region. Both follow models of higher education that are closest to the Anglo model: to some extent this choice is pragmatic due to the difficulties that would be experienced with interpretation in working with countries which do not use English as the medium of policy. Both countries rely on diamond mining for their wealth. Both were relatively unaffected by the structural adjustment policies which impacted so negatively on higher

education in other African states, in Namibia because independence came late, and in Botswana because, to a large extent, it managed to avoid the aid loans to which structural adjustment conditions were attached. Both countries have until recently been primarily one university states (although Namibia's polytechnic is now offering degree level study and Botswana is in the process of building a second university). Botswana's university originates from an institution which originally served Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, and only began functioning as an independent institution in 1982. The formation of the university in Namibia dates to independence, which only occurred very recently in 1990. Both systems are, in policy positioning at least, intended to play a strong role in national development. The countries thus have a high degree of contextual similarity.

The two cases chosen differ widely on the variable of history. A key contention, in this research (and a commonly heard phrase when discussing higher education in the region), is that 'history matters', and deeply influences the form that higher education in individual states takes. The cases were thus chosen to reflect very different experiences on this domain. Botswana was never formally settled under colonialism, and gained its independence in the 1960s. It has been characterised by a high degree of stability and growth in the decades since then. It is widely seen as an economic success story in Southern Africa, having established the social and economic institutions necessary for development (Acemoglu, Johnson, & Robinson, 2002). Namibia experienced two periods of colonialism, and only gained its independence in 1990. It is thus much younger and is less established institutionally. A key assumption underlying this selection was that these historical differences may position the countries differently and highlight differences in response to the regional agenda that result from different path dependencies. The extent to which this is the case is examined in Chapter 9.

4.5 Data

The data for analysis in this study are limited to the national higher education documents and policies from each of the two countries. Documents for analysis were obtained directly from each country during visits conducted to the country in the early stages of research. In the case of Botswana, primary documents were obtained from the library collection of the Botswana Council on Higher Education. In Namibia, the library of the National Department of Education provided much of the necessary information. The SADC library (located in Botswana) also proved to be a rich source of data. Documents obtained during the visits were supplemented by others found through internet searches. All crucial policy documents of relevance to higher education in both countries were sought, and were obtained for both countries. The data set therefore reflects a full set of policy and

related documents for higher education in each of the two countries. Additional documents relating to education more broadly were also collected and are referred to in the analysis, were relevant.

Table 4.2 provides a list of the key higher education policy and legislative documents consulted in the analysis in Chapters 6 and 7 of this study.

Table 4.2: Documents consulted in analysis (abbreviations used in the text are in brackets below)

Country	Document
Botswana	University of Botswana Act, Chapter 57, 1982 (Republic of Botswana, 1982)
	Report of the National Commission on Education 1993 (1993 Commission) (Ministry of Education, 1993)
	Revised National Policy on Education, 1994 (RNPE) (Republic of Botswana, 1994)
	Vision 2016, 1996 (Republic of Botswana, 1996)
	Science and Technology Policy, 1998 (Republic of Botswana, 1998a)
	Tertiary Education Act, 1999 (Republic of Botswana, 1999)
	Botswana National Research, Science and Technology Plan, 2005 (Republic of Botswana, 2005a)
	Tertiary Education Policy for Botswana, Consultation Paper: Challenges and Choices, 2005 (Challenges and Choices document) (Tertiary Education Council, 2005)
	Tertiary Education Policy, 2008 (Republic of Botswana, 2008a)
Namibia	Commission on Higher Education in Namibia, 1991 (1991 Commission) (Coombe, 1993)
	University of Namibia Act, 18 of 1992 (Republic of Namibia, 1992)
	Polytechnic of Namibia Act, 33 of 1994 (Republic of Namibia, 1994)
	Namibian Qualification Authority Act, 29 of 1996 (Republic of Namibia, 1996)
	Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training: Towards a Learning Nation, Meeting the Challenge of Change, 1999 (1999 Presidential Commission) (Republic of Namibia, 1999)
	Namibia Education Act, 16 of 2001 (Republic of Namibia, 2001)
	Higher Education Act, 26 of 2003 (Republic of Namibia, 2003)
	Research, Science and Technology Act, 2004 (Republic of Namibia, 2004c)
	Vision 2030, 2004 (Republic of Namibia, 2004a)
	Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme: Planning for a Learning Nation, 2007 (ETSIP) (Republic of Namibia, 2007)

During the course of the visits to the two countries which took place at the beginning of the research process, a number of informal conversations were held with individuals in the two countries. These conversations were held with individual academics employed by the University in both countries; with representatives of the Tertiary Education Commission in Botswana, and the National Council on Higher Education in Namibia, as well as the Planning Department of the Department of Education in Namibia, and with office bearers in SADC, both at the Education Desk and at the Science and Technology Desk. Although these conversations proved informative at an early stage of this research, they were insufficiently rich for analysis. Data obtained via this means is referred to in this research only where the conversation provided a particular piece of factual evidence that was not reflected in any of the documents consulted. This data is thus related as anecdotal evidence (“evidence that falls outside of the formal research design”, Gerring, 2007, p. 185). Thus, for example, a conversation with the Quality Assurance Officer at the National Council on Higher Education in Namibia indicated that work was currently being done with the South African Council on Higher Education to develop the Namibian systems of quality assurance. None of the formal documents consulted refer to this collaboration. This is mentioned in the discussion in Chapter 7 on the development of quality assurance frameworks, and is indicated simply as ‘conversational data’.

4.6 Analysis

The study relies on content analysis of the documentation. In the first instance, the Protocol itself is analysed, and the content of the Protocol is represented thematically in terms of the identified regulative, normative and cultural cognitive aspects of the Protocol agreements.

The case study accounts of national higher education, in chapter 6, rely on content analysis of the available documentation to provide “temporally constructed narratives” (Gerring, 2007, p. 4). These narratives present an overview account of all major developments in higher education for each of the cases over a series of four rough time periods (1990 – 1995; 1996 – 2000; 2001 – 2005; 2006 – 2010). In order to construct these accounts, documents obtained were classified according to their release dates, and descriptive accounts of the content of the documents were created. The analysis focuses on higher education, but reference is made to developments in the broader education context where relevant. Specific issues that were examined in this regard related to access to education (which has implications for higher education) and references with regard to the role that education must play in national development. The analysis thus provides a longitudinal, and contextually situated, study within each case.

The method adopted in Chapter 7 of this study relies on content analysis to provide a temporal thematic comparison according to the Protocol themes identified in Chapter 5. Key documents in the national domain were thus examined for evidence of Protocol themes and in terms of the time period in which that theme became evident. The assumption was that, if the Protocol has impacted on national policy, changes in national policy should be evident after the Protocol was promulgated. Conversely, themes which are evident in national policy prior to the Protocol being agreed cannot be ascribed to the Protocol.

A comparison of the findings in each of the cases is provided in Chapter 8 of the study.

4.7 Conclusion

As described above, this research relies on two case studies of higher education in the region to examine the extent to which the SADC Protocol on Education has provided an institutional frame guiding higher education development in the region. The research limits itself to content analysis of documentary data.

There are a number of limitations of this study. The first is that the research examines only two countries in the region. As described above, the region is very diverse, and it is unlikely that specific findings in these two cases will have general applicability to the region. However, overall findings regarding the Protocol's success in these two cases may be extrapolated to suggest the likelihood that the Protocol has been successful elsewhere in the region. Second, the reliance on documentary evidence in this research means that national practices in the higher education sector are identified only insofar as they exist in national level documentation. This documentation may not reflect the full range of practices, and Protocol responses, in the national higher education sector. Third, the study is not concerned with practices at the level of individual organisations in the sector. It is possible (even likely) that practices may exist at this level which are not reflected in national documentation. An examination of this dimension was, however, beyond the scope of this research.

CHAPTER 5: THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY AND THE PROTOCOL ON EDUCATION

5.1 Introduction

The Southern African Development Community's Protocol on Education is the core topic of this research. A brief introduction to the Protocol was provided in Chapter 1 of this document. This chapter continues that discussion and begins the empirical part of this project. The chapter begins with a broad description of the Protocol and subsequent documentation. An analysis of the Protocol is then provided. In addition to covering the macro aspects of the Protocol, this analysis provides an examination of the commitments made through the Protocol, classified in terms of the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive institutional components outlined by Scott (2001) and described above in Chapter 3. This classification is used to frame the analysis of national education policies in Chapter 7 of this study.

5.2 SADC Protocol on Education

As outlined in Chapter 1, the SADC Protocol on Education was signed by the southern African states comprising SADC in 1997, as an instrument under the broader SADC Treaty. The Protocol implementation date was 2000, and it was intended that its overall objective be attained within twenty years of this date. This overall objective, as described in Chapter 1, is "To progressively achieve the equivalence, harmonization and standardization of the education and training systems in the Region" (1997, p. 4). Other listed objectives include:

- (a) to develop and implement a common system of regular collection and reporting of information by Member States about the current status and future demand and supply, and the priority areas for provision of education and training in the Region;
- (b) to establish mechanisms and institutional arrangement that enable Member States to pool their resources to effectively and efficiently produce the required professional, technical, research and managerial personnel to plan and manage the development process in general and across all sectors in the Region;
- (and) (c) to promote and coordinate the formulation and implementation of comparable and appropriate policies, strategies and systems of education and training in Member States (SADC, 1997, p. 3).

There are seven areas of cooperation specified in the Protocol. These include policy; basic education (primary and secondary); intermediate education (certificate and diploma); higher education;

research and development; life-long learning; and publishing and library resources. Specific commitments made with regard to these areas of cooperation are discussed in section 5.3 below.

In addition to detailing commitments made by individual states, the Protocol outlines the 'institutional arrangements' (governance mechanisms) for education within SADC. Structurally, SADC was initially comprised of nineteen Sector Coordination Units and two Commissions. A major restructuring exercise in 2001, however, sought to streamline the organization for more effective functioning. The process was intended to address issues of inadequate resourcing, a lack of centralisation and management coordination, a lack of ability to translate policies into action, a failure to mobilise the regions own resources, and an over-dependency on donors. Four SADC directorates have resulted, one of which is in Social and Human Development and Special Programmes, within which education falls. A Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) has also resulted, to "provide SADC member states, institutions and policy makers with a coherent and comprehensive development agenda on social and economic policies for the decade 2003 – 2013" (van Schalkwyk, 2003, p. 188). This restructuring exercise has hampered achievements of Protocol objectives:

The restructuring process of SADC instituted in 2002 brought structural changes that abolished the institutional structures of the Protocol. As a result the Technical Committees ceased to operate and Protocol implementation stopped. In addition, the Protocol on Education and Training was amended to remove the institutional structures (SADC, 2006, p. 5).

A Revised Implementation Plan of the Protocol on Education and Training was published in 2006. The document was intended to be a fifteen year 'Plan of Action' towards the Protocol's achievement, and to detail the new SADC institutional arrangements for education, as well as to align the Protocol with the RISDP.

There have been other documents produced following from the Protocol, most significant of which are documents relating to the formation of a regional qualifications framework, and a regional quality assurance frame. The first was a document entitled 'Towards a Southern African Development Community Qualifications Framework' (2005) which was drawn up by the Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation. The document notes that it is the result of

extensive deliberations and nearly 8 years of preparatory work... (following) a realization by the Integrated Committee of Ministers of the need and role of a regional

qualifications framework in SADC and the subsequent decision at their meeting in Gaborone, Botswana in 2004 for the Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation to continue to operate until the regional qualifications framework is established and operational (SADC, 2005, p. 9).

The document suggested that a regional qualifications frame could be fully operational by 2010. Recommendations were made on issues such as the scope, principles, and organizational structure of a regional qualifications frame, but the document did not go as far as recommending a structure for the framework. It was presented to the SADC Education Ministers meeting in 2005, but was not adopted at that point, as the Ministers felt that work first needed to be done on establishing a quality assurance frame (SADC, 2007b, p. 5).

The document 'Towards a framework for the improvement of quality assurance systems in member states' was subsequently produced by the Technical Committee in 2007 (2007b). It reports on a study which investigated the existing status of quality assurance in higher education in SADC states. This document noted that "quality assurance is a priority in most countries, although limited evidence of implementation and interventions exist" (op. cit., p.5). However, it also talks about "significant progress... across all member states" (op. cit., p.7). The document does suggest a proposed framework for the improvement of quality assurance systems in member states, including common policy guidelines for the region.

Other documents, including a Review of the Status and Capabilities for the Implementation of the Protocol (SADC, 2007a), and a recent document on the comparability of qualifications in the region (SADC, 2009), have been produced, and regular meetings of the Education Ministers are held. Implementing capacity, however, is a crucial issue: it is clear that SADC itself does not have this capacity, nor could it: the institutional structures proposed by the Protocol are not intended as implementing arms, but rather as coordinating and high level management structures. Implementation responsibility thus resides with states, but the Protocol itself does not require of states that they be simply 'implementing arms' of regional policy. As Hahn says:

In looking at the scope of quantitative and qualitative changes (envisaged for regional cooperation in higher education), two facts become evident: regionalization of higher education and research has the potential to function as an innovation motor on the one hand. However, on the other hand, it also leads to a growing complexity that makes policy formulation and policy implementation more difficult. We find a complex multi-layer and multi-actor system. The regional level appears as a new system level of policy

making, which needs new coordination structures and mechanisms as well as powerful actors that drive and implement change (Hahn, 2005, p. 13).

5.3 Analysis of the Protocol

As discussed above, SADC, like other African regionalisation initiatives, has a history which reflects a contradiction between a political and an economic rationale. In SADC, it is the economic rationale that has dominated, and transformation of national economies has become seen as critical for development. Broader understandings of development (including social aspects), although not forgotten, have receded in recent policy. The Protocol on Education sits in an uneasy relationship with this. Development is its key rationale, and although the document acknowledges the social role that education plays, it also utilises the discourse of 'human resources', a discourse more commonly associated with economic development models. The section below provides an analysis of some key aspects of the Protocol, including the commitments made through the Protocol.

5.3.1 Broader institutional frame

The Protocol, its Committees and structures, and the subsequent documents produced can be seen as an instance of institutional formation, at regional level. At the broadest level, the 'institution' is a combination of the ideal of regional cooperation in education, and the structures to support this. The Protocol provides both rationale and procedure: it defines the boundaries of the field (although the lack of provision of regulative definitions, see section 5.3.7 below, weakens these boundaries). It sets up the structures for its own governance. Although slow, processes are in place (such as annual meetings of the Ministers) which carry their own momentum, and provide a logic for further action.

As discussed above, the Protocol also must be seen as resulting from a broader institutional setting. In this setting, in the first instance is the context of SADC itself: its vision and treaty; the aim of 'deep integration'; its understandings of development, and the economic agenda that is increasingly being prioritized. This context itself is multifaceted and inconsistent across domains. Hahn, for example, suggests that the RISDP

reveals little coherence and continuity with regard to Human Resource Development policies in general and higher education and training and research and development in particular. Although it is stated in RISDP that 'SADC Member States accord priority to social and human development... as one of the core areas of integration', less than one page is devoted to the entire topic (Hahn, 2005, p. 37).

She points out that higher education, in this document, gets only a very brief mention.

Secondly, there is the broader context of regionalisation in Africa, and within this, the institutional frame provided by the Arushu Convention and the AU's Policy on Harmonisation of Higher Education. Although the intention is that regional structures will provide the implementing mechanisms for this policy, it is unclear how the SADC Protocol will fit within it, and how the politics between the different levels will play out.

Thirdly, there is the global context of higher education, and increasing regional cooperation in higher education (see section 1.2.3 above). This context exerts its own pressures on local systems. Finally, there are the specific contexts of the countries themselves who are signatories of the Protocol, which provide their own tensions and logics. There is thus a multi-layered set of demands on the regional system which arises from these different but simultaneous institutional settings.

5.3.2 Legal standing of the Protocol

The Protocol on Education and Training exists as an instrument under the provision of the broader SADC Treaty (1990). The Treaty itself has binding legal status; however, unlike some of the other instruments under the treaty, the Protocol has a 'soft' nature. As Hahn states:

The legal character of the Protocol resembles more a benevolent declaration of intent for cooperation or a memorandum of understanding rather than a binding political agenda for governments and higher education institutions. All issues and objectives are packed into soft formulation ('shall be' 'shall become' 'shall be realised' 'shall function' 'shall be reserved' etc.). The subjunctive conjugation form of the verb 'will' is the most commonly used verbal form in the Protocol. Even some of the more concrete aims (i.e. the 5% of SADC admission quota) still are formulated in the subjunctive form. Although the Protocol provides the legal policy framework for the cooperation of the regional higher education sector after ratification, it does not have the formal strength of a 'regional law'. No concrete, legally strictly binding obligations can be derived from the Protocol... There is no effective instrument of penalty or sanction in case of non-respect or retarded implementation of the Protocol by some member states, although the Protocol provides in Article 23 for the settlement of disputes (Hahn, 2005, pp. 23-24).

It is likely that, at least in part, this 'soft' character nature derives from the nature of the sector itself. Particularly with regard to higher education there is traditionally, at least formally, a distance between the sector and the State, and more autonomy in practice than would allow for prescriptions regarding how that practice should occur. The principle of academic freedom, moreover, militates against such interference. Thus, in many issues which involve universities, not only is the

'subjunctive form' of the verb used, as Hahn points out, but the commitment is further softened to 'recommend to universities', or to 'urge' them to action. In a context of high autonomy, broad policy commitments may be the only route that a government has for promotion of specific activities: although funding, in some instances, is used to enforce policy compliance, in many African states funding instruments are not at a level of sophistication that would allow for this, with annual funds, most often, being determined on an incremental basis (Pillay, 2008). 'Promoting cooperation', rather than enforcing it, is thus the key mechanism of the Protocol. The strongest clauses in the document, by virtue of them being quantified, relate to the admission of students from the region to national universities, and the treatment of these students as home students.

Hahn's view is that "the soft legal character of the Protocol is at the same time weakness and strength, rendering cooperation in higher education to its natural dynamic and pace that evolves out of voluntary multilateral and bilateral cooperation within the region" (2005, p. 24). This gradualist approach, however, raises the danger that, in the absence of mechanisms for enforcement and specific projects to drive regionalization, lack of achievement may result, particularly if the benefits of regionalization are not felt to outweigh the demands of national competitive aims.

5.3.3 Education system structure and terminology

The Protocol uses terms to describe different levels of the education system, but does not explicitly propose definitions or prescribe a more broad-spread adoption of the terminology. Basic education, as the term is used in the Protocol, includes both primary and secondary education, and is intended to "provide the critical foundation upon which tertiary education is built" (1997, p. 5). Intermediate education is used to describe certificate and diploma levels, and includes teacher education, and vocational and technical education. The role of intermediate education is to "provide the requisite middle level personnel for various sectors of the economy" as well as "underpin(ning) and support(ing) the application of professional and higher level knowledge and skills" (op. cit., p. 6). Lifelong learning, in the Protocol, refers to distance education and adult education (both of which are viewed primarily in terms of their role in increasing literacy and numeracy), as well as short courses for professional upgrading.

The document is silent on the role of undergraduate higher education, but states that "for mastery of science and technology, the Region requires first rate programmes of postgraduate education and training and both basic and applied research". Skills are necessary for this research work, which "shall be in line with national and regional needs" (op. cit., p. 11).

5.3.4 Relative responsibilities

Despite the inherent tension between regional aims and national sovereignty, the Protocol does not contain a specific section delineating national and regional responsibilities. However, relative responsibilities are outlined within the commitments made in each area of cooperation. In terms of this, basic education, intermediate education, undergraduate studies and lifelong learning are all seen to be “largely the responsibility of each Member State” (e.g., p. 5). However, postgraduate programmes and research differ from this pattern. For postgraduate programmes, “Member States agree that mounting robust post-graduate programmes in all required fields is too costly for each Member State to pursue on a realistically sustainable basis and therefore that it is essential to pool the Region’s resources in order to establish high quality post-graduate programmes...” (op. cit., p. 9). For research, “Member States recognise that research, especially in science and technology is expensive, and that not every country can enable its institutions to develop excellent research capacity in all fields, hence the need to allow access and to jointly develop and share research facilities” (op. cit., p. 11).

The region, as a ‘regional body’ (i.e. SADC), is referred to only in terms of establishing the institutional structures of the Protocol (the sub-Sector for Education and Training; which has as its objectives the same objectives as the Protocol itself). The primary focus of the term ‘region’ when it is used in the document is thus to refer to a collective of States, a point reinforced by the fact that most commitments of the Protocol are commitments regarding national practice. This is perhaps not unsurprising, given that SADC has no legislative capacity over education in the different countries. This point is underscored in the SADC Qualification Framework document where no legislation is proposed at regional level, but rather it is stated that the framework will “respect the legislations already in place in Member States and ensure sovereignty but at the same time upholding regional standards” (SADC, 2005, p. 27).

5.3.5 Commitments made through the Protocol

Although not explicit in the Protocol, the commitments made in the Protocol can be divided into those which relate to acting as a region, and those that are commitments regarding the development of national policy. Those that relate to acting as a region include commitments to working towards regional policy coherence and system harmonisation, the development of regional centres, regional cooperation with regard to curriculum design, joint offerings, exchange of experiences and sharing of

resources. Also included are items related to the development of regional culture and the development of regional associations.

At a national policy level, the Protocol signifies agreement by States to work towards increased literacy and numeracy through basic, lifelong and adult education, and in particular to “strive to provide universal basic education providing for at least nine years of schooling” (1997, p. 5). Commitments to increasing equitable access for basic education, undergraduate education and postgraduate education are also made in the following form:

Member States agree that where necessary and appropriate, but without prejudice to the normal admission requirements, socially disadvantaged groups shall be given preference in admission to fields of study where they have not featured prominently. Further, Governments shall, where necessary, provide special scholarships for students from socially disadvantaged groups (SADC, 1997, p. 8).

The Protocol is not prescriptive regarding curriculum content; however, some areas are mentioned. Basic education should “strive to provide life-long skills” (op. cit., p. 6); vocational education should include entrepreneurial skills; information literacy skills should be included in curricula. For higher education, the only commitment made is that “Member States agree that universities shall ensure that the content, quality and relevance of their under-graduate degrees shall be acceptable to graduate schools and employers in the Region for further study and for employment” (op. cit., p. 9).

At the level of higher education, commitments are made with regard to access for students from the region. States commit also to developing national Science and Technology Policies, and distance education policies, as well as to establishing a distance education institution if none currently exists in the country. They commit to strengthening research and providing adequate resourcing for higher education (undergraduate and postgraduate) and for research and libraries.

5.3.6 Regulative, Normative and Cultural-Cognitive dimensions

In order to frame the analysis of the country data in Chapter 7, key themes of the Protocol that have pertinence to higher education are highlighted below (although some aspects of broader education provision are included, the discussion does not pick up on issues related to adult basic education; vocational education, teacher education and libraries). These are classified into regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive dimension (page references below refer to the original Protocol document).

On the regulative dimension are themes relating to “the formal regulations (laws) and mechanisms which prescribe, constrain and regulate action” (see Chapter 3). These include dimensions on which the Protocol does not prescribe national practice, but rather provides a regulative frame at regional level, and those which are intended to impact at national level in the Protocol. The regional dimensions include policy coherence and system harmonisation; regional governance and structures; qualification and quality assurance frames; data management and the development of regional centres. Although the Protocol does not prescribe education system structure and terminology (discussed above), this is also picked up in the discussion on national practice in Chapter 7. The regulative dimensions prescribed at a national level in the Protocol include the development of national Science and Technology policies, and the development of national Distance Education policies. Regional access and mobility, whilst being a normative value, is given regulative weight in the Protocol by means of targets and deadlines set, and so is included as a regulative theme.

Normative dimensions, as defined in Chapter 3, “include norms and values, and introduce a prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory dimension”. Normative themes identified below are: democracy and participation; equity and access; adequate resourcing; improvements in quality; academic freedom; partnerships; valuing of research; regional cooperation, collaboration and sharing of resources; lifelong education; and reduction of duplication. Regional development, as the overall theme of the Protocol, is also a normative component.

On the cultural-cognitive dimension, the objectives of SADC as stated in Article 5 of the Treaty include to “(s)trenghen and consolidate the long-standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the people of the Region.” (SADC, 1990). The cultural cognitive aspects of the Protocol are read simplistically in this analysis as culture and language (a more detailed reading might include general awareness of the Protocol and development of practices in line with its aims).

Each of these themes is briefly examined below with reference to the statements made in the Protocol itself (and accompanying documents where relevant).

5.3.6.1 Regulative dimensions

5.3.6.1.1 Policy coherence and system harmonisation

The overall objective of the Protocol is “to progressively achieve the equivalence, harmonisation and standardization of the education and training systems in the Region” (SADC, 1997, p. 4) which is echoed also in objective (c) of the Protocol: “to promote and coordinate the formulation and

implementation of comparable and appropriate policies, strategies and systems of education and training in Member States” (op. cit., p.4). The RISDP confirms that “(t)he main goal of SADC’s integration agenda in the human resources development field is to increase the availability of educated and highly skilled personnel through equivalent and harmonized education and training systems of member states” (SADC, 2001, p. 40).

The Protocol devotes an entire Article in the Chapter on Areas of Cooperation to the “development and formulation of coherent, comparable, harmonised and eventually standardised policies” (1997, p. 5) across the region. The article includes items raised elsewhere in the Protocol (and discussed separately below), such as equitable and increased access and joint curriculum development, and

achieving a partnership approach to financing education and training among governments, beneficiaries and employers; promoting academic freedom and creating an enabling environment with appropriate incentives based on merit, for educated and trained persons to effectively apply and utilise their knowledge and skills for the benefit of Member States and the Region; (and) achieving comparability, equivalence and standardisation of education and training systems (op. cit., p. 5).

The point on “achieving comparability, equivalence and standardisation” is picked up in the different sections on basic education, teacher education and vocational education as “development of national examinations and accreditation systems to move the education systems towards harmonised, equivalent, and eventually standardised certification” (e.g. p. 5). For higher education, the point translates into standardisation of entrance requirements and development of a credit transfer system (op. cit., p. 7).

5.3.6.1.2 Regional governance and structures

The Protocol set up its own institutional arrangements (creation of a sub-sector in the Human Resources Sector of SADC, functioning through a Committee of Ministers and a Committee of Senior Officials) and the formation of regional Technical Committees. Nine technical committees were initially formed. These institutional arrangements were superseded in the SADC restructuring exercise (discussed in 5.2 above). All Technical Committees, with the exception of the Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation, were disbanded. However, there have been moves subsequently to re-introduce Technical Committees (SADC, 2007a, pp. 75-76). Three Technical Committees are currently functioning: the Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation; the Technical Committee on Open and Distance Learning; and the Technical Committee on Education Management Information Systems.

The Protocol does not in any way prescribe or make recommendations regarding education governance and structure in the national domain. However, to coordinate SADC functions more effectively, the Protocol Review document recommended that “Member States should assign an education specialist on a full time basis, and with a small dedicated budget, to coordinate SADC work in-country” (SADC, 2007a, p. 11).

5.3.6.1.3 Qualification and quality assurance frames

Linked to system harmonisation and structure equivalence is the notion, not introduced in the Protocol itself but the subject of much subsequent activity, of a regional qualification framework (QF). As discussed above (section 5.2), a document on the topic was produced by the Technical Committee on Accreditation and Certification in 2005. As the document states:

With no effective regional mechanism like the SADC QF (qualification frame) to adequately bring all the education process to agreed standards, policies and structures, the efforts to address the objectives of the Protocol and achieve harmonisation and integration of the sector will be constrained. This includes the facilitation and promotion of students and staff mobility in the region, exchange programmes among institutions, credits transfer and comparability and recognition of qualifications between and among countries... (SADC, 2005, p. 15, brackets my insertion).

Whilst quality improvement is a core theme of the Protocol (see section 5.3.6.2.4 below), the idea of a framework for quality assurance, also not directly referred to in the Protocol, is seen as essential to the implementation of a regional qualifications frame, and has also become a focus of subsequent attention, with the first document produced on the topic in 2007 (see section 5.2 above).

5.3.6.1.4 Data management

A lack of data on systems in the region is a widely acknowledged problem (Hahn, 2005; Butcher et al., 2008). The Protocol includes in its objectives “to develop and implement a common system of regular collection and reporting of information by Member States about the current status and future demand and supply, and the priority areas for provision of education and training in the Region” (1997, p. 4). This point is not further elaborated within the document. However, the Protocol Review document also recommended that “(a) simple and useful statistical framework should be agreed upon within SADC that will include gender disaggregated data, and each Member State (should) provide such information to the SADC Secretariat on an annual or biennial basis” (2007a, p. 12).

5.3.6.1.5 Development of regional centres

A commitment is made in the Protocol to the development of regional centres. These are the only concrete mechanisms proposed by the Protocol for achievement of its aims at regional level. In addition to a distance education centre and a regional publishing house, two types of centres are envisioned. Centres of Specialisation are intended to focus on teaching, and are intended to be established from existing programmes, with selection decisions made on the basis of competing bids by institutions for this status, with the aim of “achiev(ing) regional spread and balance in location” (1997, p. 10). Centres of Excellence are intended as research hubs. No criteria are given regarding how these are to be established or chosen.

5.3.6.1.6 Development of national Science and Technology policies

The Protocol commits states to the development of national Science and Technology policies “on the basis of which a regional Science and Technology Policy shall be formulated” (1997, p. 11). This connects to objective (e) of the Protocol: “to promote and coordinate the formulation and implementation of policies, strategies and programmes for the promotion and application of science and technology, including modern information technology and research and development in the Region” (op. cit., p. 4). Subsequent to the publication of the Protocol, a Science and Technology Desk has been established at SADC, and a strategic framework for collaboration in this area is in the process of being drafted (conversational data).

5.3.6.1.7 Development of national Distance Education policies

The Protocol states:

Member States agree that the objectives of distance education are, amongst others, to improve access to education and training and to reduce the inequalities in the acquisition of education and training; to work towards achieving universal literacy and numeracy; to reduce the cost of education and training by maximising on the economies of scale offered by distance education; to develop life skills. Member States agree to formulate national policies on distance education so as to provide a framework for cooperation at the regional level. Member States agree that where no distance learning institutions exist in a Member State, that Member State shall establish distance learning institutions to cater for all levels of education and training... (SADC, 1997, p. 12).

In addition, the Protocol Review document noted that there is a particular need for an increase of distance education programmes at tertiary level, since “(o)pen distance learning can play an

important role in increasing access to higher education, as well as in improving the quality of education as a whole” (2007a, p. 13).

5.3.6.1.8 Regional access and mobility

The objectives of the Protocol include “to work towards the reduction and eventual elimination of constraints to better and freer access, by citizens of Member States, to good quality education and training opportunities within the Region” (1997, p. 4); and “to work towards the relaxation and eventual elimination of immigration formalities in order to facilitate freer movement of students and staff within the Region for the specific purposes of study, teaching, research and any other pursuits relating to education and training” (op. cit., p. 4). At the higher education level, regional mobility and access to domestic universities for students from the region is a strong theme of the Protocol. Policy coherence in the areas of admissions criteria and the development of a credit transfer system is to be achieved. In addition, at undergraduate level, “Member States agree to recommend to universities and other tertiary institutions in their countries to reserve at least 5% of admission for students from SADC nations, other than their own” (op. cit., p. 7), and at postgraduate level, “actual numbers admitted shall reflect a more significant mix of students from SADC countries than that provided for at under-graduate level” (op. cit., p. 9). To encourage mobility, “Member States agree to work towards the gradual relaxation and eventual elimination of immigration formalities that hinder free student and staff mobility” (op. cit., p. 8, also p. 11 and p. 12). Academic calendars are intended to be standardised. Finally, “Member States agree that within ten years from the date of entry into force of this Protocol, they shall treat students from SADC countries as home students for purposes of fees and accommodation” (op. cit., p. 8). This section of the document contains the only aspects of the Protocol that are quantified.

5.3.6.2 Normative dimensions

5.3.6.2.1 Democracy and participation

The SADC Protocol is based on the principles of equality of Member States, ‘equitable participation’ and mutual benefit, and the “active involvement and participation of all key stakeholders in education and training at the level of Member States and regionally, including in institutions executing regional education and training programmes” (1997, p. 3).

5.3.6.2.2 Equity and access

At a national policy level, the Protocol signifies agreement by States to work towards increased literacy and numeracy through basic, lifelong and adult education, and in particular to “strive to

provide universal basic education providing for at least nine years of schooling” (1997, p. 5). Commitments to increasing equitable access for basic education, undergraduate education and postgraduate education are also made in the following form:

Member States agree that where necessary and appropriate, but without prejudice to the normal admission requirements, socially disadvantaged groups shall be given preference in admission to fields of study where they have not featured prominently. Further, Governments shall, where necessary, provide special scholarships for students from socially disadvantaged groups (op. cit., p. 8).

5.3.6.2.3 Adequate resourcing

The Protocol commits states to providing adequate resourcing for higher education. At undergraduate level, the commitment is that

Member States undertake to provide, where necessary, resources to enable their universities to develop high quality undergraduate programmes through the provision of the necessary teaching and research requisites such as qualified staff, physical infrastructures, library holdings, equipment and in particular scientific and information technology equipment (1997, p. 8).

A similar commitment is made at postgraduate level, and with regard to the resourcing of research and libraries. Short courses are, however, intended to be run on a cost-recovery basis.

Following from this, the Protocol Review document recommended that

(t)he financing of education in terms of percentage of the GDP and percentage of the Government budget should be examined critically in each Member State in terms of efficient unit costs, allowing sufficient funding for teaching/learning materials. The financing of implementation of SADC programmes should go down to institutional level to be effective (2007a, p. 12).

5.3.6.2.4 Improvements in quality

The Protocol speaks of the need for “improving the quality and ensuring the relevance of education and training” (1997, p. 5). For higher education, a further commitment is made that “Member States agree that universities shall ensure that the content, quality and relevance of their undergraduate degrees shall be acceptable to graduate schools and employers in the Region for further study and for employment” (op. cit., p. 9).

5.3.6.2.5 Academic freedom

The principles of the Protocol include “guaranteeing academic freedom in institutions of learning and research as it is the sine qua non for high quality education, training and research and as it ensures freedom of enquiry, experimentation and critical and creative thinking” (1997, p. 3). The Article on cooperation in policy in the Protocol similarly commits states to “promoting academic freedom and creating an enabling environment with appropriate incentives based on merit, for educated and trained persons to effectively apply and utilise their knowledge and skills for the benefit of Member States and the Region” (op. cit., p. 5)

5.3.6.2.6 Partnerships

One of the overall objectives of the Protocol is “to develop and implement policies and strategies that promote the participation and contribution of the private sector, non-governmental organisations and other key stakeholders in the provision of education and training” (1997, p. 3). The point is made again in the article on cooperation in policy, which stresses “achieving a partnership approach to financing education and training, among governments, beneficiaries and employers”; research institutes are, in addition, asked to “forge links with the industry/private sector and other relevant sectors, including the SADC sectors, for the purpose of determining priority areas of research and conducting research for those sectors” (op. cit., p. 11). In addition, the Protocol Review document suggests that:

There should be closer collaboration between SADC and the existing multi-lateral specialist organizations in order to enable Member States to benefit optimally from the technical expertise and coordination offered by these organizations. SADC should prioritize what it wishes to achieve and how it aims to achieve it, utilizing these organizations as partners which can be instrumental to achievement of these aims (2007a, p. 11).

5.3.6.2.7 Valuing of research

The Preamble of the Protocol “(a)cknowledg(es) that socio-economic and technological research is crucial for sustainable development” (1997, p. 1). In addition to committing states to the development of national Science and Technology policies (see above), the Protocol signifies an agreement by states to “urge universities to take the necessary steps to strengthen basic and applied research and consultancy work in order to assist the development effort of their countries and the Region, through post-graduate research programmes and those of university research institutes” (1997, p. 11).

5.3.6.2.8 Regional cooperation, collaboration and sharing of resources

Commitments to cooperation form the bulk of the text under each area of cooperation, and cooperation is most specifically envisaged with regard to curriculum design, joint offerings and exchange of experience. This is repeated at each teaching level from basic through to postgraduate studies. Cooperation is also envisaged with regard to publications, and in research, where research institutes are, in addition, asked to “forge links with the industry/private sector and other relevant sectors, including the SADC sectors, for the purpose of determining priority areas of research and conducting research for those sectors” (1997, p. 11). Sharing of resources at regional level is proposed with regard to postgraduate programmes and research, particularly research facilities and equipment, and library resources.

5.3.6.2.9 Lifelong education

Lifelong learning is one of the seven areas of cooperation listed in the Protocol, and is seen primarily in terms of literacy and numeracy achievement: “Member States reaffirm their commitment to the achievement of universal literacy and numeracy in their countries in the shortest possible time and agree to commit the requisite resources to this end” (1997, p. 12).

5.3.6.2.10 Reduction of duplication

The Principles of the Protocol include the need for “reduction and eventual elimination of unnecessary and costly duplication of effort in provision of education and training and in particular, at tertiary and professional training levels” (1997, p. 3).

5.3.6.2.11 Development

The preamble to the Protocol (cited in section 1.2.2 above) is strongly couched in terms of the human resource development needs of the region. This is echoed also in subsequent documents. The RIP states that “Since its inception, SADC recognised that human resource development is sine qua non to socio-economic development. Education and training is seen as a vital vehicle for developing the necessary human resource capacity to drive sustainable development in the region” (2006, p. 5). The Protocol Review document similarly notes,

Education is a basic human right. At the same time, human resource development is recognised to be one of the most crucial and decisive factors contributing to all forms of development, whether this be personal development, health and population control, governance, or national socio-economic development. Whilst education on its own may not be sufficient for development, on the other hand, development is not possible without education. The SADC Protocol... recognized this and provided SADC member

states with a valuable tool both for coordinating the education systems within SADC and for periodically measuring what has been achieved in the area (2007a, p. 15).

The Protocol Review document points out that there have been a number of developments in SADC since the Protocol. These include a new focus on poverty alleviation; a new focus on sustainable development; a focus on “(s)cience and technology as potential engines for economic development” (op. cit., p. 37); and the increasing impact of HIV / AIDS in the region.

In addition to the broad value of development, the overall objectives of the Protocol include aspects relating to development planning:

to establish mechanisms and institutional arrangements that enable Member States to pool their resources to effectively and efficiently produce the required professional, technical, research and managerial personnel to plan and manage the development process in general and across all sectors in the Region (1997, p. 4).

5.3.6.3 Cultural-cognitive dimensions

In the SADC Protocol, the development of a regional culture is intended to be promoted, firstly, through the inclusion of material on SADC countries in basic education curricula, and secondly through staff and student exchanges in higher education. Further, as a means of contributing to ‘regional culture’, as well as to sharing of experiences, regional associations are to be formed for teacher and vocational education, as well as at higher levels. The use of external examiners from the region is encouraged “as this shall not only contribute towards the building of a regional community of scholars but shall also lead to the development of comparable standards in higher education in the Region” (1997, p. 8). The Protocol Review document points out that, since the publication of RISDP,

There is greater emphasis on developing common agreed upon values on which regional cooperation can be built. There is need to build on the cultural affinities and links between the people of the Region. Culture and values are also emphasised under the African Union document. Culture and values are integral foundations of education systems (2007a, p. 16).

In addition, the Protocol includes in its objectives “to promote the learning of English and Portuguese as the working languages of the Region” (1997, p. 4). Subsequent to its publication, both French and Swahili were adopted as regional languages. The Protocol Review document states:

There is inadequate emphasis on the official SADC languages: English, French, Portuguese and Swahili. Swahili in particular is neglected, although it is utilized by a large percentage of SADC's population. Introducing these languages as an optional third language at secondary school level would assist in facilitating trade and commerce. Some SADC countries have introduced say French or Portuguese as optional subjects at secondary level, but with insufficient support, probably only because of support from the French or Portuguese governments. A more deliberate policy, strategy and resourcing approach is needed (2007a, p. 52).

5.3.7 Discussion

Although the Protocol covers all level of education, there is little doubt that its primary focus is on higher education. This is evident quantitatively: the Areas of Cooperation Chapter, in total ten pages, devotes five pages to higher education and research. More importantly, though, it is evident also in the sections which delineate relative responsibilities. All levels of education, with the exception of postgraduate training and research, are seen to be "largely the responsibilities of each Member State" and commitments regarding sharing of resources are limited to this level also. Although the general principle of increasing access to education for disadvantaged groups is raised across levels, it is only with regard to higher education that specific commitments regarding admissions requirements and broadened regional participation are made, and the 'mobility' theme of the Protocol is limited to the higher levels of education.

As the analysis of the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive aspects of the Protocol shows, there are very few aspects of the Protocol which can be regarded as regulative. The majority of these relate to regional system development, but even in these cases, with the exception of the governance arrangements within SADC, there is little that is concrete in terms of broader strategy achievement. Thus, for example, whilst prescriptions regarding data management are classically regulative, in the Protocol, no prescriptions are made regarding national practice. The only firm mechanism specified at the regional level is the development of regional centres, which in the case of Centres of Specialisation, is accompanied by prescriptive 'rules' regarding the management of bids for such centres.

The formation of regional quality assurance systems and qualification frameworks are not mentioned in the Protocol itself, however, these have become the main foci of attention in subsequent documents. To some extent, these mechanisms may be being adopted to provide the Protocol with 'teeth': i.e. as mechanisms for its achievement in the regulative sense. In subsequent

documents, these mechanisms are increasingly becoming seen as the means for achievement of the broader Protocol aims.

The Protocol does not prescribe practice with regard to national education system structure and terminology, or on any other governance or management level. The few commitments made at national level that could be regarded as regulative relate to the development of national policies (where no prescriptions are made regarding content), and to the promotion of regional access. Whilst, as noted earlier, regional access and mobility is by nature a normative value (statement of appropriateness), in the means in which it is set out in the Protocol, with a quantification of targets, this has become a regulative dimension of the Protocol.

On the other hand, the Protocol contains a number of themes that can be regarded as normative in nature. These include democracy and participation; equity and access; adequate resourcing; improvements in quality; academic freedom; partnerships; valuing of research; regional cooperation, collaboration and sharing of resources; lifelong education; and the reduction of duplication. In all cases, what is signified is a commitment to the broad value of the theme, with no specific mechanism for its regulation.

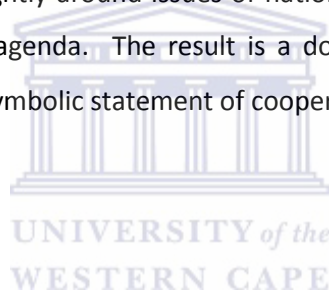
The overall impression given by the Protocol is that the regulative dimensions are, as Hahn points out, 'soft'. It is in the agreement on values, and on the normative dimensions, that the Protocol is significant. The Protocol is thus, in many ways, is more symbolic than a tool (Bastedo, 2007). It stands as a grand statement on the value of regional cooperation. It sets values, such as equitable access, for the regional as a whole, and more importantly, which are intended to provide a guiding frame for national policy. This is important since the principle of national sovereignty fundamentally requires, if parity is to be achieved, agreement on the normative dimensions of the Protocol. Moreover, particularly in the higher education domain where institutional autonomy is often presumed, it is important that this agreement be not simply between policy-makers, but is more widespread within the field itself. As Hahn states:

the political steerability of the process of regional integration of the higher education sector through governmental and SADC actors remains limited. Apart from the non-sector related or global sectoral developments that shape the process significantly, the political top-down steerability of cooperation on the grass-root level – the institutional, disciplinary or thematic level – remains marginal. This might change, if the Vice-Chancellors of the universities and the directors of research institutes take over a leadership role in the process. The regionalisation and internationalisation of higher

education and research depend widely on the motivation and commitment of individual academics and the institutional leadership that normally do not follow political programmes but rather academic laws as well as personal and emotional preferences and institutional strategies (Hahn, 2004, p. 214).

5.4 Conclusion

The SADC Protocol on Education reflects many of the tensions inherent in the regionalism and development debates in Africa more broadly (as discussed in Chapter 2). It reflects tensions between nationalism and regionalism, between economic and social development aims, and between neo-liberalism and national development goals. Most critically, there is a tension in the document between a vision of 'cooperation' and mechanisms which appear to lean towards an 'integration' agenda. Systems that are equivalent, harmonised and standardised may facilitate greater cooperation, but are arguably less important for that purpose than would be, for example, funding directed towards encouraging the natural links between higher education institutions. Yet, caught within the need to tiptoe lightly around issues of national sovereignty, the Protocol cannot, regulatively, push this integration agenda. The result is a document which, in the final analysis, simply reflects broad values and a symbolic statement of cooperation agreement.



CHAPTER 6: THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA AND NAMIBIA

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief description of the development of higher education in Botswana and Namibia. The intention is to provide case study accounts of the development of higher education in Botswana and Namibia in a manner which relates this development to its historical and contextual location (institutional environment), and illustrates, in a macro-sense, the path-dependencies of higher education development. The development of higher education in each country is described by means of drawing from and summarising key trends evident from available national documents and policies. These are presented in a time series that allows for an examination of the development of the sector. The influence of the SADC Protocol on education policy in the two countries is not examined in this chapter, but rather is picked up in Chapter 7 of the study.

6.2 Botswana

Tertiary education in Botswana has been, primarily, a post-independence project. The current university (the only university in the country until very recently) draws its roots from a cooperation initiative, begun in 1964 and formalised to degree-granting status in 1967, with the governments of Lesotho and Swaziland. This arrangement lasted until 1975 when Lesotho withdrew to establish its own institution. Botswana and Swaziland continued to run a joint university until 1982, when independent institutions were formed in both countries (Weeks, 2003).

Major developments in higher education since this time are described below with reference to major national documents published at the time. These developments are discussed over four periods: 1990 – 1995; 1995 – 2000; 2000 – 2005; and 2005 – 2010. The documents consulted are very rich, and this section aims only at highlighting some of the major themes and trends emphasised.

6.2.1 Higher education in the period 1990 - 1995

Two key education documents were published during the early 1990s in Botswana. The first was the report of a Commission appointed in 1993 to review educational policy. The second was the new education policy for Botswana, which replaced the National Policy on Education of 1977. The 1993 Commission's brief included a full review of the education system to identify strategies for

positioning the system to play a strong role in national development. The Commission noted that tertiary education (defined as “all education that stipulates a minimum entry requirement of successful completion of senior secondary schooling”, section 7.2.2) had not been included in previous educational reviews. In addition to the University of Botswana, other tertiary institutions existing at the time were listed as being: Botswana Centre for Accountancy Studies; Botswana College of Agriculture; Botswana Institute of Administration and Commerce; Botswana Polytechnic (subsequently incorporated into the University of Botswana); Molepolole and Tonota Colleges of Education; National Health Institute; Tlokwen College of Primary Education; and the Roads Training Centre. Different colleges and institutions were reporting to (and being funded by) different Ministries, which, the Commission felt, led to a lack of coordination and central planning of tertiary education. The Commission recommended the formation of a Tertiary Education Council to provide high level management and policy coordination of the sector:

The need for expansion and the ad hoc manner in which tertiary programmes have developed highlight the lack of overall policy for the tertiary sector... The involvement of several ministries in the sector seems to have blocked the development of central strategic planning for tertiary education. In terms of administration, it is clear that it is increasingly difficult to run tertiary institutions under public service regulations. The issue here is one of potential for compromising academic freedom and subjecting academic administration and management to the stifling bureaucracy of the civil service (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 2 of Chpt 7).

The report noted also that there was a need to clarify the relationship between the University (“which historically has had central responsibility for guaranteeing academic standards at the tertiary level”, op. cit.), and other providers.

The Commission noted the huge growth that had occurred in tertiary education, with an almost 400% increase in enrolments between 1978 and 1991. It noted, however, that it was still necessary to send significant numbers of students out of the country for training in specialised areas. It noted that although most provision was at the level of diploma and undergraduate studies, there was growth at postgraduate level. Particularly given the expansion of access at secondary level, it was expected that demand for higher education, and growth in higher education, would continue.

The Revised National Policy on Education (RNPE) of 1994, which remains the major policy document in Botswana education today, drew directly from Commission recommendations. It set its primary aim as being “to prepare Botswana for the transition from a traditional agro-based economy to the industrial economy that the country aspires to” (Republic of Botswana, 1994, p. 4; note that the term

'Batswana' is used to refer to the people of Botswana). The objectives set by the policy were to improve education standards, to promote science and technology, to increase the provision of further education and training and to provide for lifelong education opportunities (op. cit.). Tertiary education strategies adopted included the expansion of part-time programmes, the formation of the Tertiary Education Council, and clearer articulation between the curricula of senior secondary and tertiary education. The RNPE also accepted the principles that there should be an expansion of existing polytechnic offerings and a second polytechnic established; that system data and statistics be maintained by the relevant bodies; and that there be an expansion of distance and continuing education programmes.

6.2.2 Education in the period 1995 - 1999

The latter part of the 1990s was characterised, firstly by the publication of the National Vision 2016, and secondly by a series of policies and legislation designed to implement the requirements of the RNPE.

Vision 2016 ('Long-term Vision for Botswana: Towards Prosperity for All') was published in 1997, and set goals for the nation of becoming "An educated and informed nation; A prosperous, productive and innovative nation; A compassionate, just and caring nation; A safe and secure nation; An open, democratic and accountable nation; A moral and tolerant nation; (and) A united and proud nation" (p.2). Under the goal of education, the Vision states:

By the year 2016, Botswana will have a system of quality education that is able to adapt to the changing needs of the country as the world around us changes. Improvements in the relevance, the quality, and the access to education lie at the core of the Vision for the future.... All Batswana will have the opportunity for continued and universal education, with options during and after secondary level to take up vocational or technical training as an alternative to purely academic study. Education will be developed in partnership between the public and private sectors (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 7).

It also commits the country to the development of information technology and to becoming "a regional leader in the production and dissemination of information" (op. cit., p.7). Economic diversification is a key theme of the document, along with economic growth and sustainable development.

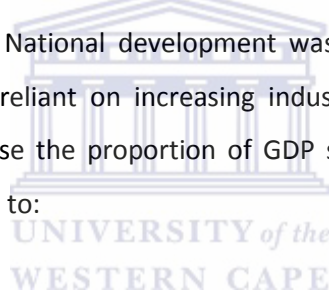
Deriving from the requirements of the RNPE, in 1997, the National Policy on Vocational Education was published (Republic of Botswana, 1997). This policy talks about the need to develop a system

“distinct from general education and which should be accorded significant priority given the importance of skills training in the achievement of Botswana’s developmental objectives” (op. cit., p4). This policy was followed, in 1998, by the Vocational Education Act (Republic of Botswana, 1998b), which established the Botswana Training Authority which is responsible for policy advice, coordination and implementation of the vocational education policy.

The Botswana Science and Technology Policy was also published in 1998. The preamble to this document states:

The main objective of national development planning is to raise the standard of living of the people of Botswana. To achieve this objective, the National Development Plan 8 theme is sustainable economic diversification. In the context of this theme the government recognises the role of science and technology ... in diversifying the economy and improving productivity (Republic of Botswana, 1998a, p. 2).

The policy spoke of the need to coordinate science and technology (S&T) activities and to tie them into national development plans. National development was believed to require an increase in productivity and competitiveness, reliant on increasing industrialisation and skilled labour. The policy spoke of the need to increase the proportion of GDP spent on research and development activities. Policy objectives included to:



Establish and strengthen national capacity to research, evaluate, select, acquire, adapt, develop, generate, apply and disseminate suitable technologies; develop and raise the national productive capacity and improve competitiveness through efficient application of S&T; promote and develop traditional, endogenous, new and adaptive technologies, and create knowledge and awareness, improve and develop the scientific and technological culture of Botswana (Republic of Botswana, 1998a, pp. 5-6).

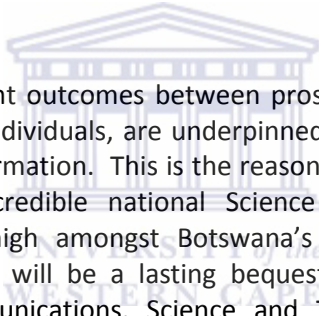
The policy set key research objectives in thirteen sectors. It also provided for the coordination of scientific research in the country through the formation of a National Commission of Science and Technology, a National Council on Research, Science and Technology and a National Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research, the latter to undertake publically funded applied research.

In 1999, the Tertiary Education Act (Republic of Botswana, 1999) was passed. This Act defined tertiary education as all post-secondary education. It provided for the establishment of the Tertiary Education Council (TEC), whose functions include “the promotion and coordination of tertiary education and the determination and maintenance of standards of teaching, examination and research in tertiary institutions” (op. cit., p4). The TEC also has an advisory responsibility for policy,

and responsibilities for the coordination of planning, liaison with the economy on labour needs, and planning for the funding needs of higher education, as well as ensuring that appropriate quality assurance procedures are in place in all institutions. Executive duties include the development of performance indicators for the system, and compilation of statistics. The Act provided also for the establishment of tertiary institutions and registration of existing institutions (within 6 months of the date of the Act), and for the accreditation of private institutions.

6.2.3 Education in the period 2000 – 2005

The Botswana Human Development Report, 2005, is, strictly speaking, not an educational policy. However, this document, perhaps more eloquently than any other, shows the major change in thinking that has occurred in Botswana, both in relation to development, and necessarily, to education, post the publication of Vision 2016. The document is couched strongly in terms of the need to develop Botswana's science and technology capacity, and the Foreword of the document states:



The disparities in development outcomes between prosperous and rich nations, and between rich and poor individuals, are underpinned foremost by differential access to knowledge and information. This is the reason that we, as a nation, are determined to develop a credible national Science and Technology (S&T) capability. This will rank high amongst Botswana's sources of competitive advantage in the future and will be a lasting bequest to posterity (Pelonomi Venson, Minister for Communications, Science and Technology, Republic of Botswana, 2005b, p. iii).

The Report notes that financially, Botswana is capable of developing a strong science and technology sector, but that this had not yet occurred, partially due to a failure to attract and retain the necessary personnel. However, in terms of the Science and Technology Policy of 1998, funding will be shifted from input-based funding to output-based, which should contribute to the development of a research culture.

The need to diversify the economy away from its traditional dependency on mining is strongly foregrounded in the document, and access to the knowledge economy is seen as one means of achieving this: "Access to ICTs is thus seen as the precursor to having an information economy, which is a new global electronic structure, where the production of information goods and services dominates wealth and job creation" (op. cit., p.2).

The Botswana National Research, Science and Technology Plan was also published in 2005 (Republic of Botswana, 2005a). This plan was intended to serve as an implementation framework for the Science and Technology Policy for the remainder of NDP 9 and 10. In addition, “The plan responds to several socio-economic challenges presently facing Botswana, including economic diversification, poverty and unemployment, HIV/AIDS and the sustainable use of natural resources, within a framework of feasibility and affordability” (op. cit. p. vii). The plan describes the current attributes of the research and development system in Botswana as characterised by low expenditure, low conversion of research outputs, a limited involvement of private sector, and few collaborative partnerships. However, “(t)he positive aspects which should be enhanced by the plan include a relatively good publications output and a highly qualified workforce a significant proportion of which is female” (Republic of Botswana, 2005a, p. 4). Specific research and development outcomes are set in the following areas: agriculture, eco and cultural tourism and leisure industries, energy supply, health, housing and construction, manufacturing, media, education and human resource development, mining, natural environment, research, science and technology, service industry, software industry, transport and logistics, and water supply. Three types of ‘research platforms’ proposed to comprise the national innovation system: mission-focussed programmes (basic and applied, inter-institutional); centres of excellence (basic and applied dedicated centres); and line research (applied and located within existing ministries). The plan also proposes models for public-private partnerships.



6.2.4 Education post-2005

Developments post 2005 include that the Tertiary Education Council has been established and is responsible for “promotion, coordination, determination, and maintenance of standards of teaching, examinations and research in tertiary education” (p.21). The number of private institutions has increased and government sponsorship has been extended to these institutions, enabling more students to access tertiary education. Through the TEC, the Tertiary Education Policy has been developed, as well as the National Qualifications Framework and the National Human Resource Development Strategy. The TEC is currently working on a new funding model for tertiary education (2008 document National Report on Education ‘Inclusive Education: The Way of the Future’ (Republic of Botswana, 2008b)

The Tertiary Education Policy ‘Towards a Knowledge Society’ was published in 2008. In order to stimulate discussion prior to the formulation of this policy, a consultation document entitled ‘Tertiary Education Policy in Botswana: Challenges and Choices’ was published in 2005 (Tertiary

Education Council, 2005). This document set its context in terms of global tertiary education changes, including globalisation, the 'knowledge society', and high social demands on tertiary education. The document describes how the societal context has changed since the report of the 1993 commission:

Over the last decade, the social demands with respect to tertiary education have significantly intensified, as having a tertiary level qualification has become an increasingly necessary condition for formal employment.... The combination of rising participation rates, decreased labour market opportunities and intense competition for public and private funds has combined to put tertiary education policy under renewed pressure (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 8).

Some key indicators are cited: the tertiary education participation rate increased from 5.8% in 1996 to 12% in 2001. University undergraduate enrolments in 2002 were over 20 000, of which 12 000 were at the University of Botswana and remainder studying in South Africa or abroad. Government expenditure on tertiary education between 1990 and 2005 averaged at 1% of GDP. The document also notes the growth in private tertiary provision in Botswana, with over 100 providers registered by 2004. The tertiary education attainment rate increased from 2% in 1995 to 7% by 2001.

The document outlined some of the key policy challenges facing the sector. These include the impact of the knowledge economy on, for example, changing labour market demands, the need for knowledge development, and the need to prioritise information and communications technology. The key policy challenge resulting from societal and cultural development is seen as

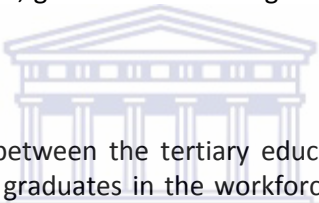
to ensure that tertiary education is not solely captured by the economic arguments that promote a very narrow view of the benefits to society, but that tertiary education policy also recognises the wider interests of society and the public and the contribution it can make to the country's democratic, political, social and cultural development (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 21).

High social demand for tertiary education, 'massification', and the challenge of providing lifelong learning opportunities are also noted. The document examines demographic growth and demand trends and concludes that that "the physical capacity to accommodate most of this demand is yet to be developed" (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 22). However, it also noted that there needed to be structural changes in the labour market to absorb graduates, or "a severe mismatch between supply and demand" (op. cit.) would result. Other issues examined included the changing role of the state; funding of higher education; internationalisation; and the impact of private and off-shore providers.

The resulting Tertiary Education Policy of 2008 (Republic of Botswana, 2008a) listed the key policy challenges facing the sector as being fragmentation, a lack of economies of scale, expansion of the number of private tertiary institutions, the need to increase curriculum quality and relevance, the need to increase access, equity and participation, and a poor 'institutional climate' within tertiary education institutions.

Figures cited include that tertiary registrations within institutions within Botswana in 2007/8 were at 31 129, with an additional 11 095 students sponsored to study abroad. According to the document, this raises the country's gross enrolment ratio in tertiary education to 11.4% (from 4.4% in 1997/8). The policy set a goal of achieving a 17% gross enrolment ratio by 2016, and 25% by 2026.

The policy is firmly situated in terms of human resource development and "meeting the needs of an increasingly market-driven, diversified, globalised knowledge-based economy" (op. cit., p.6). It sets five priorities in this regard:



Establishing the relationship between the tertiary education supply of graduates, the current stock of tertiary level graduates in the workforce and demand in terms of the needs and expectation of employers and stakeholders; realising a realistic match between supply and demand in quantitative and qualitative terms; enhancing the delivery, customer and relevance of tertiary education provision; ensuring a smooth transition from secondary to tertiary education, skills development and then into employment; embedding a culture of lifelong learning within tertiary education that addresses the multifaceted needs of the individual learner, the employment sector and society in general (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 6).

On a structural level, the policy proposed a single Ministry of Education and Skills Development, under which falls a new Human Resource Development Council responsible for human resource planning, skills training and tertiary education:

The key benefit is that tertiary education (which is concerned with developing an educated population) will be working hand in hand with skill development (developing the competencies of the workforce) and both will be part of a broader strategy that is responsible for employment and labour market planning (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 12).

Key objectives of the policy include increased access to tertiary education, increased quality and relevance; the development of a "nationally relevant and internationally competitive research capacity"; and the creation of a "single integrated, differentiated and well coordinated system"

(Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 14). The document also proposed some structural changes to the tertiary system. In particular, system fragmentation is to be addressed by means of creating single multi-campus institutions from the existing colleges of education, colleges of health science and colleges of technology. The document also notes the formation of the new Botswana International University of Science and Technology, planned to admit its first students in 2011, and which is intended to have a focus on science and technology training.

6.2.6 Contextual links

The education policies and plans described in the section above provide an overview of key developments within the education and higher education sector in Botswana. There is an evident link between the concerns reflected in these documents and broader priorities in the Botswana context.

The development of an education system was a key priority for the new Botswana state post-independence. Although the creation of this system had substantively been achieved prior to the two decades examined in the documents above, system development and growth, and most particularly access to education has continued to be a core theme in education policy. Success on this domain is perhaps the most significant feature of Botswana education over the period studied. For tertiary education, from a 400% increase between 1978 and 1991, total enrolments in tertiary education in 1992 were 9 345. By 2000, this had risen to 22 221, and by 2007, there were 31 129 students registered in country and a further 11 095 on bursaries to study elsewhere (a total of 42 134 registrations). These achievements are evidence of the strong value which has been placed on education in the Botswana context.

The achievements are reflective also of the broader success of development planning in the country. National development plan targets set are, to a large extent, achieved during the planned period: a remarkable feature of the Botswana environment. Although the planning process itself is widely inclusive, the strong central nature of the state, combined with what Taylor (2002) refers to as the 'soft authoritarianism' of the state, is probably a contributing factor to achieving success on its developmental goals

The benefits of education for social development are, in Botswana policy, always mentioned in tandem with the economic rationale. However, economic responsiveness has been a driving theme for education over the past twenty years. The 1993 Commission's terms of reference, for

example, include “(t)o review the current education system and its relevance; and identify problems and strategies for its further development in the context of Botswana’s changing and complex economy” (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 1). The focus, since the publication of Vision 2016, on the need for economic diversification, similarly has been picked up in educational policy, particularly in a shift in policy focus to secondary and tertiary education, along with the need to position Botswana for entry to the ‘knowledge economy’. The subsequent increased activity in policy and legislation on aspects of higher education that the time series account above illustrates is related to this economic shift. One of the key ‘value propositions’ underlying the Tertiary Education Policy, for example, relates specifically to this dimension, with a strong focus on knowledge and on information and communication technology as the drivers for this change.

The quality of education has been on the policy agenda since the 1993 Commission report. In the tertiary sector, responsibility for maintenance of standards and for ensuring that institutions have appropriate quality assurance procedures in place is assigned to the Tertiary Education Council. Although quality remains a focus of the 2008 Tertiary Education Policy, the concern is primarily focussed on the issue of curriculum relevance and in terms of

(m)ajor concerns being expressed about the difficulties being experienced by new graduates in obtaining employment. From the employer’s perspective, concerns were raised about the immediate utility of the graduates they employed and the need to provide further on the job training to make them ‘work-ready’ (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 2).

In general, there is strong evidence in this account that education policy in Botswana has been strongly responsive to national contextual needs and development plans. There is clear linkage between economic and educational goals. There is strong cross referencing within the documents themselves to broader national policies. There is also an evident progression between achievements in one phase and new policy goals set: this is most specifically evident with regard to achievements in access to education which have progressed through the different levels of the education system.

There is evidence also, in the time-series account presented above, of how the national higher education field has developed along its own trajectory. From the creation of the national university, independent of its neighbour states, in 1982, the field has grown substantially. In the process, there is evidence of increasing structuration of the field in the increasing number of policy and legislation documents, in the more complex governance arrangements set up, and the related

concretising of the boundaries of the field. The process account thus illustrates the path that higher education policy has followed in response both to its own and to national logics.

6.3 Namibia

Namibia's education system, at independence in 1990, was a consequence of its apartheid past. It was characterised by:

fragmentation along racial and ethnic lines; unequal access to education and training at all levels of the education system; inefficiency in terms of low progression and achievement rates, and high wastage rates; irrelevance of the curriculum and teacher education programmes to the needs and aspirations of individuals and the nation; lack of democratic participation within the education and training system (Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 2).

The post-secondary system in Namibia at that stage comprised of a handful of training colleges and a single higher education institution called the 'Academy', which had been formed in 1980, and in 1985 had been converted to a joint university, technikon and vocational college. Higher education was dependent on the output from the primary and secondary schooling system, and as such reflected broader societal differences:

In 1989, white students accounted for more than a third (36 percent) of the 31 883 subject entries for the final secondary school examination (standard ten), yet whites represented about five percent of the total population. Mathematics has been a poorly developed subject in all communities, but almost half (47 percent) of all standard 10 mathematics candidates (1354) in 1989 were white students, and the same was true of physical science students. Public expenditure per student in primary and secondary schools followed a predictable pattern. In 1986/87, for example, average per student expenditure in white schools (17 000 students) was R3 213, in Owambo schools (181 000 students) R329, and in the whole country (312 523 students) it was R797 (Coombe, 1993, p. 61).

Higher education was provided in a limited number of fields and there was no postgraduate study available. The system, moreover, relied on a funding formula so complex that "officers of the Academy and the Government were unable to agree on its meaning or applicability" (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 149). Developments subsequently are described below.

6.3.1 Education in the early 1990s

Two documents were released in the first years of independence outlining education policy for the new state: Change with Continuity: Education Reform Directive (1990), and Towards Education for All: A Development Brief for Education, Culture and Training (1993). Neither document focussed on post-secondary education, however, a Presidential Commission on Higher Education was established in 1991 to advise on “the needs, demands and scope of higher education” (Coombe, 1993, p. 60). The Commission’s report highlighted the fact that

The special difficulty and challenge in Namibia is that the country’s few higher education institutions are themselves products of the colonial era and, in one way or another, they have been marked by the apartheid system. This is true of the best and the worst institutions. They need to be radically transformed in order to contribute fully to the process of reconciliation, reconstruction and development on which the new state has embarked (Coombe, 1993, p. 64).

It also emphasised the fact that there was, at that stage, no ‘system’ of higher education in the real sense, but rather “a number of partial systems and separate initiatives” (op. cit.). A key priority identified was thus constructing this system. The Commission’s report also spoke of the need opening access to higher education, including to adult learners, of the need for “a new and progressive pattern on occupational, professional and academic qualifications” (op. cit.), and an articulated and flexible system and national research policy. It was suggested that the practice that existed of providing government bursaries for students to study in other countries in fields or levels not offered within the country be continued until no longer necessary. The Commission recommended

that there should be a National Council of Higher Education which should advise the Minister on the Development of Higher Education and that one of the functions of this Council should be to advise on the budgeting of public funds for higher education institutions including agreed planning norms and targets (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 151).

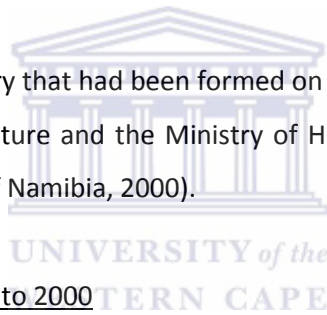
The Commission envisaged the existing Academy splitting into two: a university and a polytechnic, with all tertiary providers associated with one of these. The university was intended to be the only degree-granting institution, with the polytechnic “play(ing) a major role in the advancement of sub-professional education and training for the whole country” (Coombe, 1993, p. 66). The Commission stressed the importance of higher education for the nation’s development:

the government will be keenly aware that there is a heavy future penalty for not investing adequately in higher education. To cite a glaring example from the past, which will take long to remedy, the colonial government’s gross under-investment in teacher

education for the majority communities has yielded a miserable harvest of educational inefficiency and failure which damages productivity in the workplace, adds to the frustration of the out-of-school unemployed youth, and sharply restricts the supply of candidates for higher education itself (Coombe, 1993, p. 68).

Shortly after the Commission had reported, the University of Namibia Act of 1992 (Republic of Namibia, 1992, p. 2) was promulgated. However, the Commission's recommendations regarding splitting the existing organization into two had not been taken into account, and the Academy, as a whole, became the University of Namibia. Nonetheless, two years later, the Polytechnic Act of 1994 (Republic of Namibia, 1994, pp. 2-3) was passed, establishing the second tertiary institution for the country. The Polytechnic was initially intended to be a non-degree granting institution, but subsequently has begun offering degree, and even postgraduate level, studies. Expansion of vocational training was provided by the establishment of the Namibian College of Open Learning (NAMCOL) via the Namibian College of Open Learning Act (Republic of Namibia, 1997). This College aimed to provide learning opportunities for adults and out-of-school youth.

In 1995, the single education ministry that had been formed on independence was split into two: the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture and the Ministry of Higher Education, Vocational Training, Science and Technology (Republic of Namibia, 2000).



6.3.2 Education from the mid-1990s to 2000

The first National Development Plan of Namibia (1995 – 2000) was published in 1995, and set five objectives for education based on the system weaknesses that had been identified at independence. These objectives were: “equitable and expanded access to education; improved internal efficiency; improved quality in the education system; enhancement of democratic participation in the education system; opportunities for life-long learning” (Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 4). These five priorities became the basis of education policy subsequently, and a set of strategies for achieving these objectives were outlined in the document.

The Namibia Qualification Authority (NQA) Act was passed in 1996 as a means of providing system coherence and to “promote a competence-based approach to education and training” (Republic of Namibia, 2008a, p. 7). The aims of the NQA, as given in the document, include:

- (a) to set-up and administer a national qualifications framework; (b) to be a forum for matters pertaining to qualifications; (c) to set the occupational standards for any occupation, job, post, or position in any career structure; (and) (d) to set the curriculum

standards required for achieving the occupational standards for a given occupation, job, post, or position in a career structure... (Republic of Namibia, 1996).

The NQA is also intended to accredit institutions, to 'benchmark performance norms' for all occupations, and to collect information regarding all qualifications offered.

A number of achievements in higher education were evident in the period to 2000. Infrastructure development had taken place, and the university had established its seven faculties (agriculture, economics, education, humanities, law, medicine, and science), seven satellite faculties and nine regional centres. Both it and the Polytechnic were enrolling over 4000 students annually. However, there were felt to be inefficiencies in the system, particular in regard to staff: student ratios, both at the two major institutions and at the Colleges of Education.

In 1999, a further Presidential Commission was appointed to review education as a whole, including higher education (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 152). The report noted that the 1991 Commission's recommendation for the creation of a National Council on Higher Education had not been implemented, and renewed this recommendation. It also recommended the development of a funding formula for higher education. The Commission noted that there needed to be more coordinated planning of student registration numbers in terms of national human resource needs, as well as more coordination between the Ministries of Finance and Higher Education. It recommended that a student loan scheme replace the existing study abroad bursary scheme and that the Polytechnic should be reconstituted as the national University of Science and Technology. It recommended that the higher education sector should be seen to include, in addition to the two main institutions, the colleges of education, the college of the arts, the National Institute for Education Development, as well as community colleges, and that there should be mobility between the different organisations, through "interlocking curricula": "The Commission reaffirms the existing policy of creating a clear educational ladder with the intention of maintaining standards and of providing mobility to the student body" (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 158). Ensuring this occurs was seen as the task of the NQA.

The Commission also emphasised the need for the development of research and science in the country. Lack of development in this sector was partly ascribed to the continuing poor performance of the educational system, particularly with regard to mathematics. It noted that the National Policy on Science and Technology White Paper had been accepted by Cabinet in 1999 and endorsed the White Paper's call for the creation of a National Commission on Research, Science and Technology,

and councils reporting to it (Council for Research and Industrial Innovations; Council for Science and Technical Education; and Council for Vocational and Industrial Training). The Commission recommended that, in addition, a Council on Social and Economic Research be created.

6.3.3 Education in the period 2000 - 2005

The year 2003 saw the publication of the Namibian Higher Education Act (Republic of Namibia, 2003, pp. 4-5). This Act allocated responsibility for policy formulation for the sector, including policy on higher education funding to the Minister. The Act also dealt with arrangements for the establishment, registration and deregistration of private institutions, and allowed for the appointment of a panel of enquiry to investigate any institution. Most importantly, the Act established the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE), a non-executive body with a consultancy role:

The objects of the NCHE are (a) to promote (i) the establishment of a co-ordinated higher education system; (ii) the access of students to higher education institutions; and (iii) quality assurance in higher education; and (b) to advise on the allocation of moneys to public higher education institutions... (Republic of Namibia, 2003, p. 5).

A vision document for Namibia's development, Vision 2030, was published in 2004. This document sets a broad goal of "(a) prosperous and industrialised Namibia, developed by her human resources, enjoying peace, harmony and political stability" (Republic of Namibia, 2004a, p. 38). The objectives include, amongst others, to

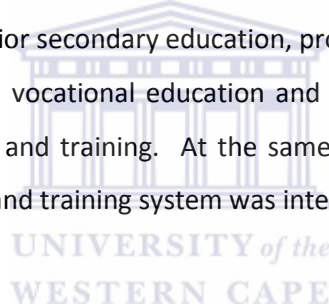
Develop diversified, competent and highly productive human resources and institutions, fully utilising human potential, and achieving efficient and effective delivery of customer-focussed services which are competitive not only nationally, but also regionally and internationally; transform Namibia into an industrialised country of equal opportunities, which is globally competitive, realising its maximum growth potential on a sustainable basis, with improved quality of life for all Namibians;... Accomplish the transformation of Namibia into a knowledge-based, highly competitive, industrialised and eco-friendly nation, with sustainable growth and a high quality of life (Republic of Namibia, 2004a, p. 41).

Also in 2004, a National Research, Science and Technology Act (Republic of Namibia, 2004c) was passed, with the objectives of promoting research, science and technology in Namibia, developing capacity for research, ensuring the coordination of research activities and developing a funding plan for research, science and technology (Republic of Namibia, 2004c, p. 3). The Act established the National Commission on Research, Science and Technology and the National Research, Science and Technology fund.

6.3.4 Education in the period 2005 - 2010

Structural changes that have been introduced to the Namibian system in the latter part of this decade have included the restructuring of the governance arrangements for education, with the two responsible ministries (Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture and Ministry of Higher Education, Vocational Training, Science and Technology Employment Creation) being merged in 2005 to form one Ministry of Education (Republic of Namibia, 2008a, p. 4).

A planning document for the education sector, the Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (ETSIP): Planning for a Learning Nation, Phase 1 2006 – 2011 was released in 2007. From a focus in the previous documents on increasing access to education generally, ETSIP proposed in its first phase to focus on “strengthening of the immediate supply of middle to high level skilled labour to meet labour market demands and support overall national development goals.” (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 2). The document outlined three components of this strategy: pro-poor expansion of opportunities for high quality senior secondary education, pro-poor expansion of opportunities for high quality and market responsive vocational education and training, and expansion of pre-entry programmes for tertiary education and training. At the same time, the quality, effectiveness and efficiency of the general education and training system was intended to remain a priority.



The document continues:

Also in the medium term the first phase of ETSIP will: (a) strengthen and systematise the current knowledge creation and innovation system to ensure adequate capacity for the production and application of knowledge to improve productivity growth; (b) strengthen effective demand for knowledge and innovation required to facilitate productivity growth; and (c) develop and sustain a vibrant knowledge marketplace (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 3).

Tertiary education is placed at the centre of the new strategy, and a full chapter of the document is allocated to tertiary education. This is contextualised as follows:

Tertiary education and training contributes to development in multiple ways. It informally sets quality standards for the entire education system. It produces high level technical and managerial personnel required for economic growth and competitiveness. It generates knowledge workers and researchers essential to knowledge-driven development. It provides enterprises with technical support and partnership to spur knowledge-based innovation. It delivers policy analysts and managers to the public and private sector. Thus, support for improving tertiary education is essential for the success of ETSIP (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 37).

Four strategic objectives are set for tertiary education: strengthening the institutional capacity of tertiary education (through developing the NCHE and implementing the Teachers Education Colleges Act); enhancing the relevance and responsiveness of tertiary education (primarily through developing and implementing the teacher education reform programme and building capacity for graduate studies and research); improving the quality of the tertiary education and training system (through developing pre-entry, foundation programmes, providing student support, improving the effectiveness and productivity of academic staff and introducing quality assurance systems); and mobilisation, diversification and efficient use of financial resources. With regard to research, the document notes that

Compared to other middle income countries in the SADC region, such as Botswana and Mauritius, research output and knowledge creation at tertiary education and training institutions are low. The University of Namibia, which is at the apex of the system, has a limited capacity in basic and applied research. Inter-institutional co-operation in the domain of research is virtually non-existent. Most research takes place outside tertiary institutions in ministries and state-funded and / or independent research bodies such as the Desert Research Foundation of Namibia, the Namibian Economic Policy Research Unit, Geological survey and the Institute for Public Policy Research... research mentorships are not that common, while the management of most research institutions is not preparing adequately to respond to future research demand (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 43).

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During the first phase of implementation, ETSIP's focus is on building institutional capacity for management and programme delivery, building capacity of graduate studies and "diversification and mobilisation of financing resources" (op. cit., p.3). A strategic plan has been developed in this regard by the National Council on Higher Education:

This plan will lead to substantial improvements in building a coordinated system for higher education, internationally recognised qualifications and access with equity. This will lead to enhanced quality of teaching, learning and research and improved quality of targeting resource allocation to public funding to higher education institutions (Republic of Namibia, 2009, p. 215).

Some successes in the implementation of ETSIP have already been reported. In the Presentation to Parliament for the Medium Term Expenditure Framework 2009/2010 – 2011/2012 it was noted that pre-entry foundation programmes have been introduced to increase access. New programmes have been introduced at the University, including a new Faculty of Engineering, and an increased focus on postgraduate output "with skills relevant to national development needs as articulated in Vision 2030" (Republic of Namibia, 2009, p. 215). The report noted that Polytechnic has expanded in the

areas of engineering, tourism and management studies. Main activities currently in progress with regard to knowledge creation and innovation relate to implementing the legal and institutional frameworks of the Research, Science and Technology Act. Policies under development include an innovation policy, an indigenous knowledge systems policy, a research repository, and a biotechnology management system. The establishment of a Centre for Innovation, Entrepreneurship and Technology is underway (op. cit.).

6.3.5 Contextual links

The section above has traced the development of education in the Namibian context since independence, tracking the major documents that have been released over the past two decades. This tracking shows that education has been a strong priority in the national context, and that the development of higher education has been strongly on the agenda since independence. However, the focus, for higher education in the early years, was primarily on teacher education, and it is only recently that graduate education and research have come to be prioritised.

The tracking also shows how the education policies in the country have arisen from the contextual imperatives of a post-independence Namibia. Thus, the key challenge at independence was the transformation of the political system of the country and the creation of democratic systems of governance. In education, this translated into the need to overcome the fragmentation and divisions of the existing system, and to create new structures for its administration. The most immediate task was the creation of the new Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport. Within a short period, some re-shuffling of this new structure was attempted, with a division of the single Ministry into a Ministry of Basic Education and Culture and a Ministry of Higher Education, Vocational Training, Science and Technology. However, this does not appear to have been successful, as the two have subsequently re-merged. Other structures have followed, such as the NQA, and the Vocational Training Authority. At the level of basic schooling, the publication in 2001 of the Education Act established the structures for governance and participation in governance at schooling level.

In higher education, similarly, creation of structures took early precedence, with the first priority being the creation of the University and subsequently, the Polytechnic. Transformation within the higher education institutions, although not specifically examined in this chapter, was clearly also a focus of attention, as highlighted in the 1991 Commission report. Additional governance arrangements for the sector, in the form of the creation of a National Council on Higher Education, were an early consideration, although the establishment of this body only took place in 2003. More

recently, the establishment of structures for the governance of research (such as the National Commission on Research, Science and Technology) have been a priority. Within the institutions of higher education, in addition, the development of structures (faculties and regional centres) has been evident over the period.

The second, related, contextual imperative that Namibia needed to address on independence was the creation of societal equity. The need to overcome the historical structural inequities in the political system of the country was reflected in the focus, in education, on educational participation as a democratic right, and on the provision of educational opportunities to all. The encoding into the Namibian constitution of access to basic education as a right followed from this imperative, and the country's participation in the EFA drive following the Jomtien conference was a natural progression from this. Although the challenge has clearly been great, progress on this domain has been evident, over the past two decades, in the provision of schools, and in increasing participation rates. The key challenge, at this stage, is the transition rate from junior to senior secondary education. Access to higher education has similarly increased over the period.

The tension between the mutual priorities of social and economic development, post-independence, has been a core pivot around which education policy has swung. As a liberation movement, SWAPO's key priority was on the social domain. This was reflected, in early education policy, in the focus on access and equity, and in the continued emphasis on the social value of education. The President's forward to the Education for All Plan of 2002, for example states that

This affirmation of our commitment to education goes with the realisation that education cultivates the values, attitudes and the conduct essential for personal growth, self actualisation and peaceful co-existence. It provides individuals with the potential to make choices and enjoy a better life. Education is thus an avenue for poverty alleviation, human development and social advancement. To this end, education is a fundamental human right and all are entitled to receiving an education of good quality (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 2).

Later documents have also emphasised this domain. However, the need for economic stability and growth has similarly been a priority since independence and in more recent policy has become increasingly emphasised. In national policy, this focus came to the fore in the Vision 2030 document, which introduced a discourse of 'competitiveness', as well as a focus on knowledge as a cornerstone of the economy. In education, this focus becomes evident in the 2007 ETSIP policy, which, although mentioning the role of education in social development, prioritises its role in economic development. Thus, in contrast to previous documents, this document contextualises its

rationale in terms of the 'impediments to growth' in Namibia, which it links to poor and declining productivity, resulting in a decline in GDP growth to 2001 (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 1), although it is noted that GDP has increased since. The discourse of 'productivity' dominates the rationale, and is connected to a new policy concern with the 'knowledge economy':

Productivity growth is ... a critical factor for the realisation of strategic development goals. To this end, a knowledge-based Namibian economy will focus on the creation and application of knowledge and technology to improve the range and value of products from Namibia's rich natural endowment... Several analyses point out that one of the key impediments to productivity growth is the shortage of skilled workers of various levels and types. Employers note the shortage of qualified artisans and technicians as a critical constraint on increasing their productivity. At the higher levels, there is a shortage of managers (especially business managers), engineers, medical doctors, researchers, and others required to provide technical leadership in the country's quest to intensify the creation and application of knowledge to improve productivity (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 1).

On the access theme, ETSIP also marks a shift from primary to secondary education. To some extent, this could be due to achievements in participation at primary level; more fundamentally, however, the shift indicates the prioritisation in Vision 2030 of high skills and the 'knowledge economy'. The publication of the Research, Science and Technology Act of 2004, and subsequent establishment of policies and structures for its implementation is further evidence of the promotion of knowledge creation and innovation for national development. The Report 'Towards a Science and Technology Plan', for example, states that

much of the efforts at the University and the Polytechnic focus more on investigative research than technological innovations. The basic tenet of industrialisation that Namibia aspires to achieve by 2030 is production technology and technological innovations. This is where the engineering research emphasis should shift (Nyiira, 2005, p. 8).

The need to address unemployment and poverty has been a national imperative since independence. This has translated into educational policies for the promotion of out-of-school, adult and vocational education, and the need for articulation within the educational system to allow for learner mobility within the system. The NQA Act was a first step towards achieving the kind of qualification portability envisaged. The formation of NAMCOL has been a particular success for out-of-school youth at secondary level. The recent establishment of the Namibia Training Authority continues the emphasis on this domain.

The need for a reduction in public spending, in the national domain, manifests, in education in a focus on the need for efficiency. This has been a theme in education since the first National Development Plan. However, the imperative of increasing access has taken priority, and educational spending, rather than diminishing, has increased. Sustainability of this funding has become a concern. In higher education, this has resulted in an increasing emphasis on the need for a funding formula for the sector, as well as calls for the diversification of funding sources.

HIV / AIDS has become an urgent priority in Namibia. Although this has not been a focus in the discussion above, there is evidence that, over the past decade, this area has received attention within the education sector. The Education for All 2002 document, for example, spoke of the need to “minimise the spread of HIV/AIDS and address the demographic and financial impact it has on the education sector (and) help and support those infected and affected by HIV / AIDS” (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 18). ETSIP devotes an entire strategic objective to this purpose, and it is reported that an HIV and AIDS Management Unit (HAMU) has been set up in the Ministry, and is engaged in a variety of programmes (Republic of Namibia, 2009).

As this chapter shows, although Namibia has recently emerged from a deeply divisive system of oppression which impacted in a fundamental manner on its education system as a whole, much progress has been made in the two decades since independence. The successful growth of the higher education sector in particular, in a very short space of time, shows the country’s commitment to development on this domain.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the development of higher education in the Botswana and Namibian contexts over the past two decades. The account shows how education policy has derived from its contextual and institutional paths and surrounds. The case studies thus provide a clear indication of how development of the higher educational domain has occurred according the historical logics and developmental priorities of the individual states.

CHAPTER 7: THE IMPACT OF SADC PROTOCOL ON NATIONAL POLICY

7.1 Introduction

The primary purpose of the SADC Protocol, as described in Chapter 5, is to ensure that states act “together as a Community, in the gradual implementation of equivalence, harmonisation and standardisation of their education and training systems” (1997, p. 3). The purpose of this chapter is to assess the extent to which this is providing an institutional logic guiding action in the two states examined in this study. In order to examine this, each of the dimensions of the Protocol identified in Chapter 5 is examined for evidence, in national policy documents, of the impact of regional policy on that domain. The analysis looks both at whether the theme is evident in national policy documents and at when the issue first arose in national policy (i.e. before or after the Protocol was written): since themes in national policy which arose prior to the SADC Protocol cannot be ascribed to the Protocol, this historical tracking allows for an examination of Protocol impact. The list of documents on which the analysis is based is given in Chapter 4 (see Table 4.2). This is supplemented by additional documentary evidence, where relevant, and by conversational data where this was obtained in relation to something not evident in the documents themselves.

Although every attempt has been made to be thorough, it is not possible in a document of this nature to cite every instance in which a particular theme is invoked. Rather, the focus has been placed on origin (the first instance that the theme is raised) and on providing a representative sample of further citations. Quotations have been used as often as possible to retain the flavour of the original documents.

7.2 Evidence of alignment with SADC Protocol goals

7.2.1 Regulative themes

7.2.1.1 Regional themes

In Chapter 4 a distinction was drawn between themes in the Protocol which are regulative at a regional level with no prescriptions regarding national practice, and those that impact directly on national level policy. Into the first category were themes relating to regional policy coherence and system harmonisation; regional governance and structures, education system structure and terminology; qualification and quality assurance frames; regional data management and the development of regional centres. Perhaps unsurprisingly, there was no mention in any of the

national documents examined regarding these regional dimensions. No specific reference was found to regional harmonisation of policies. Creation of and participation in regional structures is not mentioned in national documents. These documents also did not mention alignment with regional education system structure and terminology, qualification and quality assurance frames, or data management systems. The development of regional Centres of Excellence or Centres of Specialisation were also not referred to.

In contrast, in the national contexts of this study there have been a number of developments on some of these dimensions. These are briefly discussed below.

7.2.1.1.1 Governance and structures

Development of governance arrangements and structures in the national field is strongly evident in both case studies. This is apparent in the number of Acts and policies published over the past two decades, as well as in the increasing number of structures established through these documents. These documents are cited in Chapter 6 of this study, and are not repeated here.

7.2.1.1.2 Education system structure and terminology

The terminology used in the two cases examined is not the same, although differences are not significant. In Botswana, in the terminology used by the 1993 National Commission on Education, primary and secondary education is referred to as 'general' education (Ministry of Education, 1993). The structure of this education follows a 7 years primary, plus 3 years junior secondary, plus 2 years senior secondary format (an attempt to change this format was made in the early 1990s, but was not felt to be effective, and the structure was reverted by the 1993 Commission and the RNPE of 1994). In Namibia, in terms of the Education Act of 2001, primary and secondary education are defined as 'basic' education. Adult basic education is included in this. The structure has followed a 7 years primary plus 3 years junior secondary plus 2 years senior secondary pattern since independence (Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 3).

The 1993 Commission's report provided a definition of tertiary education in Botswana as follows: "Tertiary education refers to all programmes which will require the successful completion of senior secondary schooling" (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 7). This definition was modified in the 2008 Tertiary Education Policy to: "All formal education programmes beyond the level of senior secondary embracing technical and occupation specific programmes and those with a strong theoretical foundation through to advanced research qualifications" (Republic of Botswana, 2008a,

p. 16). Higher education in Namibia is defined as “all learning programmes leading to qualifications higher than grade 12 or its equivalent and includes tertiary education” (Republic of Namibia, 2003, p. 3), but does not include vocational education and ‘open learning’ as provided by the Namibian College of Open Learning (secondary level). The status of post- secondary vocational education is unclear in this formulation. Although the Namibian terminology is in line with the SADC Protocol usage, there is no evidence of impact of the SADC Protocol on this.

7.2.1.1.3 Data management

The introduction of systems for data collection and management has been a priority in both contexts. In Botswana, the 1994 RNPE, following the recommendation of the 1993 Commission, established the Division of Planning, Statistics and Research in the Ministry of Education, with the function of establishing the educational management information system (Republic of Botswana, 1994, p. 60 of accepted recommendations). The RNPE also recommended that proposed Tertiary Education Council keep “comprehensive statistical information” for the tertiary sector (p. 28 of accepted recommendations). However, despite the formation of this body in 1999, the Challenges and Choices document of 2005 noted that:

The Working Group encountered considerable difficulties in accessing relevant data and wishes to draw attention to the general paucity of data on tertiary education in Botswana. The development of a tertiary education database that provide on a timeous basis comprehensive data sets that are reliable in terms of comparability, consistency and accuracy represents a key priority of the Tertiary Education Council in order to ensure a sound approach to planning, funding and steering the system (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 5).

Although no further documentary evidence was found of the development of this area, informal conversations indicate that the Tertiary Education Council does now keep data for the sector.

In Namibia, the National Qualifications Authority Act provides for the Namibian Qualification Framework establishing facilities for “the collection and dissemination of information in connection with matters pertaining to qualifications” (Republic of Namibia, 1996, p. 2). The 1999 Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training recommended that a key function of the proposed National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) include “to monitor trends in student access, enrolment, mobility and output in the higher education system (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 152). Although this function is not specifically picked up in the 2003 Act which established the NCHE, the related functions of monitoring quality assurance and promoting access to higher education presume

access to data. Conversational data indicate that a functional educational management information system (EMIS) for basic education was in place and an EMIS Division had been established in the Directorate for Planning and Development in the 1990s (see also Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 3). Conversations also indicated that, whilst a higher education EMIS had been devised by the unit, responsibility for this had subsequently been passed on to the NCHE, which does not, as yet, have the capacity for implementation.

7.2.1.1.4 Qualification and quality assurance frames

The qualification frame, in Namibia, predates the SADC Protocol. The 1991 Commission on Higher Education's report spoke of the need for a "new and progressive pattern of occupational, professional and academic qualifications" (Coombe, 1993, p. 64). The Namibian Qualifications Authority (NQA) was subsequently established through the NQA Act of 1996 (Republic of Namibia, 1996), and functions to regulate and administer the Namibian Qualifications Framework. For vocational education, the Vocational Education and Training Act was passed in 2008 (Republic of Namibia, 2008b), which established the Namibian Training Authority, which has similar responsibilities with regard to vocational education (Republic of Namibia, 2008a, p. 6). Although a vocational training framework is in place in Botswana and has been regulated by the Botswana Vocational and Technical Authority (established in 1998), a full national qualifications framework has not yet been implemented, and the 2008 Tertiary Education Policy states that one of the functions of the proposed Human Resource Development Council will be to establish this (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 18).

Concerns regarding the quality of education provision, and the need to improve this quality, have been voiced in both national contexts since the early 1990s (see 8.2.2.4 below). In Botswana, the RNPE in 1994 recommended "the establishment of quality assurance systems for education and training and the publication of annual reports on the performance of the education and training system." (Republic of Botswana, 1994, p. 7). For tertiary education, the Tertiary Education Act of 1999 provided for the establishment of an Academic Planning and Development Committee of the Tertiary Education Council which must "ensure that quality assurance processes are in place in all tertiary education institutions" (Republic of Botswana, 1999, p. 9). In terms of this Act, with the advice of the TEC, the Minister may make regulations which

specify institutions or class of institutions which may be recognised as tertiary institutions by the Council; define the qualifications that should ordinarily be required of any person to be appointed to the teaching staff of a tertiary institutions, having regard

to the branch of education in which he is expected to give instruction; define the minimum standards of instruction for the grant of any qualification by any tertiary institution; regulate the maintenance of standards and the coordination of work or facilities in tertiary institutions ... (Republic of Botswana, 1999, p. 17).

In effect, however, quality in the sector has been regulated through “a system of affiliation established through the University of Botswana” (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 10). Although a national quality assurance framework has not yet been adopted, conversational data indicates that this is under development. The Tertiary Education Council has signed a memorandum of understanding with the Council on Higher Education in South Africa for the development of a quality assurance system: “This signing of the Memorandum of Agreement between the CHE and the TEC shows our determination to pursue quality assurance beyond our borders. In this way, it shows our mutual understanding and recognition that quality assurance in tertiary education cannot be successfully achieved by focussing only at home” (Interview with Patrick Molutsi, AllAfrica.com report, 11 October 2007).

Quality assurance in the higher education sector in Namibia is a function of the NCHE, which must “accredit, with the concurrence of the NQA, programmes of higher education provided at higher education institutions; (and) monitor the quality assurance mechanisms of higher education institutions” (Republic of Namibia, 2003, p. 5). The ETSIP document set a key policy objective with regard to the introduction of quality assurance processes in the tertiary education sector, and stated that “(e)very tertiary education and training institution will conduct a comprehensive audit of their existing quality assurance processes... and improve these in line with international benchmarks” (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 46). Although a quality assurance framework is not yet in place in Namibia, a division for quality exists in the NCHE, and, according to conversational data, has been working with the South Africa Council on Higher Education (CHE) on developing such a frame. The Polytechnic of Namibia has, in addition, been through a process of institutional audit with the South African CHE.

Although there is no direct reference in documents to the development of regional frames, cooperation with other countries in the area, particularly on the development of quality assurance mechanisms, suggests that practices which are evolving are, at the least, not out of line with the regional agenda. However, what is not clear is the extent to which the Protocol itself, and the narrative of regional harmonisation which it espouses, have influenced these developments. It is conceivable that cooperation with the South African CHE may have occurred even in the absence of

the political regionalisation agenda, given their leadership in this field. Yet this remains one instance where some evidence of cooperation does appear to be occurring.

7.2.1.2 National dimensions

The regulative dimensions at the national level are the only firm commitments made through the Protocol by countries with regard to their own practices. As shown in Chapter 4, there are very few commitments of this nature. Countries have committed to developing national science and technology policies, and distance education policies. In addition, commitments are made regarding the admission of students from the region into tertiary level institutions.

Examination of the documents shows that both science and technology, and distance education, have been priorities in both countries over the full period of the documents examined, and as policy priorities, pre-date the Protocol. Thus, in Botswana, the 1993 National Commission on Education recommended, and the 1994 RNPE accepted, that “the formulation of a science and technology policy should be finalised as soon as possible and that the policy should pay special attention to providing guidelines for Science and Mathematics education” (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 17). The Science and Technology Policy was subsequently published in 1998 (Republic of Botswana, 1998a). In Namibia, the 1991 Commission on Higher Education in Namibia spoke of the need for a “national research policy and infrastructure which will foster investigation and enquiry at many levels, and do justice to the need to build Namibia’s knowledge base across a wide range of disciplines and technologies” (Coombe, 1993, p. 65). The 1999 Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training devoted a whole chapter to the subject of science, technology and research. The Research, Science and Technology Act was passed in 2004 (Republic of Namibia, 2004c) and a report entitled “New Directions for Namibia’s Science and Technology Sector: Towards a Science and Technology Plan” was published in 2005 (Nyiira, 2005).

Neither country has adopted a specific distance education policy to date. However, distance education has been the focus of much policy attention. In Botswana, the Revised National Policy on Education (1994) recommended “the expansion of part time programmes, including those by distance education, to enable access to tertiary education for anyone interested and eligible” (Republic of Botswana, 1994, p. 32). The University of Botswana was to be the “lead agency for distance education at tertiary level” (op. cit., p. 41), and a university policy on distance education provision was subsequently adopted (http://www.ub.bw/documents/Distance_Education_Mainstreaming_Policy.pdf). At secondary level, the Botswana College for Open and Distance

Learning was established in 1998. Although this college “has instituted plans to increase and diversify higher education programmes” (<http://www.bocodol.ac.bw/PGContent.php?UID=602>), the Tertiary Education Policy of 2008 speaks of

one new type of institution will be developed in this category, which currently does not exist and which represents a significant gap in tertiary education provision. This will be a college or university whose single focus will be open and distance learning providing access to wide range of ‘non-traditional’ students (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 10).

Most of the focus with regard to distance education in Namibia has been on secondary level, vocational training provided through the Namibian College of Open Learning (NAMCOL). Established as a directorate in 1994 and as a parastatal in 1998 (Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 3), by 2002, this was reported to be the largest education provider in Namibia (with 23 000 learners, Republic of Namibia, 2002, p. 10). The need to expand distance education for tertiary studies in Namibia was spoken of in the report of the 1999 Presidential Commission. This report noted the capacity of this mode of tuition for increasing access, and that many Namibian students currently were using foreign providers: “Namibia therefore needs to increase its capacity to meet this demand. However, this may only be possible if economies of scale can be achieved” (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 159). The report spoke of ‘discussions underway’ in this regard with Namibian providers. Efforts to develop a national policy on open and distance learning are in progress (Beukes et al., 2008; Mowes, 2008).

On the themes of regional access and mobility, there is little in the documents examined which relates to the encouragement of SADC national student registration or staff mobility. Both countries, historically, have been suppliers, rather than recipients, of students. In Botswana, the Challenges and Choices document notes the number of Batswana students on government bursaries studying in South Africa (3 848), and other “overseas tertiary institutions” (2 000, Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 9). In Namibia, government bursaries are also provided for students to study elsewhere in fields which are not available in the local context. According to the 1991 Commission report:

Since Namibia cannot be self-sufficient in higher education for many years, the provision of bursaries and scholarships for Namibians to study outside the country needs to be an integral part of the national plan for higher education... (p. 64) (and)

Arrangements with the higher education institutions of neighbouring countries will be needed to take Namibian students in these fields. We look forward to such arrangements developing as part of an extensive pattern of professional, intellectual and research contracts between the higher education institutions of Namibia and their counterparts throughout Southern Africa and abroad (Coombe, 1993, p. 76).

This pattern appears to be changing. Although there are no official figures for the number of SADC students studying in Botswana this number is reported to be growing, with a large number, particularly of Zimbabwean national students, studying at the university. Conversational data indicates that figures for this cannot be provided, since no distinction is made between Botswana students and other SADC students on current data management systems. In Namibia, the report of the 1999 Commission pointed out that “(i)t is notable that both the University and the Polytechnic have a number of students from other countries enrolled for a variety of courses of study” (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 150). It was reported that, in 2002, some Namibian institutions were exceeding the 5% regional admission target set in the Protocol (Hahn, 2005, p. 31). The majority of these students were from Angola.

Student admission policy, in Botswana, is not covered in legislation (Higher Education Act or University of Botswana Act). The Challenges and Choices document did suggest a potential policy choice that “Botswana’s tertiary education system could adopt an international focus by becoming a regional hub for tertiary education attracting international students to study and research in high value strategic disciplines” (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 32). There is, however, no documentary evidence regarding the adoption of this vision.

In Namibia, the University of Namibia Act (1992) specifically allows for the admission of students from other countries:

Subject to the provisions of the statutes, framed under section 25, the Senate may (a) admit a graduate of any other university (whether in Namibia or elsewhere) to a status at the University equivalent to that which he or she possesses at such other university; and (b) admit as a candidate for the degree of bachelor or for the degree of master or doctor of the University any person who has passed at any other university (whether in Namibia or elsewhere) or at any other institution considered by the Senate to be equivalent to a university, such examinations as in the opinion of the Senate are equivalent to or higher than the examinations prescribed for a degree of the University which is a prerequisite for such degree of bachelor, master or doctor of the University (Republic of Namibia, 1992, p. 5).

The Polytechnic Act of 1994 makes similar provisions with regard to access to the Polytechnic. Although not designed specifically for regional admission, these provisions ensure that it is possible.

The 1999 Commission report also recommended that the NCHE monitors “trends in staff recruitment, including the ratio between foreign and Namibia staff” (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 152).

In Botswana, the academic calendar of the university, until recently, ran on an August to July basis, and it was a recommendation of the 1993 Commission that the schooling system be synchronised with this. However, the university now runs on a January to December calendar, which is in line with both the South African and Namibian systems. Although there is no documentary evidence that this is as a result of regionalisation processes, the adoption of this calendar is in line with regional practices, and therefore harmonisation aims.

7.2.1.3 Summary

In summary of the data presented above, no direct reference was found in the documents to regional harmonisation of systems and policies. However, there is much evidence of development of national education domains, and considerable commonality in the nature of these developments. Many of these issues pre-date the SADC Protocol and cannot thus be ascribed to it: Although the structure of the education systems in the two cases follows the same pattern, this pre-dates the SADC Protocol. Data management has been an acknowledged issue in both countries since before the Protocol. Both countries have adopted Science and Technology policies (Botswana in 1998, Namibia in 2004). In both cases evidence was found of the intention to create such a policy before the Protocol was drafted. In both countries there has been a strong focus on secondary vocational distance education, with successful colleges being started. The initial policy impetus for this development, in Botswana, appears to date to the 1994 RNPE. In Namibia, NAMCOL was established in the same year. In both cases, therefore, the trend towards distance education appears to pre-date the Protocol.

In Namibia, the qualification frame pre-dates the SADC Protocol, and Botswana is in the process of devising a qualification frame. Quality improvement generally has been a long standing concern in both countries, and in recent years, both countries are making progress towards quality assurance frames. In both cases, work is being done with the South African CHE on this. The development of these frameworks may be an area in which the regional harmonisation frame is impacting.

Historically, both countries have had more of an emphasis on sending their students elsewhere than on receiving students from the region. This situation appears to have changed in the past few years

with many more SADC students registered. However, although not prevented in policy, there was no evidence found of specific mechanisms for encouraging this.

Despite the fact that developments on these domains cannot be specifically ascribed to the Protocol, they are not necessarily at odds with its intentions. None of the dimensions examined show evidence of practices which are increasingly heteromorphic. Rather, policies and practices appear to be becoming increasingly similar. Yet, evidence seems to suggest that these practices are arising from national rather than regional agendas.

7.2.2 Normative dimensions

The analysis of the Protocol in Chapter 4 suggested that the significance of the Protocol resides largely on the normative domain, and that the document stands as a statement of agreement on these core values around which regional education systems should coalesce. Each of the dimensions identified in chapter 4 is explored below.

7.2.2.1 Democracy and participation

Democracy has been a key (although contested) principle in Botswana's development. Vision 2016 takes it further:

The Botswana of the future will be a community-oriented democracy, with strong decentralised institutions. Botswana will build upon its history of democratic development. The continued involvement of all political parties in the reform process will ensure a lasting and durable democracy. These traditions will mature over the next twenty years, and become nearer to the people. The democratic process will be continually deepened and enriched in accordance with the general evolution of the society and wishes of Botswana (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 11).

In education, the involvement of stakeholders can be seen at basic education level in the formation of parent - teacher associations (Republic of Botswana, 1994). Structures established at tertiary level all have some form of representation: the University council has representatives of graduates, students, staff (both academic and non-academic), as well as "two persons who are not resident in Botswana appointed by the University Council by reason of their special knowledge, experience and competence in education" (Republic of Botswana, 1982, p. 3). Membership of the Tertiary Education Council similarly includes "one person from the community... a representative from tertiary

institutions; a representative from the academic community; (and) a student..." (Republic of Botswana, 1999, pp. 3-4).

Involvement of stakeholders can also be seen in the processes followed in policy formulation. This is true of the Science and Technology Policy which claims to have "involved all stakeholders" (Republic of Botswana, 1998, Synopsis page), and which also gives weight in its strategies to gender equality. It is particularly evident in the long process followed in the formulation of the Tertiary Education Policy, with the Challenges and Choices document being drafted especially for the purposes of consultation:

The purpose of the paper is to solicit stakeholder consultation and to foster discussion throughout Government, society generally and those institutions in Botswana currently engaged in the provision of tertiary education services. The paper constitutes the main background for consultation and feedback which the TEC will undertake during the first half of 2005. Once the process of consultation has been completed, the TEC will then formulate a position with regards the various aspects of tertiary education policy outlined in this paper as well as other issues that may arise during the consultation phase (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 5).

The document also states that "(t)ertiary education should entrench and enhance human rights, democracy and personal freedoms rather than curtail them" (op. cit., p. 21).

Democracy, in Namibia, has been one of the key policy goals of the education sector since independence (along with access, equity and quality). The first National Development Plan listed "enhancement of democratic participation in the education system" document (Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 4). as a policy objective, which was subsequently picked up in the first education policy (ibid.) The Education for All National Plan of Action 2002 – 2015 elaborates:

Prior to independence the management of schools was the domain of teachers only. From the outset of independence the democratic participation of parents, learner and community members in education system of their children has been the main gospel of the day. The introduction of educational forums in the regions, the setting up of school boards in schools, whereby parents and learners are serving to chart the future of school functions are some of the interventions which have been put up to give meaning to the concept of democracy (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 14).

The document points out that this was the basis underlying the 2001 Education Act. For higher education, the 1991 Commission on Higher Education report begins by citing the then Minister of

Higher Education as saying that Namibia's aim was "to launch itself on the path of sustained development, based on the precepts of equity, democratic humanism and distributive justice" and that education and training as seen as a vital component of this (Coombe, 1993, p. 64). Democracy and participation in higher education governance were seen as crucial:

In referring to open decision-making, we have the staff and students of the institutions particularly in mind. When institutions are run under considerable financial constraint and management pressure, which is likely to be the case in Namibia as in many countries, there is a substantial risk that the staff and student will feel excluded from important decision-making, and alienated from the institution's council or management team, if not from the government. It is difficult to combine efficient management and financial control with democratic discussion and decision-making, but it is not impossible. In view of Namibia's long and unhappy experience of autocratic and secretive management styles, it seems essential that a tradition of full disclosure and open consultation should be established in higher education management at the outset (Coombe, 1993, p. 69).

Although participation in policy making is not legislated, the 2003 Higher Education Act provides that, in determining policy, the Minister "may consult with or obtain the advice of such stakeholders as the Minister thinks necessary" (Republic of Namibia, 2003, p. 5). Representation is also evident in the composition of the NCHC, which includes ten people selected by the Minister following a national nomination process, where the nominations can be made by higher education institutions or "organisations respectively representing students, academic employees, employees other than academic employees, disabled persons, churches, organised business and organised labour". Of the three nominations that these groups may each submit, at least one must be a woman (op. cit., p. 7).

In terms of the University of Namibia Act, the Council of the University should include, in addition to academic and government representatives, "two persons elected in the prescribed manner by the graduates of the University ..., one person elected in the prescribed manner by the administrative staff" (Republic of Namibia, 1992, p. 4), and "(u)pon recognition of the Students' Representative Council in accordance with the provisions of section 15(1), the Students' Representative Council shall be entitled to appoint two students of the University as members of the Council" (op. cit., p. 4). The Polytechnic of Namibia Act similarly contains representation of a number of groups, including a number of sector representatives (Republic of Namibia, 1994, p. 3).

7.2.2.2 Equity and access

Access to education, and equity in access, are strong themes in both national policy contexts (as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7).

In Botswana, achieving universal primary education was a goal of National Development Plan 7 (1991 – 1997), and the 1993 Commission stressed that increasing access and equity (at all levels) was one of its key aims (Ministry of Education, 1993). The document noted there were still some problems with access at primary level, with a reported 17% of children at primary school age not attending, but set as priority the need to increase access at senior secondary and tertiary levels (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 2). The 1994 RNPE reinforced the emphasis on access, and stressed that “equity continues to be an explicit goal of educational policy and that the ministries responsible for education and training should introduce appropriate measures to achieve greater equity. They should introduce clear indicators and targets so that progress can be regularly reported” (Republic of Botswana, 1994, p. 7). The document recommended specific strategies for increasing equity, such as the provision of special schools for the disabled; bursaries for the extremely poor; and cultural difference sensitisation programmes for teachers (op. cit., p. 3 of accepted recommendations).

Vision 2016 (Republic of Botswana, 1996) contains many references to the achievement of universal education, with the focus primarily on secondary education (e.g. p. 7; p. 16):

Botswana must aim in the long term to introduce universal and compulsory schooling up to the secondary level. There must be options for vocational training at secondary level and above for those who do not continue with academic studies. Education must be made more flexible, so that people can enter and leave the education system at different times in their lives (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 25).

Increasing the number of senior secondary schools available is one of the strategies recommended (op. cit., p. 16). Increasing the number of schools for disabled students is another (op. cit., p. 26). Most importantly, increasing the socio-economic conditions of the population is seen as essential to increasing education achievement levels:

The introduction of universal schooling must go hand in hand with the improvement of socio-economic conditions to the point where children are no longer viewed as an essential source of labour or income for poorer families, or girl children used to care for younger siblings when their mother works. Young mothers must also be entitled to re-enter the mainstream of education, and re-join the schools that they left during pregnancy (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 25).

Achievements since this policy are outlined in the Challenges and Choices document: “The main change that has taken place ... is that universal access to junior secondary schooling has been achieved and a significant expansion has taken place in the senior secondary school system. The transition rate to senior secondary education is now around 50%” (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, pp. 13-14). The document also states that “(e)quity and merit and not wealth and privilege should underpin tertiary education policy and development” (op. cit., p. 20).

Access, equity and participation is one of the major policy challenges that the Tertiary Education Policy (2008) seeks to address: “This is not only about the current lack of capacity within the system which absorbs only a fraction of the traditional 18 – 24 age group, but also issues such as workforce development, (and) the geographic location of institutions” (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, pp. 2-3). The document also cites achievements with regard to tertiary education:

In the early 1970s only a handful of Botswana were engaged in tertiary level studies and only a very few were enrolled at tertiary education institutions within the borders of Botswana. By any yardstick, there has been considerable progress since independence with 31 129 enrolled in registered tertiary education institutions within Botswana by 2007/8. This is equivalent to a tertiary education gross enrolment ratio of 11.4% (18 -24 age group) which represents a significant growth over the past decade from the 1997/1998 figure of 4.4%. In addition a total of 11 095 new outbound students were sponsored by the Government to study in tertiary education institutions outside the country over the period 2003/4 – 2007/8 (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 4).

In Namibia, equitable participation in education is guaranteed in the Constitution:

All persons shall have the right to education. Primary education shall be compulsory and the State shall provide reasonable facilities to render effective this right for every resident within Namibia, by establishing and maintaining State schools at which primary education will be provided free of charge. Children shall not be allowed to leave school until they have completed their primary education or have attained the age of sixteen years, whichever is the sooner (Republic of Namibia, 2002a, p. 12).

Goals set in the first National Development Plan were to reach 94% enrolment in basic education, to reach 80% adult literacy, and to increase progression rates between primary and secondary schooling to 75%. However, the EFA 2000 Assessment document notes that, “(t) here had been no move by the end of the decade to make primary schooling compulsory, since government had not yet been able to provide schools within reach of all children of school-going age or alternatively to provide hostel accommodation near existing schools” (Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 5).

Between 1990 and 2000 total primary enrolment grew at annual average rate of 1.3%, and secondary enrolment grew at 4.9% (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 8). The 2001 Education Act provided for funding for disadvantaged learners at basic schooling level for provision of facilities, bursaries, and education development. However, in 2002, it was reported that:

Implementation of the Education Policy on Access in Namibia has enabled the country to reap the benefits in the form of a 95% enrolment rate of 6 to 16 years old in the last few years. However, there is a serious concern about the access of San children, Ovahimba, farm workers children on commercial and communal farms, street children and the phenomenon of the HIV / AIDS pandemic... (Also) (a)ccess of children with special needs to education lags behind general increase in enrolment (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 13).

Growth in the sector has continued, with an average growth rate (primary and secondary) over the period 2001 – 2007 at 1.2% (Republic of Namibia, 2008a, p. 3). However, in 2008 it was reported that physical conditions of schools still very poor in some parts of the country (particularly in the North, op. cit., p. 4). The report also noted that although facilities for disabled persons were still not available in many places, the National Disability Council Act had been passed in 2004 and the Council was established in 2008. Although Vision 2030 had introduced an 80% access to senior secondary education target, the report noted that the major concern currently is the number of students exiting between junior and senior secondary (progression rate of 38.2%). The Ministry was introducing grade 10 repetition to address this concern.

With regard to higher education, the 1991 Commission noted that there was a general lack of qualified applicants for higher education, and suggested that “(t)here is no alternative but to mount urgently a programme of pre-entry or bridging courses, to prepare students for entry to higher education in areas where they have been failed by the secondary system in the past” (Coombe, 1993, p. 75). The document noted:

Immediate measures must be taken to open up access routes to higher education for able Namibians who were disadvantaged by inferior secondary education, and opportunities must be expanded for adult citizens to benefit from higher education through extension programmes, distance education and in-service training (Coombe, 1993, p. 64).

The 1999 Commission noted growth at this level, and that “(t)he Polytechnic and UNAM have each enrolled over 4000 full-time and part-time students” (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 150). It also noted that financial support was being provided for disadvantaged students (op. cit., p. 155). Vision 2030 set an access target for higher education of 75% of school-leavers (Republic of Namibia, 2004a, p. 90). This connects with the 2007 ETSIP objective of “strengthening the immediate supply of middle to high level skilled labour to meet labour market demands and support overall national development goals” (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 2). ETSIP adopted three strategies in this regard: “a) a pro-poor expansion of opportunities for high quality senior secondary education; b) a pro-poor expansion of opportunities for high quality and market responsive vocational education and training; and c) an expansion of pre-tertiary programmes for tertiary education and training” (op. cit., p. 3).

7.2.2.3 Resourcing

In both contexts of this study, a high commitment to education is evident through the large proportion of the budget allocated for this. Concerns have, however, been raised about the sustainability of this level of funding. ‘Efficiency’ and resource planning have become key concerns.

The 1993 National Commission’s report in Botswana noted that education received 17% of the national budget, but that this was not sufficient to implement major developments in the sector. It proposed a number of strategies “to increase cost-effectiveness and cost-sharing in the financing of education and training” (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 2), including that fees be introduced at senior secondary and for boarding facilities (with bursaries available). It was also proposed that 50% of donations to public institutions for the development of science and technology should be tax deductible (op. cit., p. 11). For higher education, the RNPE 1994 recommended that the proposed Tertiary Education Council have the function to “plan for the funding needs of tertiary education and research, including the recurrent and development needs of institutions” (Republic of Botswana, 1994, p. 33). This was subsequently passed in the Tertiary Education Act of 1999.

The Challenges and Choices document of 2005 noted that

Since 1990, the Government of Botswana has consistently invested an average of 1% of its GDP (gross domestic product) in tertiary education. This represents a significant commitment which is high by international standards (OECD countries over the same period have achieved 1.5% and the US the highest in the world at 2%) (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 25).

However, the document queried whether this was sustainable and suggested that “(t)he challenge for Botswana is to develop a comprehensive funding policy for tertiary education that will be based on a partnership” (op. cit., p. 26). This model is under current development (SADC, 2007a, p. 24). In addition, adequate resourcing for research in partnership with private sector is a focus of the Science and Technology Policy of 1998 (Republic of Botswana, 1998a, pp. 26-27), and the Science and Technology Plan identified areas for investment and estimated financial costs (Republic of Botswana, 2005a).

In Namibia too, “(a) significant number of the public resources in Namibia is spent on education... from 1990 to 2002 public spending on education in Namibia has risen nearly fivefold” (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 7). The document shows a comparison of education spending in countries according to World Bank data which shows Namibia, at around 9% of GNP (20% of government budget), as being higher than Botswana (8.5%), with both being considerably higher than the average for middle income countries (5.5%). However, the document also notes that “(c)urrent levels of expenditure on education may not be sustainable in the long run due to low economic growth and increasing government budget deficits” (op. cit., p. 15).

For higher education, the 1991 Commission on Higher Education in Namibia noted the impact of ‘efficiency’ measures in higher education internationally, and expressed the view that “the Namibian government is entitled to expect Namibian higher education institutions to be run prudently, efficiently and effectively, with proper regard for the needs of society and the national interest” (Coombe, 1993, p. 68). Concern about the cost of higher education was raised by the 1999 Presidential Commission on Higher Education (higher education was reported to be consuming 70% of the budget of the Ministry of Higher Education, Vocational Training, Science and Technology), which recommended, amongst other things, that student loans replace the bursary system (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 155). The Commission also noted that it “was surprised to hear that there are no continuing and regular discussions between the two ministries (Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Higher Education, Vocational Training, Science and Technology) in order to ensure that the forward planning of the Ministry is realistic and in accord with national financial projections” (ibid.). It recommended that the proposed NCHE

would have a funding sub-committee which would advise it on the allocation of government funding to the various higher education institutions. It is strongly recommended that this should be undertaken on the basis of a funding formula which

would take into account of both the level of award and the comparative costs of different disciplines (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 153).

The subsequent 2003 Higher Education Act provides for a funding policy for public higher education institutions (“The Minister must, after consultation with the NCHE and with the concurrence of the Minister responsible for finance, determine the policy on the funding of public higher education institutions”, Republic of Namibia, 2003, p. 15). Conversational data indicates that progress is currently being made towards a funding framework.

7.2.2.4 Improvements in quality

The improvement of quality in education has been on the agenda in Botswana since the early 1990s. The 1993 National Commission spoke of a review of education since 1977 which shows that “issues of quality and relevance have become increasingly important” (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 1), and set as one of its seven aims to “improve and maintain quality at all levels” (op. cit., p. 2), including at tertiary level. Vision 2016 observed that “Botswana has achieved a marked improvement in the *quantity* of educational facilities provided to its citizens, but the pace of educational change has lagged behind the pace of national development. The challenge is now to improve the *quality* of education” (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 16). The document adopted the vision that “By the year 2016, Botswana will have a system of quality education that is able to adapt to the changing needs of the country as the world around us changes. Improvements in the relevance, the quality, and the access to education lie at the core of the Vision for the future” (op. cit., p. 7). For tertiary education, the issue of quality is strongly connected to concerns regarding curriculum relevance. The Tertiary Education Policy of 2008 sets the objectives of “increased access, quality and relevant tertiary education”, and spoke of

major concerns being expressed about the difficulties being experienced by new graduates in obtaining employment. From the employer’s perspective, concerns were raised about the immediate utility of the graduates they employed and the need to provide further on the job training to make them ‘work-ready’ (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 2).

In the Namibian context, “(i)mproved quality in the education system” was one of five education goals adopted in the first National Development Plan, and quality become one of four pillars of the first education policy for the country (Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 4). A primary focus was placed on infrastructure and teacher training at lower levels, since “(e)ducation quality is only possible if programme delivery takes place in a conducive environment” (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 27):

The quality of education is characterised by many factors, among others, teacher's qualification, resource allocation, teaching materials and equipment. To tackle this problem the Ministry embarked upon a huge programme of provision of classrooms, laboratories and libraries. The inset and preset programmes have been introduced instantly. For the provision of classroom, albeit with assistance from our development partners, we still have a long way to go to fill this backlog (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 14).

Quality remains a concern in the 2007 ETSIP document, with a focus in the short term on basic education. Strategies adopted in this regard include increased book provision, increased teacher education, improvement of assessment strategies, and a "clear definition of skills and competencies that learners must acquire at each level, ensuring consistencies with competencies proven to be critical for effective functioning in a knowledge-based economy" (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 3). A new National Curriculum for basic education was passed in 2008, to be implemented 2010 (Republic of Namibia, 2008a, p. 5). The ETSIP focus in the medium term switches to quality in higher education: "to improve the effectiveness, quality, efficiency and development-relevance of the tertiary education and training system" (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 4). Strategies for this include:

a) strengthening institutional capacity for the management and delivery of tertiary education and training, b) building capacity for graduate studies with emphasis on research, c) improvement of quality and readiness of intake, d) strengthen quality assurance mechanisms and e) diversification and mobilisation of financing resources (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 4).

7.2.2.5 Academic freedom

Academic freedom is not guaranteed in the Botswana constitution (although freedom of conscience and freedom of expression are). The issue is raised in the report of the 1993 National Commission on Education:

there is the issue of the relationship between the government (the main funder) and the tertiary institution concerned, regarding the running of the institution. The central issue is that of academic freedom. How far should the government be involved in the actual running of the institution in order to ensure that the legitimate national interests are not eroded? Should tertiary institutions be subjected to the bureaucracy of the civil service regulations? (Ministry of Education, 1993, pp. 6-7 chpt 7).

The document continues:

Academic freedom manifests itself in two forms, personal and institutional. At the personal level, teachers must enjoy the freedom to teach, publish and organise their professional lives free from undesirable external influences. Academic freedom for institutions embraces the freedom to run the institutions without being subjected to undue political influences, sectional interests and bureaucratic regulations. Although academic freedom has not been a concern in this country, the exposure of an institution of higher learning to such a possibility through direct control by a ministry is best avoided. Government institutions may also be prone to excessive bureaucratisation. It could not be expected however, that the state as the main provider of funds for tertiary education, should maintain complete detachment from the affairs of the institutions concerned. There is a need to reconcile public control and maximum independence (op. cit., pp. 12 – 13).

The quotations above show that there is a conflation of the issues of academic freedom and institutional autonomy in Botswana (distinctions drawn by Jonathan, 2006). With regard to the latter, the Tertiary Education Council was the mechanism recommended to provide a buffer between government and tertiary institutions, and was subsequently established by the Tertiary Education Act of 1999. However, the issue of academic freedom is not directly addressed either in that act, or any of the further documents examined (although Challenges and Choices does raise the issue of challenges to university autonomy in the border global context arising from the increased professionalism of management, Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 23). Good (2008), in an examination of the circumstances which surrounded his being declared as a prohibited immigrant to Botswana, moreover, shows how the university itself failed to defend the principle of academic freedom in his case, or to issue any statements regarding its appropriateness in the Botswana context.

In Namibia, academic freedom is included in the Namibian Constitution as a fundamental freedom (“freedom of thought, conscience and belief, which shall include academic freedom in institutions of higher learning”, Republic of Namibia, 2002, p. 13). There is no further mention in any documents examined about academic freedom, although the 1991 Commission spoke of “a lively and representative intellectual community, in which views are expressed without fear or favour, evidence is respected, and ideas are winnowed in open and tolerant debate” (Coombe, 1993, p. 67). As Skeffers points out however, “the question is what scope of application academic freedom actually enjoys in Namibia. As yet, no petition has reached any Namibian court regarding the interpretation of academic freedom in the country” (Skeffers, undated, p. 311).

7.2.2.6 Partnerships

The value of partnerships in education, and particularly in education funding, is evident in documents from both countries which pre-date the Protocol.

In Botswana, Vision 2016 spoke of the need for education to be developed in partnership between the public and private sectors:

The idea of partnership must be extended to include all of the stakeholders in the economy. All stakeholders benefit by an expansion of the economy. The aim must be to increase the size of the cake, rather than to engage in adversarial arguments about how to divide it. An atmosphere of mutual support within the business community must also be encouraged. Partnership must also be interpreted to include the relationship of Botswana with other nations in the Southern African region, SADC and the wider global community (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 31).

The Science and Technology Policy of 1998 spoke of the need for adequate resourcing for research, in partnership with private sector (Republic of Botswana, 1998a, pp. 26-27). Building from this, the 2005 Science and Technology Plan proposed an innovation fund which “will focus on promoting public-private sector partnerships, whilst tax incentives will be introduced to encourage private sector research” (Republic of Botswana, 2005a, p. vii). Four mechanisms for partnerships are proposed: technology link-up grants; grants for private sector research and development; technology fellowships for industry and business; and public-private research consortia (op. cit., p. 17).

The Challenges and Choices document similarly calls for a “sustained partnership between government, private sector and students/ learners” (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 26) for the funding of tertiary education. Moreover, the growing role of private providers of tertiary education is noted: “The role of the private sector in tertiary education has grown in importance with over 100 private providers estimated to have registered with the Ministry of Education by 2004, and more in the pipeline awaiting registration by the Tertiary Education Council” (op. cit., p. 10).

In Namibia, the 1991 Commission stressed the need for partnerships in educational provision:

The government is not now, and should not be in the future, the only provider of higher education and training. The new national system of higher education should be seen as a partnership between many small and large providers. The interests of all the providers should be represented in the consultative and advisory arrangements for establishing policy guidelines, planning targets and curricula (Coombe, 1993, p. 73).

The 2002 Education for All National Plan of Action similarly stressed that “(t)he success of the Namibian EFA plan will rely on the commitment of all potential partners and stakeholders consisting of the private sector, government of the Republic of Namibia, the international community and civil society” (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 28), and ETSIP set a medium term goal of ‘diversification and mobilisation of financing sources’ (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 4).

7.2.2.7 Valuing of research

In both contexts, some evidence of the valuing of research is available in early documents. However, the weight given to this dimension has increased substantially in recent years.

The context of research in Botswana is best sketched in the Challenges and Choices document:

Botswana does not enjoy a reputation for knowledge-based innovation, nor does it have a record of accomplishment in investing in the production of new knowledge. It is handicapped by its small (and in comparison with many countries) relatively lowly skilled population, a small domestic market, and a small private sector which is predominantly a subsidiary of international and particularly South African business (where the creativity, innovation and intellectual property resides). It currently has one national university, which until recently has not had a strong research focus, and few other research oriented institutions, and a limited capability to critically determine the usefulness of externally sourced new knowledge. With science and technology being at the core of knowledge innovations, Botswana is further handicapped by the failure of the education system to deliver appropriately equipped mathematics and science school-leavers and consequently the tertiary system to produce graduates with the requisite skills that are fundamental for a knowledge economy (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 18).

The only focus on research in the pre-1998 documents examined is to be found with regard to educational research in the 1994 RNPE, which recommended that the Committee on Education Research should have revised functions including “to advise the government on the development of educational research; to promote and coordinate education research at the national level; to identify national research priorities etc.” (Republic of Botswana, 1994, p. 60 of accepted recommendations). However, the focus had strongly shifted by the time of publication of the Science and Technology Policy of 1998, which stressed “the importance of conducting basic, adaptive and applied research for promoting industrialisation and development of appropriate technologies” (Republic of Botswana, 1998a, p. 5). A core objective of the policy is to “strengthen national capacity to research, evaluate, select, acquire, adapt, develop, generate, apply and disseminate suitable technologies” (op. cit., p. 6), as well as to “support applied research for enhancing both indigenous and imported

technology, and research on culture norms and values as they relate to scientific and technological development” (op. cit., p. 28).

Following from this the National Research, Science and Technology Plan of 2005 identified priority areas for investment in research and linked these to national development goals. The issue of research funding was given emphasis in the document, which recommended that government commit to research funding of 1% of GDP, as well as setting up a Botswana Research, Science and Technology agency to oversee funding, and the introduction of competitive funding mechanism (Republic of Botswana, 2005a, p. 43). The Tertiary Education Policy of 2008 sets as one of its key policy objectives “developing a nationally relevant and internationally competitive research capacity” (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 14):

To ensure that by 2026 the tertiary education system is demonstrably playing a leading role in advancing the quality and utilisation of research, knowledge creation and innovation and that through its excellent research record and the strength of its relationships with other sectors of the national and global economy it is recognised as a valuable ally and partner in the on-going development of Botswana’s knowledge society (Republic of Botswana, 2008a, p. 14).

Although the document notes that research is primarily based around the University, it recommends that it be expanded to other tertiary institutions, including the new Botswana International University of Science and Technology, as well as other colleges in the sector. Further, “(m)ultidisciplinary tertiary education research centres such as the Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre of the University of Botswana should be deliberately supported to maximise their unique strengths and possibilities to promote international research excellence” (op. cit., p.17).

In Namibia, the issue of a national research policy was first raised by the 1991 Commission on Higher Education “We envisage a national research policy and infrastructure which will foster investigation and enquiry at many levels, and do justice to the need to build Namibia’s knowledge base across a wide range of disciplines and technologies” (Coombe, 1993, p. 65). The 1999 Presidential Commission report contained an entire chapter on Science, Technology and Research, most of which was focussed on the need for teacher upgrading programmes. The document pointed to the fact that most research must be done by universities, and there was therefore a need to ensure that university staff are researching and teaching: “The obligation to undertake research should be written into the contract of each member of the academic staff” (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 192). Vision 2030 stressed the need to expand current research activities (Republic of Namibia, 2004a, p.

74), including research into social issues, and recommended the introduction of a science and technology innovation fund. The document also encouraged collaboration with international research institutions (op. cit., p. 82). The Research, Science and Technology Act was passed in 2004, which established the National Commission on Research, Science and Technology, whose core function is to promote and resource research (Republic of Namibia, 2004c, pp. 3-4).

One of the medium term strategies of ETSIP is to build capacity for graduate studies, with an emphasis on research (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 4) and to “strengthen and systematise the current knowledge creation and innovation system to ensure adequate capacity for the production and application of knowledge to improve productivity growth” (op. cit., p. 3). The three components of this strategy are

- a) strengthening the policy and legal frameworks for knowledge and innovation; b) strengthening the institutional framework through the establishment of the Centre for Innovation, Entrepreneurship and Technology and the Council on Research, Science and Technology, and c) ensuring the adequacy of funding for demand-led research and development (Republic of Namibia, 2007, pp. 3-4).

7.2.2.8 Regional cooperation, collaboration and sharing of resources

Although the promotion of cooperation and collaboration is clearly one of the main priorities of the Protocol, there is little evidence of the promotion of regional collaboration in any of the documents examined.

The University of Botswana Act (1982) provides for two people from outside of the country to sit on the university council, and allows that

- the University Council may, on the advice of the Senate, approve the establishment of relationships with other persons or bodies, or other institutions of learning, higher education, training or research, within or outside Botswana, upon such terms as may be provided in statutes enacted by the University Council in accordance with the provisions of section 14 (Republic of Botswana, 1982, p. 2).

The Science and Technology Policy of 1998 mentions the region only in outlining the functions of the Botswana National Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research, which include “to promote and support national and international cooperation and collaboration in S&T activities” (Republic of Botswana, 1998a, p. 43). There is no further documentary reference to the promotion of regional collaboration. Conversational data indicate that, although regional development priorities were not

considered during development of national policy, the principle of regional collaboration is regarded of high importance. However, most inter-institutional collaboration, at present, is happening with universities not in SADC.

In Namibia, the 1999 Commission noted that some of the programmes of UNAM and the Polytechnic are offered “in cooperation with foreign universities” (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 150). In terms of the 2004 Research, Science and Technology Act one of functions of the National Commission on Research, Science and Technology is to

promote the participation of Namibians and research institutes in regional and international research, science and technology projects and events, and, in cooperation with the Minister and Ministers responsible for foreign affairs and finance, to enter into agreements on cooperation and maintenance of relationships with similar foreign institutions in the fields of research, science and technology (Republic of Namibia, 2004c, p. 3).

Similar to the University of Botswana, the University of Namibia, in terms of its Act, has as members of its council “one or two persons, who are not resident in Namibia, as may be appointed by majority decision of the members of the Council referred to in paragraph (a) to (i) on account of their knowledge of, and experience in, matters relating to higher education” (Republic of Namibia, 1992, p. 4). No further documentary evidence was found of the promotion of collaboration. However, conversation data at organisational level again indicate that regional cooperation is given a high priority.

The evidence seems to show that most collaboration initiatives, where they exist, are at the level of higher education organisations and the staff of those organisations. There is little in the way of policy or mechanisms for encouraging this cooperation.

7.2.2.9 Lifelong education

Lifelong learning, in both contexts, is viewed as a priority, and has traditionally been seen in terms of the provision of adult basic and out-of school opportunities. In Botswana, the 1993 Botswana National Commission on Education emphasised that

(e)ducation should be conceived not just as schooling but as a lifelong process for learning for all Batswana at every age. The goal is to create a learning society in which every individual is involved in the process of acquiring new knowledge, skills and attitudes in a world social, economic, technological and political change. The

Commission believes that it is necessary to provide access to learning opportunities outside the main structure of schooling which will benefit both those who lack basic education and those wish to further their initial education (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 8).

The document proposed the formation of the Botswana Distance Education College to provide for this purpose, particular in regard to skills upgrading. For tertiary education, the 1994 RNPE recommended:

a) that all tertiary institutions should make formal organisational arrangements for providing appropriate short courses and part-time programmes; b) the centre for continuing education of the University of Botswana should be the lead agency for distance education programmes at the tertiary level; and c) that a specialist committee for the continuing education sector should be established as soon as possible to provide coordination and direction (Republic of Botswana, 1994, p. 41).

The Choices and Challenges document noted that “recently tertiary education has been conceived of in terms of a life-long activity with the notion of a qualification that will last for a lifetime being increasingly challenged by the demand for a life-long commitment to continuing education, This has become increasingly critical as the nature of work has changed, job mobility has increased and the need for constantly upgrading high level skills has become an essential” (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 22).

The introduction of lifelong learning has been a theme in Namibian education since the first National Development Plan (1991-1996), which stressed opportunities for lifelong education as one of the five principles adopted for education (Republic of Namibia, 2000, p. 4). The formation of NAMCOL in 1994 was in repose to this, and was intended “to provide learning opportunities for adults and out-of-school youth (and to provide) study opportunities for those learners who were unable or did not wish to attend formal schools” (op. cit., p. 3). Vision 2030 similarly makes reference to “(a)ccess to lifelong learning for all when and where they require it” (Republic of Namibia, 2004a, p. 90).

The Namibia Education for All National Plan of Action (2002) gives strategies for lifelong learning including to:

Encourage the development of lifelong learning in Namibia through institutional and staff development by 2006; Ensure that adequate, appropriate and relevant information resources are available to learners throughout the country, by 2005; Provide opportunities for adults to acquire knowledge, skills and attitudes that will enable them

to participate in socio-economic activities, by 2006; Ensure that learners in all educational programmes progress between institutions with their prior knowledge and skills recognised, by 2006; Help parents become their child's first teacher and lay strong foundations for future learning, by 2003; Provide those who live with disabilities access to lifelong learning, by 2003 (Republic of Namibia, 2002b, p. 18).

7.2.2.10 Reduction of duplication

There is no mention in any documents examined of the potential of regionalisation for the reduction of duplication in provision. The reduction of duplication is not a primary concern in contexts where the demand for education is great, and provision is insufficient. However, the need for greater coordination between higher education providers is evident, in both contexts, in the formation of a national coordinating body (TEC and NCHE).

7.2.2.11 Development

Regional development is not mentioned in any of the documents examined. However, development planning has received a high prioritisation in the Botswana 2008 Higher Education Policy. In Namibia, the need for this planning was emphasised by both the 1991 and 1999 Commission reports.

7.2.2.12 Summary of findings

Examination of the two case studies shows that, in almost all instances, the values agreed to in the Protocol pre-date the Protocol in national policy. This is true of the values of democracy and participation; equity and access (where these two countries are amongst only three in the region who appear close to achieving nine years of education for all, Southern African Development Community, 2007, p. 44); adequate resourcing for education; the value of improvement of quality in the education system; and the value of partnerships in education. Both countries have a history of devoting a large proportion of their budgets to education. There was no evidence found of the impact of the Protocol on this domain. The provision of lifelong education, similarly, has been a policy concern in both countries since the early 1990s, and as in the Protocol, has focussed on the provision of adult basic education and opportunities for out-of-school youth. It is only recently in Botswana that the debate has shifted to lifelong education at tertiary level. The value of academic freedom, in Namibia, predates the Protocol. Botswana's stand on this issue is not clear. Neither set of documentation contains any reference to the reduction of duplication at regional level, although some concern has been expressed regarding the respective roles of institutions in the national context.

Documentary evidence of the valuing of research, in Botswana, dates to 1998 with the publication of the Science and Technology Policy, and in Namibia, to the 1991 Commission report where the need for such a policy was mentioned. In both instances, therefore, this value most likely pre-dates the Protocol. However, this is an area of national policy where there has been strong development over the past decade, and a far greater emphasis is now being placed on research for development, in the context of a 'knowledge economy'. Since the Protocol is couched in pre-'knowledge economy' terms, this development goes beyond its original intentions.

Although national development is clearly a strong theme in both national contexts, regional development is not mentioned in any documentation. The need for development planning tools, particularly with regard to human resource planning, has however been expressed in Namibia since 1991, and more recently, in Botswana, has become a strong theme of the 2008 policy.

7.2.3 Cultural-cognitive dimensions

The culture and language dimensions of national policy, in both contexts, are strongly focused on national concerns and the need for nation-building. No mention was found in the documents examined on the inclusion of regional languages in curricula. Although there may be participation in regional cultural activities, this also has not been adopted in national curricula.

In Botswana, the report of the 1993 Commission recommended that, at tertiary level, the curriculum should amongst several core modules, "a module on Botswana's culture and values, within the context of heterogeneous African cultures, noting the uniqueness and universals of Botswana's way of life (and) "a module on regional and international organisations delineating their functions and the opportunities they offer for participation by Botswana" (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 17 of Chapter 7). This recommendation was accepted in the RNPE. The Science and Technology Policy of 1998 spoke of the need to "create knowledge and awareness, improve and develop the scientific and technological culture of Botswana" (Republic of Botswana, 1998a, p. 6). The majority of statements regarding culture can, however, be found in Vision 2016. This document, for example, states that "In the future, the people of Botswana will need to adapt to the challenges of global society while retaining the positive aspects of their cultural values that distinguish them from other nations" (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 4). It places considerable emphasis on the cultural principle of '*Botho*': "This refers to one of the tenets of African culture - the concept of a person who has a well-rounded character, who is well-mannered, courteous and disciplined, and realises his or her full

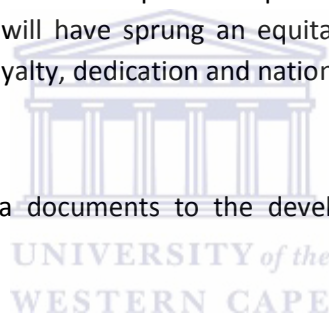
potential both as an individual and as a part of the community to which he or she belongs” (op. cit., p. 5). It continues:

Botho defines a process for earning respect by first giving it, and to gain empowerment by empowering others. It encourages people to applaud rather than resent those who succeed. It disapproves of anti-social, disgraceful, inhuman and criminal behaviour, and encourages social justice for all (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 5).

The development of national pride is a strong theme of the document, which stresses that:

By the year 2016, Botswana will be a united and proud nation, sharing common goals based on a common heritage, national pride and a desire for stability. This will be demonstrated by increased use of the flag and other national symbols that signify racial harmony. The country will still possess a diverse mix of cultures, languages, traditions and peoples sharing a common destiny. We will harness all of that diversity. We will have achieved ethnic integration and full partnership to create a nation in harmony with itself. From this partnership will have sprung an equitably distributed prosperity in a caring environment born of loyalty, dedication and national pride (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 12).

There is no reference in Botswana documents to the development of regional associations or external examiner networks.



The promotion of indigenous culture in Namibia was mentioned in the 1991 Commission on Higher Education: “we would like to see a culture of curiosity, enquiry and invention. There could be material outputs such as local histories and biographies, local remedies, the recording of local stories, songs and dance, local mineral finds, local technological invention or agricultural innovation” (cited in Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 191). The 1999 Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training concurred, and saw the promotion of these qualities as being a function of the proposed National Commission on Research, Science and Technology.

Development of ‘culture’ within the Namibian context is strongly related to the need to overcome the divisive policies of the past. Vision 2030 contextualises:

The colonial and apartheid systems were based on racial discrimination. After Independence, most Namibians have embraced the policy of reconciliation and for many, attitudes are changing. There is a trend towards recognising the strength of diversity, the chance to identify and apply indigenous approaches to challenges facing

the nation. In the last decade there has been a reawakening of cultures and tradition, strongly supported by government policy. Generally, the various mix of cultures in Namibia is now considered as an asset to the country and should no longer be the cause of discrimination or harassment (Republic of Namibia, 2004a, p. 122).

The vision that the document presents is that “(p)eople and society are tolerant and supportive of a diversity of religious beliefs, cultures and ethnicity, and work to optimise the strengths of diversity” (op. cit., p. 123). There is no mention of the development of ‘regional culture’. However, the website of the Ministry of Education notes that

Many joint ventures have ensued with UNESCO and SADC. Some of the highlights are the development of and participation in exhibitions and festivals..., the development and adoption of the SADC document on policies and priorities for the Sector of Culture (including Information), developing of databases and developing mechanisms in order to use culture as a tool to build peace and unity in the region, especially on grassroots level (undated, http://www.op.gov.na/Decade_peace/b_edu.htm, p. 15).

There is no direct reference in the Namibian documents to the promotion of regional associations or external examiner networks, although the Presidential Commission on Education, Culture and Training in 1999 did stress the importance of the Namibian Education Research Association, and recommended that this body develop a database of educational research which should be linked to other regional and African databases (Republic of Namibia, 1999, p. 192).

There is no mention in any of the documents examined regarding the adoption or promotion of regional languages in education. Attention has, rather, been focussed on the promotion of indigenous languages. In Botswana, for example, the National Commission on Education in 1993 recommended that English be used as a medium of instruction from standard 1, whilst “Setswana should continue to be a compulsory subject and in-service training programmes should be mounted to improve its teaching” (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 4). Vision 2016 recognises a broader range of indigenous languages: “Botswana’s wealth of different languages and cultural traditions will be recognised, supported and strengthened within the education system. No Motswana will be disadvantaged in the education system as a result of a mother tongue that differs from the country’s two official languages” (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 7), and “Education must be used to enrich Botswana’s cultural diversity. All of the nation’s languages must be taught to a high standard at primary, secondary and tertiary level” (op. cit., p. 26).

In Namibia,

Before Independence, language was another aspect of Namibia's culture that was used as a basis for people to be marginalised. By then, African mother-tongue languages were the most widely spoken, but Afrikaans was the official language of the colonial administration. Afrikaans was also the language of instruction in most schools. After Independence the new Constitution adopted English as the official language of Namibia, without trying to diminish in status other Namibian languages (Republic of Namibia, 2004a, p. 122).

The 2001 Education Act (Republic of Namibia, 2001) formalised the language of instruction in schools, with English being the primary language of instruction in all Schools from the first form unless the Minister decides otherwise in the case of a particular school.

7.3 Conclusion

The findings of this Chapter provide little evidence of impact of the SADC Protocol on national policy in the two cases examined in this study. Particularly with regard to the normative dimensions of the Protocol, it is evident that the values espoused in the Protocol predate the Protocol in national policy, and the Protocol is thus a reflection of existing practice, rather than a guiding logic for future policy action. The same is true on the regulative dimensions of the Protocol relating to the development of Science and Technology Policies and distance education policies.

There is a general lack, in the documents examined, of any explicit reference to the SADC Protocol. However, despite this lack, national practices are not, in general, out of line with the regional agenda. Areas covered in the Protocol are similar to those evident in national policies and documentation. Certain developments in the national sphere, such as the development of data collection systems and of qualification and quality assurance frames, will ultimately contribute to the development of regional systems and meta-frameworks.

Documents examined were also found to include little reference to regional development, regional cooperation in education, or the building of regional culture. This is despite the fact that both countries have taken a fairly strong lead in SADC outside of the education sub-sector. Botswana hosts the SADC offices. Vision 2016 speaks of the fact that “Botswana is well endowed with the infrastructure for efficient transport and communications, and is well connected to the region, and to the world beyond. This can be viewed as an opportunity” (Republic of Botswana, 1996, p. 17). The Science and Technology policy similarly speaks of “rapid economic growth having brought about

notable changes, particularly the opening of the economy to regional and international competition and the introduction of science and modern technology to all sectors of the economy” (Republic of Botswana, 1998a, p. 3). Regional cooperation is viewed positively in Namibia, as Sherbourne notes:

Namibia has historically tried to play a full role in fostering greater regional economic integration. However slow progress has been, the basic economic logic has always appealed: that a greater economic space would encourage foreign direct investment and foster efficiency to the benefit of all countries. At the same time Namibia, as a new country, has been attempting to create its own institutions and develop its own economy. Paradoxically, this has led to policies in the areas of agriculture, manufacturing, finance and competition policy which have helped to further separate it from the region (Sherbourne, 2009, p. 353).

International agreements, when signed and ratified by Namibia, “automatically become national law” (Republic of Namibia, 2004b, p. 15). The Namibian Vision 2030 document devotes considerable attention to regional cooperation, and regional integration (Republic of Namibia, 2004a, pp. 179-193). Yet there is no mention about education.

Although there was no substantial evidence found in any of the national documents examined of the promotion of regional cooperation in education, this may not be an accurate reflection of practices within universities and other higher education organisations in the two contexts. The SADC Protocol Review document points out that, for the region as a whole,

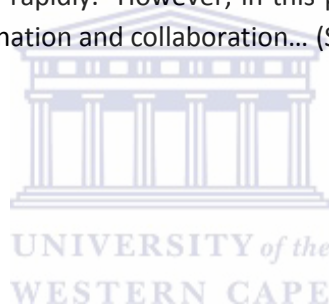
There are a large number of actual and practical collaboration taking place through bilateral agreements. These agreements may have existed for some time, and are fuelled by the real needs of the partners... (The data) shows there are 57 examples of actual collaboration. This demonstrates that there is an enormous need as well as capacity for closer collaboration as well as for harmonisation of tertiary training programmes, research and development. However, at present such collaboration is often *ad hoc*, depending on individual initiatives (SADC, 2007a, p. 73).

Evidence also seems to show that cooperation may be more extra-regional than intra-regional (Hahn, 2005). These co-operations are not necessarily the direct result of the SADC Protocol, and in many instances, are the result of institutional partnerships which do not have the Protocol as an explicit reference point (Hahn, 2004, p. 209). As the Protocol Review document points out, the Protocol may be well known to Ministries of Education, but in general, it has “not filtered down to the majority of educational institutions” (SADC, 2007a, p. 37). Research cooperation is similar:

It seems as if SADC does not have any visible influence on research cooperation in practice. Research cooperation is a sensitive field with regard to political steering. It normally follows the routes of personal interests of researchers or institutional profiles and priorities of research institutes or units. As research is increasingly taking place in a highly competitive environment it rather follows the laws of quality and funding opportunities than those of political programmes. Only substantial funding through the SADC Secretariat or other funding agencies could stimulate a stronger inclination for research cooperation within the region (Hahn, 2004, p. 210).

In summary therefore, there is little evidence, at the level of national policy, of the promotion of the aims of regionalism. As the Protocol Review document points out,

Higher and tertiary education is the areas where most collaboration is most needed and most possible, and indeed this is taking place, but generally on an ad hoc basis, depending on individual student initiative rather than on a nationally and regionally based system. The higher and tertiary education systems within SADC have been evolving and expanding quite rapidly. However, in this process there appears to be, in general, a lack of close coordination and collaboration... (SADC, 2007a, p. 58).



CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this research, as given in Chapter 1 of this study, was to compare the higher education systems of two Southern African countries and to examine the extent to which the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol has had an impact on national policies and practices. In institutional terms, the question was phrased as: to what extent is the SADC Protocol providing an institutional logic guiding national higher education development? In order to address this question, the research has provided a historical, 'process tracing', account of the development of higher education within each socio-political and educational context. The research then examined the extent to which key themes of the Protocol are evident in national policy, asking not only whether they were evident, but also, when they arose. This has allowed for an investigation of whether higher education in the two contexts is responding to national or regional institutional logics. Phrased in another way, the question that has been asked is what is guiding the preference choices made in national policy contexts regarding education broadly, and higher education more specifically.

This chapter reviews the findings of the previous chapters, returns to the discussion about international trends in higher education, and concludes the study.

8.2 Protocol as guiding logic

The analysis of the SADC Protocol on Education in Chapter 5 showed that the Protocol provides a regulative frame for educational engagement at a regional level by covering the themes of policy coherence and system harmonisation, regional governance and structures, education system and structure, qualification and quality assurance frames, data management, and the development of regional centres. If these aspects of the Protocol were coded in such a manner as to be determinative of national practice, there is no doubt that the Protocol would have had significant impact on the practices of its signatory countries, and would have achieved its goals with regard to regional harmonisation. However, as discussed, the Protocol is 'soft' on the regulative dimension, and does not, on these themes, contain any prescriptions for national practice, or any strategic framework for the achievement of these goals. It was therefore not surprising that there was no direct reference found, in Chapter 7, to the achievement of these regional goals in national practice.

Nonetheless, national practices have developed, it was suggested, in a manner that is not inconsistent with the Protocol aims. There has been, in both contexts, considerable structuration of the field of higher education, including the formation of new 'buffer bodies' between the state and the sector, whose overall responsibilities include regulation of the sector, formalisation of requirements for registration of providers and increased coordination between providers, and overall responsibility for quality in the sector. In addition, the legislative framework within which higher education operates has been considerably expanded and codified in both cases, including, although still under development, aspects relating to quality assurance and qualification frames. Although these developments are not directly responding to Protocol requirements, they provide a basis, at national level, from which regional initiatives can proceed. In the absence of this systemisation at national level, regional initiatives would be considerably hampered.

There are few areas where the Protocol does appear to 'prescribing' national practice. These include that countries should formulate science and technology policies, and distance education policies. In both countries examined, national science and technology policies have been formulated, although this appears to have resulted from policy priorities prior to the Protocol, rather than as a result of it. Although neither country has yet adopted a distance education policy, the evidence provided in Chapter 7 shows that distance education (particularly at senior secondary level, but also increasingly at tertiary level) has been a high policy priority in both contexts since the early 1990s. Again, this is not a result of the Protocol. Protocol prescriptions regarding mobility and the access of regional students to higher education institutions are the only aspect of the Protocol which is couched in strong terms with accompanying quantitative targets, and is the one dimension of the Protocol that would be most expected to be reflected in national policy. Yet, regulations regarding admissions criteria and regional admission quotas, mechanisms for the encouragement of regional mobility and credit transfer arrangements, and specifications for the relaxation of immigration formalities are almost entirely overlooked in national policy. The reasons for this have not been examined, however, it is possible that countries who have historically relied on the mechanism of supplementing their own capacity to provide higher education with the provision of bursaries for students to study elsewhere in fields not provided in the country, have not viewed this provision as applying to themselves. Times are changing, however, and these two countries are now better positioned than many others in the SADC region; if regional cooperation in higher education remains a political goal, this aspect of national policy will need examination.

In Chapter 5 it was suggested that much of the Protocol's significance lies on the normative dimension, and on agreements regarding fundamental values that should guide the development of education. These values were identified as democracy and participation in education, equity and access, adequate resourcing, quality improvement, academic freedom, partnerships in education funding and provision, the valuing of research, regional cooperation, collaboration and the sharing of resources, lifelong education and the reduction of duplication. The analysis in Chapter 7 shows that on these dimensions, the SADC Protocol, rather than providing an institutional logic for action for these two states, has for the most part, simply reflected values and policies already in place in the national context. There are few instances where this is not the case. The first is the issue of academic freedom in Botswana. Although there are those who would argue that the provisions of the Botswana constitution for freedom of conscience and expression, in effect, provide for academic freedom, specific case examples seem to suggest that this is not the case. The only discussion of the issue (in the Challenges and Choices document) conflates the issues of institutional autonomy and academic freedom. Yet the Protocol is very clear on the principle of a fundamental valuing and protection of academic freedom. This is a thus a particularly interesting case as very directly pits regional policy against national governance practices. There is no evidence that regional policy has impacted in any way.

Other issues on the normative dimension not covered in prior national policy include the reduction of duplication at regional level: it was suggested in Chapter 7 that this was not a realistic protocol aim given the small size of the regional higher education system. Regional development, as an overall goal of the Protocol, has not emerged as a core value of national documents and policies. Regional cooperation, collaboration and sharing of resources, identified in Chapter 5 as one of the core themes of the Protocol, similarly has not emerged as a core value in national documents, and no evidence was found of policies or strategies to encourage these practices. Nonetheless, it was noted in Chapter 7 that a fair amount of cooperation is occurring in the field at the level of individual organisations and academics. Although this domain was not specifically investigated in this research, cooperation at this level certainly predates the Protocol. Given the general lack of awareness at the 'chalk face' of higher education of the existence and provisions of the SADC Protocol, it is unlikely that it has significantly impacted on these practices.

On the cultural-cognitive level, similarly, there is no evidence that the Protocol has in any way contributed to the development of regional culture, either in the sense of 'Southern African culture' and traditions, or in the sense of the development of a regional higher education culture.

It would be tempting to think that the similarity in policy priorities evidenced in the two contexts could be ascribed to impact of the Protocol. Yet, the analysis in Chapter 7 suggests that this would be too simplistic a vision. Rather than leading country policy, and providing a guiding logic for new interventions, the policy rather appears to be reflection of issues and themes already in place in the two countries examined.

This is not necessarily the case in other country signatories to the Protocol, and the lack of evidence of Protocol impact, in these two cases, may simply reflect their strength in the region and the fact that their education systems were in any event developing along these lines. The Protocol remains a remarkable document in the fundamental agreements that it represents on the value of education, and the values with regard to education, that it espouses. In this, it is an ambitious document, and certainly more all-encompassing than similar developments in other contexts. The Bologna document, for example, is very limited in its intentions, and relates purely to qualification parity at the higher education level.

The dimensions of the Protocol which most pertinently relate to the creation of a regional higher education system are the dimensions identified in this research as 'regional regulative' dimensions. Yet it is precisely on these dimensions that the Protocol is weak. It is here that the fundamental tension between regional policy and national sovereignty becomes evident. If SADC, as the regional body, is unwilling or unable to make prescriptions which will impact upon national practices, particularly on issues such as system structure and definitions, data management practices, and frameworks for qualifications and quality assurance, it is unlikely to succeed in its aims. The 'gradualist' approach adopted for integration may, for the two countries examined in this study, be leading to similar national practices. However, the SADC region includes countries with very different histories and educational systems, and there is no guarantee that this approach will have the same effect in these contexts. The tension, in the regionalism debate in Africa generally, between gradualism (national sovereignty) and immediacy (coercion), is thus reflected also in Protocol implementation.

This reflects also in a second contradiction evident in the Protocol, which is the tension between the overall goal of "equivalence, harmonisation, and standardisation" which appears to favour an integration agenda, and the specific clauses of the Protocol which, to a large extent, are about cooperation: yet SADC's agenda is economic integration. The potential friction between these two

agendas in the region broadly has translated, in the Protocol, into a lack of clarity regarding its aims. In its current formulation, it is the cooperation agenda which is favoured by the softness of the Protocol's formulations, and the lack of specificity and mechanisms for harmonisation. However, the introduction of the specific mechanisms of regional qualification frameworks and quality assurance frames may ultimately lay the foundations for a stronger version of regional integration.

The Protocol is a reflection of a particular historical era, now quite dated. Understandings of 'globalisation' were, at the time the Protocol was drafted, still in their infancy. The discourse of the 'knowledge economy', similarly, was not widespread. It is perhaps for that reason, as well as for politically expediency, that the Protocol's focus was on values, rather than concrete achievables. This also explains another fundamental contradiction in the Protocol: although the preamble is strongly couched in terms of the development needs of the region, the issue of development is not revisited in the Protocol itself, except in regard to development planning. There is thus no clear 'theory' within the Protocol, of how education and development are related. This silence leaves the concept of 'development' open. It is interesting to note that some of the more successful cooperation endeavours between universities in the SADC region have been driven through sectors in SADC other than education (e.g. water research): it is perhaps in these more specific domains that the concept of 'development' takes on substantive meaning.

On the basis of the evidence examined in this study, the Protocol cannot be said to have provided a guiding logic for higher education development in the region. The Protocol is, however, an instance of institutional formation. At the broadest level, the institutional ideology espoused is that of regional education cooperation. Structures have been set in place for the governance and administration of the field. However, for the most part, field creation has not been strong. Field boundaries are weakly defined, primarily because of the principle of national sovereignty. The lack of definitional capacity in the Protocol has resulted in a continuation of diverse country practices, and what is regarded as 'higher' or 'tertiary' education is not the same across the region. Responsible ministries shift and change, with higher education sometimes falling under its own ministry, sometimes falling with education, and sometimes falling under a broader human resources portfolio. For higher education, in particular, this causes difficulties of what and who is included, and a lack of strong field identity. Field structuration, at the regional level, has also not happened rapidly, with few technical committees established, and few centres of expertise and excellence established. The education desk at SADC remains small and underfunded in comparison with some of the other sectors who receive extensive grant and donor funding for development projects. Although the

Protocol provides a logic for the development of the regional field, there is little linkage of this logic with other sectors in SADC, and, as can be seen in this study, there is no strong penetration of this logic into the national domain. Institutional creation at regional level has not had the strength to override national logics or, in any fundamental way, to provoke a change in those logics.

8.3 National logics

In Chapter 6 of this study, a case study account was provided of the development of higher education within the broader educational and socio-political frame of each of the two countries examined. The purpose of this chapter was to provide the respective contexts of the study and to examine how development of the field has been in response to national path dependencies, or a national policy logic. This logic derives from national development needs, goals and plans and builds from previous achievements in the domain. It draws not only from the domain of higher education, but is more broadly connected to education development and goals in the country; and is also subject to some of the contradictions that are evident in the broader national context.

In Botswana, for example, development planning has a long and established history, and key educational priorities are drawn from the broader national plans. Economic diversification has become a key national goal, and has been reflected in the focus within education policy on senior secondary and tertiary participation rates, and in the increased emphasis on the promotion of the role of science, technology and research and the establishment of governance arrangements for this priority. In a context of unemployment and poverty, vocational education and skills training has come to be seen as paramount, and has been given increasing policy attention, both in terms of vocationalisation of the senior secondary curriculum, the formation of the Botswana College of Open and Distance Learning, and the establishment of the Botswana Training Authority. Massification of higher education has become both a concern and a priority. Participation in the 'knowledge economy' has become a core policy goal.

In the Namibian context, equity has been a primary political and social goal since independence, and this has been reflected in strong education policies regarding the creation of a new and equitable system, and on an emphasis on Education for All goal achievement. Unemployment and poverty are also core contextual concerns, and have also translated into a focus on vocational, out-of-school and adult education, and the growth of the Namibian College of Open Learning. National development goals speak of the need for economic growth through an increase in productivity. Increased levels of

education are seen to be key to achieving this productivity and there is a resulting focus on increased access to secondary and tertiary education. There is a similar increased focus on research, science and technology.

Within each context, increasing structuration of the field is evident. This is manifest particularly in the increasing volume of policy and legislation relevant to education and higher education. It is evident in the increasing number of bodies responsible for aspects of the governance of education and research, and in the formation of intermediary bodies between individual organisations and national education departments. It is evident also in the clearer demarcation of field boundaries, definitions, and roles of respective players, and in the increasing number of organisations in the field.

There are strong similarities between the two cases. To some extent these derive from contextual similarities: unemployment, poverty, the need to stimulate the economy, and the need to build education from a relatively low base. The responses to these contextual challenges are very similar: the focus on vocational education; the shift in focus from primary to senior secondary and tertiary access, and the recent focus on the role of knowledge in the economy. Contextual differences arising from the vastly different histories of the two countries are less pronounced, but are evident in the higher prioritisation given to equity in the Namibian context, and in the earlier achievement of education goals at the lower levels in Botswana. The recent focus on the role of higher levels of education and knowledge is manifest in the same form in the two contexts, although expressed in slightly different discourses: economic diversification and 'knowledge economy' participation being the preferred terminology in the Botswana context, and 'productivity growth' having a stronger emphasis in the Namibian context, perhaps reflecting the stronger market orientation of the Namibian economy.

What the two case studies clearly illustrate is the path dependencies of policy and how priorities are linked to previous achievements, previous policy goals, and broader national contexts. This is particularly evident in the area of access, with prioritisation of, first primary, then junior secondary, and finally senior secondary and tertiary education. What the case studies do not account for is the striking similarity in themes in the national context. Although these contexts are, in some respects similar (poverty, unemployment, economic underdevelopment), these similarities are insufficient to explain almost simultaneous emergence in national policy in recent years, of themes such as efficiency, quality and most particularly, science, research and technology. The switch in focus to provision of access at senior secondary and tertiary level, prior to the full achievement of ten years

of education for all, in both contexts, is a strong example of this. In order to account for the emergence of these themes in national policy discourse, it is necessary to return to the discussion begun in Chapter 1 on international trends in higher education.

8.4 Worldviews

In the discussion in Chapter 3 (section 3.4.1) the point was made that higher education has an international context and meaning, which is not necessarily reflective of its local context. Whilst on one hand this arises from the nature of the field which is strongly tied to an international knowledge community, increasingly, in recent times, the organisational forms and preoccupations of higher education, across national divides, have followed similar trends. Thus, internationally a multitude of policies relating to qualification recognition, quality assurance, international cooperation, and staff and student mobility have become widespread. In addition, concerns such as efficiency and effectiveness have, under the neo-liberalism of the past three decades, become dominant.

This section examines whether the global trends, identified in chapter 1, are evident also in the contexts of this study, and questions the extent to which changes evident in national policy can be ascribed to trends in the international arena.



8.4.1 International trends

‘Massification’ was the first international trend in higher education identified in chapter 1: rapid and large increases in the number of students registered for higher education in national contexts around the globe. In both contexts of this study, a very rapid growth in the number of students registered for higher education is evident over the time period of this study (and in Botswana, this has been described as ‘massification’). Yet there is a fundamental difference in the ‘massification’ described in the international literature and that experienced in these African contexts, which relates to the extent of overall provision: Martin Trow (1973) has introduced the terms elite, mass and universal to describe the growth of higher education access in society. It is towards the latter that many first world countries are converging. The gross enrolment ratios in the countries of this study are well below his ‘universal’ rate, and higher education in the two contexts of this study remains firmly in the ‘elite’ category (i.e. less than 15%). However, a huge increase in student numbers in any context is likely to result in major challenges with regard to, for example, infrastructure, staffing, and the ability to regulate quality.

The increasing admission of non-traditional students, in first world countries, is mirrored in the countries of this study in the strong focus on equity of access. The causes of the two trends differ. In the first world, this results from massification, and from the drive to attract more and new types of students. In Southern Africa, the rationale is strongly political, and derives from a history of inequality resulting from colonial relations. Yet the results are similar: increasing numbers of students who, for various reasons, are underprepared for high levels of study, and who subsequently require high levels of support and teaching intervention.

In the international experience generally, there has been a decreasing of resources to higher education, simultaneous with the increase in student numbers, and it is in this context that many of the other trends described in chapter 1 have emerged: marketisation and commercialisation strategies in particular have been in response to decreased public funding of higher education. The introduction of student fees, in some countries, has similarly been in response to lower government grants, but this has occurred in a context where increasing student numbers have made this option viable. In the contexts of this study, there have been no dramatic cuts in funding to the sector, and indeed, education funding in general, including higher education funding, has been accorded high priority in state spending, considerably outstripping, in proportional terms, the weight according to this funding priority in most other countries. However, a high proportion of a low gross domestic product does not, in any way, compare to the lower proportions of considerably higher gross domestic products available to the sector in countries such as the United States and United Kingdom. Funding for higher education is inadequate in SADC countries generally, and the two countries in this study, although in a better position than some, are no exception. Concerns have been raised in both countries about the high cost of higher education funding, and the sustainability of current funding practices, particularly given the growing student numbers. Paradoxically then, although the causes differ, demands for less reliance on state funds and the introduction of funding formulas, fees and loan schemes are becoming evident, and are likely to increase in the future.

Marketisation and commercialisation, in the first world, are connected with calls for relevance, particularly the increasing adoption of 'type-2' knowledge production, and a focus on research application and 'innovation'. Increasingly, 'relevance' has also become the holy grail of higher education systems in southern Africa. Yet, in most instances, the relevance that is sought is less with regard to commercial application (although this is also evident), and more in regard to the need for higher education organisations to play a developmental role in their societies. In Botswana, for

example, 'relevance' has been a key theme in policy since the early 1990s. Although much of the early debate related to the need to vocationalise the secondary curriculum and to provide opportunities for out-of-school youth, the need for higher education to contribute to development was also mentioned, with the 1993 Commission, for example, saying that "It is the principle role of the tertiary level of education to produce high level human resources for national economic development..." (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 3 of chapter 7, full quote in chapter 6). In Namibia similarly, documents refer to the role that higher education should play in development: "Tertiary education and training contributes to development in multiple ways... It produces high level technical and managerial personnel required for economic growth and competitiveness ..." (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 37, full quote in chapter 7).

'Knowledge economy' discourses have permeated both contexts. Although in both cases this is clearly linked to national economic goals, the discourse itself, as well as the underlying 'logic' of the contribution of knowledge to the economy, has clearly been drawn from the global stage. In Namibia, although the primary discourse used is of increasing productivity, documents stress the value of a "knowledge-based economy" (Republic of Namibia, 2007, p. 1, full quote in chapter 7). In Botswana, the vision is similarly of a "high skilled knowledge intensive" diversified economy (Republic of Botswana, 2008, p. 5, full quote in chapter 6). The strong emphasis on science, technology and research, in both contexts, over the past decade, evident in policies, plans and the formation of numerous governance structures in this domain, is an indication of how seriously this view is taken.

Quality assurance frameworks have become a major feature of the higher education landscape internationally. In both of the countries in this study, increasing the quality of educational provision has been a long term policy goal. It is only recently, however, that the need for quality improvement has been linked to the development of such a frame. SADC initiatives may have influenced this; however it is possible that, given how widespread these practices have become, global trends would in any event have impacted on this domain.

Finally, changes in management practices, at least at the level of national governance, are evident in both contexts, in the formation of new governance structures and intermediary bodies (particularly the Tertiary Education Council and National Council for Higher Education, but also bodies responsible for science and research, and for qualifications, such as Namibian Qualification Authority and Botswana Training Authority). At least in part, the formation of these new bodies is the inevitable

result of structuration of the developing field in each country; however, the similarities in form of the new structures created between the two countries, and also with many other countries internationally, suggests the adoption of common models and structures.

International changes in higher education were, in chapter 1 of this study, ascribed to two, interconnected, underlying influences: neo-liberalism and globalisation. At a political level, as Robertson and Dale point out, globalisation has impacted on education on three dimensions: policy mandates, human and fiscal resourcing, and governance. Thus, the policy mandate

has increasingly privileged global economic competitiveness, lifelong learning, education for a knowledge-based economy, and education as an export industry. The resourcing of education (human and fiscal) emphasises efficiency, effectiveness and accountability. Finally, new structures of governance (funding, regulation and so on) have reconfigured relationships between the state and civil society, public and private, citizens and communities (Robertson & Dale, 2008, pp. 19-20).

There is no doubt that these themes have been taken up in the contexts of this study. In addition to the dimensions mentioned above, 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' have been themes in policy, in Namibia, since the 1991 Commission Report, and in Botswana, since the 1993 Commission Report. The neo-liberal underpinnings that have characterised many of the changes in higher education internationally over the past three decades are less evident in the contexts of this study, particularly with regard to increasing trends towards the market and withdrawal of the state. Primarily this is due to the fact that these two countries avoided the structural adjustment programmes (discussed in Chapter 1) that have had such a profound impact on higher education in other African countries. Nonetheless, some aspects of changes evident in recent times have undoubtedly been influenced by global trends in this regard: the most significant of these being the increasing focus on the economic benefits of education. The increasing adoption of models of increased regulation and performance management (Henkel's 'economic instrumentalism', 2000, cited in Chapter 1) could also be ascribed to this.

As this brief analysis shows, although the conditions in the Southern African countries of this study are very different to those experienced in higher education systems elsewhere, the concerns, to a large extent, are the same. High student numbers, inadequate funding, calls for relevance, and regulation of aspects such as quality are manifest here also, although the underlying causes may be different. Responses to these concerns appear to be following a similar path.

8.4.2 Convergences

Theoretically, in chapter 3, DiMaggio and Powell's (1991) concept of isomorphism was drawn upon to explain how apparent similarities in form arise between organisations in the same institutional field. Evident similarities in higher education policies around the world suggest that there is a high rate of isomorphism in this field. This is particularly evident in the widespread adoption of qualification frames (Young, 2003) and quality assurance mechanisms (Vidovich, 2004), but is also evident in the more subtle adoption of the 'authoritative cultural model' of science, and 'science for development' approaches (Drori et al., 2003). Meyer et al. suggest:

This is perhaps the single most important implication arising from institutional theory. If higher education structures, like universities and colleges, reflect common models in national or world environments, they should show unexpected similarities across diverse settings and change in similar ways over time. And by all accounts, the university is indeed a central historical global institution, core to the distinctive trajectory of Western and now world society... The empirical literature provides clear evidence on this issue. Educational systems are remarkably similar around the world, and increasingly so over time (Meyer et al., 2007, p. 193).

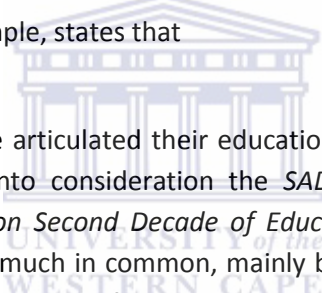
This apparent convergence at policy level does not necessarily imply homogeneity of practices at different levels of analysis (Neave, 2002). In higher education policy, as a number of authors have pointed out, apparent convergence may reside at a superficial level (Neave, 2002; Witte, 2006; Varia, 2004). Policy divergences are equally important, but have not been investigated in this study.

There is evidence in the documents examined in this study of the direct impact of international practices on local policy. SADC documents, most particularly the more recent qualification framework and quality assurance documents, make reference to international trends. The SADC quality assurance document, for example, states that "more than 60 countries have National Qualification Frames, or are in the process of developing National Qualification Frames, while at least 3 regions are developing regional qualification framework s, 'or meta-frameworks'" (SADC, 2007b, p. 12). It also makes the point that "An overview of current debates related to quality assurance and qualifications framework development emphasizes that progress in the SADC region cannot be seen in isolation from global developments" (op. cit., p. 5) and that "(e)xisting SADC, African and international conventions and protocols form the basis wherein quality assurance systems and qualification frameworks, particularly the regional qualification framework, can be developed" (op. cit., p. 27). SADC itself is thus subject to pressures from international practices,

and developments in regional cooperation elsewhere, such as the Bologna Declaration, increase expectations in the local context.

The SADC Protocol may also be acting as an isomorphic mechanism in terms of driving increasing similarity in national policy. However, the findings of this study seem to indicate that, if so, this is not by coercive means (in DiMaggio and Powell's distinction between coercive, mimetic and normative mechanisms of isomorphism, discussed in chapter 3). In the contexts of this study, it is clear from the analysis above that the regulative dimension of the Protocol is weak, and not capable of wielding coercive influence. The processes of 'de-nationalisation' (Olds, 2009, see Chapter 1) implicit in regional integration are not yet evident in the national contexts of this study. Rather, to the extent that the Protocol is exerting an isomorphic pressure, this is more likely to be via normative means: by defining what is appropriate practice in national contexts in Southern Africa.

SADC countries have also been independently influenced by broader global developments. The Protocol Review document, for example, states that



All SADC Member States have articulated their education policies, but only a few have done so by directly taking into consideration the *SADC Protocol on Education and Training* and the *African Union Second Decade of Education...* Nevertheless Member State education policies have much in common, mainly because, like the *SADC Protocol on Education and Training* and the *African Union Second Decade of Education*, they incorporated international initiatives such as Education for All (EFA) (1990). (SADC, 2007a, pp. 36-37)

Documents in the Botswana context make specific reference to international practice. For example, the proposal for the formation of TEC was informed by visits elsewhere (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 13). The Research Plan specifically adopts Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development definitions and measurements. It also follows the United Nations Development Programme in stating that "It is now commonly accepted that science and technology is the largest contributor to economic progress and human development (Republic of Botswana, 2005a, p. 2). The Foreword of the Challenges and Choices document is strongly couched in terms of international trends:

Around the world, tertiary education is going through major changes resulting from a number of challenges. These challenges include the need to respond to the impact of globalisation, needs of a new knowledge society, to high social demand and to the rising expectations of stakeholders... (Tertiary Education Council, 2005, p. 2)

In Namibia, similarly, it is acknowledged that policy has been influenced by international practices. The 1991 Commission, for example, states

'Foreign' (meaning non-South African) influence on Namibian education is often derided by opposition politicians and the opposition press. By any measure it has been substantial. In May 1991, the Minister of Education and Culture listed 23 reports, completed or in progress, by external consultants to his ministry. International participation in Namibia's education reconstruction is a deliberate act of policy which reflects (the Ministers) determination to break out of the inward-looking isolationism of apartheid and colonial rule. In the process, Namibian education policy is becoming increasingly well defined (Coombe, 1993, pp. 61-62).

Practices in the international domain spread, both by direct transmission of particular practices ('best practice' models, Peters, 1996), and through more generalised cultural-cognitive understandings of the world. Multi-national and international bodies and donor agencies play a large role in this (Drori et al., 2003), as do epistemic communities (Haas, 1992) and 'policy networks' (Chisholm, 2007). In higher education, as suggested in chapter 3, this situation is made more pronounced by the inherent international nature of the domain.

Partly this explains why, in the contexts of this study, the discourse on education's role in development, and most specifically, the role of science, technology and research in the economy, is so strong. There is little direct research in either context to support this idea that increasing higher education, or research, will contribute to economic development (the social benefits notwithstanding). Rather, what is being adopted is a worldview, a particular understanding of the way the world works, which then provides its own logic for action. As Meyer, Ramirez et al point out,

the much heralded 'knowledge society' is more important and realistic as a set of assumptions and cultural claims than it is as an actual depiction of a mundane social order. Only a very few countries could even plausibly be described as possessing a 'knowledge economy'. And even in these... links between the university and the role system prove surprisingly weak... Yet the myth of the 'knowledge society' is very much at the heart of the university's centrality in the post-national and increasingly global world. The present-day liberal world polity places great demands on social actors - nation-states, organisations, and individuals - to act on behalf of a variety of private and public ends. The global knowledge-society myth empowers these actors and provides the basis for coordination among them - resulting in much more action (collective and otherwise) than one might expect... The university, science and rationalised knowledge

together supply a symbolic infrastructure that sustains the status of individuals and states as what are now called 'actors' and provides the basis for order in a globalised but stateless world (Meyer et al., 2007, p. 204).

8.5 Conclusion

This research began with the assumption that a greater understanding of the higher education systems of the region is necessary if regional cooperation between these systems is to be achieved. The assumption was that contexts and histories matter, and that these need to be taken into account when formulating policy, or analysing performance in the region. This assumption provided a scaffold for this research on two dimensions. First, a research methodology was chosen which would allow for an understanding of how context and history play a part in policy determination. Institutionalism, as discussed in chapter 3, provided this frame and the research method was chosen to be congruous with this methodology. Thus, higher education policy was seen to be, and described as, a function of broader socio-economic, political and educational contexts.

The analysis sought to investigate the extent to which the Southern African Development Community Protocol on Education is impacting on national policy in two countries in the region. In order to investigate this question, the research questioned the extent to which national policy is responding to local or regional institutional logics. The findings of the study indicate that the Protocol, rather than providing leadership in the area of education policy, was to a large extent a symbolic document, reflective of norms already existent in national policy in the two countries studied. The analysis found that the Protocol was not strong on the regulative domain, and that this may reflect the general tensions that exist between regionalism and national sovereignty. Although, in general, educational practices in the two countries were found to be in line with Protocol aims, there were no areas of national policy found which could be specifically ascribed to the Protocol. On the other hand, the process accounts given of educational policy development in each of the national contexts illustrate clearly how policy has grown in these two contexts, and how it is connected to broader national goals and previous education achievements. The national logic thus appears to be a far stronger determinant of policy than regionalism aims.

The sample of the study was chosen specifically to allow for an examination of the diversifying effects of history. As mentioned in chapter 4, Botswana and Namibia share very similar contexts and have very similar scores on all of the major economic indicators. However, their histories are very dissimilar, with Botswana having been barely touched by colonialism and having achieved

independence fifty years ago, and Namibia having suffered two colonial oppressions and only recently having obtained independence. The research made the assumption that the effects of these very different histories would be a key factor determining national policy and that an understanding of these different histories would therefore be key to understanding national responsiveness to regional policy.

However, an unanticipated finding of this study was that the Southern African Development Community Protocol on Education in fact is providing very little leadership in the area of regional cooperation in education. Rather, the document's significance lies at the symbolic level, and on the agreement on normative values that should underpin education in nation states. Yet these values were precisely the values on which the national systems, in the two countries of this study, were already built. 'Responsiveness' to regional policy was therefore a misleading quest.

In addition, although differences in emphasis were found between the two contexts, differences between them were not as great as had been expected, and over time, the systems appear to be becoming, at policy and structural level, more similar. There is little in the Protocol itself which appears to be driving this increasing isomorphism, although undoubtedly, the processes which the Protocol has set in motion, such as regular meetings of the Education Ministers of the different countries, is acting to diffuse models of appropriateness with regard to education policy. However, it seems more likely, given trends in the global context towards apparent increasing uniformity in higher education policy, that isomorphic pressures are being exerted directly onto the two countries, and that similarities between their policies can be explained as a result of global worldviews and the actions of trans- and international bodies which promote these views.

The research has also shown that questions have been raised regarding the effectiveness of the Southern African Development Community structure itself as mechanism for development. The Southern African Development Community's focus on economic development appears to be based on a development paradigm that is well out of date. Even on this level, with the exception of some achievements in infrastructure development, achievements have been slight, and most economic cooperation in the region has resulted from private initiatives in which states appear to have played very little role, even of a facilitating nature. The Southern African Development Community's principle of national sovereignty has led to an inability to involve itself in affairs of the state, even when these compromise regional security. South Africa's position in the region, as dominant economic power but not regional hegemon, is fraught with tension. Overall, this has led to a

situation where, in close to twenty years of existence, the Southern African Development Community has resulted in little economic growth and no record of achievement in social development. A regional frame for cooperation in higher education may have merits irrespective of the broader SADC agenda, but this has not yet been contemplated.

The process account adopted in this study has yielded insights which a cross-sectional account, which simply examined country practices against Protocol aims at a single point in time, would not have provided. Most specifically, an examination of country policies for evidence of Protocol themes which did not examine the origin of the themes may well have resulted in an account which indicated that countries were 'complying' with the Protocol. However, the method adopted in this study relied largely on documentary analysis and was limited to the level of analysis of national policy. It is possible that an analysis which focussed on a different level (institutions of higher education, for example), and on individual perception, rather than formal documentation, would have had different results. Conversational data certainly seem to indicate a higher degree of agreement with Protocol aims, and a greater level of cooperation and cross-fertilisation of practices, than is evident in policy documents.

Regardless of achievements in regionalism, it appears that development is primarily a national concern. There are three reasons for this: first, context specificity and the historical trajectory of nation state; second, it is at the level of the state that the administrative structures that can provide for implementation lie; and thirdly, that globalism and its various manifestations, in its current form is serving the interests of capital, and not development. If higher education is to serve a developmental role in its society, it is, in the first instance, to the national frame that it must be responsive. Its role, particularly in African countries, should however not be read simplistically as labour market responsiveness and economic competitiveness. As Edigheji notes,

If the democratic developmental state is one that advances economic, social and political freedoms, as well as promoting environmental sustainability, then the role of African universities, in constructing such states on the continent, is to contribute towards advancing such freedoms and sustainable environments through their research, teaching and civic engagements.... If African states are to become developmental, then one of the immediate tasks of the universities on the continent is to restore the ethos of civic culture in lecturers and students. This point is important because policy in any state, including developmental states, by its very nature is political. Therefore there is a need for African higher education institutions to produce political and administrative leaders who will formulate public policy that will enable the continent to industrialise

and to expand the human capabilities of African people (Edigheji, 2009, pp. 71-73, emphasis my addition).



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