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Globalizing Higher Education for Neo-liberal Development in Postcolonial Mozambique

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Abstract

This article examines the ways in which neo-liberal discourses of globalization and development have been used to imagine and enact higher education in Mozambique. It argues that higher education developments in Mozambique in the past fifteen years are not only reflective of free market economy logic, but also ignore the social and historical contextualities, a course which deepens social inequalities. Using a postcolonial perspective to de-naturalize neo-liberal regimes of knowledge production, the article analyses how the course of higher education in Mozambique is indicative of broader social (trans)formations. It shows how the policy framework evokes and puts to work a set of technologies such as self-empowerment, self-regulation and a culture of managerialism to enforce the belief that individuals can make choices to fulfil their hopes of improving lives through higher education. It also argues that this belief does not take into account how such technologies of hope are configuring power relations which may lead, in the long run, to social inequalities because very few households can afford access to higher education.

Résumé

L'article examine la manière dont les discours néolibéraux de la mondialisation et du développement ont été utilisés pour réformer et adopter l'enseignement supérieur au Mozambique. Cet article soutient que l'évolution de l'enseignement supérieur au Mozambique durant les quinze dernières années n'est pas seulement le reflet d'une logique économique de liberté de marché plutôt étroite, mais ignore également un contexte social et historique qui aggrave les inégalités sociales. Revenant sur l'approche postcoloniale de

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production de connaissances promue par des régimes néolibéraux, cet article montre comment le contenu de l'enseignement supérieur est révélateur de facteurs sociaux de (trans)formations plus larges. Il analyse la manière dont le cadre politique évoque et met en œuvre un ensemble de technologies (telles que autonomie, autorégulation et management culturel) pour imposer la croyance selon laquelle les individus peuvent faire des choix pour répondre à leurs espoirs grâce à l'amélioration de l'enseignement supérieur. L'auteur soutient que cette croyance ne tient pas compte de la manière dont ces technologies ne sont que la configuration de rapports de force ; ces rapports de force peuvent entraîner, à long terme, des inégalités sociales, car très peu de ménages pourront avoir accès à l'enseignement supérieur.

Introduction

The end of the twentieth century prompted a very significant body of literature preoccupied with the fate of African peoples and the course of development of Africa, with special emphasis on the sub-Saharan region. Indeed, the field of African studies in its many disciplines raised debates on the state of development in Africa, its main problems and challenges. For some scholars, the twenty-first century could be the 'African century', because, with the intensification of globalization processes, finally Africa could have the opportunity of lifting from the bottom. One of the main points that have been made is the 'Africanization of knowledge' as the cornerstone for the development of the continent, the main supporting argument being that development processes in the continent so far have been carried out mainly from Western perspectives, which ignore the contexts and peculiarities of African societies. Central to this view is the need to rethink Africa's development while at the same time Higher Education (HE) is given a pivotal role as a privileged space of knowledge (re)production and dissemination. Most of the studies on HE in Africa focus on the development of this subsystem of education and issues related to the liberalization process, such as tuition fees and loans (Johnstone 2004), academic freedom (Altbach 2005; Chachage 2006; Kanywanyi 2006; Mama 2006; Sall and Mangu 2005; Zeleza 2003), privatization of HE (Levy 2007; Mabizela 2007; Otieno 2007) among others. In the case of Mozambique, the sharp growth of HE in the past fifteen years has also been subject of several studies and is still being debated. For example, Beverwijk (2005) and Beverwijk, Goedegebuure and Huisman (2008), using the Advocacy Coalition Framework, analyzed HE policy developments in Mozambique from 1993 to 2003. The analysis undertaken in both studies aims to understand how HE policy after 1992 in Mozambique was developed not entirely by the government, but with a coalition of other social sectors based on similar beliefs on the course HE should take. On the other hand, Mário, Fry, Levey and Chilundo (2003) conducted a case study which surveys HE developments as a consequence of the liberalization process

in the 1990s, stressing issues of access and equity, relevance and quality, finance and governance, among others. Other studies such as Meneses (2005) and Cruz e Silva (2005), starting from the presupposition that HE in Mozambique has been experiencing significant changes, analyse how higher education institutions (HEIs) in the country face new challenges of knowledge production, with special emphasis on the social sciences. These studies on HE in Mozambique have as a point of departure – the transformations Mozambique has been experiencing since independence against the backdrop of global changes. However, all these studies do not fully address how such transformations of HE in Mozambique are re-configuring power relations in the broader society. In taking a postcolonial perspective to de-naturalize neo-liberal regimes of knowledge production, this article analyses how the course of HE in Mozambique is indicative of major social transformations. To that end, from government documents and interviews with HE senior administrators, I analyse neo-liberalizing policy and discourses which are put in force through a set of techniques to drive HE in Mozambique in a particular direction.

In section one of the article, I unpack the ideological assumptions underpinning current patterns of development in Africa and analyse why neo-liberal globalization has gained prominence in the development process of the continent. In the second section, drawing on the notion of 'the re-narrativization' (Tikly 1999) in order to historicize (Rizvi 2007) the neo-liberal development discourse which is the basis for HE policy framework and the techniques used for policy enforcement, I argue that an analysis of the role of HE in Africa should be extended to the cultural politics of development within the context of postcolonial experiences. In unsettling the forms and techniques of HE policy enforcement, the analysis uncovers the social (trans)formations connected with such a policy. Finally, in section three, I analyse HE in Mozambique, contending that because the transformations of HEIs are driven by neo-liberal and technologist conceptions of development, less attention is paid to the social aspects and human contours of the process.

Globalization: Conceptual (in)Definitions

A quick review of the globalization literature shows that globalization processes in both material and discursive dimensions are experienced from different contexts and locations, and this leads to different interpretations. Despite such a variety of perspectives, I will look at some of the working definitions to understand the discursive map of globalization. Robertson (1992) described globalization as 'the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole'; while from a cultural perspective, Appadurai (1996) proposed a view of globalization as a set of flows (people, finance, technology, media and ideas) which are fluid, irregular and shape our

cultural goods at the international level. Tomlinson (1999), on the other hand, also commenting on the cultural dimensions of globalization, proposes the idea of globalization as a complex of connectivities as we live in a 'rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnection and interdependences' (Tomlinson 1999:2). Globalization as connectivity, Tomlinson argues, allows us to understand how distances in time and space have been shortened. In the same tone, Held and McGrew (2008) make it clearer that globalization is

> a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the *spatial* organization of social relations and transactions, expressed in transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction and power (2008, original emphasis).

However, a slightly different understanding of globalization is offered by Scheuerman (2006), who highlights the acceleration of time as structurally crucial to the transformations of human existence. Both views of Held and McGrew (2008) and Scheuerman (2006) seem very important in understanding how transformations at different dimensions are effected because they see globalization as a set of changes of a very significant level embodying human activity in a complex configuration of networks and transactions across regions, defining forms of power.

For the purposes of this article, I take globalization as a '*syndrome* of processes and outcomes that are manifested very unevenly in both time and space' (Dicken 2004:8, original emphasis). This perspective is very important because it has far-reaching consequences in understanding development processes. In fact, Dicken reminds us, first, that globalization has limited explanatory value because most of globalization discourses do not describe material processes and outcomes. Second, Dicken's argument is that the newness of these material processes and outcomes comes not from the increase of its volume when compared with the beginning of the twentieth century, but from qualitative changes of its production and spatial distribution that have occurred (Dicken 2004:8).

However globalization is defined or conceptualized, three points stand out from the various theorizations. First, globalization as a set of processes and material outcomes is not new and has been ongoing for some time. However, the scale and intensity of these processes have increased over the past few decades. Second, globalization has made possible free flows of capital across nation-states and regions. Finally, although globalizing processes have intensified connectivity and interdependence of spaces, globalization has different impacts on different spaces and different peoples. In fact, the intensification of global processes, interdependence and free capital flows does not necessarily mean that peoples can also circulate freely, because physical, economic, cultural and even political boundaries are still experienced by millions of people around the world.

Global 'Solutions' for Local Problems

Commenting on the different spatial experiences of globalization, Dicken (2004) observes that we live in a world market economy governed by neo-liberal rules. However, there is no one single form of capitalism and each form of capitalism is determined by the way the main actors of global capitalism interact in the network and the power relations between them. This leads to different processes and outcomes of globalization. Institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank (WB) and other bodies exercise more authority in some regions than in others as they are key players in the development stakes. These institutions govern the world economy through normative regulations, adopting a universal policy approach to development for countries which have vastly different political, social and cultural contexts and experiences. Dicken concludes, then, that globalization varies across geographical regions because global actors in the world market economy vary in the ways that they exercise power relations. Also, individual states vary in their capacity to bargain with global actors. Dicken's argument implies that we cannot speak of powerless states in a neo-liberal world economy; what does exist are different outcomes of global economic processes, as they depend on the power relations and network configurations (Dicken 2004:12).

It is from this perspective that we can understand why the international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the WB and the IMF have for some decades taken neo-liberal globalization as the pattern and that it is synonymous with development and modernization. This has led the IFIs to steer the world economy towards neo-liberal ends by developing a creed on the benefits and effectiveness of neo-liberal principles. As Mkandawire (2002) critically observes:

> For those of neo-liberal persuasion the greatest promise of globalization is improvements in economic welfare through more rapid growth. In the more axiomatic presentations open and 'market friendly' policies lead to rapid growth that was labour intensive and, therefore, poverty reduction. The set of policies needed were said to be now quite well established and were available in the form of stabilisation and structural programs administered by the BWIs (Bretton Woods Institutions) (Mkandawire 2002:118).

The Washington Consensus, mainly consisting of 'policy imperatives of privatization, trade liberalization, deregulation, tax reform, and the introduction of market proxies and benchmarking into the public sector' (Carrol and Carson 2003:31), was the most visible move of this trend to neo-liberal policies. Despite its discursive metamorphosis into 'post'-policies, supposedly more socially friendly, there are signs that the forms of thought that shaped the Washington Consensus remain in the imaginations of policymakers. It is in this sense that, apart from the influence and prescription of IFIs on neo-liberal policies, there are other factors: first, most of government economists from developing countries were educated and continue to be educated in the Western 'centres' of learning and economic departments

dominated by very particular regimes of knowledge; second, the flow of policy ideas is also determined by government and treasury officials when they embrace a particular line of development.

It is important to look at how globalization in its neo-liberal forms has become the governing drive for the world in very subtle ways. As Joseph (2006) says:

> The ideologies of neo-liberalism and globalization today act to justify deliberate policies by suggesting that there is no alternative but to follow the flows of capital and the logic of the free market (Joseph 2006:413).

One of the presuppositions of free market ideology is the freedom of individuals to engage in entrepreneurship, with a consequence that some of the government's responsibilities are transferred to the private sector. It is in this sense that we can understand Joseph's assertion that neo-liberal ideology has led governments to encourage the governed to conduct their lives and interests according to the exigencies of economic and social forms of organization that rest upon free entrepreneurship. However, the most important argument Joseph makes is that this has come to happen because globalization is evoked to legitimize policies set out by institutions and enforced through technologies of governmentality (Joseph 2006:414-415).

The most prevailing technique of global governmentality has perhaps been the invocation of knowledge as the new driver for the world economy. Since the early 1990s, the WB has been preaching and persuading governments and HEIs administrators that HE is at the core of the new economy. From an analysis of the crisis of HE around the world, the WB proposed a set of reforms in HE, with special regard to the development of private institutions, diversification of funding mechanisms, and the redefinition of the state in regulating HE systems (World Bank 1994). This publication was followed by another two (World Bank 2000, 2002), all of which consistently re-affirmed the importance of reforming HE systems in order to respond to the world economy driven by knowledge. These publications are not surprising as the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) was already an indication of the direction in which education at large and HE in particular should take.

As Fitzsimons (2000) argues, different notions of globalization have given different and varying attention to the importance of education. Neo-liberalism seems to prevail over and stand for other forms of globalization, even if neo-liberalism is just one aspect of globalization processes. Tracing the links between the nodes of the triangle of neo-liberalism, globalization and the knowledge economy, Olssen and Peters (2005) maintain that

> In the age of knowledge capitalism, the next great struggle after the 'culture wars' of the 1990s will be the 'education wars', a struggle not only over the meaning and value of knowledge both internationally and locally, but also over the public means of knowledge production (Olssen and Peters 2005:340).

From this literature on globalization, we draw some points which are important in understanding HE responses to globalization processes in Mozambique. The first point is that globalization processes are not experienced in the same ways in different regions and nations: there are many ways globalization is materialized, depending on the network configurations at stake for each location. The second point is that, for the past few decades, globalization has been shaped mainly by a particular set of policies. Therefore, an analysis of the outcomes of globalization processes should take into account alternatives to this dominant form of neo-liberal globalization. We cannot expect that all countries will win the race for knowledge production for the world economy. The success of HEIs in this race will largely depend on the ways HE systems are articulated within the broader social, economic and cultural framework of each country. Such an articulation means a certain and contextualized perspective of social realities.

Interrogating Neo-liberal Developmentalism: A Postcolonial Perspective

The contextualization of development in Africa has to be thought within the postcolonial condition as a set of experiences embodying social, economic, political and cultural transformations in the continent. One of the challenges, though, for African scholarship is how to articulate the development aspirations of African peoples and the experience of postcoloniality. Sylvester (1999) is very insightful in looking at the origins of development studies and postcolonial studies, arguing that both fields were born from Western knowledge. While postcolonial studies are a reaction and an alternative to colonial empire, development studies as a field was born as a form of imposing modern narratives of progress through Western political economy and developmentalist discourses. Despite these similarities, the argument goes, postcolonial studies have more potential to be freer from Western regimes of knowledge. The reason for such potential is that the field of postcolonial studies, from its hybrid thinking, is able to criticize development ideologies at the same time as it is empathetic with everyday postcolonial societies' predicaments and aspirations. That is why a postcolonial lens is useful as a theoretical stance from which to examine globalization as both a set of processes and discourses on development. The importance of such an examination is twofold. On the one hand, postcolonial studies show that globalization is not just a shibboleth in world academia for thinking and theorizing purposes, but has become, for most ordinary citizens, an important experience in practical and material everyday life. Any understanding of social transformations in Africa must take into account how globalization has been impacting development processes. On the other hand, postcolonial studies invite a critique of unsettling naturalized regimes of knowledge on development and modernization that neo-liberal globalization has been responsible for in the past thirty years or so.

A closer analysis of the relationship between globalization and development shows how these two discourses have been inextricably linked in the post-Second World War period. It is not a coincidence that the agenda of modernization of Europe after 1945 took place at a time when the decolonization process of Africa, a prototype of the underdeveloped world, was underway. At the same time, globalization must be understood as one of the forms through which neo-liberal policies and the discourse of free market economy came to pervade development policies. In order to solve the crisis of world capitalism in the 1970s, the end of the Keynesian welfare state and the liberalization of world markets were thought to be the key elements of the whole process (Arrighi 2002). This is very much evident in the course of African development if we look at how IFIs such as the WB and the IMF construed and implemented a neo-liberal development agenda for Africa from the 1970s onwards. The failure of continental development projects of self-reliance, such as the Lagos Plan for Action, shows how Western universalizing conceptions of development have been deployed through the policies of the IFIs. In particular, the introduction of IMF policies in Mozambique in the late 1980s meant a development no longer based on state centrally planned model, but which takes individuals and the so-called civil society as active agents, and it is through the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programmes that Mozambique entered into the neo-liberal world space of a free market economy.

Following political reforms, HE in neo-liberal Mozambique has been translated into the introduction of private HEIs and a free market oriented role for this sub-system of education in the development of the country. However, this role of HE has been presented as a natural and inevitable one in the sense that Mozambique had no choice other than adhering to neo-liberal policies if the country was to achieve significant levels of development. It is due to this perspective that, since the Constitution of 1990, Mozambique embarked on a series of reforms following international trends of neo-liberalism. Thus, the naturalizing discourses of development and neo-liberal globalization were appropriated by Mozambican political leaders, managers, business entrepreneurs as well as HEIs administrators and most projects of development in the country fall within the neo-liberal precepts, which makes it difficult for alternative models of development to emerge. Indeed:

> The underpinning logic of discourses of globalisation and neo-liberalism as the only alternative make it very difficult, as the NEPAD case shows, to imagine alternative forms of development in Africa (Mercer, Mohan and Power 2003:424).

At the educational level, HE reforms in Mozambique are being undertaken within this capitalist conception of knowledge (re)production according to the demands of the free market economy. One of the problems with such an

understanding of development is that the historical and social context of African societies at large and of Mozambique in particular is not taken into account, because the success, if any, of neo-liberal policies in other regions is taken for granted in the Mozambican context. This is a recurrent way in which the West has been dealing with its 'others' by universalizing its experiences to peoples and places totally different. Underneath such universalized experiences are the modern conception of development and the civilizing mission of Europe. This is why postcolonial theory is important in enabling us to question such assumptions of the possibility of universal experience of development as conceived by the West. The analytical importance of postcolonial theory is to interrogate the Eurocentric model of development, to see it as contingent and to denaturalize its universality. It is in this sense that Slater and Bell (2002) conceive that the aim of the postcolonial discourse is

> to destabilize Western discourses of modernity, progress and development, always making connections with the continual salience of colonial and imperial imaginations (Slater and Bell 2002:330).

The aim of postcolonial theory in unsettling colonizing regimes of knowledge embedded in development policies and neo-liberal prescriptions leads us to the questioning of how globalization discourses are Eurocentric and hegemonic in the sense that they offer a view of globalization processes, although in new forms, that perpetuates imperialist patterns of North-South relations. In questioning such hegemonic relations, we are in a position of elaborating alternative and diverse forms of knowledge, challenging the current trend which draws geographical boundaries through the discourse of development. In fact, postcolonialism:

> refers either to a condition, or a set of approaches and theories that have become ways of criticizing the material and discursive legacies of colonialism that are still apparent in the world today, and still shape geopolitical and economic relations between the global South and North (McEwan 2009:18).

McEwan's elaboration of the postcolonial is very insightful because it helps to discuss the issue of development from the perspective of developing countries. An analysis of development from a postcolonial perspective can help to see that the Western development model is not the solution for Africa's problems; rather, this model aggravates and perpetuates the current conditions of material and cultural domination because of its capital-centric nature. As McEwan puts it:

> Postcolonial theory is deeply critical and suspicious of the 'development project', since this is part of what postcolonial theorists see as the dominant, universalizing, and arrogant discourses of the North. In particular, the extent to which Northern 'development' agendas claim that they alone can define and solve development 'problems' is seen as profoundly problematic (McEwan 2009:27).

The problematization of Western-centric development should start at the level of knowledge (re)production in HEIs. The epistemological matrix from which most of, if not all, knowledge is being (re)produced in African HEIs is Western. So, why is it that alternative epistemologies seem impossible to emerge as valid? The main task of postcolonial theory is to look at HE as a liberating site from which narratives of development and neo-liberal globalization are questioned.

In the remaining section of this article, I start with an analysis of how education at large and HE in particular were designed to serve the socialist revolution in post-independent Mozambique. I then move on to look at how this centralized developmentalist practice collapsed with the end of the Cold War, opening the doors for political changes and HE liberalization. Finally, I discuss how the agenda of fighting against poverty in Mozambique has been used to reconfigure the HE system aligned with a process of liberalization driven by market rationalities.

Mozambique: The Policy Framework of HE and Knowledge for Development

The transformations experienced by HE in Mozambique since independence can be read as a reconfiguration of governing rationalities by the Mozambican leadership. The political orientation of Mozambique after independence required a vision and provision of HE that served the revolutionary cause. In fact, soon after independence it was acknowledged that the country needed a skilled labour force with higher qualifications. However, access to HE was conditioned by 'political consciousness', alongside with 'intellectual ability' (Delegation from Maputo 1976:334). In Law 4/83 of 23 March 1983 about the National Education System, HE was asserted to be used as an instrument in re-structuring class relations. Thus, priority was given to the children of peasants and workers, combatants and members of cooperatives (GoM 1983: article 36). In a sense, it can be said that this policy of affirmative action was consistent with the strategy and resolution adopted at the FRELIMO's[1] third Congress in 1977 of allying workers with the peasantry to form the vanguard front, establishing cooperatives in the rural areas as forms of improving production and marketing. Accordingly, HE was a conduit to achieve revolutionary goals. However, in privileging certain classes of people, the principle contradicted the premise of equality claimed earlier (Delegation from Maputo 1976). In fact, despite stipulating equal intellectual requirements as the basis for access to HE, in practical terms candidates from peasant families and from families of cooperative workers as well as from families of combatants and vanguard workers were at an advantage to those candidates from the rest of other classes of the society. More than that, because of low levels of graduation in secondary education, the then only HE institution, the Eduardo Mondlane University

(UEM),[2] managed to allow the entry to the university of candidates without the required qualifications (Mendes 1982). This measure was aimed at increasing the number of enrolments and, as a consequence, of the qualified labour force, given the fact that most of the settlers had fled the country after independence.

Higher Education and the Predicaments of a Socialist Development Model

With the exception of the re-structuring of departments, courses and curricula to fit the new challenges facing the country, HE in Mozambique in the immediate post-independence period was more concerned with the professional development of teaching staff and regulatory arrangements (Mendes 1982). However, since the 1990s, there has been a shift regarding the main preoccupations of HE institutions, a shift introduced by the debate about the new role of the state in the provision and financing of HE. The debate was prompted by the introduction of private institutions of higher learning. In effect, if during the socialist regime central planning was undertaken by the state, the introduction of democracy alongside the liberalization of HE in the private sector posed the need to re-position the state in the whole education system. Thus, the Law 5/2003 of 21 January 2003 reaffirms some of the general objectives of education contained in the Law 6/92 of 6 May 1992. These two laws introduced a new complexity regarding what HE's contribution might be to development: if central planning implied a single and exclusive conception of development – that is socialist as claimed by the FRELIMO regime – with these laws, by extending education provision to the private sector, development became a multidimensional concept, leading to diverse practices and inspiring different purposes in HE provision. The fragmentation of the meaning and practices of development is evident in the diverging directions of reforms taking place in HEIs, as I discuss later on.

In the context of the revolutionary goals of FRELIMO after independence, HE was remodelled so as to meet the socialist goals of the post-independent developmentalist state, although such a model failed because of the fact that FRELIMO's socialist ambitions were based on a very fragile class formation. As Saul (1993:148) asserts, the FRELIMO state 'overestimate[d] both the clarity of its vision regarding the modalities of societal transformation and the symbiotic nature of its link to the popular classes – notably the peasantry'. Secondly, the model failed because the supposedly new forms of social organization, which were intended to erase the colonial legacy, such as rural political authority based on *regulados* (customary authority), were more disruptive rather than transforming (Pitcher 1998). At the 1984 fourth Congress of FRELIMO, it was decided to adopt a more flexible approach to development to overcome the then ongoing production and marketing crisis in the rural

areas. This small shift, as Saul (1993) suggests, was a timid response to popular dissatisfaction. However, this happened at the time the IMF was exercising its authority to institutionalize a neo-liberal economic agenda. In fact, the IMF has been around for a long time and the limited changes in the rural development strategy were eventually broadened by accepting IMF's package of economic liberalization:

> As capitulation to the IMF and the World Bank loomed large for the FRELIMO leadership, the subtleties of pursuing a more flexible and realistic socialist strategy had given way to full-scale retreat before the logic of capitalism (Saul 1993:152).

It is within this context of the failure of FRELIMO's socialist development model for the rural areas that political changes occurred at the constitutional level, a step which took place in 1990. Although the IMF's package of economic reforms started with the first Structural Adjustment Programme negotiated in 1987 (Plank 1993), the neo-liberal economic order was crowned in 1990 by introducing labour reforms, a free market and private ownership as the bases for the economy, reserving to the state the role of a regulator (GoM 1990: article 41). The Law 6/92 of 6 May 1992, which re-adjusted the National Education System to the new social and economic conditions, stated that HE had to 'ensure the formation at the highest level of cadres and professionals in various areas of scientific knowledge necessary for the development of the country' (GoM 1992: article 20). The political transformations of the constitution of 1990 marked a significant change in Mozambique's postcolonial course. It is a fact that many factors contributed to the transformation, including the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa, and the fall of the Soviet Union, which until then was the model for Mozambique's socialist revolution. However, these changes did not by themselves create the conditions for the socialist development model to fail, but should be read as part of an international agenda to supposedly integrate Mozambique into the global market economy. The Mozambican leadership came to regard HE as central to development, with development and labour market needs featuring in most policy document. One of the visions of the Strategic Plan of HE in Mozambique consists of

> expanding opportunities of access to higher education in consonance with the increasing needs of labor market and society, so that an increasing proportion of Mozambican citizens will be able to acquire and develop high level knowledge and skills needed for rapid economic and social development (MESCT 2000:2).

The importance of HE for development is repeated in the legislation of 2003, replacing that of 1993. This instrumentalization of HE for development must be seen in the broader framework of Mozambican governance following international trends. More precisely, HE policy after 1992 has been designed to

fit the development agenda of international institutions, namely the United Nations and the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs)

The Strategies of Fighting Poverty and the Agenda 2025

The unsuccessful experiences with the Structural Adjustment Programmes led the BWIs to introduce the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) in many countries. In the specific case of Mozambique, there have been two PRPSs (2001-2005 and 2006-2009),[3] and two different official definitions of poverty are given. In the first PRSP, poverty is said to be the '*inability of individuals to ensure for themselves and their dependants a set of basic minimum conditions necessary for their subsistence and well-being in accordance with the norms of society*' (GoM 2001:10, emphasis in original). In PRSP II (2006-2009) the definition does not differ significantly from the first, although the second definition acknowledges that the inability may be due to incapacity or lack of opportunity in having access to basic conditions of living. Both definitions are based on an individualized understanding of poverty and, by extension, locate poverty alleviation within the agency of individuals. More precisely, the responsibility of overcoming that condition is seen to lie with individuals themselves. It is in this sense that the government defined six key strategic areas in the PRSP I to fight against poverty. Such areas of action were: education, health, agriculture and rural development, infrastructures, good governance and, finally, macroeconomic and financial policies. The reason given to these priority areas was because 'the social sector occupies a central place in government activity, given the objective of poverty reduction [and consequently] public activities in the social sector have a direct redistributive effect on income and wealth' (GoM 2001:42). In both PRSPs, HE's role is limited to the expansion of opportunities and contribution towards gender and regional equity. Three strategies were subsequently proposed: opening new HEIs in the provinces which lacked these services (Tete, Manica and Gaza); introducing a HE loan scheme; and allowing the private sector to provide HE services (GoM 2001:48). Summarizing the outcome of this push to enable HE to contribute towards greater social equity: private providers have been operating since 1995; in 2009 each of the three provinces – Tete, Manica and Gaza – had more than two HEIs; and a loan scheme was approved in 2007 by the government. Both the PRSP I and II imply that education more generally, and HE in particular, is a blueprint to put an end to poverty. However, the fact is that for more than a decade now, from 1999 to 2010, Mozambique has been consistently ranking among the ten last and least developed countries in the UNDP's Human Development Index.

From 2001 until 2003, a wider debate was carried out and conducted by leading figures from a variety of sectors of civil society: academics, religious leaders, economic agents, NGOs and political parties, and the process resulted

in Agenda 2025. The Agenda, as a guide to the development of the country until 2025, starts with an analysis of the situation of the country, and then identifies twelve strategic sectors for poverty reduction, such as rural development, social-cultural and historical heritage, infrastructures, health, education, science and technology, among others. The Agenda does not give a special treatment to HE as a strategic sector in the country's whole vision. Higher education appears within the social capital section and it is seen as one of the strategic pathways, along with the stimulation of investment, training for self-employment and others that should be taken to achieve the envisioned and desired social capital for the country until 2025. The Agenda says that the country should

> ... promote interaction between higher education and the labour market, to value graduate cadres [and] consolidate the expansion of higher education at the provincial level, aiming at the reduction of regional asymmetries of access at this level, in order to strengthen national cohesion (Committee of Counsellors 2003:134).

These three documents, the two PRSPs and the Agenda 2025, take for granted that HE expansion and gender and regional equity are enough in the fight against poverty. The main problem with these documents is that they take the market as a self-regulated entity, believing that individuals will succeed in the labour market as long as they possess higher qualifications. However, the importance given to the market is not only at the policy level. In fact, most of HEI senior administrators are convinced that the responsiveness of HE to market needs in Mozambique is the blueprint to development through an education which is immediately 'useful' – as one of my interviewees from Saint Thomas University of Mozambique (USTM) stated:

> What we think that could help them [graduates] is that they have to come out of traditional approach of university education which is very theoretical and come to technically oriented approach whereby, even within the university, they make contact with society. (…). So we think we can contribute and make a difference in Mozambique by giving our students a technically oriented higher education (USTM, senior administrator, male).

In a case study published some years ago, the idea that HE should respond to labour market needs was already strongly defended by Mário, Fry, Levey and Chilundo (2003:55) based on a study of the then Maputo's two main employers (Ports & Railways of Mozambique and Mozal Aluminium Smelter) and served as an argument for HE curricula reforms. The belief that HE should respond to market needs cuts across both public and private HEIs. For most of HEIs, senior administrators, the fulfilment of HE's role for development is intertwined with curricula reform (what they call 'curricula relevance'), meaning that:

> We have to do an analysis of African problems, we have to develop the new expertise in Africa, we have to develop that kind of curriculum that will be

> able to provide that holistic approach to education to Africa that we are not
> getting (USTM, senior administrator, male).

There are two main lines of curricula reform ideas among HEI senior administrators in Mozambique. The first line of 'curricula relevance' advocates that, during their studies, students should have contact with the daily problems that communities face, such as drought and floods, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, public sanitation in suburb areas, among others (USTM, Catholic University of Mozambique [UCM] and Higher Institute of International Relations [ISRI]: senior administrators, males). However, at the same time HEIs should initiate students in scientific research so that after graduation they can continue to search for solutions through research (USTM and ISRI senior administrators, males). The second line of the 'curricula relevance' argument refers to the need to reform curricula, addressing poverty as transversal issue in all the social sciences on the one hand, and by defining research priority areas such as environmental problems, gender issues and cultural dimensions of HIV/AIDS on the other (UEM, senior administrator, male). However, according to UEM's senior administrator, defining research priorities in HE should not jeopardize academic freedom.

For both ways of conceptualising 'curricula relevance', two main points stand out. First, HE has to deal with real problems in helping ordinary people in the communities to find solutions. Secondly, such a relationship between HE and communities will be effective through research as a way of better understanding such problems. Both points are apparently unproblematic because they place HE in Mozambique within its mission as elsewhere in the world: to contribute to social welfare and knowledge (re)production.

However, in fulfilling this double mission, there are a number of challenges. Most of my interviewees agree that one of the main challenges has to do with how research is financially conditioned by international donors in the sense that they set development priorities. The other challenge is that HEIs in Mozambique are seeking to integrate into the regional context. All of my interviewees agree that an African model of HE is needed, a model not based on the professorial education of the traditional university, as one of them defended:

> One of the problems of HE in Africa is that we still follow the classic European
> model of a university and we forget that the model was developed in a given
> context: that's why even the European model is now in change after Bologna.
> I think we should seek an African model of HE which pays more attention to
> the context (UCM, senior administrator, male).

However, instead of developing an 'African model of HE', most of these HEIs take precisely the Bologna Process as the model. In fact, some of the well-established universities such as the UEM and the UCM are already reforming their curricula following the Bologna Process model by abolishing the four-year

licentiate degree which was followed by a two-year masters degree and four years of doctoral work to introduce the so called 3+2+3 (bachelors, masters, doctorate) system. The intriguing point is that this wave of HE reforms following the Bologna Process is occurring against the backdrop of an HE system in the Southern African Development Community which is not yet harmonized. Other HEIs are developing an 'African model of HE' by introducing new courses which genetically resemble European courses:

> We are aiming at introducing Development Studies, a course which is offered in Western universities although it is mainly about developing countries on how they develop until they get to the level achieved by developed countries (ISRI, senior administrator, male).

There is a point to be made about the extent to which this conception of development, a modernist conception of development as progressing towards a certain point, can really emerge from an 'African model of HE'. These reforms are indicative of the interest of Mozambican HEIs in integrating into the global HE. However, such reforms are taking Europe as the master to follow, a strategy which has always been part of postcolonial experiences in Mozambique, first during the socialist regime and now within the neo-liberal order. In the next sub-section, I discuss how the liberalization process of HE according to free markets precepts has been marked by discursive practices which underlie the knowledge economy.

Liberalizing Higher Education

Poverty reduction through widening access to HE for gender and regional equity is just one aspect to which HE policy in Mozambique has directed its attention. Apart from widening access, HE policy in Mozambique has also focused on the market logic of a managerialism culture. For example, by reducing state budget expenditure per capita (Porter and Vidovich 2000:456), the Mozambican government intended to achieve 'the decrease of unit costs per student and the improvement of internal efficiency of the whole sub-system' (MESCT 2000:5). As a consequence, the government's role is confined to the regulation of the sub-system at various levels, such as the private-public interface, demand-supply balance by opening new HEIs, accreditation of HEIs and courses, among others (MESCT 2000).

It may be argued that the (re)production of knowledge for development has been one of the top objectives of HE in Mozambique since independence. If independence was aimed at liberating people, development seems to be one of the most consequential challenges for the new Mozambican state in modernizing the country in both socialist and neo-liberal historical contexts. However, the difference lies in the underpinning rationalities and the social

order aimed at in such a development process. The pull-out of the state in the Constitution of 1990, from being the main driver to becoming merely the regulator of the economic order, points to a situation where people are encouraged to be self-reliant as consumers at large, and as HE consumers in particular. In fact, a series of discursive practices sought to reconstitute Mozambique into a knowledge economy. At the same time, selectively identified particular labour market needs determine the deployment of a certain configuration of HE. Within such discourses, the country's social and economic order is interpreted as being in crisis and nothing can be done other than capitulating to the policies of the BWIs. However, it is only recently that the market has gained such importance in underpinning the policy making process. During the socialist regime, the market was not taken as something to which public choices should be directed. It is with the BWI reforms that the market, as a variable, is being taken into account in policy making processes, and public choices have gained real importance.

The insistence on the importance of responding to market needs points to the very central presupposition of neo-liberalism, that the market has its own internal logic of self-regulation. What is more, if 'neo-liberalism is both a political discourse about the nature of the rule and a set of practices that facilitate the governing of individuals from distance' (Larner 2000:6), we can see that the HE policy in Mozambique is putting in place a set of technologies of self-empowerment and self-regulation. Such technologies are enforced primarily by evoking the market as a self-regulating entity. Under neo-liberalism, markets have become a new technology by which control can be effected and performance enhanced in the public sector. These technologies of self-regulation also extend responsibilities of policy implementation to other sectors:

> There are a number of participants, who have a role and must join efforts to implement the development and expansion policy of higher education: Government (at central, provincial and local levels), Civil Society (families, companies, several organizations) and the higher education institutions (HEI) (MESCT 2000:5).

Because 'the universe of political discourse is not monopolized by hegemonic groups' (Larner 2000:11), the agency of individuals and private/particular associations is given a role in reshaping the (trans)formations and the re-structuring of the social order of the post-civil war and the neo-liberal period in Mozambique. This has led to a certain configuration of HE in Mozambique where some of state's responsibilities to its citizens are put in the hands of other actors in the society, namely, the private sector. However, this does not mean less government – quite the opposite – it means the state is re-structuring power relations by bringing new actors to enforce technologies of the self (Lemke 2002:58-59).

Financing Higher Education Policy

The HE Strategic Plan identifies a loan scheme as one of the measures to be taken in order to fulfil the expansion of HE objectives. In 2007, the Council of Ministers approved a Resolution on the National Policy for Financing Higher Education, consisting of three main mechanisms: a basic fund, an institutional fund, and a student fund. The financing policy approved by the Council of Ministers in 2007 is constructed around the practices of accountability, efficiency and cost sharing. The very introduction of this financing policy is said to promise the advantage of more choices, because students will not be conditioned by costs concerns but by vocational interests.

The government estimated that the cost per student per annum would be around US$2,500, which includes an annual fee of US$1,500. This fee may be paid by those students eligible for bursaries on the basis of need and academic merit, or by students themselves, if they are not eligible for bursaries. The fund is directed to students enrolled at public HEIs and initially would benefit around 90 per cent of students. However, it was hoped that by 2010 this figure would decrease to 80 per cent because the number of students who could share the costs would increase as a consequence of economic growth of the country and the improvement of families' livelihoods (GoM 2007:9).

The policy presupposes that the number of students who can afford to finance their studies by their own means would increase from 10 per cent in 2008 to 20 per cent in 2010. The projection that by 2010 there would be an increase of students who could pay full fees would enable the government to spend less on the HE sector. However, it is not yet clear that Mozambique's economic growth increased wealth and income among the general population. The first reason is that the economic growth that has earned Mozambique international praise is largely due to foreign investment in major projects. These projects are the Australian BHP Billiton's Mozal Aluminium Smelter in the aluminium industry, the South African SASOL plant for natural gas extraction, the Australian Riversdale Mining Limited and the Brazilian Vale, both in the coal mining industry, and the Irish Kenmare Resources PLC in the Moma Titanium Minerals Project. In a report on the extractive industries, the WB acknowledges the importance and role played by the extractive industry for local development (World Bank 2004). It is in this sense that projects like Mozal Aluminium Smelter, Kenmare Resources PLC and SASOL, as part of what is called Corporate Social Responsibility, have built schools and medical centres to benefit surrounding communities. For example, Kenmare Resources PLC, through its Kenmare Moma Development Association, has implemented projects on horticulture, poultry, HIV/AIDS and education for local and surrounding communities (Kenmare Resources PLC 2008). The Mozal Aluminium Smelter Project 'created 15,000 jobs, mostly for Mozambicans, during both phases of

its construction [and] currently provides jobs for 1,150 permanent staff, 1,600 contractors, and 10,000 indirectly through locally owned contractor firms' (IDA 2009). However, the increase in Government's tax revenues and GDP as a result of these investments does not have a direct impact on the broader population of the country. Moreover, all these projects are by multinational owned companies, with the exception that the Mozambican National Company of Hydrocarbons which has a 15 per cent shareholding in the exploration of the SASOL project (Gulfoilandgas 2006). At any time, these projects can close and move to other countries, which would have a direct impact on the contribution they make towards employment and GDP for the national economy.

The second reason is that the projected economic growth of the country was not achieved because of the 2008 world economic crisis. In fact, recent data show that in 2009, Mozambique's exports reduced by 30 per cent as a consequence of the consistent decrease in the GDP from 7.3 in 2007 to 6.7 in 2008 and 6.3 in 2009 (Banco de Moçambique 2010). More, the international world economic crisis is having direct negative impact, for example the reduction of international donors' direct contribution to the state budget, which is still over 50 per cent, from US$942 million dollars in 2008 to US$856 million dollars in 2009, with a parallel decrease in public investment funds donated by international partners from US$398 million dollars in 2008 to US$388 million dollars in 2009 (Banco de Moçambique 2010). Although the Central Bank of Mozambique claims that there were positive consequences of the crisis in terms of Foreign Direct Investment which increased from US$592 million dollars in 2008 to US$881 million dollars in 2009, the fact is that most of such investment was in mega-projects (Banco de Moçambique 2010), about whose limitations regarding their real contribution to ordinary people's livelihoods I discussed shortly above.

The government has claimed that this model of financing HE has a number of advantages: first, it is based on the real costs of courses and is thus a more sustainable model of offering quality services. Second, it creates the conditions for an improvement of governance and increases choice and diversity by responding to the demand. Third, students will choose courses on the basis of their vocation and not on the basis of affordability because all HEIs will apply the same fee for each course. Fourth, it will increase the competitiveness of HEIs which will motivate them to respond to consumer demand and in doing so, increase efficiency and productivity (GoM 2007:10).

Public policy rationalities in general, and those that shape HE in particular, are reflective of a broader neo-liberal agenda. A discourse of choice, flexibility, efficiency and responsiveness to the market logic of supply and demand help to embed this agenda; these features resonate with the ambitions of institutions to improve, and with the aspirations of citizens for whom education continues to be a technology of hope. However, such a discourse of choice does not take

into account the real conditions of most of the population of the country. The discourse assumes and takes for granted that, in a market driven environment, all people will be able to succeed and take advantage of the opportunities offered by such an environment. The fact is that these rationalities actually aggravate social inequalities because not all citizens have access to knowledge.

Conclusion

This article analysed how neo-liberal rationalities of globalization and development are shaping HE in Mozambique. It suggests that HE in Mozambique was always seen as a tool for the development of the country: first within the socialist regime framework and, in the past two decades, within neo-liberal settings. Using postcolonial theory, the article unpacked how neo-liberal globalization discourses on development gained prominence among HE policy makers and HEIs administrators. It was argued that the configuration of HE since the liberalization of this subsystem of education is reflective of free market economy principles where people are encouraged to make choices according to governing rationalities of self-reliance and entrepreneurship. More specifically, the politics of poverty reduction agenda, the role of the state in regulating the subsystem and HE financial policy put in place point to HE where individuals make choices based on free market economic logic. Such a logic is materialized through a set of technologies of the self such as self-empowerment and self-regulation and the culture of managerialism. The article contended that the belief beneath this configuration of HE ignores the social contextualities and historical complexities: in the long run, HE in Mozambique could be the shortest way of deepening social inequalities.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. Mozambique Liberation Front (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique).

2. The abbreviations used in this paper for higher education institutions are as they are commonly known in Mozambique.

3. Negrão (2002) has strongly argued that although the IMF did not impose conditions in the elaboration of the papers, the fact is that IMF's macroeconomic policy conditionalities had to be observed, which makes the papers not a strategy, but rather a tactic of decentralization of the state, governance and democracy.

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Aspiring Vice-Chancellors' Rhetoric and the Challenges of Building a Twenty-First Century Nigerian University

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Abstract

This study analyses the manifestos prepared by some candidates aspiring to the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, between 1999 and 2000. It examines the appropriation of rhetorical tactics by the aspirants to impress upon the target audience that they possess the ability to decipher clearly the problems of the university and the required antidote. The study focuses on two major issues that are recurrent in the discourse: the challenges facing the university at the turn of the twenty-first century and the kind of leadership that the university would desire to stem the tide. It adopts Aristotle's model of rhetoric and Jacques Derrida's deconstructive criticism to analyse and discuss the discursive practices of the respective candidates, relative to these key issues. It reveals that although the candidates address subjects that dwell on the university system in time and space, the discourse is characterised by a schematic rhetorical style that political actors deploy for expediency in wider political contexts.

Résumé

Cette étude analyse les programmes préparés par certains candidats aspirant au poste de vice-*chancelier* de l'Université Obafemi Awolowo, Ile-Ife, au Nigeria, entre 1999 et 2000. Elle examine l'usage d'une rhétorique tacticienne par des aspirants cherchant à faire admettre au public cible qu'ils possèdent la capacité d'identifier clairement les problèmes de l'université et leurs solutions. L'étude se concentre sur deux questions majeures, récurrentes dans le discours : les défis de l'université au début du XXIe siècle et le style

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de leadership que l'on voudrait promouvoir. Elle adopte le modèle d'Aristote de la rhétorique et la critique déconstructive de Jacques Derrida pour analyser et discuter les pratiques discursives des candidats respectifs par rapport aux questions essentielles. Elle montre que bien que les candidats abordent effectivement des sujets traitant du système universitaire dans l'espace et dans le temps, le discours est caractérisé par un style schématique que les acteurs politiques déploient par opportunisme dans des contextes politiques plus larges.

Introduction

Universities are generally acclaimed to be the crucial centre of knowledge for the training of human minds and, accordingly, for the development of society. Ebuara et al. (2009) argue that universities exist to generate, disseminate and apply knowledge through teaching, research and extension services. For this reason, Osundare (2005:11) observes that universities are 'the bedrock of progress, the indispensable instruments for the emergence of the nation-state, the fertile ground for learning and knowledge without which a nation's quest for advancement can only be a futile joke'. The history of universities in Nigeria dates back to the founding of the University College, Ibadan in 1948 as an affiliate of the University of London. Ever since this landmark in the history of tertiary education in Nigeria, universities in the country have grown in leaps and bounds. Going by the National Universities Commission (NUC) Bulletin of 12th October 2009, quoted by Adeogun et al. (2009), the number of universities in Nigeria has increased to ninety-six, twenty-seven of them owned by the Federal Government, thirty-five owned by the state governments, and thirty-four owned by individuals or religious organisations. More are still awaiting approval from the licensing and regulatory body.

Existing studies on Nigeria's university system have addressed issues basically on its challenges. Such attention can be expected in view of the fact that Nigerian universities have over the years fallen short of the standards of international ideal practices. Ekundayo and Adedokun (2009) examine the contentious issue of university autonomy and academic freedom in Nigerian public universities. Considering the major areas of erosion of university autonomy and academic freedom, they argue that autonomy should be granted to the university in such areas as recruitment, training, admission and appointment of Vice-Chancellor. They argue, however, that autonomy cannot connote total independence from the government or state and even a regulatory agency such as the National Universities Commission (NUC).

In another study, Ekundayo and Ajayi (2009) examine the myriad problems militating against the effective management of the university system in Nigeria. They include: poor funding, poor conditions of service, the 'brain drain' syndrome and dilapidated infrastructure. Generally, these problems have been

the bane of higher education systems in developing countries. Saint et al. (2003:1) observe:

> Education in general, and higher education in particular, are fundamental to the construction of a knowledge economy and society in all nations … Yet the potential of higher education systems in developing countries to fulfil this responsibility is frequently thwarted by long-standing problems of finance, efficiency, equity, quality and governance.

It is no surprise then that there has been agitation by trade unions in Nigerian universities for improved learning environment for students and improved facilities for researchers as well as enhanced conditions of service for the generality of the staff. On this issue, Arikewuyo (2006) examines the relationships between staff unions and the authorities of Nigerian universities vis-à-vis the demands of the former on how to address the catalogue of challenges facing the university system in Nigeria.

In a bid to restore the ethics, values and high educational standards that would make Nigerian universities live up to their billing, Ebuara et al. (2009) pinpoint the challenge of good leadership as a fundamental issue. They argue that leadership in the university system, like other organisations, cannot be ignored. Since the buck stops at the table of the principal academic and executive officer of the university, that is, the Vice-Chancellor, the question of the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor of a university is a challenging one. The frequently asked questions have been: Who should be the Vice-Chancellor? How is the right person to be selected? What should be the process that will enable the selection of the right person? What should be the role of the university Governing Council and the government in the processes for appointing the Vice-Chancellor?

Rao and Singh (n.d) carried out a study in which they attempted to analyse different methods adopted for the appointment of Vice-Chancellors in Indian universities along with those of foreign universities, including Nigeria and Ghana. While such a study sheds light on the fairly elaborate procedure for the selection of Vice-Chancellors across countries, it does not in any way address candidates' preparedness for the contest vis-à-vis the rhetorical strategies that they employ to underline their perceived preferability to their opponents. Hence, this study examines which types of rhetoric aspiring Vice-Chancellors employ in crafting messages that portray them as being worthy of appointment, going by the way they assess the status quo and the kind of leadership that can rise to the occasion.

Some research has been devoted to the rhetorical strategies deployed by aspirants in their campaign discourse in presidential or parliamentary elections in democratic settings in countries such as America, Canada, Taiwan, Belgium and Nigeria (Jerit 2004; Druckman et al. 2004; Damore 2005; Wei 2005; Barker 2005; Roberts 2005; Medvedeva 2008; Boyd 2009; Bouckaert 2009; and

Omozuwa & Ezejideaku 2010). Given the fact that candidates in this context seek votes in elections, there is the compelling need for other studies to be carried out on other forms of campaign discourse produced in political situations where aspirants are not elected by popular votes but selected on the basis of merit by a constituted panel. The present study takes us further away from the familiar political culture and processes at the national level by focusing on a typical public establishment such as the university community where there exists another strand of political culture culminating in the appointment of the chief executive of the institution.

The Data

Considering the fact that every university has its own tradition and peculiar challenges within a national and even international frame, we consider it useful to delimit the study to the Obafemi Awolowo University, which was founded in 1962 and comprises, therefore, one of the first generation universities in Nigeria. Going by tradition, upon the declaration of a vacancy for the position of the Vice-Chancellor of the university, eligible academics of professorial level who are interested in serving are requested to submit their letter of application, curriculum vitae and statement of their visions for the university in the twenty-first century. In order to enable readers of this article to determine and evaluate the individual rhetorical skills and power of the aspirant, and perhaps identify gaps in their campaigns, the advertisement to which the aspirants reacted is attached as an appendix. Thus, the campaign discourse produced by the aspirants in the form of a proposal or mission/vision statement constitutes the data for this study, as the aspirants seek to persuade the target audience by managing the messages communicated to them.

As regards the choice of the contest that this study focuses on, one may raise some pertinent questions: Were there no contests before and have there not been any other contests after? Simply put, what is significant about the contest which this study focuses on? Of course, since the university is not a newly established one, there had actually been contests before the one focused on in this study. Even after it, there have been two others. The table below indicates this.

However, the fact remains that in the history of the university, the contest between 1999 and 2000 attracted an unprecedented surge of political awareness in view of the historical turn between the end of one millennium and the ushering in of a new one, a period in which there was so much clamour around the world about 'change' and 'vision'. Given the challenges that had faced the university system in Nigeria towards the end of the second half of the twentieth century, it would be intriguing to probe into how the aspirants exploit the temporal frame of their contest to address the problems inherent in a typical Nigerian university.

Table 1: Past Vice-Chancellors of the Obafemi Awolowo University

S/No	Names	Tenure
1.	Prof. Oladele Ajose	1962-1966
2	Prof. H. A. Oluwasanmi	1966- 1975
3.	Prof. O. Aboyade	1975-1978
4.	Prof. C. A. Onwumechili	1979-1982
5.	Prof. Wande Abimbola	1982-1989
6.	Prof. C. A. Osuntogun	1990-1991
7.	Prof. Wale Omole	1991-1999
8.	Prof. Roger Makanjuola	1999-2006
9.	Prof. M. O. Faborode	2006- 2011
10.	Prof. Tale Omole	2011 to date

Out of the nine proposals submitted by the nine candidates eventually screened for the final selection process, we purposively sampled three of them to reflect the aspirants' respective perceptions of the realities on ground and their vision of the university. We delimited the samples to three aspirants in order to obtain a focused analysis of the proposals with significant rhetorical tactics that address the major issues of the challenges of the university, that is, poor funding, decline in instructional quality, crisis of autonomy, diminishing research output and the flight of top-rated academics, among others, and the kind of leadership that could address them. This bias does not in any way foreclose the display of rhetorical appeals in the other six proposals not sampled. For instance, rhetorical appeals also derive from other issues such as commitment to staff and student welfare, image laundering in terms of personal qualities, experience in office and values or principles, funding, industrial harmony, among others.

For the purposes of this study, we keep the identities of the aspirants anonymous in order not to cause any animosity among them or cause them any embarrassment as individuals. This is because of the fact that, ordinarily, they would not have thought that their proposals would be of scholarly interest to the rhetorician. For easy referencing, therefore, we tag the proposals of the three aspirants selected, Sample A, Sample B and Sample C, as we cite them in the course of analysing the data. It is also useful to drop the hint that the choice of the masculine pronoun in the analysis and discussion is not an attempt to sound sexist. Actually, there were no female aspirants for the contest and so there is no need to use either the singular 'they' or alternating both masculine and feminine pronouns.

Theoretical Perspective

Across ages and civilisations, the concept of rhetoric has generated volatile currents of interests among scholars of diverse ideological persuasions. Thus, a single definition of the phenomenon of rhetoric would not do justice to its

numerous facets and the various concepts which have been elaborated since Greek antiquity. However, one fact that remains incontrovertible in the literature is that of all manuals developed on the discourse, Aristotle's treatise *The Art of Rhetoric* has remained the most influential systematisation of rhetoric ever written. Hence, we adopt the tenets of the Aristotelian model of rhetoric in analysing the campaign discourse of the candidates in this study.

The rhetoric developed by Aristotle presents an answer to Plato's criticisms of the sophists when he opined that 'rhetoric is the counterpart of dialectic', meaning that while dialectical methods are necessary to find the truth, rhetorical methods are required to communicate it. Aristotle defined rhetoric as 'the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion'. With this definition, Aristotle placed invention or the discovery of the lines of argument at the very centre of the rhetorical enterprise. In so doing, he set his system apart from that of the sophists who focused on the outcomes of public speaking. Aristotle's treatise on rhetoric was an attempt to systematically describe rhetoric as a human art or skill.

According to Aristotle, a writer's ability to persuade is based on how well he or she appeals to the audience in three different areas, hence the question of rhetorical appeals. Aristotle identified three different types of rhetorical proof: ethos, logos and pathos. By ethos, he meant how the credibility of a speaker or writer influences an audience to consider him/her to be believable; by pathos he meant the use of emotional appeals; and logos, the use of language in constructing an argument, referring to the internal consistency of the message itself, independent of its content. Therefore, in analysing the manifestos of the aspirants, we will examine how they exploit the appeals contained in this rhetorical triangle to influence the target audience.

Aristotle emphasised that for rhetoric to be effective, the rhetor must be sensitive to the element of *kairos*, the context in which the proof will be delivered. In *kairos*, winning an argument requires a deft combination of creating and recognising the right time and right place for making the argument in the first place. Sensitive to *kairos*, a speaker or writer takes into account the contingencies of a given place and time, and considers the opportunities within this specific context for words to be effective and appropriate to that moment. This concept is tightly linked to considerations of audience (the most significant variable in a communicative context) and to decorum (the principle of apt speech). As a result, we will examine how the aspirants exploit the exigencies and constraints of time, place and the audience to influence the opinions of the target audience.

We must not gloss over the question of the moral nature of the art of rhetoric which has remained one of great debates among scholars. The study of rhetoric quite recently has been regarded by scholars as a meaningless enterprise, perceived as a study of linguistic ornamentation. Hence, it was at

times under attack from those who saw it as producing dishonest, unoriginal or flashy language. In more recent academic writing, however, rhetoric has re-emerged as a key term for emphasising the way in which we can understand a given subject as if it constituted a specific language or form of discourse. Thus, we employ the poststructuralist mode of analysis which emphasises discourse rather than language because 'the concept of discourse implies a concern with the meaning and value-producing practices in language, rather than simply the relationship between utterances and their referents' (Mihas 2005:125). Instead of treating language as a transparent tool (a conduit between thoughts or concepts and things), we take a discourse approach which treats language as opaque by engaging in an analysis of both the linguistic practices and of the language of enquiry itself.

Selden and Widdowson (1993:147) argue that '[t]he written sign can break its "real context" and can be read in a different context, regardless of what its writer intended. Any chain of signs can be "grafted" into a discourse in another context […]'. It is in this light that Derrida in his classic work, *Of Grammatology*, is said to argue against the notion of a knowable centre (the Western ideal of 'logocentrism') which tends to emphasise univocal/singular meaning, truth or origin in the process of knowing. Derrida, in another work, *Writing and Difference*, further introduces the notion of *différance* which refers to the process of words deriving meaning from other words. Basically, words are rather meaningless symbols that can never fully represent the ideas they are meant to convey, as they are always at a distance to what they signify.

Selden and Widdowson (1993:147) argue that deconstruction can begin when the critic locates 'the moment when a text transgresses the law it appears to set up for itself'. Barry (2009:68) writes that the Poststructuralist literary critic is engaged in the task of 'deconstructing' the text, 'which is often referred to as "reading against the grain" or "reading the text against itself" with the purpose of "knowing the text as it cannot know itself"'. Against this backdrop, we try to deconstruct the meaning of the rhetorical garbs of the campaign discourse of the aspirants which the ordinary reader may take at face value.

'Here I Am, Send Me': The Rhetoric of Aspiring Vice-Chancellors

Almost all the aspirants begin their write-ups with an assessment of the situation in the university system. This attention-getting strategy is intended to provide the audience an insight into aspirants' understanding or reading of the problems of the system before they could claim to have the needed solutions. Consider the excerpt below:

> Excerpt 1: Our University is one of the foremost in the country. It has the tradition for academic excellence and leadership both nationally and internationally. However, like other institutions of learning in Nigeria, it has

been greatly affected by the economic, social and moral decline that has
beset us in recent years. Successive administrators have tried hard to
overcome these problems … and have achieved much under the
circumstances. However, a lot remains to be done. (Sample A)

The aspirant speaking in the above extract deploys a number of rhetorical
strategies to give persuasive force to his argument. We see, first of all, that the
speaker puts to good use the rhetorical element of *kairos* by laying emphasis
on place in assessing the condition of the university system. He refers to the
immediate setting which is his university by using the expression 'our university'
and compares the prevailing situation therein to that of sister institutions by
using the expression 'other universities in Nigeria'. In fact, in the second
expression, the prepositional phrase 'in Nigeria' which serves as an adjunct
element helps to identify the geographical space within which the universities
operate. Mentioning 'Nigeria', therefore, goes beyond defining the geographical
space of the country in which the universities are located; it summarises the
genesis of their predicaments, as the socio-political and economic forces that
operate in the country would impact greatly on the functioning of the universities.

The aspirant's use of the expression 'our university', instead of other possible
expressions such as 'this university' or mentioning the name of the university
outright, is stylistic. The use of the plural possessive pronoun 'our' which is
characteristic of a group cause discourse is a rhetorical attempt by the speaker
to merge his voice with that of the audience in a bid to underline collective
ownership/responsibility, thereby projecting himself as a stakeholder whose
commitment and passion should not be doubted. The speaker goes ahead to
emphasise the status of the university by using the spatial deictic elements
'nationally' and 'internationally' in an attempt to infuse the audience with a
sense of pride in it as one with positive attributes and great potentialities, not
only within the shores of the country but also beyond. Regrettably, we then
hear that the status has dwindled. The contrast between the status that the
university has been noted for and the forces affecting it is underlined with the
adversative conjunct 'however'. This conjunct is significant in the sense that
it opens up the discourse for the audience to acknowledge that something is
wrong with the system as a result of which the right leadership must be put in
place to address the situation.

While paying tribute to past leadership in the university, the speaker
acknowledges their efforts, rating their administrations highly. The speaker's
attempt to honour those that had served in the capacity which he aspires to
assume is a rhetorical strategy of trying to save the 'face' of his predecessors.
This strategy brings to bear the notion of 'face' by Brown and Levinson (1978).
Brown and Levinson define 'face' as the public self-image that all members of
the society want for themselves. All interactants have an interest in maintaining
two types of face during interaction: 'positive face' and 'negative face'. Positive

face concerns the desire to be appreciated and approved of, while negative face concerns a person's wish to be unimpeded and free from imposition. When an act of verbal or non-verbal communication runs contrary to the addressee's and/or the speaker's face wants, this is called a face-threatening act (FTA). Using the notion of face, Brown and Levinson developed the politeness theory which is regarded as having a dual nature: positive politeness and negative politeness. Lakoff (1990) quoted in Zhao (2008:630), states that in a pragmatic perspective, politeness 'facilitate(s) interaction by minimising the potential for conflict and confrontation inherent in all human interchange'. Therefore, a speaker would strategically manage his/her face-threatening acts to account for either positive or negative politeness. In this regard, the speaker in the extract being analysed mitigates face-threatening acts to the positive face of the past Vice-Chancellors.

Some reasons could be adduced for the speaker's rhetorical choice in this respect. First, some of the past Vice-Chancellors, even when their names are not mentioned at all, could still be influential and consequently instrumental to the choice of who becomes the next Vice-Chancellor in the university. It would be foolhardy for the speaker to expose the weaknesses of their administrations; for he would lose their support. Besides, while the past Vice-Chancellors may no longer be influential, their loyalists or apologists who are still in the system could feel slighted that the efforts of their role models were being rubbished and this would count against the speaker. Since humans would naturally want their abilities to be respected, the speaker could be saying what this select audience would want to hear, just to get their support.

Such a likelihood makes one curious when one considers the next sentence after the speaker has paid tribute to the efforts of past administrations: 'However, a lot still remains to be done'. When viewed in line with the previous sentence, the use of the adversative conjunct 'however' is somewhat incongruous and, therefore, sounds dubious. In the previous sentence, the quantifier 'much' is used to underscore the appreciable level of success recorded by past administrations as a result of which one would expect '(a) little' to be done by the subsequent administration. Unexpectedly, the speaker still uses 'a lot' to quantify what has not been done. Let us consider the argumentative patterns in the paradigm below for a better understanding:

Option 1
Successive administrations […] have achieved much under the circumstances. Therefore, a little remains to be done.

Option 2
Successive administrations […] have achieved much under the circumstances. However, *a lot* remains to be done (our emphasis).

If the rhetor had chosen Option 1 above, he would have shot himself in the foot, in that he would have no rationale for parading himself as being able to rise to any serious challenges in the administration of the university. But by selecting Option 2 where there is an imbalance in the quantifiers, going by the structure of the paradoxical sentence, the speaker leaves the reader of the text to wonder about the sincerity of his intentions. Apparently, there is some illogicality in the expression, giving us the impression that the speaker is just trying to avoid conflict with past administrations. This hunch is confirmed when the speaker goes ahead to reel off a catalogue of challenges (earlier highlighted in this study) facing the university after all. One is then left wondering that if the past administrations have achieved much, why are these myriad problems still confronting the university?

Still on the challenges of the university, another aspirant uses some other rhetorical tactics not evidenced in the extract we have just analysed. Let us consider the following:

> Excerpt 2: Many problems today besiege the university system generally in the country and Obafemi Awolowo University in particular. If care is not taken to rectify the situation, it may come to a stage that the university will be living on past glory and eventually become stagnant in the academic world […]. It is high time we stopped shouting GREAT…IFE when, in actual fact, the greatness is gradually collapsing. The Founding Fathers left us a good image, a good heritage. It is for us to maintain the image to enhance the heritage, to revitalise, to transform, to rebuild, to recast, and to rescue in order to have a fine heritage, a fine legacy to pass on to posterity. (Sample B)

It is obvious that the present speaker, like the previous one, clearly contextualises his discourse by referring to the university he seeks to administer vis-à-vis its challenges within a larger entity. Apart from touching on the spatial reference, the speaker also makes use of the temporal deictic element 'today' to identify the point in history which his discourse revolves around. While the element of *kairos* is brought to bear here in order to make the discourse appropriate, the speaker invokes another rhetorical tactic to underline the emergency situation in which the university finds itself. The rhetor raises the alarm in the structure: 'If care is not taken to rectify the situation, it may come to a stage that the university will be living on past glory […]'. Such a note of caution couched in a conditional sentence is rhetorically significant. It brings to the fore the use of the fear appeal in political discourse. In order to sway the audience, the rhetor may resort to injecting some fear into the discourse by alerting the audience of possible disastrous consequences if they do not support him in taking the necessary steps towards averting such consequences.

According to Pfau (2007:216), 'Fear is an influential emotion whose history reveals its impact not only on individuals but on entire communities […]. Fear has been particularly important politically, and the history of republics reveals

a political discourse rife with appeals to fear'. Pfau (2007) argues that although philosophers since Plato have often condemned emotion in general and fear in particular, in that they run counter to the reason and logic that ought to guide the rational human being, there are other political thinkers that posit a constructive political role for fear. Walton (2000) quoted in Pfau (2007:219) gives a succinct definition of the fear appeal argument thus:

> The term 'fear appeal argument' […] refers to a specific type of argument that has three central characteristics: (i) it cites some possible outcome that is fearful to the target audience, (ii) in order to get that audience to take a recommended course of action, (iii) by arguing that in order to avoid the fearful outcome, the audience should take the recommended course of action.

Therefore, for the target audience of the rhetor not to witness the unimaginable drifting of the values and ideals of the university that they so much cherish, they would do well to reason along with him and share his views on how best to avert the ugly scenario. The rhetorical force of the fear appeal is further given impetus by some stylistic choices made by the rhetor. First of all, he uses the expression 'living on the past glory'. The use of the temporal deictic element 'past' portends that the university will lose relevance in the new scheme of things. It also suggests wallowing in a world of illusion when actually there is nothing remarkable to be proud of. Second, the rhetor uses the adjective 'stagnant' and the place adjunct 'in the academic world' to intensify the force of the fear appeal. The word 'stagnant' is a metaphor for lethargy and consequent motionlessness which in every sense contradict the dynamism and seminal culture that universities across the world are noted for.

Cutting the figure of a realist for himself, the figure of a dispassionate leader, the figure of a leader with a sound sense of judgement, the speaker touches on an emotional issue that the staff, students and alumni of the university so much cherish and that is the slogan 'Great Ife': 'It is high time we stopped shouting Great…Ife when, in actual fact, the greatness is actually collapsing'. As is characteristic of most leading universities in Nigeria, every one of them has a slogan which encapsulates its perceived superiority evidenced in its tradition, ideals and uniqueness among other universities in the country. Where, for example, the University of Ibadan, the premier university in Nigeria, has as its slogan, 'Greatest UI … the first and the best', Obafemi Awolowo University adopts 'Great Ife'. In fact, more often than not, when the name of the university is not mentioned in full within the Nigerian environment the catchphrase 'Great Ife' has come to be a useful substitution. It is the brand name of the university on car stickers and all souvenirs produced by the university. It may even interest us to note that the university has a mantra which fires the spirit of the students and its alumni whenever it is being rendered. Interestingly, the name

of the university in full is never mentioned in it but rather the slogan 'Great Ife'. As a matter of fact, any ceremony on the university campus or any gathering of the students and alumni of the university in any part of the world where the anthem has not been rendered would be regarded as deficient. Here goes the mantra:

> Great Ife, Great Ife
> Africa's most beautiful campus
> We are conscious, vigilant, progressive
> Aluta against all oppression
> Forward ever, backward never
> For learning and culture
> Sports and struggle
> Great Ife, great!
> I love you
> There is only one Great Ife in the universe
> Another Great Ife is a counterfeit
> Great, great, great…!

Going by the ecstasy that accompanies the rendering of this anthem, one who listens to the Obafemi Awolowo University students and alumni cannot but share in their euphoria, as they celebrate the 'greatness' of their university. However, the rhetor's caution deserves a second thought. For the enthusiastic Obafemi Awolowo University student or alumnus/alumna, the rhetor's use of the verb 'shouting' could sound somewhat contemptuous. While such a disposition may sound offensive to some members of the university community who may not want to support the aspirant for such a 'careless' utterance, so to say, the great thinkers in the university community who have followed its history since inception until its present state may see some wisdom in the rhetor's assessment. That the rhetor could do away with sentiment and face the realities on ground could eventually give him an edge over other contestants who are still given to frivolities.

One is able to appreciate the speaker's assessment of the situation better when he elaborates on his viewpoint in the proclamation below:

> Extract 3: […] IFE of yesterday, IFE of 1962, is not IFE of today, not to talk of IFE of tomorrow, IFE of next century, IFE of next millennium. There are problems that call for urgent solutions in order to maintain the greatness, the uniqueness and the international fame and index of the university.
> (Sample B)

In the extract above, the speaker deploys some rhetorical tactics to underscore his message. First of all, he uses folk appeal by substituting 'IFE' for the full name of the university. This is because ordinarily when members of the university community speak, they use the name 'Ife' to refer to the university. Second, the repetition of the name 'IFE' six times within the space of two lines calls the reader's attention to the most important subject matter.

Furthermore, the plethora of temporal deictic elements in the discourse is engaging. Once again, the speaker uses the rhetorical element of *kairos* by situating the discourse in a temporal context. While the first two temporal deictic elements – 'yesterday' and '1962' – show something desirable and, therefore, worth celebrating, the others give a contrary picture as used by the rhetor. The argument has a stylistic force with the use of the negator 'not' after the first two references, as in: 'Ife of […] is not Ife of […]'. If the speaker is able to assess the present and past situations that he can confidently comment on, he will only be just if he limits himself to these temporal frames alone without extending the unpleasant picture he creates of the present moment to the future, even the distant future. Could it be that the rhetor is a pessimist or that he tries to sound rather overemphatic by attempting to play the fear card? The ominous reference to 'tomorrow', 'next century' and 'next millennium' could be counterproductive if the audience erroneously takes the rhetor to be an incurable pessimist. From another perspective, it could be that the rhetor paints such a gloomy picture of the future to caution that for such an unpleasant scenario to be averted, a competent Vice-Chancellor should be appointed.

The contrast between two temporal frames – past and present – in assessing the challenges of the university is further exploited by another aspirant thus:

> Extract 4: Historically, the acclamation 'Great Ife!' not too long ago captured an impressive realisation of the dream of the founding fathers of the Obafemi Awolowo University. Today, that vision has been short-circuited and there are legions of problems associated with the towering crisis induced by the inability to match the facilities with aspirations and expectations […]. (Sample C)

The rhetorical element of *kairos* used in the above extract is given impetus with the use of the adjunct elements 'historically' and 'today' which are temporal deictic elements to gauge the two points in history when the fortunes of the university have blossomed and degenerated respectively. By painting the past as glorious and the present as challenging, the rhetor prepares the ground for the exigency surrounding his aspiration. It is not surprising then when he goes ahead to say: 'Our present task, therefore, is to recapture the best of the past in search of the way forward by embracing the collective vision of OAU in the 21st century'. In appraising the three temporal frames as shown in the

discussion thus far, a particular picture is created of each moment in the history of the university and this can be represented thus:

Glorious past   (feeling of delight)
Squalid present   (feeling of disenchantment)
Redeemable future   (rekindling of confidence).

It is clear that the aspirant's argumentative pattern revolves around the three temporal frames in a bid to provide a diagnosis and prognosis of the challenges facing the university. If the picture of the present is dismal and the members of the university community are becoming despondent, it behoves the aspiring Vice-Chancellor to raise the hope of this set of people by painting a picture of a brighter future that his leadership would herald. In so doing, the rhetor cuts the figure of a shrewd administrator imbued with the practical intelligence to analyse and proffer solutions to the problems of the university. In that capacity, he can clearly see beyond the present moment and think beyond the level of reasoning of other people. The rhetor, therefore, becomes a rallying point, a source of inspiration and a visionary who sees light at the end of the tunnel. In such a posture, an aspirant declares:

> Extract 5: It is abundantly clear that the Obafemi Awolowo University is at the crossroads. A situation such as that in which we are calls for new ways of thinking, new approaches, and a new discipline of mind and character, new commitment and resolve to confront the changed and changing circumstances.
> (Sample B)

In the above extract, the rhetor plays the fear card again with the use of the spatial as well as temporal idiomatic expression 'at the crossroads' which provokes the audience to be awake to the defining moment in the history of the university when important decisions have to be reached, among which is the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, to save the university from further degeneration. Following from this, the rhetor proceeds to inspire the audience to imbibe the attitude that can bring the desired results, as he attempts to sell an offer to them. He employs the rhetorical figure of repetition by using the word 'new' four times in the syntactically parallel structures: 'new ways of thinking', 'new approaches', 'new discipline of mind and character', and 'new commitment and resolve'. All of these structures are nominal groups with different noun heads which touch on the cardinal issues that can redeem the situation in the university.

The repetition of the word 'new' in these structures smacks of the use of the word in advertising discourse. More often than not when the word is used in advertising, though not necessarily repetitive, it is abused, hence it is often seen as one of the 'weasel words' in advertising. In the present discourse, the

rhetor may be emphasising the demands of the new era in human history during which the contest fell – the third millennium and the twenty-first century. In fact, all the aspirants sampled for the study make reference to the twenty-first century or the third millennium in one way or the other in their write-ups with emphasis on it as a time when the university has to be repositioned to take its pride of place in the academic world. They always emphasise 'my vision of the Obafemi Awolowo University in the twenty-first century or the next millennium'. For the purposes of the political goals of the aspirants in the present discourse, it would be quite interesting to probe into the use of this temporal deictic element.

Reference to the twenty-first century in the present discourse and generally in popular discourse is significant for several reasons. Generally, it is believed that at the turn of a new century, the world should brace up for greater challenges in every sphere of human life. As such, it is believed that there must be improved standards for running the affairs of humankind over what they used to be in the previous century or the century winding down since lofty targets are usually set for the new century. As a result, every nation or race seeks to break the record earlier set by others. For the African continent in particular, the turn of the twenty-first century was that in which the governments of different nations came up with action plans and policies designed to tackle the economic downturn, poverty, illiteracy, (killer) diseases such as cholera, polio, and HIV/AIDS, among others, and the drive to make unprecedented breakthroughs in science and technology.

By also invoking the temporal deictic in the present campaign discourse, the aspirants seek to draw the audience's attention to that moment in the history of university education in Nigeria when Nigerian universities would have to tackle the setbacks that had hitherto held them back from competing favourably with world class universities. But in reality, the aspirants may just be echoing this reference to the twenty-first century to appeal to people's emotions without actually weighing the challenges therein. Normally, one would have expected the aspirants in their campaign to let the audience know the opportunities offered Nigerian universities in the twenty-first century that would make them actualise their goals if not that they are just mouthing it to get the people's support.

A number of pertinent questions may be asked in this respect: Has funding of education increased from what it used to be in the past? Have governments and the body regulating universities in Nigeria (the National Universities Commission) come up with clear policy statements and implementation strategies geared towards radically changing the status of university education in the country? Are there donor agencies such as corporate organisations and multinationals that have shown interest in sponsoring research activities in the university? Simply put, what is spectacular about the twenty-first century for

the university system in Nigeria? These questions could be some of the issues that the audience would expect the aspirant to address in concrete terms instead of just going on about the miracle century.

On the question of the kind of leadership that can attend to the problems facing the university system, the aspirants also set certain standards which are quite lofty. Consider this:

> Extract 6: Thus, a leader needed to revitalise the age-long glory to IFE, to transform the present status of the university, is a leader that is accommodating; it is a leader that regards himself as first among equals; it is a leader that is not pompous; it is a leader that does not parade himself as 'Mr Know All'; it is a leader that appreciates the feelings, the problems, the failures, the successes, the hopes and aspirations of others […]. It is a leader that does not allow communication gap. It is a leader that can serve all the time and in any or all circumstances, as 'a man of the people'. He has to remember that he deals not only with files but with people.
> (Sample B)

The leadership image portrayed by the rhetor is made effective with the use of some rhetorical appeals. The first is the heavy deployment of syntactic parallel structures evidenced in the syntactic pattern: 'it is a leader that is (not) […]' where there is a subject complement used after the verb 'be and 'it is a leader that does (not) […]' where there is an object after a verb that expresses an action. Apart from the repetition of the word 'leader' which is emphatic, thereby thematising the issue of leadership in the discourse, the use of the topicalising device (it + be + Noun Phrase [NP]) which is a stylistic marker makes the rhetorical figure of repetition more prominent. When we focus on the constant element 'a leader' in all the structures, we must as well focus on the varied lexical items that function as either subject complements or the direct objects of certain verbs, while also taking cognizance of the stylistic use of the negative particle 'not' which nullifies what the aspiring Vice-Chancellor must not be. Such expressions as 'accommodating', 'first among equals', 'not pompous', 'not Mr Know All' used as subject complements sound appealing, and so the audience could easily identify with the cause of the aspirant who appreciates such values in a leader. The collocation of the words 'feelings', 'the problems', 'the failures', 'the successes', and 'the hopes and aspirations of others', with the verb 'to appreciate' yet underlines the virtues of a leader that any group of people would want to have as their head.

Furthermore, the rhetor makes use of a popular parlance in the Nigerian environment when referring to a public figure that is popular with the people. The reference to a leader being 'a man of the people' in the extract ironically reminds one of the title of Chinua Achebe's novel, *A Man of the People*. Although Chief Nanga who is a foil to the protagonist Odili Samalu is referred to as 'a man of the people', giving the impression that he has the interest of the

people at heart he exhibits dubious tendencies of exploiting his people to a great extent. Summing up the picture of Nanga as Achebe's 'a man of the people', Dwivedi (2008:5) says:

> Achebe presents […] Nanga as a political opportunist. Nanga has no concept of political morality. He has become rich through bribery, corruption, and intimidation, and knows how to work these things to his advantage […]. Nanga and many others pursue self-interest with false promises of sharing with everyone.

This negative image of Achebe's 'a man of the people' is what most Nigerian public speakers probably do not take into consideration when they campaign and promise to be 'men/women of the people'. They just emphasise the connotation of the rapport between the leaders and their subjects without taking note of the negative light in which the expression is portrayed in the narrative. Or it could be that such an expression has been stripped of its literary import and then recontextualised to mean the leader who feels for the people in a positive light, not having any ulterior motives. If that is so, it could be then that the aspiring Vice-Chancellor who uses it in his campaign discourse is quite aware of the import of his choice; for indeed he goes ahead in the extract to explain: 'He has to remember that he deals not only with files but also with human beings'. This leadership style that the speaker emphasises here in relation to giving his administration a human face is where the question of 'a man of the people' as opposed to 'a man of files' comes to the fore.

Besides configuring leadership image in respect of the person at the helm of affairs, there is an aspirant that tries to redefine successful leadership as everyone's business. This view resonates with contemporary thinking about leadership as not being a position but a process. According to Hughes et al., (2006:6), '[…] leadership is a complex phenomenon involving the leader, the followers and the situation'. No wonder that one aspirant says:

> Extract 7: […] the collaboration of everyone, staff and students, is essential to the continued proper functioning and development of the institution. Whether this institution succeeds or fails is dependent largely on the members of the community; no Vice-Chancellor can succeed without the collaboration and efforts of the university community.
> (Sample A)

From the excerpt above, the speaker is trying to sell himself to the audience as one who is not an island, not a tree that makes a forest, not a single hand that can lift a heavy load to the head, but one who does appreciate group efforts in a bid to achieve the desired goals. With this rhetorical appeal, he cuts the figure of a team player whom the other members can look up to for a purposeful and result-oriented captaincy. By identifying the key players with whom the aspirant will attend to the problems of the institution, he gives the impression that he is

a shrewd manager not only of material resources but also of human resource. Hogan et al. (1994) quoted in Hughes et al. (2006:7) define leadership in this light thus: 'The ends of leadership involve getting results through others, and the means of leadership involve the ability to build cohesive, goal-oriented teams. Good leaders are those who build teams to get results across a variety of situations'.

From the above discussion so far on how the aspirants handle the question of leadership, we can deduce that they all use a self-effacing strategy, not ascribing those qualities directly to themselves although those are the ingredients they would need to function effectively in office. If the aspirants could appreciate the qualities, it must be that they possess some of them or would strive towards having the attributes. But no reference is made by them, stating categorically that these are the leadership qualities that they possess and would bring to bear in running the administration. Could one term that disposition to be a rare display of a sense of modesty that one would expect from academics whose exposure has taught one not to be conceited? Or could it be that as discourse craftsmen who manipulate the discourse in order to control the minds of their audiences, the rhetors have tactically kept their identity in this respect in the background? Of course, it could be a non-committal strategy so that if they fail to live up to expectations, no one would hold them responsible after all.

The same self-effacing strategy is used by some of the aspirants towards the end of their write-ups when they challenge the authorities concerned with the appointment of Vice-Chancellor not to fail in their assignment. Here are some charges:

> Extract 8: In selecting the new Vice-Chancellor, the managers of this university have a historic opportunity to decide for the future.
> (Sample C)

> Extract 9: This is a critical period for the university […]. The decision taken now is a pointer to the future of this GREAT CITADEL OF LEARNING AND CULTURE. May God in His infinite wisdom guide and direct the assessors in taking the important, delicate and far-reaching decision.
> (Sample B)

In trying to give their discourses once more the desired rhetorical force, the rhetors invoke the rhetorical element of *kairos* by cautioning the assessors that whatever decision they make determines the 'future' of the university. The aspirants, as shown in the extracts above, appear to employ subtle intimidation, cautioning the assessors that if after seeing the credentials each of them parades they fail to pick the right candidate – the respective speaker – it would cost the university dearly.

It is as if the rhetors are advertising certain products in these excerpts and they give the impression that the products may never be available for purchase

next time if they are not procured here and now to cure the ailments of the audience. Since the audience would not want to make such a costly mistake, they would rather buy the product for contingency reasons. In a similar vein, the rhetor in Excerpt 8 appears to be saying that the 'historic opportunity' before the assessors is to choose him and not any other person, while the other in Excerpt 9 seems to be saying that the 'far-reaching decision' to be made by the assessors is to look in his direction as the right choice for the post.

Conclusion

The analysis we have carried out so far shows the extent to which a powerfully controlled discourse in the hand of the political rhetor could brim with multiplicities of meaning when subjected to critical reading, as the study tries to lay bare the rhetorical style of the aspirants seeking the post of Vice-Chancellor of the Obafemi Awolowo University at a critical point, not only in the history of the institution but also the world at large. Just like the practice outside the university community where political aspirants seek to influence the attitudes of the electorate, we see the aspiring Vice-Chancellors also packaging their messages, combining emotions and image-building to position themselves and their ideas to influence the selection panel. Of course, it should be noted that while this study has attempted to point out the normative and evaluative value of the rhetorical prowess of would-be university managers, it is left to the selection panel to consider, among other factors, the most suitable candidate for the post. Thus, making the right choice among the candidates may not solely depend on their rhetorical prowess.

Generally, while the aspirants use a credibility strategy in a restrained manner and inject a good dose of fear appeal into the discourse, it is noteworthy they all put to judicious use the element of *kairos*, as they strategically harp on the exigencies and constraints of place, time and audience to give rhetorical force to their utterances. It appears they all capitalise on the degeneration in the system, the apprehensions and aspirations of members of the university community for contriving their rhetorical strokes. Had the university not found itself in the doldrums and, therefore, in dire need of focused leadership to bail it out, one wonders what the rhetorical appeals in the discourse would look like. In this sense, this study opens up further areas of investigation into the rhetorical style of aspiring Vice-Chancellors, not only in other Nigerian universities but also universities in Africa in a bid to reveal the contextual considerations that could constrain the discursive practices in their respective universities.

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Translating Equitable Access into Retention and Success in African Higher Education: The Role and Responsibility of Individual Institutions

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Abstract

Matching equity of access to equity of outcome in marginalized groups in African higher education necessitates innovative strategies in pre- and post-student admission. Student selection using tools predictive of student success, comprehensive and holistic student support, and, curriculum and pedagogical interventions address both access and success within the equity and transformation paradigms. This article provides an overview of higher education participation rates in African countries and describes curriculum, pedagogic and student support strategies that facilitate the translation of access into retention and success.

Résumé

L'accès à l'égalité des résultats dans les groupes marginalisés au sein de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique nécessite des stratégies innovatrices pré et post-admission des étudiants. La sélection utilise des outils prédictifs de réussite, de soutien exhaustif et global des étudiants, des programmes et des interventions pédagogiques traitant, selon des modèles équitables de changement, l'accès et la réussite en même temps. Ce document donne un aperçu de la hausse des taux de participation à l'éducation dans les pays africains, et décrit des programmes et des stratégies pédagogiques de soutien des étudiants qui permettent de traduire l'accès à l'éducation en stabilité et réussite.

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Introduction

The African Union (AU) and NEPAD have both explicitly prioritized education as the vehicle for Africa's development. The AU (2006a) has identified human resources development by 'education' as the major means of attaining its vision of an integrated, peaceful, prosperous Africa, driven by Africans and affirming its place in the knowledge economy and global community. The plan of action for the 'Second Decade of Education for Africa' prioritizes 'tertiary education' as one of its seven foci, i.e., the 'complete revitalization of higher education, with the emergence of strong and vibrant institutions profoundly engaged in fundamental and development-oriented research, teaching, community outreach and enrichment services to the lower levels of education; and functioning in an environment of academic freedom and institutional autonomy, within and overall framework of public accountability' (AU 2006a:1). This focus is echoed in the AU's (2006b) Priority Programme 19 (Priority Education) which has the objectives of socio-economic development by partnering with youth for the promotion of human resource development, capacity development and science and technology as tools. The AU (2004) also quotes education in the context of the Millennium Development Goals where the goal of promoting gender equality and empowerment of women has as its success indicators the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and in all levels of education no later than 2015. One of the goals of NEPAD[3] is 'policy reform and increased investment in human development with a focus on health, education, science and technology development'. If higher education is believed to be critical to the resolution of the complex challenges facing the African continent (Council for Higher Education 2004a), then areas for priority attention are participation rates, access, retention and success in higher education.

Participation

Participation is defined as the proportion of the total population of the relevant age cohort enrolled for education and is often stratified by different categories of people who access education. Participation at all levels of education in sub-Saharan Africa is not only the lowest globally, but is also gender-biased in favour of males, as evident in Table 1 extracted from the 'Education for All Global Monitoring Report' 2009. Of particular relevance to this article is the weighted average of people accessing secondary and tertiary education which is cited as 32 per cent and 5 per cent in 2005 respectively.[4] Even greater disparity exists when the participation rates are stratified by gender, with the weighted average of women in higher education cited as a little more than a third (UNESCO 2008).

Table 1: Participation Rates in Sub-Saharan Africa

		Gross Enrolment Rates (GERs) - %			Gender Parity Indices (GPIs)		
		Weighted Average	Maximum	Minimum	Weighted Average	Maximum	Minimum
Pre-primary education	GER/GPI	14	109	0.8	0.97	1.79	0.49
	Year	2006	2006	2005	2006	2006	2005
	Country	All[1]	Seychelles	Chad	All[1]	Lesotho	Chad
Primary Education	GER/GPI	97	138	47	0.89	1.06	0.66
	Year	2005	2005	2005	2005	2004	2005 (UIS estimate)
	Country	All[2]	Madagascar	Niger	All[2]	Gambia	Central African Republic
Secondary Education	GER/GPI	32	105	9	0.79	1.26	0.33
	Year	2005	2005	2005	2005	2005	2005
	Country	All[2]	Seychelles	Niger	All[2]	Lesotho	Chad
Tertiary Education	GER/GPI	5	17	0.4	0.62	1.27	0.15
	Year	2005	2005	2004	2005	2005	2004
	Country	All[2]	Mauritius	Malawi	All[2]	Lesotho	Eretria

These rates have not changed significantly over the last 40 years, as reflected in Figure 1, where participation in higher education in Ghana is compared with that of Korea. Interventions to increase participation rates thus require comprehensive engagement with the cultural, educational, political, religious, socio-economic and tribal issues that impact on participation in formalized education.

Access

Access to higher education has progressed from a paradigm of inherited merit, where a select group of academically proficient students were admitted into higher education institutions solely on merit, inherited as a result of their socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Currently, national goals tend to aspire to equal rights where demographic, economic, political and ideological imperatives resulted in the massification of higher education such that it became

representative of national diversity and was made accessible to large numbers of the population, irrespective of socio-economic and educational status. Ultimately the goal is equity or equality of opportunity which aspires to equal opportunity of access to a variety of academic fields and disciplines and to postgraduate education by redefining merit and augmenting it with various forms of alternative access (Clancy and Goastellec 2007 and Council for Higher Education 2004b). Equity of access thus relates to an institution's initiatives in making the full complement of its educational offerings accessible to a diversity of students, particularly marginalized groups (Council for Higher Education 2004a).

Figure 1: Change in Educational Profile in Korea and Ghana, 1960-2000
(Bank 2009)
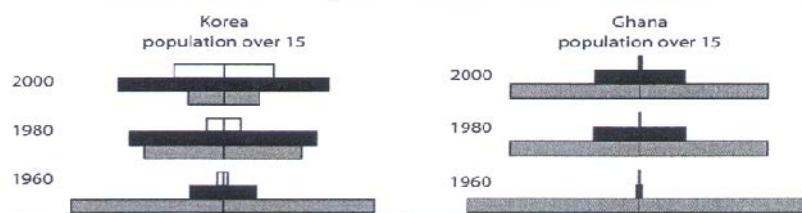
Key: Grey=Primary Education, Black=Secondary Education, White=Higher Education.

Although the definition of 'marginalized' and the prioritization of marginalized cohorts (where more than one exist) varies from country to country, the definition usually encompasses one or more of the following:

- Gender: gender bias against women, especially in certain fields of study.
- Geography: students from peri-urban and rural areas.
- Education: poor quality of the secondary education experience and the subsequent level of preparedness for higher education.
- Economic status: less affluent students with limited ability/inability to self-fund/co-fund higher education.
- Language: students with a mother tongue different from that used in the Higher Education institutions.
- Minority/race/ethnicity: minorities, races or ethnic groups marginalized by political regimes (Jones et al. 2008 and Waetjen 2006).

Matching equity of access to equity of outcome by successful participation and completion necessitates a number of pivotal, holistic and innovative strategies pre- and post-student admission.

Pre-Admission Strategies

Pre-admission strategies largely relate to student selection using tools predictive of student success.

Selection

Merit-based student selection for marginalized groups whether considering performance at secondary school level or in merit-based selection tests such as the traditional intellectual assessments and aptitude tests, has engendered world-wide criticism. Widening access to marginalized groups has thus involved a range of student selection tools, inter alia developing flexible entry requirements, assessments for the recognition of prior learning, and programme-specific admissions tests and alternative admissions tests (Council for Higher Education, 2004a). Many of these tests have been extended from a purely quantitative exercise to personal interviews and psychological profiling, for example, and many have been augmented by broader criteria such as a student's rank rather than performance in school as an indicator of ability. Others use proxy indicators such as attitude, commitment to learning, leadership qualities, motivation, personality and psychological self-efficacy (Jones et al. 2008; Coughlan 2006 and McLaughlin et al. 2007) as evidenced by the following selected case studies of aptitude tests, interactive assessments and psychological profiling.

The Alternative Access Research Project (AARP) developed by the University of Cape Town in South Africa consists of a battery of admissions tests with the aim of identifying academically talented students with the potential to succeed. The battery has six components: the academic and quantitative literacy test, the mathematics test, the placement test in English for educational purposes (PTEEP), the mathematics comprehension test, the mathematics achievement test and the reasoning test.[5] Visser and Hanslo (2005) reported on different statistical methods employed to relate AARP tests scores to performance and retention. The project initially used correlations and regression analyses relating AARP test scores to student performance largely at first year level (decreasing sample sizes in subsequent years precluded the use of these statistical methods which were further confounded by academic development programmes and course interventions), to survival analyses relating AARP test scores to outcome whether completion, graduation, academic exclusion or drop-out using parameters such as the survival function which is the probability that a student will remain longer than the minimum time for a particular programmes, and the hazard function which is the probability that a student is excluded at a particular time. The PTEEP test which consists of a combination of multiple choice questions and productive pieces, including aspects of teaching, modelling and practice, was found to provide additional information regarding the risk of

exclusion/drop-out only amongst marginalized cohorts of students with similar secondary education examination performances.

Shochet (1994) contended that sub-optimal performance of marginalized students in intellectual assessments or aptitude tests was attributed to minimal exposure to mediated learning experiences and that a true reflection of learning potential was attainable by an interactive assessment model or the 'test-teach-re-test' method where students are actively coached or subjected to mediated learning during test administration. His research conducted at the University of Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) in South Africa showed an inverse relationship between cognitive modifiability and predictability of intellectual assessments or aptitude tests, ultimately advocating cognitive modifiability as a moderator of a traditional predictors and not necessarily predictive of success (Shochet 1994).

McLaughlin et al. (2007) in a study conducted amongst nursing students at a University in the United Kingdom, related academic performance to a questionnaire-based evaluation of occupational and academic self-efficacy as well as personality and ascertained extraversion (characterized by sensation seeking, assertiveness, sociability and requiring constant stimulation), neuroticism (characterized by low self-esteem, depression, shyness, moodiness and anxiety) and psychoticism (characterized by aggressiveness, tough-mindedness, apathy, impulsiveness and recklessness), believed to be partially hereditary and partially physiological amongst a first year cohort of nursing students. It was found that psychoticism and extraversion were negatively associated with academic performance while occupational self-efficacy related to motivation and learning was statistically significantly positively associated with academic performance.

Despite the fact that most, if not all alternative access mechanisms, whether quantitative or qualitative have met with mixed success, showing limited predictive value in marginalized student cohorts, they nevertheless provide an important body of work facilitating the access of marginalized students. While research to optimize alternative access criteria is ongoing, it is imperative that institutions acknowledge that alternative access mechanisms inherently assess learning potential and the potential to succeed on the express proviso of the availability and accessibility to adequate and appropriate academic and other support.

Post-Admission Strategies

Equity of outcome may be achieved by implementing a number of pivotal, holistic and innovative post- admission strategies. These include curriculum interventions such as separate or bridging, semi-integrated or foundational and holistic and integrated models together with contextualized and relevant curriculum content as evident in competency-based education (CBE), outcomes-based education (OBE) and cased-based curricula (CBC). Other approaches include participative pedagogies such as peer-led team learning (PLTL) and

problem-based learning (PBL) in tandem with additional academic support by, for example, supplemental instruction (SI) and structured learning assistance (SLA) and psycho-social student support by means of mentorship, student counselling centres and a range of other student services.

Curriculum

Curriculum intervention is aimed at adapting curricula to assist in developing a student's general academic and cognitive skills, language proficiency and capacity for self-directed learning (Council for Higher Education 2004a) by providing contextualized and relevant curriculum content and by ensuring relevant learning outcomes commensurate with international reference points[6] developed in consultation with stakeholders including but not limited to faculty, students, alumni, employers, government ministries, private and public national and international higher education institutions, consultants and specialists, mentors and coaches, assessors and moderators, higher education quality assurance bodies, professional bodies, advisory bodies, research institutions and the broader society (Meyer and Bushney 2008). The graduate is ideally an intellectual, a professional and a critical citizen able to think theoretically, analyze rigorously and process empirical data with a deep social commitment to addressing the developmental needs of Africa (Badat 2005). This learner-centredness requires curriculum design and content relevant and contextual to the learners' life experiences and the use of appropriate teaching, learning and assessment methodologies (Koch et al. 2001 and Venter et al. 2001). Curriculum intervention thus focuses on curriculum design, content, pedagogy.

Curriculum design to facilitate the retention and success of marginalized students has progressed from a 'more time more tuition' separate or bridging approach and semi-integrated or foundational approach, to the integrated and holistic approach (Crosling et al. 2009 and Kloot et al. 2008). Separate or bridging approaches provide academic support and aim to improve an inadequate secondary education. Semi-integrated or foundational approaches additionally provide academic development laying the necessary foundations for further study by developing cognitive, communication and study skills, while the integrated and holistic approach integrates academic development in mainstream programmes instilling cognitive, practical, reasoning and thinking, and, conceptual, critical thinking, language, communication, life and study skills through disciplinary content (Kloot et al. 2008). Horizontal and vertical integration are essential components of curriculum design with the former encompassing the contextualization of academic and life skills within a disciplinary field and relating cognate disciplines as opposed to teaching in silos while the latter involves the convergence of academic development with mainstream curricula (Jones et al. 2008). While holistic integrated approaches may be best practice,

circumventing the stigmatization of marginalized cohorts, separate and semi-integrated approaches are useful preliminary interventions allowing natural progression to holistic and integrated approaches.

It is imperative that the curriculum content discourse in African higher education, in terms of relevance and context, focuses on indigenous knowledge defined as 'an idea or system of thought peculiar to the [inhabitants] of a particular geographical location of socio-cultural environment' (le Grange 2008:817). Le Grange (2008) contends that although knowledge systems differ in epistemology, pedagogy, logic, cognitive structures, socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts, all systems inherently share 'localness' and their own knowledge space/place.

Africanization 'relates to Africans upholding African aspirations; descent; cultural heritage; own ideas, rights, interests and ideals; self-concept and own rationality in intercultural context' (Botha 2007:205) as well as non-Africans respecting and facilitating Africans' efforts to do so. Africanization in the University context necessitates the relevance of African universities to Africa by promoting unique African philosophies and organizational cultures, by addressing the needs and expectations of developing, largely third-world African countries and by focusing on the needs, circumstances and aspirations of Africans; in essence relating to the continent, philosophy, culture, countries and people of Africa (Botha 2007).

Notwithstanding the importance of including the African and non-African international components (Botha 2007), the generation and dissemination of indigenous knowledge in African higher education is critical to addressing the challenges of Africa as is the shift from 'pure disciplinary, homogenous, expert-led, supply driven, hierarchical, peer-reviewed and [largely] university based' knowledge to 'applied, problem-centred, trans-disciplinary, heterogeneous, hybrid, demand-driven, entrepreneurial and network-embedded' knowledge (Le Grange 2008:821).

Pedagogy

The delivery of contextualized curricula with integrated academic development requires a shift from the traditional concept of knowledge as a product delivery system transmitted by the lecturer/teacher imparting factual, discipline-oriented information with necessary guidance on assessment but which results in minimalist learning and no opportunity for exploration and problem solving (Venter 2001) to interactive pedagogies based on the connectivism and constructivism learning theories, both of which create 'rich environments for active learning (REALs)' (Kilfoil 2008:1023).

Connectivism explains the dynamics of networks, environments and ecologies related to accretion which defines learning as a continuous embedded

function of the environment and at the point of need (real life). Connectivism is based on the principles that learning and knowledge lie in a variety of diverse opinions, that learning is a process of connecting specialized information sources, that the capacity to know where to source knowledge is superior to knowing 'what' and 'how', that nurturing and sustaining connections is critical to continual learning, that the ability to connect diverse disciplinary fields, ideas and concepts is a fundamental skill, that the acquisition and/or construction of current cutting edge knowledge is the central tenet, and, that decision-making is in itself a learning process. Similarly, constructivism promotes learning and investigation within authentic contexts, fosters the development of student responsibility, initiative, decision-making and intentional learning, engenders collaboration amongst students and faculty, uses dynamic, interdisciplinary, generative learning activities that facilitate critical thinking processes to assist students to develop comprehensive and complex knowledge structures, and evaluates student progress in content and learning skills within authentic contexts using real life examples (Kilfoil 2008). The student is 'an active participant in the learning process constructing knowledge through social interaction, negation and cooperation' (Dlodlo and Beyers 2009:427). Personal experiences of students enrich learning and facilitate the construction of individual knowledge while engendering problem solving abilities, a positive attitude to learning, greater self-esteem, greater confidence to attempt new and cognitively-demanding tasks, an appreciation for socio-cultural differences and inculcating teamwork skills such as listening, encouragement, empathy and conflict resolution (Dlodlo and Beyers 2009).

Integral to connectivism and constructivism are collaborative learning, cooperative learning and learning communities as evident in pedagogies including, but not limited to supplemental instruction (SI), structured learning assistance (SLA) and accelerated learning groups (ALGs), which are adjunct, and the emerging scholars programme (ESP), video-based supplemental instruction (VSI) and peer-led team learning (PLTL) which are embedded (Arendale 2005).

SI facilitates the mastery of content in the process of developing and integrating learning and study skills in high risk courses and aims to improve student performance, retention and completion/graduation rates (Arendale 2005). SI is peer-assisted study sessions which are regularly-scheduled, informal review sessions where students compare notes, discuss readings, develop organizational tools, and predict test items. Sessions are facilitated by SI leaders who are students who have previously done well in the course and who attend all lectures, take notes, and act as model students. There is no remedial stigma attached to SI as it is a voluntary, non-remedial approach to learning targeting high-risk courses rather than high-risk students in which students with varying levels of academic preparedness and diverse socio-cultural

backgrounds participate.[7] SLA assists students in developing the basis required to engage with the course content and to develop and apply the learning strategies most suited to the content. This also focuses on high risk courses and it is usually mandatory for all students to attend until mastery is demonstrated by high marks in examinations (Arendale 2005). Learning strategies such as note taking, listening, study habits and test taking are skills inculcated in addition content mastery. SLA is mediated by facilitators who act as role models to engender student responsibility and commitment to tasks.[8] ALGs are designed to meet the needs of students with significant skill and knowledge deficiencies that preclude participation in SI or SLA. An individual education plan is combined with peer-led small group learning activities and formative assessment by a learning skills specialist. Adequate progress in ALGs allows progression to SI or SLA.

ESP builds a cohort community of first-year students from marginalized groups that are academically oriented and can serve as a source of peer support. The cohort is provided with extensive orientation and academic mentorship while their academic progress and adjustment to the environment is actively monitored. Independent learning is developed by ongoing supplementary instruction and there is strong advocacy for their interests (Arendale 2005).

VSI differs from SI in that students are issued with all didactic presentations on videotape. Students do not attend lectures but engage with the video material, supported by specially designed facilitator and student manuals. VSI students led by a trained facilitator start and stop the presentations at stipulated intervals, and, as and when required and VSI incorporates periodic small group assignments to ascertain concept mastery. Feedback on tasks completed under the supervision and guidance of the facilitator allow students to construct and confirm their understanding (Arendale 2005). PLTL is where peer-leaders guide the activities of small groups in workshop format providing an active learning experience, creating a leadership role at undergraduate level and engendering faculty development in a creative dimension of instruction.[9] Students cooperatively solve challenging problems guided by peer leaders trained to ensure that students actively and productively engage with the material and each other. The supportive format facilitates conceptual understanding by encouraging discussions, students learn to work in teams and communicate more effectively while peer leaders acquire teaching and group management kills (Arendale 2005).

Curriculum and pedagogy that engender student engagement described as a student's commitment and application and the quality of student effort and learning evidenced by time and energy devoted to academic and learning activities and the meaning and understanding achieved by learning are significant factors in student retention and success. Engendering engagement is the mutual responsibility of the student and the institution with the latter responsible for

creating environments that facilitate engagement and learning by, for example, developing student-responsive curricula with authentic content, challenging tasks relevant to students' life experiences, adequate and appropriate orientation and induction and the integration of learning and other skills together with active and interactive learning paradigms and formative assessments for academic development (Crosling et al. 2009).

The choice of learning support programmes should be dictated by the learning-related student needs and necessitate faculty development as it is imperative that faculty not only have an excellent command of the disciplinary subject matter in the African context and are proficient in learner-centred curriculum development and pedagogies but also have the personal attributes of creating a supportive and affirming learning environment by being able to 'recognize individual potential, teaching with passion, relating to and motivating the student, validating different points of view, encouraging interaction and building [productive] relationships' (Cross et al. 2009:34-35).

Student Mentoring and Support Services

The academic interventions described above should be augmented by 'appropriate guidance, emotional support, encouragement, financial and academic assistance in a caring, nurturing and non-alienating environment' (Laden 2004:16) mediated/facilitated by faculty, career and guidance counsellors (Laden 2004) and a total student counselling and welfare service that comprises of academic development, psycho-social and health services to provide comprehensive and holistic support for marginalized groups which have a particular set of needs related to their unique pre-higher education experiences.

Peer Mentoring

Peer mentoring may be described as a process by which a more experienced/ able student instructs, counsels, guides and facilitates the personal and intellectual development of a less experienced student (Holmes et al. 2007). The aim is to facilitate the transition from secondary school and enable the navigation of and integration into higher education. Peer mentoring has been advocated as a transformation strategy in higher education (Blunt and Conolly 2006) as has been its integration into the broader context of student learning and development (van Wyk and Daniels 2004). Peer mentors facilitate the induction and retention of students and enable them to realize their potential by providing psycho-social guidance and support. They serve as positive, encouraging and affirming role models (Blunt and Conolly 2006) and demonstrate the principles of accessibility, inclusivity, recognition of diversity in its many forms, adaptability and networking (Granados and Lopez 1999). Peer mentoring is encapsulated in SI, SLA, ALGs, PLTL, ESP and VSI, all of which allow the creation of learner

groups enabling learners to share across the curriculum and shape a shared, coherent educational experience via a supportive peer group (Favish 2005).

Mentorship between faculty and student is another option and requires a cadre of faculty who are considered realistic role models, who provide inclusive academic and personal advice, who monitor academic progress, who display sympathy and empathy and who play an affirming and advocacy role in terms of each student's unique academic, career and personal issues. Such faculty serve as mentors providing professional contacts, advice and leading by example; as academic coaches providing tutoring, encouragement and facilitating the fulfilment of academic potential; as advocates tabling student issues with relevant stakeholders and as counsellors listening to academic and personal problems, and providing support and sound advice (Guiffrida 2005).

The subscription to and subsequent success of mentoring programmes requires a well-designed organizational structure and implementation framework. Programmes should, in addition, enjoy credibility amongst mentors and mentees and they should be mentee-centred with due consideration given to factors such as race, gender, ethnicity etc. when assigning mentors to mentees (Page et al. 2005).

Student Welfare Services

The Student Counselling Service (SCS) is vital to student retention and success in higher education, especially because of the growing enrolment of students from marginalized groups with diverse ethnic, social and educational backgrounds, many of whom have had inadequate secondary school preparation and thus encounter diverse learning barriers (Morrison et al. 2006 and Botha et al. 2005). Morrison et al. (2006) cited many studies that report on the positive impact of one or more components of the SCS on retention rates, on student learning, and achievement of academic targets, on students in stressful situations, on students at risk of drop-out as well as on positive personal outcomes such as improvement of self-esteem, anxiety and motivation. According to the International Association of Counselling Services, the SCS has three roles: (i) a holistic approach to student welfare, (ii) facilitating the acquisition of learning skills and (iii) personal counselling and/or psychotherapeutic services related to difficulties with integration, psycho-social problems and career counselling. Other functions include consultation with faculty, advocacy for student needs, programme development, retention activities and initiatives to enhance the campus environment by participating in a variety of institutional forums, providing feedback on student counselling-related needs and initiating and contributing to student policy development and review. Referral to faculty/tutors for academic aspects, other social support structures, internal and external to the institution and healthcare services, is implicit in the SCS. The role of a counsellor is thus four-fold, i.e. educational support including the psychometric assessment of

potential, career planning assistance, assistance with personal and emotional difficulties and referral to allied support structures as appropriate (Morrison et al. 2006).

Research on the value of the SCS is however largely on students that independently make use of the services and not necessarily those that should use the services but do not access them for reasons of stigmatization, unawareness, cultural underpinnings, etc. The SCS should thus be proactive, integrated and offer a range of services informed by comprehensive consultation with relevant stakeholders (including but not limited to executive management, faculty, departments responsible for student recruitment, student housing and student finance, student bodies, parents, potential employers, funders, professional associations and the wider University community) and commensurate with the needs of an institution's diverse student cohorts, ensuring that it reaches the target student cohorts and is marketed as integral to the mission and goals of the institution (Morrison et al. 2006).

Conclusion

Developing and implementing a holistic model to translate equity of access into equity of outcome in marginalized groups requires the following as adapted from Laden (2005):

- Create a receptive, non-alienating environment that welcomes and celebrates diversity and integrates it into the institution's organizational culture;
- Provide appropriate programmes, curriculum, pedagogy and student welfare services by collaboration between faculty and student services personnel to facilitate and enhance students' abilities to achieve academic and career aspirations;
- Orientate and induct students to facilitate the transition from secondary school and enable successful navigation of and integration into the higher education system using mechanisms and/or resources such as extended orientation programmes, writing centres, tutoring centres, peer mentors, etc.;
- Implement a monitoring and early alert system that identifies students encountering academic and other difficulties and allows prompt intervention;
- Ensure that all initiatives and interventions are informed by relevant stakeholders, especially the very student cohorts for whom they are developed.

Higher education institutions thus require adequate numbers of appropriate human resource cadres including, but not limited to peer mentors, student counsellors and academic staff skilled with the ability to deliver learner-centred teaching and learning programmes, equipped with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to provide holistic student care, development and support to translate equity of access into equity of outcome.

Notes

1. Reprinted exceptionally. The original version was published in Higher Education in Africa: Equity, Access, Opportunity, Institute of International Education, New York, 2010, pp 15-29.

2. University of KwaZulu-Natal.

3. http://www.nepad.org/2005/ files/inbrief.php (accessed 23 September 2009).

4. Average for countries for which data was available.

5. http://www.aarp.ac.za/uct/tests.htm (accessed 23 September 2009).

6. http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/conference/documents/ Leuven_Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué_April_2009.pdf.

7. http://web2.umkc.edu/cad/SI/overview.html (accessed 23 September 2009).

8. http://www.ferris.edu/htmls/academics/sla/PI_Our_Program.htm (Accessed 23 September 2009).

9. http://www.pltl.org/WhatIsPLTLDefinition.php.

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L'université, un outil de développement local ? Le cas de Jendouba en Tunisie

Dhaher Najem*

Résumé

Depuis le début des années 1990, l'université tunisienne a connu des réformes qui ont totalement bouleversé son paysage. L'explosion des effectifs étudiants a été accompagnée par un remarquable développement immobilier. En deux décennies, le nombre d'étudiants a augmenté d'une façon vertigineuse ce qui a contribué à la massification de l'enseignement supérieur. Ce phénomène a modifié la géographie des espaces universitaires et a favorisé une redistribution des enseignements. Les villes moyennes, tenues jusqu'ici à l'écart des implantations universitaires, se trouvent progressivement dotées de cette nouvelle fonction. Les investigations montrent que l'université dans certaines villes moyennes est un précurseur de changements importants. Elle génère un impact plus localisé et structurant pour les zones urbaines où elle est implantée et rayonne sur un vaste territoire régional comme l'illustrent les aires géographiques de recrutement des étudiants. Dans la ville de Jendouba et après plus d'une décennie sur l'implantation du campus universitaire, on commence à découvrir au niveau local les atouts de l'enseignement supérieur, évoqués en termes de dynamique urbaine et de potentialités socio-économiques et culturelles. Nous proposons ici de présenter les caractéristiques de ce développeur urbain en devenir à partir de ce cas d'étude en Tunisie.

Abstract

Since the beginning of 1990s, the Tunisian university knew reforms which totally upset his landscape. The explosion of the student staff was accompanied by a remarkable real estate development. In two decades, the number of students increased in a vertiginous way what contributed to the massification of the higher education. This phenomenon modified the geography of the university spaces and favored a redistribution of the

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teachings. Mid-sized cities, held up to here away from the university presences, are gradually endowed with this new function. The investigations show that the university in certain mid-sized cities is a precursor of important changes. It generates a more located and structuring impact for the urban zones where it is implanted and shines on a vast territory regional as the geographical areas of recruitment of the students illustrate it. After more than a decade on the presence of the university campus in the city of Jendouba, we begin to discover to the local level the assets of the higher education, evoked in terms of urban dynamics and socioeconomic and cultural potentialities. We suggest here presenting the characteristics of this urban developer in future from this study case in Tunisia.

Introduction

L'espace local a toujours été considéré comme un lieu d'exercice des décisions et des politiques nationales : implantation d'infrastructures administratives, touristiques, industriels, universitaires, etc. En Tunisie, l'université apparaît comme un équipement capable de conduire, au niveau local, des dynamiques urbaines et socioéconomiques et de contribuer à l'amélioration des conditions de vie des habitants. Aujourd'hui, après plus d'une décennie de massification de l'enseignement supérieur, l'université dans certaines villes tunisiennes, commence à s'imposer non seulement comme simple prestataire de service, mais aussi comme un acteur qui peut participer au développement urbain.

Ce redéploiement concerne aussi bien sa modalité de régulation interne que ses modes d'intervention vis-à-vis de son environnement proche. La régionalisation de l'université était autant sous la pression de l'urgence et la nécessité d'intervenir pour désengorger les sites universitaires de la capitale que de la volonté de rapprocher l'établissement des futurs étudiants ou d'une vraie rationalité urbaine. Ceci est en mesure de faire de sa distribution sur le territoire un enjeu important. Aujourd'hui, les collectivités locales veulent une université qui soit un moteur de développement économique local. L'université est même amenée à venir au secours des zones urbaines en difficulté. En réalité, la volonté de faire participer l'université au rayonnement et au développement local reste timide, même si elle a été intégrée parfois dans des projets plus larges d'aménagement urbain (plan d'aménagement urbain de Jendouba, 2009, schéma directeur d'aménagement du Grand Tunis à l'horizon 2021).

Ainsi, on s'interroge ici sur l'apport économique, social et culturel sur le plan local résultant de la présence de l'équipement universitaire et des modes de vie de la population étudiante. Il s'agit, en effet, de voir comment la dynamique urbaine a été influencée par la présence de l'Université. Nous nous pencherons ici sur le cas de l'implantation de l'université dans la ville moyenne de Jendouba au nord-ouest Tunisien où les investigations dans la ville et notamment dans les quartiers limitrophes du campus universitaire montrent que l'université se présente comme un précurseur de changements importants (Dhaher 2009).

L'université tunisienne : processus de croissance et diffusion spatiale

La réalité du système universitaire tunisien

Sans présenter ici une généalogie historique de l'enseignement supérieur tunisien, il est nécessaire de rappeler certaines évolutions majeures. La période coloniale n'a guère favorisé le développement d'un enseignement supérieur et ce n'est qu'après 1956[1] qu'une structure universitaire nationale fut mise en place jusqu'à la fondation de la première université tunisienne en 1960. Les premiers établissements d'enseignement supérieur en Tunisie sont apparus avec une université très centralisée. Ce système, qui perdure pendant un demi-siècle, a connu quelques bouleversements révélant son inadaptation à l'évolution des besoins économiques et à l'accroissement du nombre d'étudiants. Regroupant à peine plus de 5000 étudiants en 1965, l'enseignement supérieur prend lentement son essor avec un premier mouvement limité de décentralisation déclenché au début des années 1970 à raison d'un taux annuel de croissance ne dépassant pas les cinq pour cent jusqu'à 1985 (Dhaher 2009).

Depuis la deuxième moitié des années 1990, les effectifs étudiants connaissent une brusque augmentation, conduisant les universités à la « massification », sous l'effet d'une situation économique et sociale difficile (chômage des jeunes, qualification de l'université...) et de certains discours politiques qui veulent élever le taux de la classe d'âge au niveau du baccalauréat. Ainsi, le nombre d'étudiants a connu une augmentation substantielle en atteignant 357 472 en 2010/2011, se traduisant par une amélioration significative du taux de scolarisation dans l'enseignement supérieur qui se situe actuellement, d'après les statistiques du Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur, autour de trente six pour cent contre deux virgule six pour cent en 1966.[2] Le nombre d'établissements universitaires a augmenté considérablement passant de 86 à la rentrée universitaire 1992/1993 à 193 en 2010/2011[3] (tableau 1.1).

Tableau 1.1 : Evolution des effectifs étudiants et des établissements
universitaires

Année universitaire	1965/66	1978/79	1992/93	2000/2001	2010/2011
Nombre d'étudiants	5 456	23 618	87 780	226 102	357 472
Nombre d'établissements universitaires	12	53	86	107	193
Nombre de villes accueillant une formation universitaire	1	6	12	16	28

Source : Divers statistiques du Ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur.

En effet cette situation a promu de nouvelles conceptions des espaces de l'enseignement supérieur et des modes de vie étudiants et a été à l'origine de l'évolution des territoires universitaires.

Logiques de construction d'une offre de formation supérieure de proximité

La spatialisation de l'espace universitaire en Tunisie depuis l'indépendance correspond à trois phases.

La première, entre 1956 et 1970, correspond à la métropolisation de la formation supérieure et pendant laquelle Tunis était la seule ville à abriter les établissements universitaires de tout le pays. Depuis le début des années 1970, l'espace universitaire connaît sa régionalisation. Plusieurs établissements ont été créés dans des grandes villes régionales côtières (Sfax, Sousse, Monastir et Gabes). Ces créations ont servi de relais territoriaux et ont conforté la fonction de commandement de ces villes.

La localisation déséquilibrée des implantations universitaires au profit des zones côtières (figure 1), et qui a engendré des problèmes multiples (habitat étudiant, déplacement, ressources financières des étudiants, etc.), a poussé les responsables publics à la recherche d'un certain équilibre territorial déjà absent jusqu'au milieu des années 1990. La tendance des pouvoirs publics était de favoriser la proximité de l'université sans pour autant développer une nouvelle stratégie.

Figure 1 : Evolution des implantations universitaires en Tunisie
entre 1998 et 2008
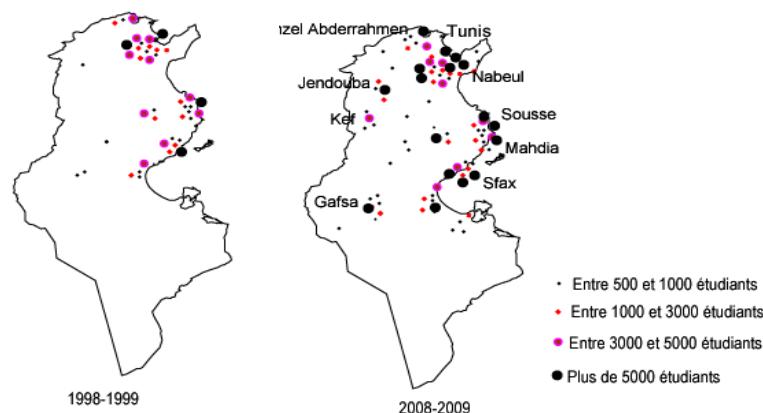
Cartographie : N. Dhaher 2009

Le développement remarquable des effectifs et des espaces universitaires en Tunisie a promu de nouvelles conceptions des espaces de l'enseignement supérieur et des modes de vie étudiants (Dhaher 2005).[4] En effet, avec la massification de l'enseignement supérieur, la géographie des universités s'est modifiée puisqu'elles doivent à la fois s'adapter à l'évolution quantitative des effectifs et à de nouvelles demandes en matière de formations.

La création de nouveaux établissements et la multiplication des sites délocalisés dans les villes moyennes ont conduit à une relative densification du réseau universitaire (tableau 1.2). Cependant, l'effet de cette diffusion spatiale de l'enseignement supérieur et sa transformation en équipement de proximité ont été, en réalité, très inégaux. En fait, malgré la multiplication des sites universitaires, la tendance à la régionalisation du recrutement des étudiants ne semble pas se dessiner, notamment dans les grandes villes notamment du nord ouest, du centre ouest et du sud du pays (figure 1). En réalité, les politiques urbaines et plus généralement les politiques publiques n'ont pas pensé et développé une vraie politique d'aménagement universitaire (Frémont 1991). L'émergence de la nouvelle configuration institutionnelle n'a pas été liée aux évolutions économiques et sociales bien que l'université se trouve dans une situation qui lui permet de jouer un rôle dans le développement local sur les plans économique, culturel et social et de s'inscrire progressivement, selon ses propres moyens, comme vecteur de l'aménagement du territoire.

Tableau 1.2 : Taille et nombre des établissements universitaires tunisiens

Population étudiante	Moins de 3000	Entre 3000 et 5000	Entre 5000 et 10000	Plus de 10000
Nombre total des établissements	158	21	12	2
Nombre d'établissements dans les villes moyennes	63	4	2	0

Source : Selon BEPP- MESRST- 2010- Tunis

Si, il y a 20 ans, les villes moyennes tunisiennes voulaient avoir une université pour permettre à leurs jeunes d'étudier sur place, aujourd'hui, les collectivités locales veulent, aujourd'hui, que l'université soit un élément de compétitivité et un moteur de développement local. En Tunisie, il n'y avait aucune démarche délibérée en matière d'urbanisme dans la localisation des équipements universitaires. La création des campus isolés à la périphérie des villes ont fait que la ville et l'université se développaient dans l'ignorance l'une de l'autre.

Cependant, certains de ces espaces universitaires laissent apparaître un début de recomposition urbaine comme par exemple dans la ville de Jendouba.

L'université à Jendouba, un outil de recomposition urbaine

Sur le plan spatial, la problématique de l'occupation du sol est la base de tous les enjeux auxquels la ville de Jendouba fait face. Cette ville du nord-ouest tunisien connait depuis des années une compétition entre l'urbain et le rural. Le premier prend de l'ampleur et le second essaye de se protéger de l'étalement urbain. L'absence de planification de ce dernier a laissé des zones vacantes, sans identités, dont l'une a été occupée par le campus universitaire (figure 2). L'installation du campus en 1998 dans le cadre d'une déconcentration universitaire à l'échelle du territoire national a représenté un véritable tournant dans la réalité urbaine de la ville.

L'université de Jendouba a connu une double évolution qui s'est opérée dans ces dernières années : évolution de la population étudiante et de ses pratiques. Elle a connu également une double évolution de son territoire : évolution de son aménagement et de sa place dans la ville. Les pressions exercées par la forte demande d'accès à l'enseignement supérieur, conjuguées à la faiblesse, voire même à l'absence de programmes économiques, ont fait de l'université une composante importante de l'espace socioéconomique et urbain sans pour autant créer un véritable projet d'aménagement urbain.

Figure 2 : Structure et organisation de la ville de Jendouba
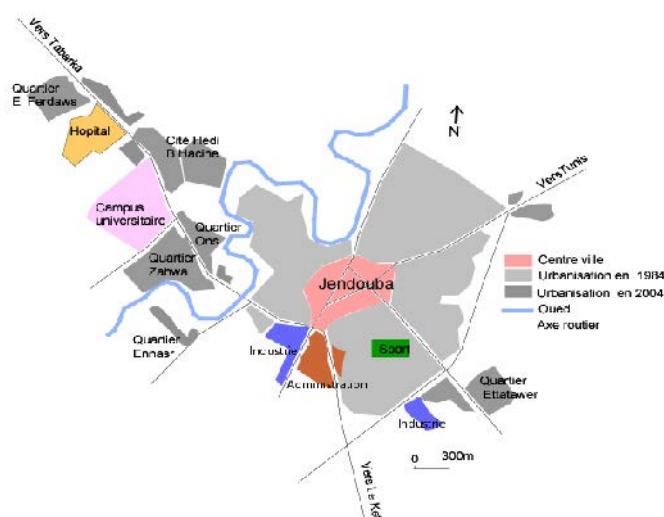
Aujourd'hui, on découvre de plus en plus que le rôle et la mission de l'université tendent à se diversifier ou tout du moins à évoluer. La production de la ville par l'université est encore timide, mais elle pourrait devenir plus évidente dans les prochaines années. Les analyses menées récemment montrent que l'implantation de certains campus universitaires tunisiens influe et change la composition urbaine de leur environnement immédiat (Dhaher 2010). Le campus de Tunis a connu en effet cette situation au début des années 1990. Premier espace universitaire tunisien à amorcer l'éclatement spatial vers la banlieue, il s'est imposé actuellement comme un ensemble qui a fait naître de nouvelles relations au sein de l'agglomération des quartiers limitrophes notamment El Manar et Ibn Khaldoun. En réalité, le campus de Tunis a modifié son environnement, tout d'abord directement par des extensions et des aménagements mais aussi indirectement par la création de nombreux commerces et activités diverses (Dhaher 2009).

L'université, un élément structurant et polarisant dans la ville

La création du campus universitaire de Jendouba et de son environnement a été effectuée sans aucun plan directionnel d'aménagement urbain préalable. Dans les années 1990, l'université a été construite à la périphérie occidentale de la ville sur un site non urbanisé. Mais en 2011, nous observons une extension de la ville vers le campus qui est devenu un élément attractif et structurant capable d'émerger comme un nouvel acteur susceptible d'apporter beaucoup à la ville.

Figure 3 : l'emprise spatiale de l'université

Abritant de grandes institutions universitaires telles que la Faculté des sciences économiques et juridiques, l'Institut supérieur des études technologiques, l'Institut supérieur des sciences humaines ainsi que des foyers et des restaurants universitaires, le campus universitaire de Jendouba qui s'étale sur 235 hectares a la particularité d'être situé à proximité de quartiers d'habitat social dans une zone périurbaine. Cette situation a permis d'accentuer le poids de son emprise foncière sur le territoire de la ville (figure 3).

Dans les conditions actuelles, il paraît, d'après les travaux réalisés (Dhaher 2010), que l'université est en train de jouer un rôle important dans le processus d'urbanisation non seulement comme élément de structuration qui participe à la composition de la ville mais aussi comme un élément polarisant. En créant et en charpentant cette extension, l'université est en mesure de la transformer en un projet urbain de grande envergure qui rayonne sur la ville. A moyen terme, il serait fort probable que des parties importantes de la ville soient organisée par et autour de l'université. Actuellement, la zone qui procure encore une réserve foncière très importante est devenue, aidée en cela par l'existence du complexe hospitalier, un pôle qui attire les promoteurs immobiliers et de petits investisseurs locaux (Dhaher 2009). D'ailleurs, l'agglomération s'est accrue, entre 1988 et 2008, d'environ 300 hectares repartis sur les diverses cités[5] (tableau 2.1). Ces zones d'influence spatiale non négligeables ont polarisé largement des migrations notamment après l'implantation du campus universitaire.

Tableau 2.1 : croissance urbaine de Jendouba durant les 20 dernières années

	1988	1998	2008
Nombre d'habitants	29261	42660	47570
Surface de l'emprise urbaine (en ha)	398	574	687

Source : Institut National de la Statistique de Tunis, analyses cartographiques et calculs personnels.

Grâce à la décentralisation et aux migrations ascendantes de fonctionnaires, la ville de Jendouba a conquit une position de centre d'activités commerciales et de petits métiers. Les fonctions urbaines se multiplient suite au développement des activités éducatives, administratives, de services et de santé. L'évolution urbaine dans la partie ouest de la ville, en majorité irrégulière et non réglementaire, a imprimé à la ville une structure plutôt linéaire essentiellement autour de la route menant à Tabarka (figure 2).

Le campus est en train de donner à la ville une certaine porosité par des passages, des vues et parfois des traversées. Accroché à des équipements urbains forts, il constitue le principal pôle d'activité et imprime sa marque monumentale dans le paysage des quartiers de l'Ouest de la ville où se sont développés des quartiers spontanés (Hédi ben Hacine, Zahwa, El Ferdaws, Ons et Ennasr). Ce type d'habitat non réglementaire est un phénomène qui n'a cessé de s'accentuer et de gagner de l'espace, ce qui a représenté l'un des défis qui contrarient le processus de développement et qui a eu des répercussions diverses, sociales, économiques et environnementales.

Les conséquences sous-jacentes à cette organisation urbaine sont multiples et multiformes. Les quartiers spontanés qui sont nés sans eau potable ni voiries, sans réseaux assainissement ni éclairage public, comme le quartier Hédi Ben Hacine et le quartier Zahwa ont continué à se développer en l'absence d'instruments et de règlements d'urbanisme. Les investigations dans ces quartiers défavorisés montrent le déficit de l'intervention publique (Dhaher 2009). Dans ces cités, les « occupations illégales» et les habitations précaires se multiplient. Cette explosion spatiale de la ville ne s'est pas accompagnée d'un développement convenable des infrastructures urbaines. En effet, qu'il s'agisse de réalisation de lotissement, de la production de l'habitat ou de la fourniture des services de base, les interventions publiques dans ces quartiers comme dans les autres quartiers de la ville, ne sont pas à l'échelle des besoins des citadins, même si certains quartiers comme Hédi Ben Hacine ont connu quelques travaux de restructuration. Ces dernières années, ces zones périurbaines se recomposent à l'occasion d'opérations liées notamment aux opportunités foncières dégagées par les mutations universitaires. Ces phénomènes ne sont pas accompagnés toujours d'investissements publics importants dans ces parties de la ville. Aujourd'hui, les habitants des ces zones espèrent que la présence des équipements universitaires participe activement à générer cette dynamique.

L'université, élément révélateur de valorisation des quartiers populaires en péril

Manifestation d'une pauvreté multidimensionnelle, les résidents des quartiers limitrophes de l'université à Jendouba cumulent pour la très grande majorité d'entre eux, de faibles ressources, des emplois saisonniers ou occasionnels, un bas niveau scolaire, un logement précaire et des conditions d'accès aux transports urbains difficiles. La prolifération de l'habitat non réglementaire et la concentration des populations défavorisées dans les quartiers Nord ouest de la ville ont conduit à « appauvrir » ces zones aussi bien au niveau social qu'urbain et économique.

Tableau 2.2 : Quelques données sur la pauvreté à Jendouba

	Taux de chômage (2011)	Montants cumulés d'investissements privés par habitant (1992-2010)	N'ayant pas accès à l'eau potable (données de 2008)	Population active analphabète
Jendouba	40.1%	2635 dinars	22% (région de Jendouba)	40%
Moyenne nationale en Tunisie	23.3%	4189 dinars	6.4%	24%

Source : Livre blanc 2011, rapport national sur les objectifs du millénaire pour le Développement, ONU, 2004.

La combinaison d'une urbanisation accélérée et incontrôlée, d'une infrastructure négligée depuis longtemps et d'un financement urbain déficient sur de nombreuses années a permis à la ville de cumuler des difficultés urbaines et socioéconomiques. Les quartiers défavorisés sont devenus des facteurs potentiels de pauvreté pour leurs occupants. Ce mouvement d'urbanisation incontrôlé a généré le sous-équipement de ces quartiers et leur difficile intégration (absence d'équipement de base : infrastructures, moyen de transport, bâti précaire, statut foncier totalement ou partiellement irrégulier etc.). Bref, la ville n'arrive pas à dominer son espace. Cette situation a permis également le renforcement des ségrégations socio-spatiales et l'émergence des phénomènes de marginalisation et d'exclusion (Dhaher 2009).

L'implantation de l'université à proximité des quartiers populaires qui abritent plus de 13 000 habitants (INS 2008) a permis de fournir un moyen de lutte contre les inégalités sociales et territoriales en offrant aux jeunes une voie de promotion sociale sur place. La demande affichée au début de chaque rentrée universitaire par les étudiants en matière d'habitat pour l'hébergement a provoqué des travaux de réhabilitation, de renouvellement et d'extension urbaine notamment dans les quartiers limitrophes. Le nombre élevé des autorisations de bâtir délivrés par les services techniques de la municipalité dans les dernières années pour des travaux d'extension et de transformation ainsi que le développement des activités commerciales et de services localisées dans ces quartiers permettent d'apprécier l'impact de l'université dans cette vague de recomposition urbaine. En effet, selon les données de la commune, le nombre des autorisations de bâtir qui ont été délivrées durant l'année 2007 représente presque le double de ci qui a été délivré en 2000 (tableau 2.3).

Tableau 2.3 : Evolution du nombre des autorisations de bâtir

Année	2000	2002	2005	2006	2007
Nombre	80	93	120	135	147

Source : Enquêtes personnelles 2009.

Selon une enquête réalisée en 2009 dans le quartier Hédi ben Hacine, la situation économique et sociale des ménages a évolué considérablement (augmentation des revenus, facilité des déplacements au centre ville, amélioration de l'état de la voirie urbaine et du taux de branchement au réseau d'assainissement) (Dhaher, 2009). La localisation des équipements universitaires semble se présenter comme un élément supplémentaire révélateur de valorisation des espaces périphériques dégradés et des quartiers populaires en péril et d'affirmer leur positionnement de support au développement et de lutte contre la pauvreté urbaine.

L'université à Jendouba, un facteur de promotion économique et culturel

Jendouba est le chef-lieu de Gouvernorat d'une micro région relativement déshéritée du nord ouest Tunisien mal reliée et mal polarisée du point de vue économique. Ses potentialités économiques sont limitées et les activités industrielles sont embryonnaires. Le commerce et les activités informelles occupent une fraction significative de la population urbaine.

La contribution de l'université au développement économique de la ville s'effectue de plusieurs manières. C'est d'abord une institution de formation de cadres et de gestionnaires de la ville. Elle est également une entreprise économique qui donne des salaires à des fonctionnaires, des bourses aux étudiants et qui effectue des achats de différentes natures. L'université fournit également des prestations de service (formation continue, assistance aux entreprises,…) et contribue à la diffusion de la connaissance et à l'élévation du niveau culturel de la population. Cependant, les formations assurées, qui débouchent sur des activités professionnelles et de recherche, ne sont pas toujours en adéquation avec les spécificités de la structure économique locale. Certaines sont d'emblée spécialisées (études industrielles, Informatiques, télécommunication…) alors que d'autres sont de nature plus générale (sciences économiques, droit, sciences juridiques, sciences sociales, langues…).

Tableau 3.1 : Répartition des étudiants de la ville de Jendouba par formations dispensées pour l'année 2009/2010

Domaine de formation	Nombre d'étudiants
Droit et sciences juridiques	2258
Sciences économiques (gestion, marketing)	3041
Sciences humaines (langues, géographie, histoire)	2228
Sciences techniques (informatiques, management industriel)	1294
Total	8821

Source : selon BEPP, MESRS, 2010.

Dans le cadre du nouveau système d'enseignement organisé sous forme de Licence-Master-Doctorat, les différents départements de l'université ont lancé des formations de ce type. Au niveau du master et doctorat, ce sont les langues, sciences économiques, droit des affaires, informatique, marketing et finance qui assurent la formation à plus de 1000 étudiants en 2009.

L'université produit des diplômes en nombre supérieur aux capacités d'absorption du marché local de l'emploi. Leur insertion dans les entreprises locales reste limitée. Toutefois, le nombre de créateurs d'entreprises titulaires d'un diplôme de l'enseignement supérieur délivrés par l'université de Jendouba est passé de 10 pour cent à 20 pour cent en huit ans selon une étude récente (Denieuil et Madoui 2011).

Le poids démographique de l'université et son impact économique

Le campus de Jendouba accueille actuellement près de 9 000 étudiants. Comme l'ensemble des universités tunisiennes, il a été l'objet d'un remarquable développement dès le début des années 2000 pour faire face à la formidable poussée des effectifs. Le campus ne permet de loger sur place que près de 20 pour cent de la population étudiante permanente malgré les conditions territoriales et urbaines disponibles à cette ambition (figure 3). L'impact de l'université sur le marché des locations immobilières s'en trouve ainsi important.

D'autre part, l'implantation et le développement de l'université dans la ville, qui comptait 47 570 habitants en 2008, a provoqué l'arrivée d'une population nouvelle non prise en compte dans les recensements. Les étudiants inscrits à plein temps à l'université qui représentaient en 1998 à peine près de un pour cent des habitants de Jendouba en représentent actuellement près de dix-neuf pour cent. Cela est donc loin d'être négligeable, et cet impact démographique dans la ville n'est pas sans conséquences sur la vie et l'économie locale.

Tableau 3.2 : Evolution du nombre d'habitants recensés et
du nombre d'étudiants dans la ville de Jendouba

	1988	1998	2004	2010
Nombre d'habitants	29261	42660	45770	47570[6]
Nombre d'étudiants	0	451	5078	8821
% d'étudiants dans la population totale	0%	1%	11%	18,5%

Sources : Recensements INS et statistiques du ministère de l'enseignement supérieur.

Avec l'avènement de l'enseignement supérieur de masse, la physionomie de la population étudiante se modifie. Il en résulte une croissance des effectifs féminins et une diversification des origines sociales. Le nombre des étudiants croît à un

rythme beaucoup plus élevé que celui de la population locale (tableau 3.2). À la population étudiante, majoritaire en nombre sur l'espace universitaire, s'ajoute l'ensemble du personnel universitaire (enseignants, employés administratifs et techniques). En 2009, on comptait plus de 1100 personnes.

L'université, un moteur de croissance économique

Dans la ville de Jendouba c'est l'agriculture (céréaliculture, élevage,…) ou les petits métiers et le secteur tertiaire (commerce et services) qui assurent l'emploi à plus du tiers de la population active (INS 2004). Conjuguée avec la faible dynamique des autres activités notamment industrielles, cette situation a été à l'origine d'un taux de chômage supplémentaire qui a accentué les mouvements migratoires. La ville n'arrive pas à assurer une véritable polarisation économique et un rayonnement urbain du fait de l'absence d'activités motrices entraînantes. Avec dix-huit pour cent en 1989, vingt-et-un pour cent en 1994 et près de vingt-cinq pour cent en 2004 (INS 2004), le taux de chômage est parmi les plus élevés dans le pays. La présence de l'université a permis de créer une certaine dynamique économique, culturelle et sociale.

Hormis la fixation des étudiants originaires de la région de Jendouba, les flux des étudiants qui représentent une proportion importante de la population urbaine de la ville ont été à l'origine d'une promotion privée et des petits métiers. L'impact économique de l'université sur la ville est important. Elle emploie directement 1 759 personnes, (ce qui représente près de 5 % de la population active locale) (tableau 3.3). L'université occupe dans ce domaine la première place en matière de création d'emplois directs sans compter les sources d'emplois créés indirectement (neuf résidences universitaires privées et quarante-deux petits commerces et services para universitaires ont été créés aux alentours du campus après sa création).[7]L'installation des équipements universitaires est en train de matérialiser dans l'espace l'une des fonctions de la ville.

Tableau 3.3- Les emplois directs créés par l'université
dans la ville de Jendouba

Type	Employé administratif	Enseignant	Total
Nombre	1135	624	1759

Source : Université de Jendouba, ONOU Nord 2009.

La présence du campus universitaire a permis également de soutenir la consommation et la vie économique par la constitution d'un marché étudiant local. En effet, l'université a provoqué également une dynamique économique par la création d'un certain nombre de marchés commerciaux principalement pour l'approvisionnement des restaurants universitaires qui desservent plus de 2 318 repas/jour à Jendouba (Mesrst 2007), sans oublier les marchés générés par le besoin en fournitures scolaires et autres besoins pour les établissements

d'enseignement et d'œuvres universitaires. La présence de l'université a permis également la mobilisation des ressources familiales pour la construction et l'amélioration du statut social des ménages,[8] du fait des retombées financières et de la transformation des rapports de voisinage avec le monde universitaire.

En ce qui concerne le poids économique de la population étudiante, au niveau du marché immobilier, on estime qu'ils louent annuellement l'équivalent d'environ 500 logements, surtout dans les quartiers nord de la ville à proximité du campus (Dhaher 2009). L'impact de la fonction universitaire sur le marché foncier est évident. Le secteur locatif est bien développé dans la ville. Les prix des loyers mensuels ont évolué de plus de 50 pour cent selon des informations collectées auprès des habitants (tableau 3.4). La valeur foncière des terrains avoisinant les établissements universitaires a enregistré des taux d'augmentation annuelle dépassant cent pour cent depuis l'installation de l'université. L'implantation du campus a déclenché des opérations de grande envergure. Actuellement, toute la zone Ouest de la ville qui accueille les établissements universitaires est devenue un front d'urbanisation important pour la ville (selon le dernier plan d'aménagement urbain de la ville).

Tableau 3.4 : l'impact de la fonction universitaire sur le marché foncier dans le quartier Hédi ben Hacine (avant et après l'installation du campus)

	Avant 1992	2001-2008	depuis 2009
Loyer mensuel moyen	80 dinars	120 dinars	150 dinars
Pris moyen du m^2	10 dinars	40 dinars	100 dinars

Source : Enquêtes personnelles 2009.

Outre les retombées économiques générées par leur présence, les étudiants se sont avérés porteurs d'une vie culturelle alternative et innovante. En effet, on découvre au niveau local les atouts de l'enseignement supérieur, évoqués en termes de potentialités sociales et culturelles.

Pratiques étudiantes et valorisation de l'espace urbain

Les retombées financières de la présence universitaire dans la ville de Jendouba sont conséquentes, mais il ne faut pas se limiter à ce seul aspect. La population étudiante dans la ville est aussi source d'un réel bouillonnement social, culturel et sportif qui a des implications évidentes sur l'image et le rayonnement local de la ville. La localisation de l'université dans la ville de Jendouba s'avère aussi une dimension essentielle du point de vue des pratiques culturelles en milieu urbain. En effet, la présence des étudiants dans les quartiers limitrophes du campus universitaire représente, en plus de leur apport économique qui bénéficie aux commerces locaux, un élément rassurant, « tirant vers le haut » le devenir de ces quartiers populaires. Pour les habitants de ces espaces, les étudiants

font partie de l'univers quotidien des quartiers : ils représentent une population spontanément reconnue en tant que telle et présentée comme un groupe social local dominant (Guidarini 2002). La spécificité marquée dans leurs pratiques urbaines et leur présence dans la ville se caractérisent par une certaine visibilité particulière. Les quartiers proches du campus tiennent une place bien particulière dans la perception et les pratiques étudiantes à travers une certaine territorialisation de la population universitaire (Felloneau 1998).

En effet l'université déborde sur l'espace urbain. Ses abords immédiats fédèrent l'activité sociabilitaire déployée par les étudiants dans les quartiers environnants. Les étudiants impriment des rythmes scolaires très sensibles dans la ville. Ces rythmes déterminés, certes par des logiques de localisation résidentielle, par le flux de proximité et par des fonctionnements de réseaux professionnels et des comportements culturels de la communauté étudiante, ont renforcé les qualités d'urbanité du milieu. L'intense relation nouée entre les étudiants et la ville est indiscutablement se loger qui participe à la bonne tenue du marché immobilier. Leur présence induit d'autres dépenses et consommations à travers leur comportement économique (dépenses de logement et de transport, fréquentations des commerces et services, etc.). Les travaux réalisés récemment montrent que la population étudiante contribue grandement par sa présence à la vie et à l'animation des quartiers proches du campus (Dhaher 2010). En effet, les déplacements des étudiants entre lieux de résidence, lieux d'études et lieux de restauration plusieurs fois par jour ont créé une dynamique urbaine tout au long des parcours étudiants.

La présence étudiante constitue également un facteur d'animation de la vie culturelle dans différents domaines. Les rares manifestations culturelles organisées par des universitaires montrent que ces derniers peuvent participer activement dans la diversification des thèmes et constituent une part importante du public en proposant au reste de la population des pratiques et des conduites qui diffèrent de l'animation traditionnelle et en donnant à la ville une image plus valorisée où la vie culturelle et politique, qui souffrent énormément de l'absence d'activités et d'équipements adéquats (manifestations culturelles, espaces verts, associations culturelles, activités politiques, etc.) peuvent atteindre un certain degré de maturité.

Cette territorialisation des étudiants est une démonstration publique de la présence universitaire dans la ville. Les marquages de l'appropriation individuelle et collective et les temporalités d'occupation de l'espace urbain par les étudiants ont favorisé dans les quartiers de Zahwa, Hédi Ben Hacine et Ons, le développement de quelques équipements et services (loisir, transport, etc.), introduisant ainsi une diversification des fonctions. Cette réalité a modifié relativement le tissu social des quartiers et leur teneur urbaine. En effet, devant l'absence d'interventions publiques, il parait que les quartiers proches du campus

veulent s'emparer de l'université pour raccommoder leurs tissus socioéconomique et urbain détériorés. Selon des données de l'Institut national de la statistique en 2008, la ville de Jendouba est l'une des villes moyennes du pays où la pauvreté a le plus reculé même si son taux reste très élevé.

Enfin, dans la ville de Jendouba, l'université qui a offert aux jeunes une voie de promotion sociale sur place, représente une entité acceptée positivement. C'est un lieu reconnu et synonyme de valorisation pour les habitants des quartiers voisins. L'effet de l'université sur la ville et notamment son centre existe et réagit à la particularité de l'environnement qui l'accueille mais reste quoiqu'il en soit modeste (Dhaher 2010). La porosité croissante de l'intervention publique oblige aujourd'hui l'université tunisienne notamment dans les villes moyennes à jouer aussi d'autres rôles selon les réalités de chaque ville dans la promotion, le développement et l'aménagement. L'accessibilité s'avère un premier préalable nécessaire pour favoriser la rencontre entre université et population locale.

Conclusion

La promotion des pôles universitaires dans les villes tunisiennes s'est intéressée selon les occasions foncières au choix d'implantation, mais l'ampleur de certaines réalisations est en mesure de faire de l'université, un outil de développement urbain local. Les infrastructures d'enseignement supérieur dans certaines villes moyennes semblent dotées d'un puissant pouvoir d'attraction et d'attractivité qui participe à la dynamique des territoires où elles s'inscrivent. Dans la ville de Jendouba, les équipements d'enseignement supérieur ont cette propriété de participer à la dynamique et à l'aménagement des territoires. La présence d'environ 9 000 étudiants s'avère une réelle source d'animation et de vitalité urbaine, culturelle et économique. L'université a joué un rôle dans la polarisation des déplacements et dans la structuration de l'espace urbain et a créé une certaine dynamique aussi bien urbaine qu'économique dans cette agglomération où le tissu économique est peu diversifié et peu autonome. Localisée dans une des villes les plus pauvres de Tunisie, le campus universitaire de Jendouba a été l'objet d'un remarquable développement quantitatif, structurel et spatial. Les problèmes de la ville, conjugués à la faiblesse des programmes publics et privés de développement économique, ont fait des infrastructures universitaires, réalisées à la va-vite, un instrument important d'aménagement du territoire. Après plus d'une décennie de sa création, l'université est en train de s'imposer en tant que nouvel atout de développement local au niveau économique, culturel et social, même si la ville n'arrive pas toujours à tirer pleinement parti et à profiter de la croissance universitaire pour mieux l'insérer dans une dynamique urbaine (Filâtre 1998).

Enfin, la vocation de l'université dans les pays du Sud ne doit pas, à notre sens, se limiter uniquement et essentiellement à la formation et à la recherche. Elle doit aussi s'appuyer sur un certain nombre de fonctions particulières pour contribuer au développement local en liaison avec la ville qui doit à son tour profiter de l'installation dans son domaine de l'espace universitaire et des occasions qu'elle est en train de saisir et de subir. Le rôle nouveau de l'université est de dire la ville et de rendre lisibles les enjeux et les conflits de la ville, de valoriser l'espace et surtout de tisser des relations spatiales et sociales avec les collectivités locales. Ces dernières doivent, à leur tour, rechercher de meilleures articulations avec la ville en vue de favoriser l'ouverture, l'échange et l'intégration au même moment où apparaissait la nécessité de réhabiliter et de redynamiser les tissus urbains dégradés et de réhabiliter les quartiers populaires. Les nouveaux rapports que l'université tunisienne est sensée établir avec son environnement s'imposent avec autant de force qu'elle verra sa mission académique traditionnelle se doubler d'une mission de développement local touchant aux domaines de la recomposition urbaine, de formation technique et de développement socio économique et culturel. Pour ces raisons, les universités ont davantage besoin de s'ancrer dans le territoire et d'interagir avec ses différents acteurs (Merlin 1996).

Notes

1. 1956 : date de l'indépendance de la Tunisie .

2. Compte tenu des modifications des approches statistiques sur de longues périodes, les éléments cités ne doivent être considérés que comme des ordres de grandeur et non comme des données de gestion ou d'analyse.

3. Source: Ministère de l'enseignement supérieur.

4. Les rapports entre l'espace universitaire et la ville n'ont pratiquement nulle part fait l'objet d'études en Tunisie. Aujourd'hui, alors que les créations des espaces universitaires et les délocalisations universitaires se multiplient et se régionalisent, on ne dispose pas d'éléments empiriques solides pour évaluer la relation entre l'université (espace et société) et la ville et le degré d'intégration urbaine des étudiants.

5. D'après l'élaboration du nouveau Plan d'aménagement urbain de Jendouba.

6. Selon les estimations de 2008 de l'INS Tunis.

7. D'après nos enquêtes réalisées en avril 2009.

8. D'ailleurs, selon les données de l'Institut national de la statistique en 2008, la ville de Jendouba est l'une des villes moyennes du pays où la pauvreté a le plus reculé.

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How Women in Higher Education Negotiate Work and Home: A Study of Selected Women at a University in South Africa

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Abstract

The Council for Higher Education notes the lack of women doing research in South African universities. Focusing on the experiences of South African women academics, this article highlights the ways in which inequitable gender relations fuel women's marginalized position in higher education. The findings reported here include the gendered dimensions of negotiating home and work, pointing both to obstacles that limit women's agency and to prospects for hope by elucidating new possibilities for the development of women's agency. Being women in higher education and mothers is at the same time is regulated by restrictive understandings of gender. But women are not simply victims of this discourse. Hence, greater care must be taken in understanding women's gendered roles that inhibit their greater participation in research. Transforming gender relations and working towards equity are, therefore, crucial to women's success.

Résumé

Le Conseil de l'enseignement supérieur relève que très peu de femmes font de la recherche dans les universités sud-africaines. En se basant sur les expériences des femmes universitaires sud-africaines, ce document démontre la façon dont l'inégalité de genre augmente la marginalisation des femmes dans l'enseignement supérieur. Les résultats présentés ici comprennent les dimensions genre qui consistent à allier maison et travail tous deux démontrant les obstacles qui limitent l'activité des femmes et les espoirs qu'elles gardent en perspective en élucidant de nouvelles possibilités pour le développement de leur activité. Des compréhensions restrictives du genre réglementent les

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femmes qui sont à la fois dans l'enseignement supérieur et mères, mais les femmes ne sont pas simplement victimes de ce discours. Cependant une plus grande attention doit être prêtée pour comprendre le rôle des femmes dans le genre et ce qui les empêche à participer grandement à la recherche. Transformer les relations de genre et travailler pour l'équité sont essentiels à la réussite des femmes.

Introduction

Anuradha: ... the system has really used and abused us in many ways and ... you feel, as a younger women academic, you come in with a lot of hope that this is going to be a very empowering and facilitative environment, and it really just does the opposite. It tramps you down and makes you feel as if you are not good enough, all the time whatever you do is not enough...

Daria: ... in order to have a career in the academia, you need to publish ... what then happens, to squeeze more productivity out of you, your forty hours are filled up with admin and teaching ... your publishing actually, you take it from your private time ... and if you do not want to sacrifice your kids ... you start stealing it from sleep ... from all sorts of self care issues...

Sonali: ... you've got to cook the food ... you have got to clean the kitchen, you have got to sort the children ... the only thing I don't do is put the food in my husband's mouth

[Interviews conducted with women at a university in South Africa, April and May 2011].

Anuradha, Daria and Sonali are academics and mothers. They, like many other South African women in higher education, are largely invisible in research about gender dynamics and academic work in higher education (see Pillay 2007 as an exception). The position of women, as Anuradha, Daria and Sonali illustrate, is fundamentally about gender equality. While the roles of women traditionally aligned to cooking, cleaning and caring are weakening, the transcripts above point to gendered tensions which continually marginalize women in higher education. Recognising the persistent forms of inequalities, in August 2008, the Council on Higher Education (CHE) in South Africa endorsed a declaration, calling for action to improve gender equality in higher education. Gender equality and employment equity policies in South Africa are pervasive and women's rising numbers in higher education are precisely the consequence of gender-friendly policies. The CHE has noted that in 2007, 43 per cent of the total permanent academic staff in public higher education institutions was made up of women. Employment equity policies have dented the male concentration of academics in South African universities, although gender inequalities remain apparent. Having a doctorate and conducting research is now regarded as critical to the research-led vision of universities in South Africa, but universities are full of examples of male domination in research.

The CHE (2009) notes that most of the research in South Africa is done by men. It adds that the proportion of all research output produced by women in universities in 2007 ranged between 14 per cent and 37 per cent.

Although clearly important in monitoring South Africa's legal regulation of gender equality, the examples of quantitative indicators above provide limited understandings of the gendered social processes through which women navigate higher education – a point noted by Pillay (2007). An understanding of gender patterns in higher education remains important in the pursuit of gender equality. The women in the transcripts above talk about the system that tramps you down – children, husbands and gender roles – through which their lives are regulated and defined. Understanding the ways in which women give meaning to their positions as academic and mothers is important for the achievement of gender equality and especially significant in developing responses to women's continued marginalization in higher education contexts in South Africa. In the context of changing university environments in the country, particularly those that are research-led, doing research and having a doctorate are significant in university rankings in the global academic environment as regards calculation of profit, government subsidies, and accumulation (Jansen et al. 2007). Such pressures are increasing as university profit bases are aligned to research productivity. How women navigate the demands of being a mother and upholding the demands of the academia is a key focus of the article.

Turning to the experiences of women at a research-led university in South Africa, this article highlights the ways in which inequitable gender relations fuel women's marginalized position in higher education. This is in stark contrast to the legal expansion of gender equality which has produced new possibilities for the development of agency and the exercise of freedom. Women have new options; however, some options are not or cannot be taken up. Being a mother and being an academic, as this article shows, are regulated by restrictive understandings of gender at home, at work and through which women's gender roles and identities are reproduced. Gender relations are not static however (Connell 2011), and within the constraints of gendered environments, women are actively transforming gender relations both at home and work whilst reproducing them. These gendered tensions, as articulated in a close-focus study of women, are the main thrust of this article.

The article gives analytical priority to three areas that it argues come together to produce these gendered tensions, reproductions and transformations. The first is gendered arrangements in the family which point to women's greater role in childcare. The family and home life continue to support the maintenance of gender insubordinate relations (Connell 2006). Patterned gendered relations position women on the side of domestic labour (Connell 2005). Whilst South Africa has witnessed a dramatic transformation in policies that support gender

equality and employment equity, there appears to be some inevitability, although contested, about women's role in cooking, cleaning and childcare. A second factor is the gendered environment through which women experience both agency and restrictions in their academic contexts. Universities are gendered institutions and they embed a gendered division of labour, gendered cultures and gender hierarchies of power (Finch 2003; Bailyn 2003). Women are not simply victims of these power relations whether at home or work. Their roles as women clearly show gendered processes as they are reflected upon. A final factor is women's agency in transforming gender relations. A central argument made in this article is that women approach work/life contexts, not as victims of patriarchal privilege. Women are active in changing relations at home and work, producing better possibilities in navigating work/life contexts but they do so in ways that not only challenge patriarchal structures but also reproduce them. Skjortnes and Zachariassen (2010) indicate that little is known about the effects of higher education on women in the South. Understanding the gendered effects in the lives of women is crucial if higher education is serious about addressing, promoting and monitoring the equal participation of women (see CHE 2009).

The Study: Context and Method

This study is based on a National Research Foundation (NRF) funded project that seeks to investigate how women in three different countries in the South (India, South Africa and Brazil) negotiate their power within gendered environments at home and at work. In the South, whilst there is a growing body of work around gender and education, there is less focus on women's experiences within the academic environment (Pillay 2007; Skjortnes and Zachariassen 2010). This article focuses on the South African experience of being an academic mother at a research-led university. The comparative study is the focus of other work in this project. Qualitative focus group interviews were the basis in this study which highlighted how academic mother negotiated their academic roles and their lives as mothers and parents. This article is based on qualitative material, drawing from focus group interviews with eight women at a university in South Africa. The main criterion for selection was finding women who were mothers and women who reflected the social landscape of South Africa.

Interviews were conducted in May 2011 using a semi-structured interview guide. The sample consisted of one coloured, two African, two white and two Indian academics.[1]

The approach taken in this study was to ensure that the experiences of women were foregrounded. It was therefore concerned with listening and seeing the world from the perspective of the participants. Thus, the approach taken proceeded to encourage women to talk about the ways in which they position themselves in relation to the higher education institution and how they

negotiate the world of work and home. Focus groups were very useful as, through the interactions with the research and other participants, data were generated in ways that enhanced the gendered ways through which women were positioned, and positioned themselves.

Table 1: Details of Respondents

Name	Race	Age	Marital Status	No. of children	Age of children	Department	Qualification
Amahle	African	39	Married	2	13 and 5	Social Work and Social Studies	Registered for PhD
Anuradha	Indian	40	Married	2 Own (+2 sibling's children)	13 and 5 (11 and 7)	Social Work and Social Studies	PhD
Chloe	White	46	Married	2	14 and 18	Dietetics and Human Nutrition	Registered for PhD
Daria	White	42	Divorced	2	10 and 9	Social Work and Social Studies	Registered for PhD
Lirotsho	African	38	Married	2	3 and 1	Social Work and Social Studies	MA
Marie	Coloured	34	Married	2	3 and 7	Clinical Anatomy	Registered for PhD
Roshana	Indian	40	Married	2	5 and 12	Chemistry	Registered for PhD
Sonali	Indian	37	Married	2	3.5 and 6	Clinical Anatomy	Registered for PhD

A significant point with respect to women is the sense of isolation, of feeling unsupported and yet there is an overwhelming need for finding another similar voice (see in particular Bassett's 2005 study of women). In fact, the participants were amazed that their issues were considered, as they put it, for the first time since they were at the university. The multiple views presented in the interview provided an environment for sharing and revealing not only the multiple sites of inequalities but also the sites of resistance.

'As Women, It's Your Job': Home Arrangements

In all contemporary societies, women's position in relation to domestic and care work remains stubbornly on the side of femininities (Connell 2002). For women in this study, their home arrangements continue to reflect the gender imbalance in domestic and care labour (Connell 2005). Mothers, like other women in paid work, do have social and economic capital. However, there is an inevitability of a greater burden in the home and childcare responsibilities. Whilst the participants in this study had children of different ages, with one being a single mother, the gender arrangements at home were familiar, with housework and childcare being concentrated mainly in their hands, leading Amahle to state, 'I just do everything'.

> Amahle: It's my role ... there's an assumption that now I'm a teacher, then I must know all the subjects ... like he's [husband] helping ... he makes me feel guilty ... As far as he's concerned, this is my role ... when he helps here and there, he is doing me such a big favour ... the thinking even in this day and age that it is a woman's job to bring up the kids, at least for him, dominates his thinking; so it's very difficult ... I actually don't ask anymore, I just do everything on my own. Perhaps and when he chooses to help, then he helps ... then it's great, but ... I hate that kind of thinking where you can sense that the person is not fully committed ... so when he does it, then great; but over and above that, I just do everything.

Rooted in unequal gender relations, Amahle points to the position of women worldwide – being accountable for the welfare of her children. Amahle finds it difficult to accept such domination of thinking through which her power is circumscribed. Despite having these gripes against her husband, in the final analysis, she says, 'I do everything'. Most of the participants pointed to their frustration and unhappiness about being overburdened as mothers as they navigated the world of academia:

> Sonali: ... when I go home I try and do all my motherly activities ... all the homework ... the reading and the other bits that you have to do as a mother and then the kids go to bed at about half past eight ... say nine o' clock and then that's when I start my work like ten o'clock ... work till about half past twelve and pass out and that's basically how I run my life...

Like Sonali, the usual situation for women in this study is that they do most of the domestic work. Even if there was sharing in the household, they were inevitably tied to domestic chores. Resistance to the inevitability of gender roles was variable. Maria, who drew on her husband's gendered pattern of upbringing, resisted his patriarchal conduct which impacted on sharing of duties at home:

> his mom ... she did everything in his home ... she would cook and clean and make sure that there was dinner on the table at a certain time ... I don't think he realised you are now in your own home and your wife ... is not going to do

> the same things like your mom ... so we fought a lot on this issue ... he says this all the time, that's not his job but it is. I have to demand from him to actually be part of that so I haven't got it completely ... still haven't got him into the kitchen washing dishes but he does like help with making supper and he does make sure he helps with the kids because I'll constantly be on his case and tell him: when we get home you need to do this and you need to help me. But I feel like why do I have to tell you all these things, you need to just know what your role is, which is quite frustrating for me ... I think it's because of the roles in his family life where his mom did all these things and she did it not because she had to but also because it's part of them to be that way.

> Lirotsho: ... It doesn't make a difference, working or not it's still your responsibility ... you visit the in-laws and you see exactly where the thinking comes from and the dynamics ... it is that kind of thinking that as women it's your job alone and I don't care if you working you know ... we have these conversations, 'yes I'll be more supportive' ... it will happen for day or two and then it reverts back to the same old...

Lirotsho, like Sonali, Maria and Amahle, are registered PhD students. Gendered relations at home are manufactured in ways that reflect the broader social inequalities through which male privilege is reproduced and impacts on their ability to manage the demands of the academia and completing a PhD. There was some level of contestation. Maria has constantly to remind her husband of easing her workload at home. In other cases, like Amahle, Lirotsho and Sonali, contestation yielded little:

> Sonali: ... I have to say he helps with the kids ... .when he's at home ... he helps wash up the dishes ... if things are broken and stuff like that he will fix it up ... but it's like ... so your role is as a wife and as a mother ... my husband likes his hot, home cooked food ... he's been brought up like that because his mother spoilt him so that's what I've had to deal with ... it's very hard to change my husband ... He is stubborn, very stubborn ... he is a very strong personality ... strong personality so I can't change him ... I've tried ... the men at work are just the same ... it's frightening actually.

Women, by virtue of their education and social class positioning and economic bargaining power within the household, could allow for greater negotiation of household chores and child care. At best, the participants talked of how their husbands eased the workload, not shared it, and at worst as Sonali above indicates, there was stubborn resistance to change. Gender roles are challenged and resisted, but for Sonali there are limits to such challenges. Maria, for example, forces change despite the overwhelming privilege of patriarchy through which men (and her husband) have lived, and continually do so. Sonali however reminds us of the stubborn one-sidedness of gender inequalities and the familiar expectation of entitlement and male privilege.

Home tensions, as some participants noted, included the pressures of the extended family and cultural expectations:

> Amahle: Like we call it *umsebenzi*, like they slaughter a goat ... for ancestor's purposes ... My family now lives in Richards' Bay and now you need to come a day before the ceremony because the ancestors should see you as a family and it's like ... it won't be properly done if not all members of the family are present at a certain time and you cannot leave immediately after and I think my family are starting to understand that I'm always with my laptop and my mother said she has never seen an oppressive job like this one ... she always has to apologise on my behalf ... to her that is too much ... they always ask for me ... we have big family clan from my father's side and there are always functions and ceremonies which as a member of the family I should attend and she feels that its now her responsibility to apologise on my behalf ... its cultural pressure that's really not worked well with me as an academic.

Amahle, like Lirotsho and Anuradha, talked about the power of education in the extended family. Being an academic was seen as positive and praised; however, as Amahle states, there were certain cultural expectations that impacted on their ability to balance work/life demands. Amahle talks about the cultural practice of *umsebenzi*. This ritual, usually after the birth of a child or a marriage in the family, is in praise of ancestors and involves the slaughter of a goat or cow, the making of sorghum beer, and involves all family members in the acknowledgment and worship of ancestors. These cultural rituals are regular features in the extended family but have not worked well for Amahle as she tries to complete her PhD. The strong family identity is not rejected however. As Skjortnes and Holt Zachariassen (2010) note, the extended family and women's academic careers present women with different obligations and demands. Here, Amahle is respectful of the large extended family and the ceremonies and functions to which she is invited and feels obliged to attend. At the same time however, her work as an academic is filled with different obligations which prevent her from attending these rituals and ceremonies. Gender relations are dynamic and as Lirotsho states that she cannot attend all cultural ceremonies, 'I'm beginning to become assertive about what I need to do because I'm not coping ...'.

The cultural expectation of being present at ceremonies is now being altered, as Lirotsho shifts the established ideas by being 'assertive', changing gender arrangements and creating new possibilities for her to cope with academic work and family.

Women and Work

Academic environments are gendered institutions (Jonnergård et al. 2010; Pillay 2007). The gendered practices within the academic environment embed relations of power and gendered division of labour and gendered cultures. The participants

in this study provided unsurprising evidence of the struggles within the academic environment that contributed to their subordination:

> Sonali: ... our department is very poorly managed and there is not enough support given to female staff ... there are only three academic female members ... the rest of them are all male ... all of their wives have been at home ... I just absolutely firmly believe that no extra support is given to us and they just load us with the damn work ... I actually get very cross and yesterday I even phoned one of them and I actually said ... 'I'm not doing this anymore!', then he phoned me back at 11 o' clock at night and said 'OK ... forget about the marking, I'll do it tomorrow' ... six males and all fuddy duddies...

Sonali points to the gendered cultures in her department which sustain male domination. Sonali is completing her PhD. Her department burdens her with excessive marking in relation to more senior male academics with doctoral qualifications. She is aware that she is dealing with men she describes as 'fuddy duddies' who have 'wives at home' in relation to her position as a working mother and an academic. Being overloaded with marking was, in her view, an issue of gender justice. Sonali has to manage the marking with pressures of being a mother and in a family context where she struggles to negotiate equality with her husband. Daria too focused on the lack of support from senior academics:

> Daria: ... In our department we've talked about how we can assist younger academics in terms of accomplishing their PhDs but ... it will mean the senior academics need to absorb your work in order to assist you ... maybe they could be supportive but there is no support, and you can tell, especially in our school people are busy planning their retirement ... my PhD supervisor who's a known feminist and I said 'I cannot cope' and the response that I got was, 'Well Daria, we've all had it hard' and I think possibly it was ... an abortive attempt at kind of being empathetic ... think almost there is such a level of disillusionment that people just don't care ... the truth is women who move up the ladder very often do move because they also have decided to comply with the patriarchal structures and we see it in the university ... at the end of the day, the kids are your problem.

The shortage of senior academics within the department meant that there were limits to the support for younger academics like Daria to complete their PhDs, as senior academics were not willing to be burdened with more work. Daria notes too that her supervisor was caught in the patriarchal matrix with little empathy for the difficulties experienced in managing being an academic, doing a PhD and having children, leading her to state that the 'kids are your problem'.

Travel and conference attendance was another source of concern for women. Daria stated that travelling to conferences as a single mother was difficult as she had no source of family support at home. She noted too that it

was expensive to take her children with her, so she arranged with her Head of School to allow her to use her research funds to pay for her children:

> Daria: ... what do I do with my kids ... the Deputy Dean for research with a big no ... I got this e-mail you know ... that I should be knowing the rules and family members are not supposed to travel ... so I wrote back to the Deputy Dean for research and I said you know ... the request was for my minor children and if you say the rules do not permit it, then let the rules be changed and if you need my assistance in making a proposition of how the rules should be changed, I'll be of your service ... needless to say, I never got a reply ... my loyalty to this institution is so low ... I think I've run the obstacle course and ... I don't owe anybody and that's very very sad to reach that conclusion in your midlife.

Research funds are allocated only for academic travel, and funding children's travel is not permitted. Nonetheless, Daria made suggestions to change the policy that prevents children being funded but received no response.

Daria suggested that completing her PhD and producing research articles was a bargaining chip through which she could negotiate her stay at the university:

> ....the university wants money out of it ... we've become such a production line ... I've always had enough publications, so that's never been in question with me; but then when I worked out how much of money the university gets from my publications, I realised I've got a draw card and then the PhD itself becomes a draw card and, for me, a big turn around in my negotiating my position ... I bring in more than I cost ... I've created a niche for myself ... I'm engaged in these international conversations ... I can't travel but I can use the computer and you know what I found is my international work has become really nice because ... I can impact discourses, I can write a policy statement ... we can send that all around the world and it's given me my own playground. And when things get too hectic here, I just close my door and I write some e-mails and I found it's giving me respite. I think on a very tangible level, there is a way of doing the system; but then you've got to first meet the demands, and meeting the demands is sometimes hard. But if you come out of that ... once you bring in money I think it is a tangible thing and seeing where power is more dispersed... It's a bargaining chip.

Daria shows that, despite the context of powerlessness, power can be used and exerted through getting a PhD and producing research articles. Whilst she states that getting there can be a 'catch 22' in recognition of the gendered institutional cultures, the possibility of changing the context from powerlessness to power is precisely to ensure the production of research to generate university monetary subsidies. Contributing to the generation of economic capital provides leverage, power and a bargaining chip.

Negotiating Home and Work

Whilst the position of women was one of constant struggle and difficulty, there were also views that showed how motherhood could be managed and how the requirements of work could be negotiated:

> Anuradha: ... I must admit the kind of flexibility of being a woman in this academic environment is you can some days work from home and then also leave a bit earlier … I always kind of work till about two when my kids get home from school and then I do my domestic stuff...

The academic environment and the flexibility in work hours allow for attention to children and domestic life, as Anuradha shows. In fact, all the participants did not indicate that they would leave the university, indicating that they had a great passion for teaching, completing their doctorate and fulfilling their research agendas. Sonali aspired to become an associate professor in five years time, notwithstanding the home/work challenges, by exerting her agency and power within an overall patriarchal context.

As with Connell's (2005) study, many of the women described the negotiation between home and work as 'juggling'.

> Chloe: ... I think I'm quite lucky, and I've got a husband whose work environment is far more flexible than my own ... my juggling has been more related to the fact that yes I am a mother but in our discipline we've had many constraints ... staff shortages and I was acting head of discipline so there have been times when I had to stay at work very late ... we talking of 8 or 9 o' clock at night ... I've been very lucky that my husband has been able to step in if need be but it is a constant juggle and school functions or prize-givings or special events ... I believe the devil works overtime because those always coincide with an important academic event.

Whilst Chloe talked about her husband's gender sensitivity, there is still the expectation that she is accountable for managing the home and her work as her husband 'steps in if need be'. Ultimately, women have to juggle the demands of the discipline, late nights and attention to children. Chloe's ability to negotiate being a mother and an academic was subject to being lucky and having a husband who had work flexibility. Chloe, like Roshana however, also noted that being a good mother was important:

> Chloe: I went to a seminar on women and research where one speaker from the University of the Western Cape said that she has a PhD, she's a very well published researcher and she said that she actually tells everybody straight that her child comes first and whether it's an important meeting, she just excuses herself and I am not that assertive as yet ... but there have been occasions where I've actually just said I cannot because you can only miss so many school related activities ...I feel that it's very important to me to be a good mother to our children.

> Roshana: For me it's family first, I will go to the awards day, I don't care what meeting is on ... I will not be there, I will go to my child's functions for school ... even if it's an important exam meeting or it's like if you don't attend the meeting you won't get paid whatever they can throw at me ... everybody knows that about me and that's the first thing – my children.

Chloe refers to the women and gender research seminar and illustrates how other successful academics make decisions that put 'children first'. Noting that

she is not yet assertive, she does nonetheless negotiate and assert her agency where necessary in the interests of being a good mother. Roshana on the other hand, takes a firm stance and puts family first, 'the first thing is my children'. Roshana was also able to obtain her mother's support. Her mother lives with her and takes care of the cooking and she has successfully negotiated her role at home:

> You know his [husband] primary focus is making sure that the kids get their homework done, that I get the help that I need, that my PhD is done on weekends ... I tell him 'listen, I have to mark' ... you know I have to mark at home ... my lab is at work so I have to leave the marking for home so that I can do the lab work at work so he's fine with that and he says so you go ahead and he'll see to the kids... well obviously the food part ... my mom does the cooking but I have to do the feeding, that's how it is.

'You go ahead' is, in the final analysis, an aspect of male power but also within a context of changing gender relations and negotiations. Not one of the participants stated that gender equality had been achieved at home or work. However, negotiation was significant in changing gender relations:

> Roshana: I used to do the cooking, the cleaning ... I was doing the honours so I think it made me stronger, it made me manage my time more effectively ... I'm no longer on contract but you know you needed a job because you need two salaries to run a home, we had just bought a house and I was not working for three years prior to that and I know what is was like ... bond rate went up to 24 per cent, we were living like from hand to mouth at that time, so I needed a job and so if my contract said you have to have honours, I had to have it by that time and to have your masters in two years I had to have it because I needed to keep my job so it was difficult, there were so many challenges but I think I am glad for having gone through all of that because it has now made me who I am.

Roshana illustrates the ways in which she was positioned over the years from wife at home, taking care of children, to completing her PhD. She noted her economic struggles but also noted how being unemployed affected her relationship at home, leading her husband to accuse her of not supporting the household financially. The support from her mother however, and her contribution to the financial upkeep of the home since she was permanently employed, allowed a greater flexibility and easier negotiations in the home front. At work however, at times administrative overload, teaching larger numbers of students and dealing with a gendered environment that took little heed of women's particular needs, made the negotiations difficult.

Conclusion

The formal recognition of gender equality in South Africa has created new pathways for women academics. Increasing number of women now enter higher education as academics (CHE 2009). Nevertheless, the formal recognition of equality has not provided women with an indisputable agency. The study

indicates how gendered patterns function in ways that are reproduced and contested and how women position themselves within these patterns. In the context of increasing demands placed on universities in South Africa, including the demand for increased research productivity and increasing the number of academics with doctoral qualifications, the focus on the experience of women within this nexus is required. This study shows that any attempt to promote women's agency and equality of opportunity in higher education, endorsed by the CHE (2009), will stumble without parallel attempts to undo the social environments through which women's roles in relation to household and care arrangements are positioned within the broader social context. This is a gender justice matter. Women's ability to negotiate and work with the demands of academia and the demands of child care and home arrangements depend on their ability to exercise power in both contexts. The findings of the study suggest how marginalization is reproduced, the difficulties and struggles through which the academia is navigated. The home and work are social arenas that manifest unequal relations of power. In attempting to do research and complete their doctoral qualifications, many of the participants struggled. At the same time however, changing gender relations are becoming apparent. At home, for example, Roshana spoke about the changes to her position from unemployed to a position where she has successfully negotiated the work/life struggles. Contestations can produce positive changes and changing forms of masculinity are noted in her home environment. This is not evenly the case as women like Sonali struggle and resist with little effect. Gender relations can be stubbornly one-sided but they are also open to change. At work, Sonali too notes that, despite her contempt for 'fuddy duddy' male academics she has resisted.

Higher education institutions must recognise the specific ways in which women's positions work against equality. Programmes and policies aiming to increase women's participation in higher education, increase women's research output and doctoral qualifications have a clear responsibility to challenge the subordinate positioning of women, both within and outside the institution. Research budgets should be gender budgets. Women should be allowed to travel with their children and such travel should be paid for by funds generated from the research rewards system.

Departments in the university must become more aware of how gender manifests itself and of the perpetuation of masculine academic identities which position women in marginal ways. However, gender patterns are such that even women in senior positions need to be reminded of the gendered imbalances. This is a gender justice matter. All the women wanted to be good mothers, but good mothers meant that they had to align within the normative gender order and responsible for care and household arrangements. The pervasiveness of gender roles and identities limits the opportunities for women. Shedding the assumption

that they are solely responsible will go some way towards increasing women's power within academic and home environments. Women are not simply acted upon by patriarchal systems but they reproduce (as they challenge) unequal gender relations. As Pillay (2007) notes, it is important for women academics to challenge 'the socially constructed notion that mothers are responsible for nurturing'.

Note

1. Race categories remain important in South Africa. The four racial categories – white, Indian, African and coloured – are important in post-apartheid South Africa as they reflect social and historical inequalities. The promulgation of employment equity policies has meant that increasing number of women and black women in particular now enter into higher education, although the majority of academics remain male – and depending in the context of the university many remain white and male.

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L'Université de Douala, entre ancrage et désenchantement

Louis Roger Kemayou[*]

Résumé

Située en pleine capitale économique du Cameroun, l'Université de Douala, à l'instar des autres universités d'État du pays, s'est vue assigner pour mission d'être en lien avec son environnement économique. Le déphasage entre les universités camerounaises et leur région est reconnu par les plus hautes autorités du pays. L'Université de Douala échappe-t-elle à cette donne, et qu'en est-il de son impact urbain/local et donc régional ? L'insuffisance de ressources financières souvent évoquées pose le problème de la gouvernance universitaire autant que de la faiblesse d'esprit d'entreprise entretenu dans ce milieu d'experts. Dès lors, l'université passe à côté des possibilités d'agir sur son espace socioculturel et économique, et de se donner ainsi les moyens d'être attractive ; qui plus est, la non appropriation du projet université témoigne de l'indifférence vis-à-vis de l'institution et des préoccupations à l'égard de la ville et de la région. À partir d'une démarche interactionniste, ce texte rend compte ici des enjeux et des pratiques qui animent les acteurs du système universitaire doualais.

Abstract

Situated in full economic capital of Cameroon, the University of Douala, following the example of the other state universities of the country, saw assigning for mission to be in connection with its economic environment. The phase shift between the Cameroonian universities and their region is recognized by the highest authorities of the country. Does the University of Douala escape in this give, and what is it of its urban / local and thus regional impact? The insufficiency of often evoked financial resources raises the problem of the university governance as much as the feeble-mindedness of

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company maintained in this experts' milieu. From then on, the university passes next to the possibilities of acting on its sociocultural and economic space, and of giving so the means to be attractive; besides, the not appropriation of the university as a project, testifies of the indifference towards the institution and of concerns towards the city and towards the region. From an interactionnist approach, this text reports here stakes and practices which leads Douala university system actors.

Introduction

Près de vingt ans après sa création,[1] l'université de Douala, comme d'autres,[2] est en butte aux mêmes maux dont souffrait l'Université de Yaoundé et qui avaient alors rendu la réforme « aussi impérieuse qu'urgente ». Les infrastructures et les moyens n'ayant pu suivre le rythme de croissance, il en résulte engorgement des locaux, désarroi de la communauté universitaire, recours au tribalisme, faiblesse du ratio des enseignants de rang magistral, ce qui n'est pas sans conséquence sur la qualité de l'enseignement. Confrontée aux difficultés de sa création sous le mode de l'immédiat, sans infrastructure lui appartenant alors en propre, l'Université de Douala tente depuis près de deux décennies de sortir de l'ornière. Ses activités de recherche ayant peu de rapports avec son environnement économique, social, culturel, il s'ensuit *mutatis mutandis*, peu d'apports réels de sa part en matière de changement social. Dès lors, qui de l'université en tant qu'institution, des universitaires, de l'État, des partenaires locaux (potentiels ou réels) n'aurait pas assumé ses responsabilités ? La tentative de répondre à cette interrogation conduit à se poser les hypothèses suivantes : d'une part, au regard du peu d'autonomie et du déficit de culture entrepreneuriale, l'université n'a pu accéder à un ancrage socioculturel et économique ; d'autre part, l'inadéquation du projet de l'université avec son territoire d'accueil révèle peu d'attachement des acteurs locaux au terroir, leur indifférence vis-à-vis des préoccupations de la ville et de sa région.

L'approche méthodologique procédant de l'empirie rend compte des données d'observation et d'entretiens semi-directifs auprès d'acteurs internes et externes au milieu universitaire. Notre méthode d'analyse a pour ambition de permettre de mieux saisir la nécessité de l'interaction entre l'université, ses acteurs et son territoire, aux fins de justifier son implication dans le développement local, consécutivement à une gouvernance universitaire socio-culturellement et économiquement ancrée. La présente réflexion, que nous situons dans la dimension culturelle et communicationnelle, nous conduit à organiser notre propos autour de trois idées-forces : l'identité urbaine et la culture locale, le statut patrimonial, et la portée de son influence territoriale. Cela nous conduit à envisager sur le plan théorique, le recours à l'analyse stratégique pour rendre compte des interactions[3] entre l'Université de Douala et son environnement socioéconomique, de mettre ainsi en exergue les enjeux d'une valorisation

patrimoniale de l'organisation que représente l'université, ainsi que son développement local.

L'Université de Douala et son territoire

Le préfacier du document consacré à la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur au Cameroun, l'ancien ministre de ce secteur y voit un aurore d'espoir pour l'Afrique « […] aussi infime soit-il, mais auquel il faut savoir s'accrocher, pourvu qu'on ait le courage de penser par soi-même, réaliser par soi-même, décider soi-même, sans complexe ni complaisance » (Édzoa 2006:9). Cette réforme du système d'enseignement supérieur est présentée comme le résultat d'une œuvre collective dont le diagnostic se voulait « froid et courageux », mu qu'il était du seul souci de garantir *la formation du jeune camerounais face à l'ère nouvelle*.[4] La présentation générale de la réforme s'ouvre sur un rappel des handicaps qui l'ont rendu aussi impérieuse qu'urgente : la croissance exponentielle des effectifs de l'Université de Yaoundé, doublée d'un déséquilibre dans la répartition territoriale des effectifs, le faible taux d'encadrement des étudiants, le déséquilibre de la répartition budgétaire au profit de l'intendance au détriment de l'enseignement et la recherche.

Dans ses principes directeurs,[5] la réforme reconnaît aux nouvelles universités, dont celle de Douala, non seulement une vocation d'enseignement et de recherche, mais entend également qu'elles soient étroitement liée à l'environnement immédiat, à la région et au marché,[6] qu'elles agissent en tant que moteur du développement local. En effet, œuvrant à l'amélioration du « capital humain », l'université devrait agir comme une force attractive pour les organisations et entreprises locales à la recherche de compétences ou, à tout le moins, influencer la culture et l'économie locale. Qu'en est-il du rapport de l'Université de Douala à son territoire ?

Des interactions université – espace – territoire

Douala, de loin la ville la plus importante, est la capitale économique et culturelle du Cameroun.[7] Le caractère cosmopolite de la ville confère à cette métropole une relative originalité dans la construction sociale de son espace. Sa croissance rapide constitue l'un des traits essentiels, et explique les nombreux problèmes d'ordre infrastructurel auxquels elle est confrontée. Au nombre de ces difficultés, on compte celles de l'aménagement urbain, en raison notamment de la question foncière sujette à controverses.[8]

Aux plans spatial et infrastructurel

Le Centre universitaire de Douala, créé dans la décennie 1980, se voit adjoindre l'École Nationale Supérieure de l'Enseignement Technique (ENSET) à l'École Supérieure des Sciences Économiques et Commerciales (ESSEC), portant à deux les grandes écoles représentant l'enseignement supérieur dans la métropole

économique. C'est sur les sites et infrastructures de ce centre, conçu initialement pour accueillir des effectifs réduits qu'est affectée l'université de Douala, sans qu'il ait été pourvu des travaux d'extension pour prendre en charge un nombre plus important d'étudiants. L'université est alors localisée sur le site du village N'doghem, relevant administrativement de la zone industrielle dite de Bassa,[9] suite à une décision gouvernementale entrant dans le cadre des *Mission d'Aménagement et de Gestion des Zones Industrielles* (MAGZI).

Il a fallu attendre 2005, pour qu'un plan stratégique de développement de l'université de Douala soit élaboré, qui prévoyait à l'horizon 2015 :

> la construction de plusieurs structures d'accueils supplémentaires dont des amphis, des blocs pédagogiques, des laboratoires de recherches […], une bibliothèque centrale et une imprimerie moderne […], la construction des décanats et des directions dans les établissements […], jusqu'en 2009, on note la construction de 02 amphis 500 de 800 et 850 places et d'un bloc pédagogique de 2 500 places au campus II, d'un bâtiment R+1 de 800 places au campus I. à ce patrimoine infrastructurel, sont en train de s'ajouter un bloc informatique actuellement en construction à l'ENSET comprenant les bureaux pour enseignants, des laboratoires et un amphi de 300 places. Les travaux d'un amphi 1400 démarrent incessamment (Lettre de l'Université de Douala, 2009:29).

Ces quelques lignes montrent que l'érection du Centre Universitaire de Douala en université dans les conditions et les circonstances qui viennent d'être indiquées, a prédisposé la nouvelle institution aux défis à relever sur plusieurs plans au moins.

Aux plans scientifique, socioculturel et économique

De 1993 à 2009, l'École Supérieure des Sciences Économiques et Commerciales (ESSEC), abrite sur son site, les quatre facultés créées en 1993.[10] La Faculté de médecine et des sciences pharmaceutiques a rejoint le même site en 2008, l'Université comptant déjà près de 45 000 étudiants pour seulement 569 enseignants.[11] La rentrée académique 2005-2006 s'est ouverte au Cameroun avec d'une part, pour maître-mot l'arrimage au système LMD,[12] consécutivement à l'adoption du Processus de Bologne et d'autre part, avec pour leitmotiv la professionnalisation des enseignements dans les universités du pays, pourtant déjà présente dans la lettre et l'esprit de la fameuse réforme de 1993. Nous avons en effet entendu et observé à l'occasion des nombreux séminaires consacrés à l'implémentation du LMD des commentaires sarcastiques d'universitaires camerounais : les uns pour faire allusion à la parole biblique des vielles outres et de vins nouveaux, les autres pour fustiger la tendance qu'ont les pays africains à copier servilement les pays du Nord.[13]

Nous considérons que si les ambitions de la Réforme avaient été atteintes, tout au moins à un certain niveau, point n'eût été besoin de recourir au LMD

au motif de professionnaliser les enseignements et/ou faciliter la mobilité.[14] D'autant que, faut-il le rappeler, cette réforme suggérait dans sa problématique, outre la professionnalisation et l'augmentation de l'offre d'éducation, l'ouverture à l'environnement local, régional, national et international. Sous cet angle, en raison de sa position focale dans l'environnement économique des affaires, l'Université de Douala aurait-elle pu se passer de collaborations multiformes avec des partenaires privés (les entreprises), publics (les différentes structures administratives) et autres associations communautaires issues de la société civile ?

De telles collaborations connaissent une croissance dans les pays développés par la mise en place de projets communs (se soldant par de contrats de recherche très variables) entre les universités et leurs partenaires locaux (Lesemann 2003:17). Nombre d'acteurs institutionnels et associatifs ont en commun une image négative des universités du Cameroun en général, et en particulier, de celle de Douala, ainsi que cela fut constaté à la faveur du Colloque international sur l'université africaine.[15] En effet, il y est apparu combien peut être faible quand il en existe, des partenariats entre les universités du Cameroun et leur environnement immédiat. Ils sont même parfois tout simplement inexistants dans certains pays en voie de développement et particulièrement en Algérie (Boumédienne 2005) comme au Cameroun.[16] Est-il possible d'accroître la productivité du travail et du capital, de dynamiser le marché local, régional ou même national, d'attendre de l'État qu'il contribue à l'amélioration de la compétitivité de l'économie nationale, avec des universités tardant à innover et à arrimer leurs modes de formation et de fonctionnement à la société des savoirs (Lesemann 2003:35) ?

Incidences spatiales, socioculturelles et économiques

Après bientôt deux décennies d'existence, c'est une gageure que de proposer une évaluation des incidences de l'Université de Douala sur la ville, la région et encore moins sur la nation. Deux raisons peuvent être avancées pour justifier cet état de fait. D'une part, on n'a pas l'habitude, en Afrique, de ce genre d'exercice procédant d'une évaluation sans complaisance des modes de gestion des affaires publiques, d'autre part, cette pratique des évaluations étant en Europe même relativement récente (Gagnol et Héraud 2002:2),[17] les universités du Cameroun, très enclines à reprendre à leur compte les réflexions émanant du Nord, ne sont même pas parvenues à leur « appropriation ». Dans de telles conditions, quelles incidences augureraient des lendemains meilleurs ? La ville est-elle en droit d'attendre de l'Université de Douala[18] les différents niveaux ci-après ?

Aux niveaux spatial et socioculturel

Les interactions entre l'Université de Douala et son environnement immédiat sont marquées au plan spatial et socioculturel par des tensions relationnelles, témoignant du peu d'égards de ses riverains quant à la symbolique de l'institution.

L'université de Douala a donc occupé deux sites : le premier communément appelé campus principal ou campus I, abrite le rectorat, ses services centraux, l'École Supérieure des Sciences Économiques et Commerciales (ESSEC) et trois facultés.[19] En 1997-1998, une extension s'ouvre au lieu dit Ndogbong avec le second site dénommé campus II, distant du précédent d'environ 700 m. La proximité des bâtiments avec le voisinage de ce quartier pauvre a conduit à la banalisation de ce lieu de transmission de savoirs. En effet, la caractéristique principale de ce qu'on nomme campus II[20] est qu'il a été d'une part, l'œuvre d'un enseignant de l'IUT (à l'époque, Théophile Ngando Mpondo était Recteur[21]), et qu'il témoigne d'autre part, du mépris des normes urbanistiques et environnementales, consécutif à une absence de prospective dans sa conception et sa réalisation.

Construit en bande, ce campus II, qui n'a pas tenu compte de la configuration architecturale des édifices voisins (ENSET et IUT), se prêtera à toutes sortes « d'agressions » : actes de vandalisme, irruptions dans les salles de classes en plein cours, d'enfants souvent dénudés et autres animaux domestiques ou de basse-cour, en provenance du voisinage. De plus, ce campus s'est retrouvé empêtré dans des conflits fonciers en raison d'implantations d'habitations individuelles qui en ont amputé la superficie initiale, compromettant ainsi les possibilités d'expansion physique de l'université. Afin de « sécuriser » le site, une clôture en matériaux solides est édifiée en 2008. Quelques bâtiments dont deux amphithéâtres de 500 et 800 places, un bloc pédagogique de type R+3 y ont fait leur apparition, d'abord entre 2007-2008, ensuite depuis 2010, d'autres bâtiments sont en construction du côté de l'ENSET.

La forte pression démographique des effectifs estudiantins a contraint l'université à une autre extension. D'où, l'ouverture d'un « campus III » à Ndokoti au lieu-dit Matgénie[22] à la rentrée académique 2007-2008. Ce qui, du reste, ne l'a pas empêché à continuer de solliciter les locaux d'établissements secondaires sur un rayon d'un kilomètre pour faire face à l'engorgement devenue très préoccupant à l'Université de Douala. Au cours de l'année académique 2009-2010, de nouvelles facultés ainsi que des instituts sont venus enrichir le nombre d'établissements de l'Université de Douala, dont la Faculté de Médecine et Sciences Pharmaceutiques (FMSP), la faculté de Génie Industriel (FGI), l'Institut des Sciences Halieutiques (ISH) et l'Institut des Beaux-Arts (IBA). Les deux premières partagent la promiscuité de l'actuel campus 1, en attendant de retrouver leur site en construction à environ 9 km de Douala. Les seconds ont respectivement été hébergés dans les locaux du Lycée de Yabassi (60 km) et à l'École Normale d'Instituteurs de Nkongsamba (135 km).

Ainsi qu'on peut le constater, les infrastructures de l'Université de Douala non seulement n'ont pas évolué à une cadence qui satisfasse le rythme de la croissance des effectifs d'étudiants, mais l'on assiste encore aux mêmes travers consistant à solliciter les locaux d'établissements d'enseignement secondaire.

Ce qui a pour effet d'exacerber la question de la gestion spatiale de la ville et celle problématique de l'image symbolique de l'Université de Douala.

Au niveau socioéconomique local

Le poids de l'État dans la gestion des universités publiques, notamment par ses contributions financières (venant en renfort à celles des droits universitaires au demeurant insignifiants dont s'acquittent les étudiants annuellement), confère au gouvernement camerounais, une très forte implication dans le système universitaire. À la différence des pratiques en cette matière dans les pays du Nord, l'État camerounais et ses universités n'ont pas encore réussi à trouver d'autres contributeurs financiers.[23] Ces derniers pouvant être des partenaires économiques et sociaux (collectivités territoriales, entreprises privées, communautés sociales) et ce, plus encore, en cette ère de décentralisation et du LMD où cette pratique d'inspiration anglo-saxonne se légitime.

John Aubrey Douglass peut à juste titre dire :

> Pour entretenir et maintenir des programmes d'études de grande qualité, les systèmes nationaux d'enseignement supérieur ont besoin de niveaux de financement et de structures d'organisation suffisamment stables. Toutefois, l'organisation de ces systèmes doit également être suffisamment souple pour satisfaire et, à l'occasion, anticiper des exigences sociétales nouvelles et toujours plus grandes […](Douglass 2004:10).

En Occident, ainsi que l'affirment Sarah Batterbury et Steve Hill : « l'essor des économies fondées sur la connaissance dans des régions particulières est aujourd'hui lié à des pratiques économiques qui garantissent un avantage comparatif et la création de valeur ajoutée grâce à une utilisation appropriée des connaissances » (2004:40). C'est que dans la plupart des pays du Nord, il y a une prise de conscience avérée quant au rôle que l'enseignement supérieur devrait jouer relativement à la prospérité régionale notamment en raison de l'avènement de la société et /ou économie du savoir.

Pour Batterbury et Hill, l'économie du savoir peut être définie de multiples façons, la plus simple étant l'ajout de valeur à travers l'application d'idées et d'informations. Elle peut également être définie de manière plus complexe, par exemple « une économie qui rend les connaissances transportables, collectives et accréditées », ou encore une économie dans laquelle « la création et l'exploitation des connaissances jouent un rôle essentiel dans la création de la richesse ». De son côté, ils mettent en avant les processus de développement du capital intellectuel dans une société du savoir dictée par de « nouveaux facteurs de production et sources d'avantage comparatif – l'innovation, la conception, le marquage, le savoir-faire – qui sont maintenant utilisés dans tous les secteurs d'activité ». Et les auteurs de poursuivre : « Toutes ces définitions ont des points communs et, quelle que soit la formulation retenue, l'université tient une place centrale dans le développement, la diffusion et

l'application des connaissances » (Batterbury 2004:40). Sous ce rapport, l'université implantée dans une région est de fait perçue comme un atout économique important pour celle-ci, eu égard à la création des emplois, aux dépenses supplémentaires effectuées dans la région et aux recettes extérieures générées par les étudiants et les visiteurs, comme l'attestent nombre d'auteurs cités par Sarah Batterbury et Steve Hill (*ibidem).*

À les en croire, la contribution de l'université est d'autant plus cruciale qu'elle est un levier incontournable de la construction de ce qu'il convient de retenir comme étant de plus en plus important pour la prospérité de demain. Mais pour ce faire, il importe que l'université à travers une politique autocentrée de l'enseignement et de la recherche, couplée à des partenariats variés, se soit donné les moyens d'agir sur le développement régional. Dans la pratique, il n'en est rien, nonobstant l'existence de la loi de 1993, identifiant la responsabilité « de la recherche universitaire fondamentale; de la valorisation du potentiel scientifique et technique ; la mise en place, du suivi et de l'évaluation des équipes de recherche... *»,* de la loi de 1998 qui redéfinit *«* la coordination des programmes des institutions universitaires ; la mise à jour des travaux de recherche et des applications scientifiques ; l'élaboration des mesures et disposition visant la valorisation des résultats de la recherche universitaire en rapport avec les partenaires socioéconomiques... *».*[24] Quant à la loi de 2001, elle est édictée pour rectifier la tendance par trop centralisée et dirigiste de textes subséquents.

Ces *véritables* idéaux de la recherche riment avec la liberté de penser. Par delà de tels textes, aux intentions aussi généreuses soient-elles, l'on ne peut logiquement dans le contexte extraverti de l'économie camerounaise, imputer à l'université le fait de ne pouvoir avoir de fortes incidences sur le développement socioéconomique local et/ou régional. En 2001, l'Institut de la Banque mondiale énonçait les facteurs essentiels du développement de l'économie du savoir :

- Un régime économique encourageant la création et l'utilisation efficace des connaissances ;
- Un système d'enseignement et de formation fournissant des individus formés et compétents, capables de créer et d'utiliser des connaissances ;
- Un système d'innovation composé de réseaux d'entreprises, centres de recherche, universités et autres organisations capables d'adapter les connaissances mondiales aux possibilités et aux besoins locaux ;
- Un système d'information dynamique permettant un partage efficace des données (Batterbury et Hill 2004:42).

Il est difficile d'affirmer ici, sans être contredit par les faits, que ces facteurs sont réunis de façon optimale au Cameroun. Les universités étant à l'image du pays, qui lui-même n'en a pas fini avec son processus de « modernisation »,[25] peuvent-elles initier des dynamiques capables de reproduction et d'innovation permettant d'assurer le développement ?

Certes, l'Université de Douala, quoiqu'en disent ses détracteurs,[26] contribue dans nombre de ses établissements, à élever le niveau de formation et de compétence des étudiants, améliorant ainsi leur capacité productive et leur potentiel. Toutefois, en l'absence de cadre d'actions complémentaires devant créer les synergies indispensables entre les universitaires, les professionnels et les politiques, les actions de l'Université au niveau socioéconomique local ne sauraient être d'envergure. L'université et son environnement devraient partager des ambitions de développement qui se rejoignent et qui leur soient mutuellement bénéfiques. Ce qui n'est pas le cas à l'heure actuelle, nonobstant les efforts singuliers d'établissements tels l'ESSEC ou l'Institut Universitaire de Technologie (IUT). Ce qui est donné à voir aux alentours immédiats de l'Université de Douala, c'est une floraison de petits-métiers de bureautique, de photocopie, de papeterie, de ventes de cartes et d'appels téléphoniques, ainsi que des bars dont seules les enseignes[27] témoignaient de leur proximité de l'université.

Une vision sociopolitique et/ou socioéconomique incombe aux collectivités territoriales décentralisées, qui viendrait renverser cette tendance économique jusque-là favorable aux petits commerces. Il convient pour ce faire, de repenser et améliorer les conditions du cadre urbain et régional (par la qualité des infrastructures, la promotion de la culture et du tourisme local), d'intégrer dans leur politique, la dynamique du développement du capital humain (en facilitant l'accès des étudiants dans le monde du travail local) et la promotion des entreprises (par le soutien au développement), toutes choses en rapport direct avec des dispositifs de gouvernance.

La gouvernance de l'Université de Douala en question

> On pourrait arguer que la prolifération actuelle des réformes de l'enseignement supérieur par les États-nations cherche cet équilibre, conditionné par leur mixe historique en matière d'établissements d'enseignement tertiaire, leur culture politique actuelle et, de plus en plus, par les modèles internationaux (Douglass 2004:10).

Les lignes ci-dessus révèlent qu'il n'est pas d'État au monde qui fasse l'économie des réformes du système de l'enseignement supérieur. Pour autant, celles-ci ne devraient pas être faites comme par effet d'imitation, tant les problèmes à résoudre dans ce domaine sont, ici, particulièrement prégnants.[28] Au nombre de ceux-ci, celui de la gouvernance universitaire auquel n'échappe pas l'Université de Douala : ils sont relatifs non à l'absence de textes y afférant, mais aux pesanteurs la rendant inopérante, à court, moyen et long terme. En effet, si rien n'est objectivement fait pour prendre la bonne mesure des dysfonctionnements du système interne à l'université, afin d'assumer leur pertinence et, par-là, rompre avec les recettes issues de « prêts-à-penser » d'importation, nos universités seront toujours en situation de crises latentes ou manifestes.

De l'idéologie de la gouvernance universitaire …

Le concept de « gouvernance »,[29] terme « passe-partout », est à la mode depuis les années 1990. Paradigme scientifique et référentiel politique s'il en est, il n'y a pas de domaine où il ne trouve un champ d'application et où il ne se décline selon les besoins de la cause.[30] Initiative gouvernementale, impulsée par les institutions financières internationales, le concept de gouvernance est ainsi appliqué aux universités pour les inviter, à l'instar de toutes les administrations du pays, à tourner le dos aux pratiques qui en plombent la gestion, la croissance et/ou le développement. Ces universités reflétant dans leur ensemble,[31] les faiblesses structurelles et/ou organisationnelles du mode de gestion au plan national, il importait que les solutions idoines soient trouvées. Aussi, prétextant la modernisation (de portée néolibérale et dérivée de la mondialisation), sera-t-il préconisé au niveau macro, et répercuté aux différents niveaux micro,[32] la fin du secteur public économique.

Il s'agit dès lors, en ce qui concerne les universités, de relever le défi consistant à transformer les pesanteurs d'une bureaucratie lourde, autocentrée, par une organisation capable d'adaptations rapides, de réponses instantanées et de compréhension des attentes de ses principaux publics (acteurs internes et partenaires externes). D'où la nécessité d'une meilleure compréhension des attentes de ces derniers, vus tantôt comme acteurs ou usagers internes, tantôt comme publics externes. C'est alors qu'ont été convenus des dispositifs de gouvernance à l'aune desquels les performances des universités seraient jugées.

Il s'agit désormais pour l'essentiel, du triptyque « bonne administration – responsabilité et imputabilité – transparence ». Et pour ce faire :

- l'État à qui incombe dorénavant et plus que par le passé, le rôle d'arbitrage du système, ne devrait plus tenir le gouvernail des universités, mais plutôt assumer partiellement leur régulation ;
- les universités se devant de mettre en place des systèmes d'auto-organisation, d'autodiscipline, d'autorégulation, voire de co-régulation, étant donné l'exigence de partenariats (acteurs publics et privés) que requiert ce système ;
- les deux composantes (État et universités), étant tenues de s'assurer premièrement, que la gestion des ressources financières et humaines des universités soit faite de façon correcte et équitable, deuxièmement, que les responsables des universités rendent compte de leurs actions et troisièmement, que la communication soit au cœur des actions.

L'Université de Douala a, bien entendu, adhéré à ce code de bonne gouvernance en 2008. Elle se veut décentralisée, mais pour quelle efficacité et avec quel type de leadership ? La décentralisation suppose qu'établissements et autres départements, prennent des initiatives allant dans le sens de leur croissance.

Or, à l'Université de Douala, en pleine logique taylorienne, tout se passe comme s'il y était interdit de penser : selon une conception d'un autre temps, il n'est reconnu de tel droit qu'aux enseignants de rang magistral,[33] étant entendu qu'assistants et autres chargés de cours, ne peuvent même pas représenter une force de proposition.

« La compétence en ce lieu qui se consacrerait à la « quête de l'excellence », n'est pas ce qui y fait l'accord entre les esprits minés qu'ils sont, non seulement par des préoccupations matérielles, mais aussi et surtout par des réflexes relevant du népotisme ou du tribalisme, de la complaisance, si ce n'est du clientélisme », propos d'un enseignant de la Faculté de Sciences ».

« Nommé par décret présidentiel, le Recteur (qui dépend du Ministre de l'Enseignement Supérieur) est le garant de l'institution qui comporte des établissements dont les responsables (doyens des facultés ou directeurs des écoles et instituts) sont eux-aussi nommés par décret, quand les chefs de département le sont par arrêté du ministre. Voilà qui prédispose à tout le moins, à un système de gestion autocratique de l'université sous la très haute autorité du Recteur ». Propos d'enseignant de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines (FSLH).

L'absence de cohérence et d'organisation dans la gouvernance universitaire, nonobstant la volonté politique affichée, traduit en effet, le déficit de culture entrepreneuriale des responsables, à tous les niveaux.

…et de leur implication dans la construction de l'image de l'Université de Douala

L'Université de Douala qui se devait légitimement d'être un lieu porteur d'image et de rayonnement de la ville où elle est située à l'instar des autres universités du monde,[34] est plutôt sujette à ses problèmes d'identification et/ou de valorisation socioculturelle et patrimoniale. Cette université donne d'elle l'image d'un îlot « d'excellence » au milieu d'un océan d'indifférence,[35] engendrant une incertitude qui fragilise le vécu de ses acteurs, affecte son mode de gouvernance et suscite moult inquiétudes. Et ce, tant aux plans de la gestion des finances et des ressources humaines, que des questions liées à l'activité scientifique, avec pour dénominateurs communs : centralisation, désignation par décret des principaux responsables de l'institution au mépris de la réforme de 1993, trafic d'influence, tribalisation ou l'image de l'université et de ses produits. Ces extraits d'entretiens en donnent une signification :

> Les pratiques ici défient toutes les normes que commandent le bon sens et autres règles élémentaires du management des organisations. Les pratiques managériales sont mues sinon par des irrédentismes, voire des replis identitaires ou du moins par des choix saugrenus et mal venus dans un tel environnement. Propos d'étudiant-Faculté des Sciences Juridiques et Politiques (FSJP)**.**

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La décentralisation supposant que chaque établissement disposât selon ses besoins de son budget, à l'Université de Douala, l'idée d'un compte commun l'a emporté sur les tentatives ici et là de la part de chefs d'établissements, d'en ouvrir chacun pour sa faculté, son école ou institut. Chaque établissement devant reverser 35 pour cent de son budget au rectorat pour les affaires communes et garder par devers lui les 65 pour cent restant, pour faire face à ses charges. Les chefs d'établissements font régulièrement état des difficultés qu'ils rencontrent, à user de ces 65 pour cent qui leur sont consacrés, quand vient le moment de payer les prestations statutaires des enseignants, leurs chèques devant être contresignés par la hiérarchie, qui leur reprochent de privilégier les fournisseurs et autres prestataires de services. Propos d'administratif**.**

Les nominations par décret aux différentes responsabilités de l'université, au lieu des élections comme dans toutes les universités du monde, ne garantissent pas la performance, étant donné qu'il n'y a pas d'obligation de résultats pour les choisis. Avec la mondialisation il s'agit de compétence, d'efficacité et on ne doit pas espérer de ceux qui ne sont pas soucieux de challenges, d'avoir à cœur des idéaux autres que personnels. Propos d'enseignant - Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines (FLSH)**.**

Il ne fait pas bon d'avoir à traiter avec l'Université de Douala. On y est prompt à passer des commandes, mais au moment de vous payer, c'est une autre affaire. Si vous n'avez pas une personne à vous dans le sérail, vos factures seront en souffrance même pendant des années. Encore faut-il avoir de la chance pour être payé un jour ! ... J'ai personnellement offert des prestations dans un département en 2006 et ne suis jamais entré en possession de mon dû. Le doyen de cette faculté pour des raisons ethniques, je crois, ayant refusé de me payer. Propos de prestataire de services.

La tribalisation des recrutements, les bourses de formation des formateurs à têtes chercheuses, représentent une tare de gestion des ressources humaines dans notre université, sachant que de la qualité du capital humain, dépendent l'innovation et le transfert de compétence qui viennent enrichir le niveau de formation de nos étudiants et par là, les possibilités d'impacter positivement les entreprises et aussi rendre attractive l'université ! Propos d'enseignant - Faculté des sciences économiques et de gestion appliquée (FSEGA).

Ce que nous avons comme image de l'Université de Douala dans notre milieu, en dehors de l'ESSEC, c'est le manque de sérieux et d'organisation qui la caractérise. On entend d'ici, beaucoup de bruits qui ne l'honorent pas. Aussi avons-nous une préférence pour les diplômés de l'étranger, suivis de ceux de l'Université Catholique d'Afrique Centrale de Yaoundé, viennent ensuite les diplômés de l'ESSEC… alors qu'ils étaient auparavant parmi les premiers, et enfin les titulaires de BTS des instituts privés. Et puis, l'université ne se vend pas ; on connaît plus l'ESSEC. Propos de chef d'entreprise

On le voit bien, ces propos mettent en exergue nombre de maux ou de problèmes que la réforme était censée résoudre. L'université devrait mobiliser suffisamment ses acteurs lesquels devraient être motivés pour prendre à leur compte les problématiques de développement local et régional, plutôt que d'être centrés

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sur des préoccupations égoïstes. Ceci aurait pour effet, de changer l'image peu valorisante à laquelle l'université n'a pas intérêt à continuer d'être identifiée.

À propos de la valorisation patrimoniale du territoire et de l'Université de Douala

Pour Pierre-Antoine Landel **et Nicolas** Senil (2012:12), le patrimoine est : « une ressource qui prend son sens dans les synergies qui se créent à l'échelle territoriale ». Madeleine Tchangam (2012:204) en déduit que sous ce rapport, le patrimoine en tant que ressource territoriale, renvoie au processus de construction territoriale, aux conditions de sa mise en œuvre, de son organisation et de ses valorisations. Le patrimoine sert ainsi à créer une image de marque et participe à la « mise en cohérence territoriale ». L'identification d'un peuple ou des personnes à un territoire « sert non seulement à donner à ce territoire des atouts qui le rendront attractif, mais permet aussi aux résidents de ce territoire de s'affirmer ou de se distinguer pour idéalement montrer d'eux-mêmes, une image qui leur convient », poursuit-elle.

Alors qu'on se serait attendu que l'université amène à porter un regard différent sur elle-même et sur la métropole économique dans laquelle elle est située, l'Université de Douala, ses acteurs et sa cité ont curieusement en partage, l'image péjorative de ville, d'université et d'universitaires affairistes.[36] Ainsi, nonobstant la mission de participation au développement local et régional conférée aux universités camerounaises, l'Université, sa ville et sa région d'accueil peinent à s'impacter mutuellement de façon positive et il en est également ainsi, des principaux acteurs individuels de ce développement tant au plan interne qu'externe. C'est ici le lieu d'affirmer l'importance d'un repositionnement des principaux acteurs[37] de l'université, au centre du système universitaire. Voilà qui garantirait à cette organisation une image plus claire, plus transparente voire plus participative en regard de ses divers publics internes et externes (acteurs-usagers-partenaires) qui escomptent d'elle, plus d'efficacité, moins de dérives budgétaires, et pour tout dire, davantage de performance.

La diversité socioculturelle, un enjeu de la valorisation

L'Université de la capitale économique devait être le lieu d'émission de réflexions et d'idées innovantes qui dépoussiéreraient celles que continuent de véhiculer certains universitaires autant que des politiciens et autres personnalités de la « société civile ». Autant, l'Université de Douala semble n'avoir pas encore été, à ce jour, intégrée dans l'intelligibilité sociale de « *l'aménagement* » de son territoire urbain, autant elle est, au plan socioculturel, très peu concernée par les exigences de conceptualisation de la communauté sociale qui fonde cet espace urbain.[38] En effet, au plan socioculturel, il est impératif qu'un renversement de perspective ait lieu qui amène tous les résidents à apprendre

ou à réapprendre le vivre-ensemble. À ce propos, l'Université de Douala a un rôle capital à jouer dans la construction d'une vision d'un monde commun à tous les citadins. Il va sans dire que cette vision, l'université sous le rapport de la spécificité identitaire urbaine[39] devrait en être non seulement porteuse ou dépositaire, mais aussi et surtout, la refléter (au dedans comme au dehors) à travers les discours et les recherches produits par ses universitaires. En la matière, plutôt que de contribuer à alimenter les faux débats identitaires, ces derniers gagneraient à réfléchir et œuvrer dans le sens de l'amélioration des conditions sociales de tous les Camerounais, et donc du développement local, qui profiteraient à tous et à chacun.

La valorisation territoriale de l'Université par une recherche scientifique concertée

Guy Di Méo aborde la question de la valorisation patrimoniale autour d'une réflexion sur la parenté conceptuelle entre territoire et patrimoine. Selon lui, territoire et patrimoine « offrent d'étonnantes correspondances » et, s'interrogeant sur celles-ci, il indique que : « L'un et l'autre ne participent-ils pas, simultanément, d'une double nature matérielle et idéelle ? Ne remplissent-ils pas, conjointement, une fonction mnémonique ? N'inscrivent-ils pas le tissu social dans la continuité historique, tout en constituant de solides phénomènes culturels ? » (Di Méo 1994:16).

Ainsi, en attribuant au territoire (ici celui de l'université) une valeur signifiante pour l'individu et pour la société, « on ne peut se dispenser de lui conférer une valeur patrimoniale » (Di Méo 1994:29). La valorisation d'un patrimoine passe dès lors par sa médiatisation, voire, des mises en communication, en public et en valeur, selon le mot de Jean Davallon (2006). Il importe alors de savoir la mettre en communication (installer une relation entre le public et l'université), l'exposer (rationaliser la relation des divers publics à l'institution), avant de la valoriser (s'assurer de la cohérence de sa présentation) en vue de son exploitation (vendre l'image). Pour être efficace, cette valorisation procèderait de stratégies communicationnelles, elles-mêmes conçues suite à un diagnostic sans complaisance de la situation, coordonnées et concertées entre l'université (ses acteurs) et l'environnement socioéconomique (entreprises, collectivités, associations ….).

> […] L'Université de Douala, dans son souci de promouvoir en son sein la recherche et les publications, accorde depuis l'année académique 2007/2008, une subvention à l'édition des ouvrages rédigés par les enseignants de l'institution, sans discrimination de grade […]. À l'Université de Douala, la Coopération joue efficacement son rôle d'appui à la recherche et aux enseignements, associé au rayonnement national et international de l'Institution. À cet effet, de nombreuses actions y sont menées, notamment la signature et le suivi des accords-cadres de partenariats ou conventions […], la participation aux colloques, conférences et séminaires, de même que

> leur organisation au sein de l'Institution. Afin de rendre effective la coopération avec les milieux socioprofessionnels et ancrer véritablement l'Université de Douala dans son environnement, le Recteur a également signé le 20 novembre 2008, une décision portant création d'une Commission de Professionnalisation et des Relations avec le Monde des Entreprises. Cette décision prend en compte les nouvelles orientations gouvernementales sur la professionnalisation des enseignements (Propos de Nicole Claire Ndoko[40] citée par Mimbou Ayong, 2006:26).

Ces quelques lignes suffisent à montrer ce qu'il en est réellement, en 2008, de la recherche et du partenariat de l'université avec le milieu socioprofessionnel, car même trois années après, le miracle, pour ainsi dire, n'a pas encore eu lieu.[41] D'une part, l'on peut se demander s'il pourrait en aller autrement en l'absence, d'un cadre concerté entre enseignants-chercheurs, administrateurs universitaires et monde des entreprises. Et d'autre part, sans qu'il ait été arrêté par les parties prenantes, des problématiques communes de recherche qui soient sociologiquement ancrées[42] dans les préoccupations concrètes de la ville de Douala et des communautés locales, tant sur le plan de la recherche sociale qu'économique !

Conclusion

> […] Tout compte rendu de recherche est nécessairement intégré dans le débat comme s'il avait été écrit pour s'y inscrire. On a pour toute alternative de choisir son camp ou d'être choisi par lui. Il existe de tels mécanismes de récupération que l'on ne peut y échapper : tout refus de s'afficher hostile est pris pour gage d'affiliation, tout doute émis est signe de contestation fondamentale et définitive,

rappelle Pierre Fourier (2001:77) avant de conclure : écrire, c'est parfois s'inscrire dans un champ de mines. Faire montre de distanciation et rendre compte des faits, telle aura été notre intention. Le choix délibéré de l'axe relatif à la dimension culturelle et communicationnelle de l'université de Douala pour rendre compte des interactions entre l'université, ses acteurs et son territoire, sous le rapport des éventuelles incidences socioculturelle et socioéconomique, n'a pas été neutre. Conscient de traiter d'un sujet délicat, dans un contexte sensible dans lequel instrumentalisation et violence symbolique sont diversement ressentis, nous avons pris le parti méthodologique, d'une réflexion sur l'Université de Douala ayant l'action pour visée.

L'objectif de notre réflexion consistait à faire prendre conscience, à un plus grand nombre d'universitaires et d'entrepreneurs des avantages et des modalités de la recherche réalisée dans le cadre de partenariats, base essentielle pour toute innovation dans le secteur économique et universitaire. Aussi, sauf à prendre conscience de l'importance d'une université par les différentes parties prenantes concernées par sa présence dans leur région (autorités administratives,

entreprises, communautés sociales et associations diverses, enseignants-chercheurs), est-il quasiment impossible, de créer la synergie nécessaire au changement dont une ville comme Douala et sa région ont urgemment besoin. Une étude sur la place des universités du Cameroun dans leur région pourrait rendre compte des points forts ou des faiblesses de l'activité académique, et sous-tendre les rapports avec les partenaires économiques et sociaux. Pour cela, il convient que l'enseignement et la recherche ne soient pas exclusivement l'apanage des universitaires, et que soient sollicitée dans la confection des programmes d'enseignement et de la recherche, l'expertise avérée de bons professionnels.

L'évaluation des enseignements, importante tant au niveau social qu'à celui de la recherche, est aux États-Unis comme dans les pays européens l'ayant adoptée, le fait d'acteurs de l'environnement économique et politique dont le concours actif de ces derniers attend généralement des résultats concrets en termes de création d'entreprises et de génération d'emplois.

Notes

1. Décret n°93/026 du 19 janvier 1993.

2. Les Universités de Yaoundé I & II, l'Université de Dschang, l'Université de Buéa, l'Université de Ngaoundéré. Ce qui porte alors à six, le nombre des universités d'Etat au Cameroun dès le 19 janvier 1993. Le pays en compte à cette date huit, car deux autres universités ont vu le jour à Maroua et Bamenda, pratiquement dans des conditions analogues, en s'installant dans les locaux d'institutions déjà existantes.

3. Aux niveaux du rapport : à l'amélioration des conditions du cadre régional (la qualité des infrastructures, par exemple) ; au processus de développement du capital humain (accès des étudiants, réponse aux besoins des marchés du travail locaux, etc.) ; au processus de développement des entreprises (promotion/soutien aux entreprises, etc.) ; de la formation interactive et processus de développement social (analyse des perspectives régionales, par exemple) ; du processus de redistribution (soutien au redressement de la collectivité, par exemple) ; du développement culturel (installations culturelles, promotion touristique, etc.) ; de l'encouragement de la viabilité (promotion du vivre-ensemble…).

4. Les lignes qui suivent résument la lettre et l'esprit de la réforme : *« […] Elle est un instrument perfectible, mais visant dès lors l'efficacité. Sans négliger la culture, l'initiation au sens civique, elle a l'ambition de faire apprendre un métier par lequel le jeune camerounais pourra s'assumer et assumer le destin de son pays. Le Cameroun se refuse de créer sans relâche des chômeurs incultes, encore*

moins des licenciés chômeurs. L'ère de la démocratisation quantitative a vécu :
vive l'égalité par l'excellence ! Mais la société est libre d'en choisir le prix ! ».

5. Au nombre desquels : la participation des différents partenaires à la gestion et au financement de l'Institution (1) ; l'autonomie la plus large possible sur le plan académique et celui de la gestion (2) ; l'égalité d'accès pour tous les Camerounais (3) ; la professionnalisation et l'augmentation de l'offre d'éducation (4) ; la pluridisciplinarité (5) ; l'ouverture à l'environnement local, régional, national et international (6) ; l'utilisation rationnelle et optimale des infrastructures existantes et des moyens disponibles (7) ; la dynamisation de la coopération interuniversitaire et internationale (8).

6. Cf. *La Réforme universitaire au Cameroun et ses textes complémentaires.*

7. Douala, ville portuaire de plus de 3 millions d'habitants, située sur le littoral, est pour diverses raisons, le point de convergence de migrations interne et externe. Le foisonnement de cultures qu'on y rencontre en fait également la capitale culturelle, à en juger par le nombre d'activités culturelles qui s'y déploient annuellement.

8. La ville de Douala, par son étalement, témoigne d'une absence de maîtrise de sa gestion urbaine, laquelle serait vraisemblablement partagée entre les chefferies traditionnelles et les administrations relevant des pouvoirs publics. Il s'ensuit de nombreux conflits dus à la détermination de la propriété foncière.

9. L'Université de Douala se trouve alors sur un site où elle est entourée d'un certain nombre d'unités industrielles dont Sic-Cacaos, Guinness-S.A., Socaverres, les Brasseries du Cameroun, Socafer, etc.

10. Les Facultés des Lettres et Sciences Humaines (FLSH), des Sciences Économiques et de Gestion Appliquée (FSÉGA), des Sciences Juridiques et Politiques (FSJP) et des Sciences (FS). Les Facultés de sciences et de médecine ayant leurs bureaux administratifs à l'École Nationale Supérieure de l'Enseignement Technique (ENSET) pour les sciences, et les locaux annexes du Lycée technique de Ndogbong pour la médecine.

11. En 2005, l'élaboration d'un Plan Stratégique de Développement a pour ambition de faire de l'Université de Douala un technopôle scientifique configuré autour de deux pôles scientifiques, industriel et tertiaire ; les « développeurs » projetèrent alors à 38000 l'effectif des étudiants pour l'an 2015 […]. La norme Unesco prévoyant un ratio d'encadrement de 16 étudiants pour un enseignant, cf « Les grands chantiers de l'Université de Douala » in *La Lettre de l'Université de Douala,* n°06, Juillet 2009, p. 28.

12. Ce système est d'inspiration anglo-saxonne et attache en effet beaucoup de prix au savoir-faire que confère la dimension professionnelle de la formation universitaire. Dans ce système, le Ph.D. s'obtient en 8 ans : *Licence (3 ans), Master (2 ans), Doctorat-Ph.D (3 ans).* Il intervient en remplacement de l'ancien système français où la thèse terminale s'obtenait en 12 ans au moins : *Licence (3*

ans), Maîtrise (1 an), Diplôme d'Études Approfondies (1 an), Doctorat 3ᵉ cycle (3 ans), et Doctorat d'État (4 ans), très peu soucieux de formations pratiques.

13. Les chefs d'États de la zone CEMAC, suivis par les recteurs des universités de l'Afrique Centrale, ont convenu d'adopter le système LMD (Voir Khelfaoui, 2009).

14. Cf. pp. 15-16 de la réforme de 1993, *op.cit.*

15. Dans une communication collective, François Guebou Tadjuidje, Marie Sophie Madiba et nous-même y avons spécifiquement reproché à cette université de ne pas tirer suffisamment parti de sa situation avantageuse en pleine zone économique qu'est la ville portuaire de Douala regorgeant l'essentiel des grandes entreprises et « industries » du pays. Et ce constat y a donné lieu à une surprise générale de la part des enseignants-chercheurs des autres universités d'État, situées dans des régions très peu nanties au plan économique, in « Articuler connaissance scientifique et connaissance professionnelle pour un meilleur développement régional » (en cours de publication), Colloque international sur *L'université africaine comme maître du savoir et sa contribution au développement local,* Yaoundé, 8-9 septembre 2010.

16. C'est notamment ce qu'il nous est advenu d'entendre relativement à l'Université de Buéa, Dschang et de Ngoundéré, lors du colloque susmentionné.

17. Dans une introduction, Laurent Gagnol et Jean-Alain Héraud attirent l'attention sur les principaux résultats d'une analyse des universités de Strasbourg visant à améliorer la connaissance de l'impact économique d'un pôle d'enseignement supérieur et de recherche sur son environnement local. On peut y lire : *« Peu d'études de ce type avaient été menées jusqu'à présent, en tout cas en Europe, bien que le besoin s'en fasse sentir de plus en plus. Cette étude d'impact intéresse les collectivités de différents niveaux qui contribuent au financement du complexe universitaire (en particulier à travers les contrats de Plan État-Région), les établissements eux-mêmes et divers acteurs qui interviennent dans le processus d'investissement public »* (2002: 2).

18. Les budgets de l'Université de Douala depuis 1993 servent aux 2/3 au fonctionnement de l'institution. À titre d'exemple, en 2009, le budget adopté en sa 22è session par le Conseil d'Administration de l'Université de Douala, (supérieur de 38 % à celui de 2008), a été de 9.462.926.000 F. CFA, soit 8.462.926.000 F. CFA pour le fonctionnement et 1.000.000.000 F. CFA pour l'investissement. Étant entendu que les ressources propres escomptées de l'université ont été de l'ordre de 51 %. En 2011, le budget a dépassé la barre de 10.000.000.000 F. CFA. Cf. « 22è session du Conseil d'Administration : session budgétaire », du 10/02/2009, in *La Lettre de l'Université de Douala,* n°06, Juillet 2009, p. 12.

19. Les facultés des Lettres et sciences humaines (FLSH), des sciences économiques et de gestion appliquée (FSEGA), des sciences juridiques et politiques (FSJP).

20. Les étudiants, quant à eux, ont nommé ce campus, le poulailler, pour moquer son architecture obsolète en regard de l'environnement.

21. Il est important, dans le contexte camerounais, de rappeler qu'il est fils du terroir au sens où l'entendent les adeptes locaux de l'autochtonie et qu'il est, depuis janvier 2009, président du Conseil d'Administration de l'Université de Douala.

22. Il s'agit des hangars désaffectés d'une société de travaux publics, loués précipitamment et réhabilités par l'université pour en faire deux salles de cours de 500 places chacune et de deux autres de 40 places chacune.

23. Selon le principe d'égalité d'accès à l'enseignement supérieur et de justice sociale, le décret présidentiel n° 93/033 du 19 janvier 1993 a fixé le taux des droits universitaires au Cameroun à 50.000 F. CFA annuellement pour la formation initiale (à distinguer des formations professionnelles), par étudiant et payables en deux tranches semestrielles de 25.000 F., contre de 300.000 F. CFA à plus du million F. CFA dans les Institutions Universitaires Privées.

24. Décret *93/03 du 19 janvier 1993 et décret 98/231 du 28 septembre 1998.*

25. Devrions-nous dire occidentalisation ? Il s'agit en réalité, ce qui revient au même, d'une tendance à l'initiative des institutions financières internationales et du marché, visant à accélérer l'intégration des économies du Sud, au système-monde porté par une vision occidentale du monde.

26. On a entendu des enseignants d'autres universités du Cameroun affirmer de façon péremptoire : « Il n'y a pas d'école à Douala », comme pour sous-estimer, à tort ou à raison, la qualité de formation des formateurs et des étudiants de cette université. Or, il n'est qu'à juger objectivement les prestations de nombre d'entre eux, à la faveur de colloques scientifiques pour les uns, ou de mobilités pour les autres, tant au plan national qu'international, pour se convaincre du poids des préjugés !

27. Aux noms forts évocateurs tels : Rectorat, Grand amphi, Club UV, … jusqu'à leur remplacement du fait, dit-on, de l'intervention du rectorat.

28. Étant entendu qu'ils ne sont pas de la même nature au Nord que dans les pays du Sud.

29. Entendre par là, selon le mot de Chevallier (2003:207) : « une technologie de pouvoir visant d'une part, à rompre d'avec l'imposition unilatérale d'une domination , en tenant compte de l'existence d'autres acteurs (internes ou externes), de leur participation dans un cadre formel ou non, à la prise des décisions ; d'autre part, à rechercher des solutions consensuelles, reposant sur l'accord des différents acteurs ».

30. Aussi parle-t-on invariablement de gouvernance d'entreprise, de bonne gouvernance, de gouvernance globale, de gouvernance des villes, gouvernance universitaire et, comme ce fut le cas avec la réforme universitaire de 1993, toutes les universités du Cameroun se doivent de l'adopter.

31. Elles ne sont en effet que des reflets dégradés de la forme avilie (par des pratiques locales) d'un modèle européen sans prise aucune d'avec les réalités socioculturelles nationales.

32. Faisant ainsi suite au mouvement en faveur de la décentralisation, du renouveau et/ou de la modernisation des administrations publiques pour être en phase avec la vague néolibérale à l'effet de délégitimer l'État-providence dans cette nouvelle donne socioéconomique.

33. Sont reconnus aptes aux enseignements magistraux : les maîtres de conférences et les professeurs. L'arrimage au système LMD s'est fait au Cameroun en éludant les transformations qu'il a induit dans les universités du Nord où ont disparu les grades d'assistant, maître-assistant, chargé de cours. Ici, l'enseignant commence sa carrière comme assistant et atteint le grade de professeur après avoir été respectivement chargé de cours et maître de conférences. Entendu que le chargé de cours camerounais est d'après les textes régissant l'enseignement supérieur au Cameroun, l'équivalent du maître de conférences européen.

34. Qu'il nous suffise d'indiquer que les universités telles celles de la Sorbonne, de Lille, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Tours, en France, Harvard, Berkeley, aux États-Unis d'Amérique, Madrid, Malaga en Espagne (pour ne citer que celles-ci), participent au rayonnement de leurs villes respectives, notamment au regard des efforts consentis par les développeurs pour les mettre au diapason de ces dernières. Ce qui est loin d'être le cas s'agissant de l'Université de Douala, même après près de deux décennies d'existence.

35. Voilà qui contraste avec le rayonnement sous-régional de cette université alors même que ses établissements tels l' l'École Supérieure des Sciences Économiques et Commerciales (ESSEC), la Faculté des sciences économiques et de gestion appliquée (FSEGA), voient nombre de leurs enseignants être sollicités par des universités africaines du centre, d'est et d'ouest, voire d'Europe et d'Amérique du nord, en reconnaissance de leurs valeurs mieux, de leurs expertises au plan scientifique.

36. Le sens commun attribue en effet ce qualificatif à la ville. Il s'en trouve de même parmi les universitaires et autres étudiants de cette université, qui revendiquent cette appellation dont il faut indiquer ici que, dans le jargon local, elle prend le sens olsonien d'acteur mû par la logique du calcul gain/coût et pour qui pas d'intérêt signifie pas d'action.

37. Il s'agit ici des enseignants-chercheurs dans un contexte où l'université semble être prise en otage par ceux qu'on appelle ici le personnel d'appui et où les étudiants, dans une certaine mesure, font la loi, tant tout leur est permis dans un système de délation, de passe-droit, de tribalisme et de clientélisme leur conférant tous les droits et peu de devoirs dus à leur statut. Ce qui les autorise à être convaincus qu'ils peuvent faire et défaire la carrière d'un universitaire par le recours à des pouvoirs exorbitants.

38. Sinon, on n'entendrait pas ces propos tendant à rattacher l'Université à l'ethnie, parfois même de la bouche d'illustres responsables de l'institution.

39. La ville est en effet reconnue pour son dynamisme économique, lequel est imputé à une frange importante de la population migrante venue des Hauts-plateaux de l'Ouest (parmi lesquels un nombre important d'industriels et de chefs d'entreprises). Nous comprenons mal les théories sur l'autochtonie et autres minorités qui y font curieusement florès, avec pour conséquence, la 'tenue à l'écart' ou une tendance à la marginalisation des universitaires de la région citée. Voilà qui contribue à tirer par le bas la ville et sa région, ces acteurs de l'économie en étant informé, sont alors méfiants à l'égard de l'université.

40. Propos de Nicole Claire Ndoko, vice-recteur chargé de la Recherche, de la Coopération et des Relations avec le monde des Entreprises, in *La lettre de l'Université de Douala*, n°06, Juillet, 2006, p. 26.

41. Il existe néanmoins, une Charte Universités-Entreprises depuis 2009. Le 11 août 2010 s'est tenu le forum *Universités–Entreprises–Société : un partenariat salutaire*, à la faveur duquel les participants en étaient encore à exprimer des vœux !

42. Par cette expression, nous entendons que la recherche scientifique notamment celle en rapport avec les sciences de l'homme et de la société, ne devrait pas avoir qu'un intérêt spéculatif, mais aussi et surtout une vocation pratique, pour reprendre le mot d'Émile Durkheim, in *De la division du travail social*. En effet nous pensons qu'en cette matière, la recherche doit être mue par un souci constant de répondre aux préoccupations concrètes des populations et autres organisations sociales et ainsi concourir à la recherche de solutions pratiques aux problèmes eux aussi concrets auxquels ces derniers sont confrontés. Qu'il s'agisse de la compréhension de l'état du milieu et du monde dans lesquels ils vivent, que des explications et remèdes aux maux sociaux sous lesquels ils ploient (misères morale, mentale, économique et politique… et, leur pauvreté qui en est le corollaire à ces différents niveaux.

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Analyse géographique du parcours sciences et techniques. Cas de L'université de NGaoundéré

Mediebou Chindji*, Michel Tchotsoua**

Résumé

Les auteurs de cet article évaluent la contribution des diplômés des parcours sciences et techniques de l'Université de Ngaoundéré au développement du Nord-Cameroun. Pour ce faire, une enquête par questionnaire a été effectuée auprès de ses diplômés ayant un emploi. La technique de contact par boule de neige a permis d'en enquêter 360 à Douala, Yaoundé et les principales villes du Nord-Cameroun. L'analyse des données collectées a été faite par des méthodes de statistiques descriptives. Les résultats montrent que l'Université de Ngaoundéré a contribué non seulement à la formation des ressources humaines de cette région, mais a également entrainé une modification du tissu économique et une diversification du marché de l'emploi même si cet impact reste bien faible sur les secteurs pouvant propulser le développement.

Abstract

The author of this paper evaluates the contribution of qualified scientists and trained engineers in science and technology of the University of Ngaoundere to the development of Northern-Cameroon. In order, a questionnaire survey was conducted among its graduate students who have a job. The technique of a snowball contact made it possible to survey 360 graduates Yaounde, Douala and in the main cities of Northern-Cameroon. The analysis of all this data was done using descriptive statistics methods. The results show that the University of Ngaoundere has contributed not

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only to the training of human resources in this region, but has also resulted in a change in the economic organization and a diversification of the job market even if these impacts are low on sectors capable of generating development.

Introduction

Une Université est généralement définie comme un établissement qui « fédère en son sein la production (recherche), la conservation (publications et bibliothèques) et la transmission (études supérieures) de différents domaines de la connaissance ».[1] Ainsi, en mettant en rapport l'Université et le concept de développement, on peut considérer ce dernier comme la capacité de la première à promouvoir la croissance économique et le développement des ressources qui permettent à la région de s'affirmer. Pour évaluer le développement, les organismes internationaux à l'instar de la Banque mondiale (BM), du Fonds monétaire international (FMI) ou du Programme des Nations unies pour le développement (PNUD), ont mis sur pied des indicateurs qui permettent de mesurer le développement. Il s'agit du produit national brut (PNB) et du produit intérieur brut (PIB) qui mesurent la quantité de richesses produites à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur d'un pays par ses habitants, à travers les activités créées.

Vu sous cet angle, ces indicateurs ne pouvaient pas donner le niveau réel de développement ; c'est pourquoi, en leur ajoutant le niveau de vie, le taux de scolarisation ou le taux d'accès aux soins de santé, on est arrivé à la mise sur pied d'un autre indicateur, à savoir l'indice de développement humain (l'I.D.H) qui semble plus indiqué pour mesurer et évaluer le niveau de développement. Cette forme d'évaluation est à l'origine de la classification des Etats en « pays développés » et « pays sous-développés ». Ainsi, on est capable de mesurer ces indices par des données statistiques au niveau national. Les données comparables au niveau régional sont absentes. C'est pourquoi, en géographie qui s'occupe des lieux et des régions, il n'est pas possible d'offrir des indices comparables. Il faut des mesures plus détaillées qui, normalement, seront basées sur des enquêtes spécifiques.

La notion de *développement* fait partie des concepts-clés de la géographie qui structurent nos représentations du monde en lui donnant un sens et une valeur. Dans le cadre de cet article, l'incidence de l'Université sur le développement régional se mesure à travers l'investissement dans l'éducation, la santé, la création d'emplois dans la région et l'amélioration du niveau de vie des populations. Dès lors, l'expertise en développement régional se réfère à des programmes d'enseignement supérieur et à un secteur de recherche visant à mieux comprendre les enjeux et les problèmes auxquels les régions sont confrontées.

L'objectif principal de la création de l'Université de Ngaoundéré en 1992 était de rapprocher l'enseignement supérieur des populations de la partie septentrionale, pour fournir aux jeunes camerounais des compétences et

qualifications leur permettant de s'insérer dans la vie professionnelle. Aujourd'hui, malgré la création de nombreux établissements scolaires (primaires et secondaires) et de l'Université de Ngaoundéré, le Cameroun septentrional est toujours considéré comme sous-scolarisé.[2] Ce retard dans l'accès à l'éducation a certainement eu un impact sur le développement économique et social de cette partie du Cameroun, car le développement doit être impulsé par des hommes bien formés. Cette université se veut plus proche des populations auxquelles elle devient accessible malgré la scolarité payante, les difficultés de logement et de déplacement des étudiants. Elle attire, stimule et appuie les populations septentrionales engagées dans le processus du développement local (Mediebou 2011).

Cette institution dispose de quatre facultés et de trois grandes écoles. Notre étude a porté sur trois des sept établissements à savoir la faculté des sciences, l'Institut universitaire de technologie (IUT) et l'Ecole nationale des sciences agro-industrielles (ENSAI). Les raisons du choix de ces trois institutions résident dans le fait que, d'une part, ce sont des établissements à vocation technologique et professionnelle qui forment des diplômés prêts à l'emploi direct surtout pour les deux grandes écoles que sont l'IUT et l'ENSAI. D'autre part, la faculté des sciences qui s'inscrit dans le même parcours, s'investit d'avantage dans la recherche fondamentale et donne lieu à des emplois beaucoup plus indirects à l'instar de certains parcours. Ceci revient à dire qu'au sortir de la formation, le diplômé peut acquérir un emploi par la voie d'un concours ou au terme d'une formation complémentaire. Il s'agit dans cet article d'évaluer la contribution des diplômés des parcours sciences et techniques de l'Université de Ngaoundéré au développement du Nord-Cameroun.

Etat de la question

Le développement régional est, sans conteste, un thème interdisciplinaire largement dominé par les contributions des économistes. Toutefois, ce thème intéresse, de plus en plus, les géographes en raison des échelles d'analyse spatiale mobilisées par divers champs disciplinaires. Le développement régional interpelle également le géographe en tant qu'acteur de développement. A ce titre, il participe activement à la réalisation de diagnostics et à l'élaboration de nouvelles méthodes de recherche préalables à toute action. D'un point de vue épistémologique, des travaux sur le développement régional contribuent à accroitre le rôle social de la discipline géographique et à promouvoir le statut de géographes professionnels. Le développement régional est dès lors, non seulement un thème fondamental de la géographie économique et sociale, mais également de la géographie appliquée.

Dans les pays développés, les universités sont, depuis longtemps, considérées comme un important moteur de développement socioéconomique régional. C'est pourquoi le débat sur l'université ne date pas d'aujourd'hui. Depuis les

années 1960, les jeunes États africains ont tenté, avec le concours des organismes spécialisés du système des Nations unies (UNESCO), de mettre en place des institutions universitaires, en s'inspirant des modèles métropolitains et notamment européens. On s'est attendu à ce que de jeunes universités, créées en Afrique pendant les années 1970, contribuent directement au développement économique et social, comme cela a été observé dans le contexte européen. On s'interroge sur la manière dont elles ont accompli cette tâche, notamment au niveau de la gestion des effectifs des étudiants, vu leur croissance soutenue, mais également du point de vue de l'arrimage des programmes d'enseignement à la dynamique socioéconomique des pays africains d'une part, et dans le contexte de la mondialisation d'autre part.

L'un des problèmes majeurs apparus dans le contexte africain s'est, en effet, rapporté à l'effectif et à la structure disciplinaire des diplômés d'université. Cette structure disciplinaire a été peu adaptée aux attentes du marché du travail local, ce qui a engendré le chômage des diplômés, phénomène d'actualité en Afrique en général et au Cameroun en particulier compte tenu du nombre croissant de diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur.

Dans le cas spécifique du Cameroun, Cogneau et *al.* (1996) ont observé que la récession économique des années 1980, en bloquant les recrutements dans l'administration et dans de nombreuses entreprises privées, avait entraîné une forte poussée du chômage des diplômés. Cette situation a conduit au développement du secteur informel longtemps considéré comme l'exutoire des laissés-pour-compte du secteur formel. Njike et *al.* (2005) tout en reconnaissant que les conditions d'entrée des jeunes les plus défavorisés dans le marché de l'emploi, ainsi que les conditions d'exercice d'une profession particulièrement difficiles au Cameroun, pensent que ce problème ne peut être résolu par les universités seules. La plupart des étudiants comptent toujours trouver un emploi sûr, mais on s'attend à ce qu'ils développent de plus en plus des potentialités entrepreneuriales.

Le débat sur la contribution de l'université au développement en général a fait l'objet d'une conférence organisée à Ngaoundéré en 1999 sous le thème « L'Université et son environnement ». L'on a noté que le nombre de diplômés du Nord-Cameroun s'accroit de plus en plus tandis que les possibilités de leur insertion professionnelle diminuent d'année en année, dans un environnement de concurrence. Cependant, cette diminution peut être atténuée grâce à l'action conjuguée de l'université et de son milieu ; celui-ci est constitué par les communautés du Nord-Cameroun qui devront alors s'appuyer sur des initiatives internes et des soutiens extérieurs (Ndame et *al.,* 1999). Ainsi, les projets doivent être portés par les acteurs locaux, notamment les élus, le rôle de l'Etat étant de les y inciter et de les accompagner. Dans cet esprit, les élus locaux n'hésitent pas à solliciter les communautés scientifiques et universitaires pour leurs différents projets (Bakulay et *al.*, 1999).

Cependant, Awono Onana (2003) a identifié quatre phases de développement de l'université au Cameroun dans le domaine de la formation technique. La première est celle de l'existence d'une seule université à Yaoundé en 1960, ce qui a suscité une première phase d'explosion démographique des diplômés. L'objectif visé par la première université du Cameroun (l'Université Fédérale du Cameroun) était de former une masse d'intellectuels pouvant remplacer les cadres français et anglais aux affaires au lendemain de l'indépendance du pays. La deuxième phase concerne le fort taux d'étudiants depuis la moitié des années 1970, et la réduction du budget alloué aux universités suite à la crise des années 1980. L'ancrage de l'université dans les terroirs afin de valoriser les spécificités des régions, a présidé à la création de quatre centres universitaires et de plusieurs grandes écoles à vocation professionnelle.

La troisième phase, quant à elle, s'ouvre avec des protestations à l'aube des années 1990. L'augmentation exponentielle des effectifs dans les structures de formation existantes a eu pour corollaire l'accroissement du nombre de demandeurs d'emploi. Or, le constat selon lequel les diplômés ne trouvaient pas d'emploi a été rapidement fait. Cette situation a donné le coup d'envoi de la réforme universitaire de 1993, avec la création de six universités, proposant une gamme variée de formations dans tous les domaines. La création de l'Université de Maroua, par un décret présidentiel du 08 août 2008 et celle de l'Université de Bamenda par décret n° 2010/371 du 14 décembre 2010 viendront élargir cette offre de formation en dotant ainsi le pays de huit universités publiques. Néanmoins, au niveau des spécialisations, on note un grand intérêt des apprenants pour les facultés des sciences politiques et d'économie, que pour les filières technologiques. La quatrième phase a marqué un tournant décisif dans le rôle des universités décentralisées (les universités situées en dehors des grandes métropoles du Cameroun). Cette dernière phase a surtout été marquée par les discours sur la relation entre la formation et le marché de l'emploi. Ainsi, les étudiants sont encouragés à être plus « créateurs » que « demandeurs d'emplois ». A ce titre, il fallait revoir tant la qualité des enseignements que la dimension professionnalisation.

La nouvelle gouvernance universitaire mise en œuvre au ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur est venue prolonger les objectifs de la réforme de 1993. Cette réforme est renforcée par la Loi N° 005 du 16 avril 2001 portant orientation de l'Enseignement supérieur. Cette loi s'est focalisée sur les orientations professionnelles et le rôle accru du secteur privé dans la gouvernance universitaire et la formation de la main d'œuvre. En dépit de l'esprit de la reforme de 1993 et la loi de 2001, le taux de chômage des diplômés reste en hausse, mettant ainsi en cause les dispositions et les initiatives entrant dans le principe de « l'enseignement durable » et de la question de l'impact d'une université sur son environnement.

Potentiellement, les universités contribuent de plusieurs façons au développement économique et régional à travers la recherche, la création du capital humain, le développement et le transfert de technologie, la coproduction d'un milieu propice. Il s'avère que les fonctions de recherche en technologie engendrent d'importantes retombées de connaissances permettant un développement économique accru qui n'aurait vu le jour dans d'autres circonstances (Goldstein et *al*. 2004). Cette situation est aggravée dans le contexte camerounais, car pendant des décennies, le secteur industriel et les agences de développement ont peu intégré l'enseignement supérieur dans le développement économique durable. Les politiques et stratégies ont tout simplement été de simples rhétoriques et propagandes politiques sans effets concrets sur l'employabilité des diplômés (Mediebou 2011).

L'état de la question révèle un plus grand intérêt pour la contribution des universités au développement socioéconomique. D'une part, Mediebou (*op. cit.)* analyse la contribution des diplômés des parcours sciences et techniques de l'Université de Ngaoundéré et déduit que la participation au développement dépends de l'établissement fréquenté du secteur d'activité et de l'appartenance à une association. D'autre part, comme le souligne Perret (2008), la relation entre insertion professionnelle et mobilité géographique reste peu étudiée. En utilisant plusieurs méthodes d'analyse spatiale, l'auteur étudie le comportement migratoire des diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur entrant sur le marché du travail dans les régions françaises. L'étude met à contribution la cartographie pour établir les régions « *gagnantes* » et les régions « *perdantes* », en termes d'insertion professionnelle des diplômés. Il s'agit des rares travaux de géographie disponibles dans le domaine de l'étude de suivi des diplômés de l'enseignement supérieur dans le monde francophone.

Notre contribution s'inscrit dans cette approche géographique, car l'analyse spatiale va permettre de jauger le niveau de contribution de l'Université de Ngaoundéré au développement du Nord-Cameroun. Les chefs lieux des trois régions administratives que comptent le Nord-Cameroun (Adamaoua, Nord et Extrême-Nord), les chefs lieux de département ainsi que les deux grandes métropoles du Cameroun que sont Douala et Yaoundé constituent notre terrain de recherche. La population-cible est constituée des diplômés des parcours de formation sciences et techniques de l'Université de Ngaoundéré.

Approche méthodologique

Du point de vue méthodologique, cette étude mobilise une démarche de recherche évaluative, car l'influence des valeurs sur le choix du problème est à distinguer de l'objet de la recherche lui-même. Selon Gauthier (1987), le but de la recherche évaluative est de fournir des connaissances en suivant la démarche la plus objective possible. Cette démarche implique de faire

abondement recours aux données secondaires qui dans le cadre de la présente étude, ont été obtenues dans les services compétents de l'Université de Ngaoundéré. Il s'agit des statistiques sur l'évolution des effectifs des étudiants et du nombre de diplômés depuis 1993, année de la transformation du Centre universitaire de Ngaoundéré en université. Elles ont été collectées dans les services de scolarité des différents établissements et des services centraux de l'université (la Direction des infrastructures, de la planification et du développement (DIPD), et la Direction des affaires académiques et de la coopération (DAAC).

Pour la collecte des données de terrain, nous avons procédé à une enquête approfondie par questionnaire auprès de 360 diplômés en sciences et technique ayant obtenu un emploi. Ceci à travers les 15 départements du Nord-Cameroun, l'arrondissement de Figuil et les deux grandes métropoles que sont Douala et Yaoundé (figure 1).

Figure 1 : Zones de rayonnement des universités publiques au Cameroun en 2007
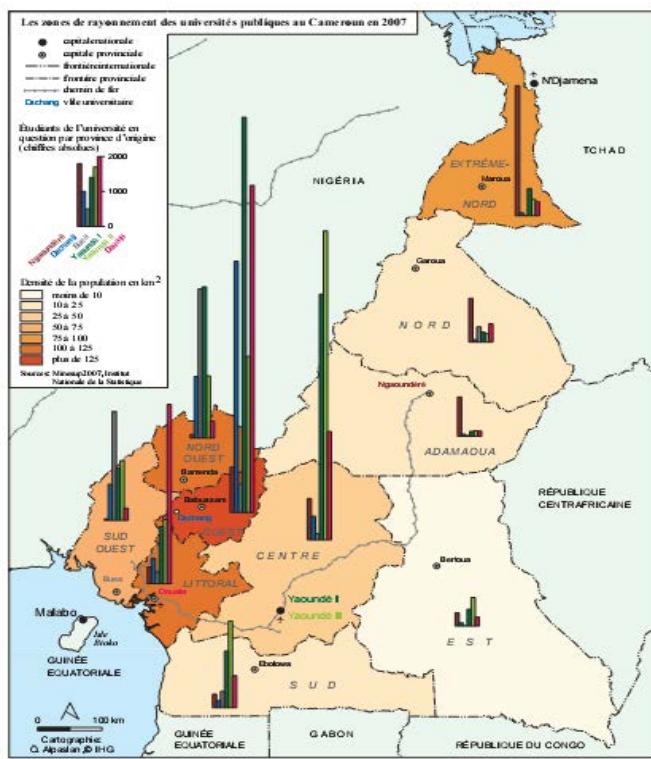
Source : MINESUP ET INS, 2007. Réalisation : Alpaslan/IHG[3] 2008.

Le choix de nos sites réside premièrement dans la situation géographique de l'Université de Ngaoundéré desservie par le très vaste territoire qui couvre le Plateau de l'Adamaoua et le Nord-Cameroun que comprennent les régions de l'Adamaoua, du Nord et de l'Extrême-Nord. Longtemps resté enclavée cette région du Nord-Cameroun a connu un retard considérable en matière d'éducation, ce qui a certainement eu un impact sur son développement social et économique. Deuxièmement, d'après les statistiques sur la provenance des diplômés, la majeure partie vient de l'Extrême-Nord.

Par ailleurs, l'arrondissement de Figuil emploie les diplômés en sciences et techniques à cause de la présence de l'entreprise des Cimenteries du Cameroun (CIMENCAM). Enfin, les enquêtes ont été étendus dans les deux grandes métropoles que sont Douala et Yaoundé pour procéder à une comparaison des taux d'insertion avec le Nord-Cameroun suite à la présence des entreprises et des services car la première porte la fonction de « capitale économique » et la seconde « capitale politique » siège de toutes les Institutions. Ainsi, cet article va nous permettre d'évaluer la contribution de ces diplômés au développement du Nord-Cameroun.

Le questionnaire a été déjà utilisé pour des enquêtes de suivi des diplômés dans plusieurs pays africains. Ce dernier a été conçu sur le modèle de celui de l'Association des Universités Africaines (AUA). En plus des questions relatives à la contribution du diplômé au développement régional, il comporte trois parties qui sont : le parcours académique de l'enquêté, la transition entre les études et le monde du travail et la situation professionnelle au moment de l'enquête. L'échantillonnage s'est fait de façon aléatoire à cause de la dispersion des diplômés sur l'ensemble du territoire camerounais. Pour cela, deux techniques d'enquêtes ont été mobilisées.

L'obtention des renseignements sur les individus s'est faite à partir d'un ou plusieurs autres individus rencontrés précédemment. Ceci à travers la technique dite « boule de neige » qui nous a permis d'obtenir des adresses pour joindre plus facilement les diplômés des parcours sciences et techniques de l'Université de Ngaoundéré

Les informations sur la présence ou non des diplômés ayant fait leurs études à l'Université de Ngaoundéré dans une entreprise ou une administration publique ont été rendues possibles par le contact des diplômés à travers l'intermédiaire du fichier des employeurs et les associations d'anciens étudiants.

D'une part, le questionnaire a été administré directement à travers des entretiens ouverts et entrevues avec l'enquêté ; ce qui nous a permis d'obtenir d'autres informations complémentaires. Par ailleurs, il a été administré indirectement dans le cas de l'indisponibilité de la personne enquêtée. Pour le bon déroulement des enquêtes, les agents enquêteurs, préalablement formés, ont été utilisés.

L'analyse des données a débuté par la codification du questionnaire et la saisie des différentes variables dans le logiciel SPSS.[4] Tandis que, pour le traitement, nous avons eu recours à de nombreuses méthodes d'analyse : le tri à plat, la régression logistique binaire et la corrélation bivariée. Ceci nous a permis de réaliser les tableaux statistiques à partir desquelles, des graphiques et des cartes thématiques ont été extraites grâce au logiciel Phil carto.10.

Résultats et discussions

Une augmentation exponentielle des étudiants et des diplômés

Les effectifs des étudiants ont rapidement augmenté ces dernières années Ceci s'explique, d'une manière générale, par le nombre d'étudiants et de diplômés qui n'ont cessé de croitre depuis la création de l'Université comme l'indique les figures 2 et 3.

Figure 2. Evolution des effectifs des étudiants
en sciences et techniques de 1993 à 2007
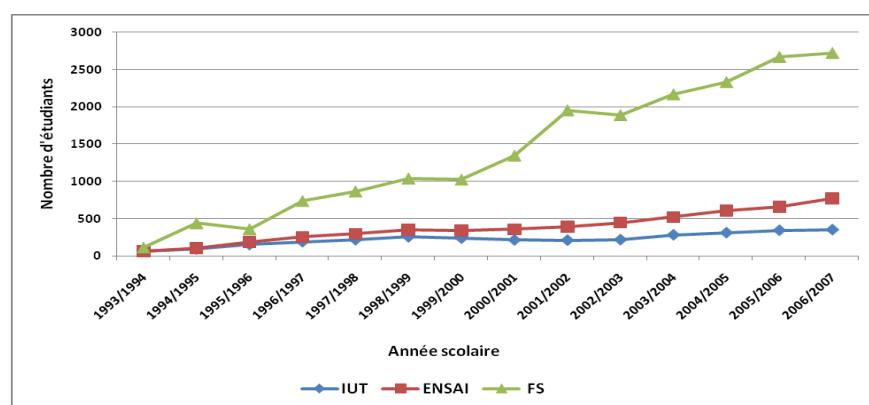
Source : annuaire statistique 2007. Réalisation : Mediebou, Août 2 009

L'analyse statistique de la population estudiantine de l'Université de Ngaoundéré sur la première figure montre que les effectifs des étudiants vont croissant. Entre 1999 et 2000 et 2006/2007, ces effectifs ont presque quadruplé; ils ont augmenté de 7741 nouveaux étudiants, soit environ 29,30 % en moyenne chaque année. Cette augmentation est remarquable dans tous les établissements. Ce taux moyen de croissance des effectifs peut s'accélérer en fonction des résultats du Baccalauréat, des résultats académiques à l'Université de Ngaoundéré et de l'ouverture de deux nouveaux parcours en 2003, Génie thermique et énergétique

(GTE) et Génie biologique (GBIO), à la suite d'une refonte de l'ancien parcours Génie agro – industriel (GAI) répondent aux évolutions du marché de l'emploi.

Figure 3. Evolution des diplômés en sciences et techniques
de 1996 à 2007
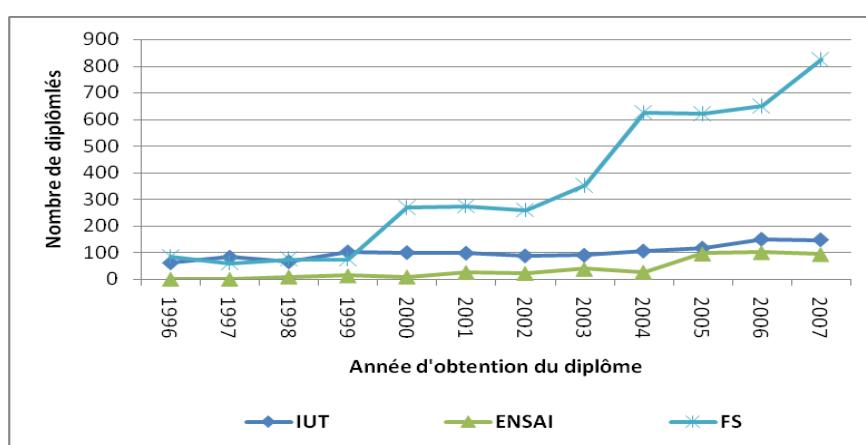
Source : annuaire statistique 2007. Réalisation : Mediebou, Août 2009

Cependant, en observant l'allure générale de la figure 2, nous pouvons délimiter deux périodes de cette évolution : de 1 996 à 2004, pour les deux écoles et de 1 996 à 1 999, pour la faculté des sciences périodes marquées par une évolution lente. De 2005 à 2007, pour les deux écoles et de 2000 à 2007, pour la faculté des sciences, accélération de la production des diplômés. Au total, l'Université de Ngaoundéré aura formé 5 805 diplômés dans l'ensemble des trois établissements qui existaient jusqu'en 2007 dans les parcours sciences et techniques (Mediebou 2011). L'écart observé entre les deux grandes écoles et la faculté des sciences au niveau des effectifs, est dû au mode d'admission dans ces établissements dans la mesure où l'entrée dans les deux grandes écoles est sélective ce qui explique le niveau des effectifs. L'admission en faculté des sciences s'est longtemps faite après étude de dossier. A partir de 2008 où il a été doté d'un nouveau parcours en science biomédicale où l'admission se fait par voie de concours. Malgré ces diversités des parcours de formation, ces diplômés font face à des difficultés d'insertion professionnelle sur le marché de l'emploi du Nord-Cameroun.

Les diplômés de l'Université de Ngaoundéré et le marché de l'emploi régional

Diplômés aux origines et lieux d'insertion diversifiée

La région du Nord-Cameroun, longtemps demeurée sous scolarisée, connait toujours un problème de développement. Et pourtant, en quinze ans l'université a formé une élite intellectuelle d'origines diverses dans le domaine des sciences et techniques qui, après la formation, ne reste pas toujours dans leur région d'origine (Figure 4).

Figure 4 : Mobilité des diplômés des parcours sciences et techniques par régions d'origine et régions de résidence
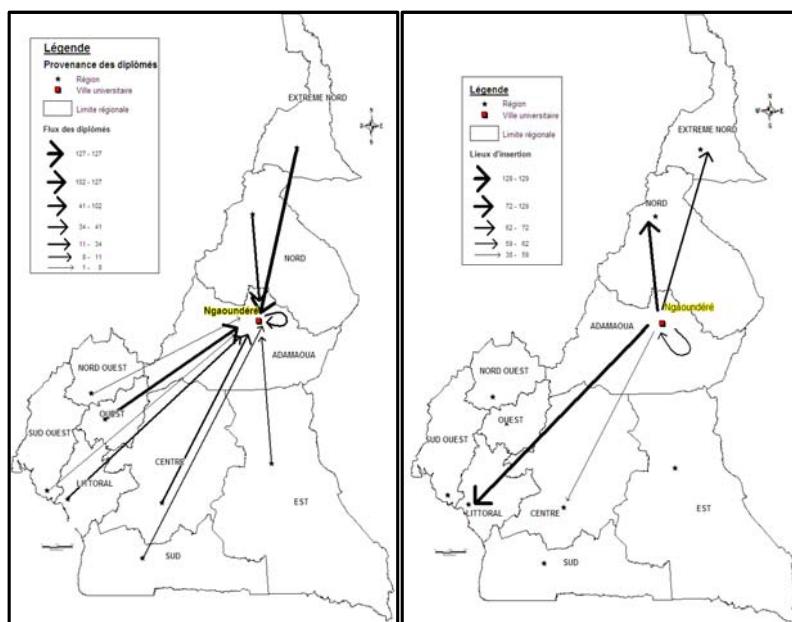
Source: Enquêtes de terrain 2006-2007   Réalisation : Mediebou, Août 2009

Le département du Wouri dans la région administrative du Littoral est le principal point d'attraction de l'essentiel des diplômés grâce à sa fonction de capitale économique. Dans l'ensemble la mobilité spatiale des diplômés s'organise autour de deux schémas. Ceux qui sont originaires de l'Extrême-Nord, de l'Adamaoua et du Nord retournent en général dans leur département d'origine après leur formation. Tandis que, ceux venant du Centre et de l'Ouest, s'orientent majoritairement vers le Littoral. Un premier constat peut être établi sur la tendance à la concentration des diplômés des parcours sciences et techniques dans les

chefs-lieux de régions administratives ceci pour acquérir un emploi stable dans divers secteur d'activité et cela dépends de l'établissement fréquenté ou temporaire tout en poursuivant une formation continue.

Établissement fréquenté et secteur d'activité des diplômés en sciences et techniques

La prépondérance des activités exercées dans le Nord-Cameroun porte sur des vacations dans les établissements scolaires du secondaire. La région a longtemps fait face à une carence d'enseignants. Les diplômés de l'IUT et de l'ENSAI exercent dans le secteur privé pour la plupart, tandis que ceux de la Faculté des Sciences sont en majeure partie dans le secteur public comme nous l'indique la figure 5.

Figure 5. Secteurs d'activités et établissement fréquenté
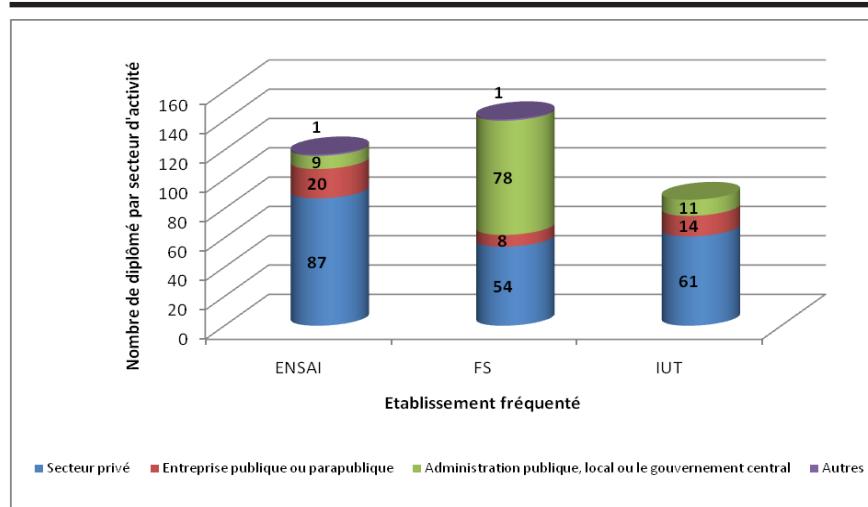
Source : enquêtes de terrain 2006-2007

Le secteur public local regroupe l'ensemble des entreprises et structures qui travaillent sous l'autorité du gouvernement. Y sont principalement compris, les administrations, l'enseignement et les entreprises publiques. Le secteur privé quant à lui est dominé par les structures (téléphonie, assurances, banques …). Au Cameroun, c'est un secteur très diversifié qui se développe de plus en plus, avec la prédominance des entreprises multinationales et transnationales. Il recrute davantage les diplômés de l'IUT et de l'ENSAI.

Néanmoins, dans le secteur privé, le recours à un test d'embauche ou de sélection pouvant être théorique ou pratique est la procédure la plus répandue. Par contre, ceux qui ont fait des concours administratifs sont pour la plupart

des fonctionnaires occupant des postes dans l'administration générale et l'enseignement. Ces derniers se retrouvent dans le secteur public

Un deuxième constat peut être établi par rapport à cette distribution statistique des résultats de nos enquêtes. Les diplômés de la faculté des sciences dont les formations portent principalement sur la biologie, la mathématique, la physique, la chimie, la géologie et s'orientent prioritairement dans l'administration publique locale ou centrale, qui se présente actuellement comme le plus grand pourvoyeur d'emplois formel. On y accède par voie de concours, ou de recrutement en qualité de contractuel. Les concours donnent accès à diverses écoles de formations professionnelles telles que L'Ecole normale supérieure (ENS), l'Institut national de la jeunesse et des sports (INJS), l'Ecole nationale d'administration et de magistrature (ENAM).

L'Université de Ngaoundéré : un acteur majeur du développement économique régional

L'Université de Ngaoundéré a contribué, par le passé, au montage et à la mise en place des unités industrielles dans la région, à l'instar du Projet laitier dans l'Adamaoua, qui visait à valoriser la production laitière dans cet espace à vocation pastorale. De même, la création et la prolifération des moulins à maïs dans l'ensemble du Nord-Cameroun font partie des acquis de l'ENSAI (École Nationale des Sciences Agro-industrielles). Ces deux réalisations majeures font de l'Université de Ngaoundéré, un acteur potentiel de développement économique de la région. Outre sa contribution directe à la mise en place des projets industriels dans le domaine de l'agroalimentaire, l'ENSAI forme des ingénieurs qui peuvent contribuer à la dynamique des entreprises installées dans la région telles que la Maïserie du Cameroun (Maïscam), l Société anonyme des brasseries du Cameroun (SABC), la Société industrielle de transformation des oléagineux du Nord (Sitron), la Cotonnière industrielle du Cameroun (Cicam) et l'ensemble des boulangeries. Ces ingénieurs ne demandent qu'à mettre leur savoir-faire au service des entreprises pour les rendre plus créatives, plus performantes et plus compétitives.

Ainsi, on pourrait augmenter la production de lait pour mettre sur le marché du lait pasteurisé,[5] qui offre plus de garanties à la consommation. Cette augmentation de la quantité du lait favoriserait la production du beurre en quantité suffisante et dans des conditions économiques rentables. Elle pourrait enfin améliorer la qualité de son yaourt et en augmenter la quantité. Après une sérieuse étude de marché, elle pourrait fabriquer du fromage *made in Cameroon*. Ce ne serait pas une première en Afrique car le Burkina-Faso mène une expérience concluante depuis quelques années.[6] Pour maintenir et améliorer la qualité de ses produits, une étroite collaboration avec les chercheurs de la Faculté des Sciences et de l'ENSAI serait bénéfique.

L'Institut Universitaire de Technologie (IUT) participe au même titre que l'ENSAI, à la formation des techniciens en agro-industrie, en maintenance industrielle et en informatique, capables de mettre au point de nombreux logiciels d'aide à la gestion efficiente des entreprises. Ils sont également de potentiels créateurs de petites entreprises. Mais, pour que ces potentiels entrepreneurs le deviennent concrètement, il faut que les organismes financiers jouent pleinement leur rôle. Ceci implique pour ces organismes financiers de prendre le risque de financer les projets des jeunes diplômés. En ce qui concerne les entreprises, nous pensons que, là aussi, des collaborations permanentes et fructueuses peuvent se créer avec l'Université. Nous pensons à l'amélioration de la qualité de la farine, à l'intégration d'autres farines (patate douce, igname, manioc, sorgho, fonio etc.), à la farine du maïs pour la fabrication d'autres produits, du pain notamment. Ces collaborations pourraient également s'intéresser à l'amélioration de la qualité de l'huile de maïs, de l'huile du soja et peut-être à la fabrication d'autres, à la mise sur le marché du maïs frais en boîte, etc. Enfin, dans le domaine de la maintenance, la collaboration avec l'Ecole Nationale des Industries Agro-alimentaires plus précisément devrait intéresser les usines de ces entreprises. Tel est le cas de l'ex-Société des Moulins du Nord-Cameroun (SMNC) qui à longtemps sollicité les compétences des étudiants de l'IUT et de l'ENSAI pour la maintenance de ses moulins.

Si ces différents produits et d'autres sont développés à Ngaoundéré, ces entreprises peuvent donner naissance à la création d'une autre petite unité d'emballage (lait, yaourt, beurre, fromage, maïs en boîte, jus de fruits, etc.). Point n'est besoin de s'attarder sur les disciplines classiques plus connues telles celles des Facultés des Sciences qui forment dans les domaines de Physique (PH), Electronique – électromagnétisme – automatisme (EAA), Sciences et Techniques informatiques (STI), Chimie appliquée (CA), Biologie et physiologie animales (PA), Biologie et physiologie végétale (PV), Biologie appliquée (BA) et des Sciences de la terres (ST). Cependant, l'installation d'une université dans une région induit des bouleversements sur le plan infrastructurels, économiques ou tout simplement dans les modes de vie des populations.

En effet, l'Université de Ngaoundéré continue de favoriser le développement du transport urbain, la construction de nouveaux logements, une croissance démographique constituée essentiellement d'une population jeune. Une enquête a en effet montré que de simples chauffeurs de taxis ont pu devenir propriétaires d'un véhicule (une quinzaine) au bout de sept ans d'activité. De l'avis de plusieurs conducteurs de taxi le nombre de véhicules faisant le trajet entre Ngaoundéré et Bini-Dang est en augmentation continue depuis 1982. A l'époque du centre universitaire, les effectifs étaient réduits et l'activité de transport en plein essor reste intimement liée à la présence de l'Université. Elle connaît une baisse au mois d'août, période de vacances pour les étudiants et les enseignants. Pendant

ce temps, certains changent d'itinéraire en attendant le retour des universitaires. Pour résoudre les problèmes dans ces secteurs, il faudrait un « partenariat » entre les gérants des universités et de la commune. En ce qui concerne le logement dont dispose l'université, des résidences universitaires de quatre-cent quatre-vingt chambres pour étudiants et vingt villas pour enseignants avaient été construites. Jusqu'en 1991, il n'y eut pas de problème. Mais avec la création de l'université en 1993, l'institution fut débordée par des effectifs sans cesse croissants. L'université n'ayant pas augmenté sa capacité d'accueil, des particuliers se lancèrent dans la construction des mini-cités. En 1998, quatre-vingt-cinq furent recensées et classées en cinq catégories par les autorités administratives suite à une manifestation des étudiants qui contestaient les coûts élevés des loyers et les modalités de paiement de ceux-ci. C'est ainsi que, d'un commun accord, les autorités administratives et universitaires, les bailleurs et les étudiants adoptèrent les taux uniques qui ne sont pas toujours respecté par les bailleurs.

Partenariat mitigé entre la Région et l'Université

Le développement local suppose une volonté collective de mobiliser les ressources locales – qu'elles soient naturelles, humaines, économiques ou culturelles – pour créer des activités et construire sur un territoire homogène, un projet de développement global. Les projets doivent donc être portés par les acteurs locaux, le rôle de l'Etat étant de les inciter et de les accompagner. Le problème de « partenariat » a plusieurs dimensions. Les gérants de l'université doivent être ouvert à créer un environnement propre à l'université favorisant l'entrepreneuriat et l'auto-emploi des diplômés à travers des cours spécifiques, des laboratoires de test de l'entrepreneuriat, etc. ; ensuite, il leur faut prendre contact avec les milieux locaux politiques et économiques. Ainsi, les élus locaux peuvent donner leur soutient à la formation des réseaux d'aide. Dans cet esprit, les élus locaux ne devraient pas hésiter à solliciter les communautés scientifiques et des recherches universitaires pour leurs différents projets.

Par ailleurs, l'université devrait être plus présente dans la région avec, la construction d'un centre d'information offrant un espace de rencontre, de dialogue et d'échanges aux étudiants, enseignants et non universitaires. Cependant, les potentiels les plus valables pour les diplômés sont leurs capacités et leurs connaissances. Donc, on pourrait penser qu'ils peuvent présenter ces capacités au public dans ce centre d'information, pour prendre contact avec des associations de paysans, éleveurs, petits métiers, GIC, etc. Cette présence pourrait avoir une influence positive sur le niveau de formation des jeunes et mieux faire connaître l'Université à l'extérieur. Ainsi, une journée porte ouverte pourrait y être organisée en étroite collaboration avec les autorités administratives et les élus locaux.

Un autre espace de rencontre pourrait être un lieu de vente et de promotion des produits fabriqués à l'université par des étudiants de l'ENSAI et de l'IUT : boisson, pâtisserie, produits laitiers, charcuterie Ces étudiants recrutés parmi les indigents bénéficieraient ainsi d'une rémunération leur permettant de couvrir les frais de scolarité et leur séjour à Ngaoundéré. Pour attirer et susciter l'émulation des entreprises existantes, les jeunes peuvent créer leur propre emploi ou une petite affaire Il y a des avantages liés à la proximité de l'université au site des petites entreprises, donc les diplômés des deux grandes écoles pourraient penser à la création de « pépinières », « parc incubateur » etc. cela pourrait engendrer des échanges entre ces petites entreprises et les départements à l'université et générer une forme d'apprentissage.

La région du Nord-Cameroun et l'Université de Ngaoundéré doivent établir entre eux un partenariat au service du développement local. Cette institution devient ainsi un catalyseur de développement que devraient exploiter les collectivités territoriales décentralisées et les opérateurs économiques en s'en rapprochant. Car il regorge des compétences inestimables qui ne cherchent qu'à valoriser leur savoir-faire. Dans cet ordre d'idée et en étroite collaboration avec les collectivités territoriales, l'Université serait capable de mettre sur pied une structure de recherche et d'appui aux communes. Ceci à travers l'organisation des séminaires et conférences sur des sujets de préoccupation des communes et des échanges d'expériences ; les stratégies d'exploitation rationnelle des richesses locales et d'attraction des investisseurs ; l'assistance aux groupes et associations de développement économique ; le renforcement de la sécurité par l'implication des populations.

Tout compte fait nous nous rendons compte que le Nord-Cameroun ne représente pas un marché de l'emploi diversifié pour les diplômés en sciences et techniques, donc ces derniers sont obligés de migrer vers les grande métropoles du Cameroun à la recherche de l'emploi. Ainsi, le développement se fera par le bas à travers les efforts fournis par les diplômés car aucun développement économique et social véritable n´est concevable sans un investissement dans la recherche (Ela 2001).

Perception de la contribution de l'emploi au développement du Nord-Cameroun par les diplômés

L'évaluation de l'incidence de la profession exercée sur le développement du Nord-Cameroun passe par l'adhésion des diplômés aux organisations de type professionnel. Ces derniers sont généralement d'une part des associations créées en milieu professionnel dans le but des rencontres conviviales entre collègues ou encore pour l'amélioration des conditions de travail et d'autre part, des comités de développement du village. Cependant, dans l'impossibilité d'accéder à une fonction dans l'administration publique au moyen de l'une des deux voies susmentionnées, les diplômés s'insèrent dans les activités du secteur informel.

Toutefois, la plupart des personnes qui exercent dans le secteur informel considèrent cette situation comme transitoire et espèrent trouver plus tard dans le secteur public ou privé formel, un emploi durable et mieux rémunéré. De l'avis des diplômés interrogés, la perception de la participation au développement régional varie d'une personne à l'autre. Ainsi, la perception du développement régional est donc plus suggestive et dépend de la conception même du développement. L'université, et l'enseignement supérieur en général, deviennent un vecteur de développement au Cameroun en ce sens où l'université est considérée comme un mécanisme d'urbanisation et d'aménagement du territoire.

Cependant, l'incidence de l'emploi se mesure aussi à travers l'amélioration des conditions de vie de la famille ou encore l'investissement dans des domaines tels que, la santé et l'éducation comme nous l'indique la figure 6.

Figure 6. Lieux d'insertion et incidence de l'emploi
au développement régional
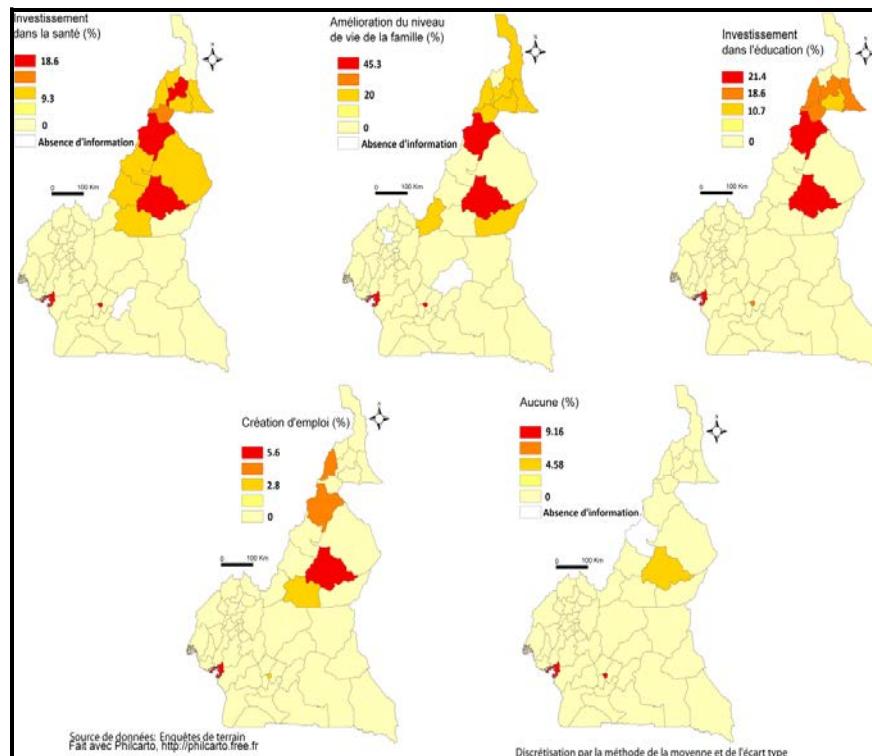
Source: Enquête de terrain 2006-2007.Réalisation : Mediebou, Août 2009

La figure 6 indique que, pour 45,3 pour cent des diplômés, l'incidence de leur emploi sur le développement se matérialise à travers l'amélioration du niveau de vie de la famille. Parmi eux, 20 pour cent se sont insérés dans le département du Wouri, 5,28 pour cent se sont insérés respectivement dans les départements de la Bénoué, du Mfoundi et de la Vina.

Certains diplômés contribuent au développement en venant en aide aux cadets restés dans la région et surtout dans les domaines de l'éducation, soit 21,4 pour cent ou de la santé soit 18,6 pour cent. Ces derniers s'insèrent beaucoup plus dans la Vina, le Mbéré et le Littoral.

Par ailleurs, 5,6 pour cent optent pour la création d'emplois dans la région. Ces derniers mènent leurs activités dans les deux grandes métropoles que sont Douala et Yaoundé et donnent des fonds de commerce aux cadets ou aux parents qui veulent exercer une activité telle que la moto taxi et le commerce. Pour une minorité de diplômés, les revenus ne permettent pas d'investir dans leur région. Par contre, il y en a qui œuvrent dans les organisations ou les comités de développement.

Cependant, nous constatons qu'une majorité des diplômés de l'ENSAI contribuent au développement de la région à travers l'amélioration du niveau de vie de la famille. Ces derniers sont pour la plupart des ingénieurs, car ils occupent des postes de travail bien rémunérés. Mais le comportement de regroupement professionnel n'est pas assez développé sur le marché du travail camerounais. Ainsi, peu de diplômés adhèrent aux comités de développement. Mais ceux qui s'y retrouvent sont pour la plupart ceux qui exercent dans le secteur privé.

Au Cameroun, à peine 10 pour cent de travailleurs déclarent l'existence d'une association professionnelle ou d'une section syndicale dans leur entreprise ou leur profession. Moins de la moitié de ceux-ci en sont membres. Le taux d'adhésion à ces associations est plus élevé dans le secteur informel ou privé que dans le secteur formel. Adhérer à une association stipule qu'on doit payer des frais d'adhésion et faire des cotisations selon les règles de la tontine au Cameroun. Donc, d'une part, ce sont les difficultés financières dues au coût de la vie et la crise économique qui empêchent la majeure partie des diplômés à adhérer aux organisations, et d'autre part, on notera aussi le problème d'indisponibilité des uns et des autres surtout pour ceux qui exercent un emploi dans le secteur privé.

Bien que la région où ils s'insèrent le plus soit celle du Littoral, nous notons un déploiement des diplômés originaire de la région et un faible dynamisme de l'initiative des élites locales. Cependant, ce développement qui demeure faible se matérialise à travers l'indice de développement humain. Ainsi, par les associations de développement du village les diplômés ont pu doter leurs villages de moulin à écraser ou encore de puits d'eau aménagés.

Conclusion

Il était question dans cet article d'évaluer la contribution des diplômés des parcours sciences et techniques de l'Université de Ngaoundéré au développement du Nord-Cameroun. Une méthode basée sur la collecte des données secondaires et des enquêtes de terrain par questionnaire a permis de voir que les effectifs des étudiants et des diplômés n'ont cessé de croître depuis 1993. Le secteur d'activité, le niveau d'instruction et le lieu de résidence sont des variables déterminantes de la qualité de l'emploi. Les diplômés qui s'insèrent le plus au Nord-Cameroun sont ceux de la Faculté des sciences, tandis que ceux de l'IUT et de l'ENSAI migrent vers Douala, ville industrielle du Cameroun éprouvent quelques difficultés. Et ceci trouve sa raison dans la faible industrialisation de la partie septentrionale. La majeure partie des diplômés participe au développement régional en améliorant les conditions de vie de leurs familles. Tandis que les uns investissent dans l'éducation de leurs cadets, les autres leur viennent en aide pour les besoins de première nécessité tels que la santé et la nutrition. Pour rendre possible ce transfert, il faut un dialogue permanent entre l'Université et la grande Région du Nord-Cameroun à travers des rencontres et des séminaires. L'intérêt de l'échange est de permettre que les résultats des recherches universitaires trouvent leurs applications dans les différents secteurs de la vie économique.

Notes

1. http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universit%C3%A9, consulté le 26 septembre 2011.

2. Le Ministère des Enseignements de base et des Enseignements secondaires ont adopté depuis quelques années l'appellation de « zone d'éducation prioritaire ».

3. Institut fuer Humangeographie, Goethe Université, Frankfurt/M., Allemagne.

4. Statistical Package for Social Sciences.

5. La production de ce lait pasteurisé exige une quantité suffisante de lait auprès des éleveurs et un nombre minimum de clients permanents pour qu'elle soit rentable. A ce jour, ces conditions ne sont pas remplies du fait du faible prix d'achat appliqué aux producteurs du lait. Des entretiens avec des éleveurs montrent qu'ils orienteraient volontiers leurs activités vers l'élevage des vaches laitières si le prix de vente leur était favorable.

6. Un Français y a introduit le fromage de chèvre à partir de son propre élevage. Le gros de sa clientèle est constitué des expatriés en poste dans le pays et des pays voisins.

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Searching for Balance but Finding Guilt
A Story of Academic Mothers in South Africa

Venitha Pillay*

Abstract

This article draws on the data from a larger ethnographic study which tracked the lives of three academics who had just become mothers. In it, I respond to the question I have repeatedly encountered, in a variety of forms: How can I be an academic and a mother without going insane? Two linked thematic issues emerge from the data: (a) the search for balance between academic work and motherhood is elusive; and (b) academic mothers are torn apart by guilt. In using Grosz's idea that feminists need to consistently critique and construct, I make a case for academic mothers seeking to 'let go' in order to 'let in' more liberatory ways of being 'academic' and 'mother'. I argue too that Grosz's idea should be extended to include ways of destructing paralysing notions of what it means to be an academic and a mother, simultaneously.

Résumé

Ce papier s'appuie sur les données d'une vaste étude ethnographique qui a suivi la vie de trois nouvelles mamans universitaires. Dans cet article, je tente de répondre à la question qui m'a été posée à plusieurs reprises, sous différentes de formes, au cours des présentations du livre : « comment puis-je être universitaire et mère, sans perdre la tête ? ». Deux questions thématiques liées découlent des données : a) la recherche de l'équilibre entre le travail universitaire et la maternité est insaisissable ; et b) les mères universitaires sont déchirées par la culpabilité. En utilisant l'idée de Grosz selon laquelle les féministes doivent constamment critiquer et construire, je prends le cas des mères universitaires qui cherchent à « lâcher prise », afin d' « adopter »

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plus de moyens émancipateurs pour être universitaire et mère. Je démontre aussi que l'idée de Grosz devrait être élargie pour inclure les moyens de détruire les notions qui bloquent la signification d'être universitaire et mère.

Introduction

This article draws on data from an ethnographic study of three women academics who were also new mothers. The study tracked their lives over eighteen months, as they sought to integrate motherhood into their academic worlds. The original study was published as a book, *Academic Mothers*, in 2007. In this article, I use selected data from the study to respond to the questions I have repeatedly encountered, in a variety of forms, during seminars on the book. My audience was almost exclusively women and they wanted to know how to cope with the intense demands of being a mother and an academic. There were strong voices of empathy from the audience, many of whom had experienced similar situations as the women in the study. But there were also undercurrents of anxiety from women who were looking for a way to be both academics and mothers. I do not offer a 'how to' solution here, nor do I offer creative ideas on how to make higher education institutions recognise that mothers are good teachers and researchers (see Judith Sanders in Evans and Grant 2009). I recognise that higher education institutions, despite their commitment to gender equality, are notoriously unequal places for women, especially women academics who are also mothers. But this is not the focus of my article. Instead, I attempt to glean here the common threads in the stories of the three academic mothers and hope that these threads would have value in forging our own ways forward.

There is no doubt that until recently, motherhood was not considered a legitimate area of study (Ruddick 1995; Oakley 1986). Mothering was something women did quietly and in private spaces, and the public and work world did not have to be bothered with the complexities and challenges of mothering. The literature that proliferates in this domain of important social and work life contained a plethora of advice books often written by paediatricians on how women may cope with the enormous task of being mothers. In the last twenty years or so, motherhood and mothering have gained significant ground as a legitimate field of study. More importantly, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the work environment to turn a blind eye to the demands of bearing and rearing children. Universities, as places where, *inter alia*, the teaching of social justice takes place, should not remain impervious to this challenge. Sadly, this is most often not the case and women academics write movingly of the stubborn imperviousness of universities and academic communities to the plight of academic mothers (Bassette 2005; Evans and Grant 2009). While I value recent publications that speak directly to the issue of what higher education institutions

can do to ease the burden (Wilson 2011), this article does not intend to scrutinise the behaviour of universities. In offering some thoughts on academic mothers caught in the cross fire of mothering and academic work, I attempt to reconceptualise the ways in which academic mothers conceive their roles and assert what I suggest may be liberatory ways of being academic and mother.

Methodology

As indicated, the data in this article are primarily taken from a larger study. In this study, I tracked the lives of three academics who were new mothers. Over a period of eighteen months, I had numerous conversations with each of them. The conversations were about how they felt as new mothers and how motherhood impacted their lives as academics. Of course, there were times when their own emotions dictated the topics of the conversations. In addition, each of them kept a journal, either in the form of notes, a diary or a tape recording, saying anything they wanted to say as they progressed through their academic lives and motherhood. All three were from the same university but did not know who were the others involved in the study. At the end, on the suggestion of one of the participants, all three met one another, read the others' stories and went through a reflective process of what the study had meant to them.

I also draw on the numerous conversations I have had about the original study at various forums at universities and conferences in the United Kingdom and the United States.[1] Of course my own experiences as an academic mother inflect the stories I tell (See Lather 2007).

Theoretical Positioning

To offer conceptual clarity to this search, I firstly turn to the need, as Grosz (1990:59) argues, for feminist theory to exist as 'both critique and construct'. In other words, feminist theory has to understand and critique patriarchal knowledges while simultaneously reaching beyond them. She argues that it is important to show 'how knowledges, theories, discourse, function by excluding, expelling, or neglecting the contributions of femininity and women, producing lacks, gaps, absences about femininity which are necessary for these theories to operate; and how these theories distribute value according to the privileging of one sex over the other' (Grosz 1990:60). For the academic mother, this means not only being conscious of and understanding the intellectual prescriptions within which she is located, but also finding ways of going beyond such prescriptions. Grosz (1990) makes the key point that knowledges exist not only through what is included but more significantly through what is excluded. It is these exclusions that feminist theories need to identify and draw into the intellectual and knowledge net. While Grosz (1990) talks of the 'absences

of femininity' as an exclusion, my effort is to be more definitive and to recognize the limits of prevailing discourses of motherhood and how such discourses serve to exclude liberatory ways of being academic mothers.

I show that the 'balancing two lives' approach to motherhood and work is not really feasible. In the main, my argument is that the notion of balance implies elements of equilibrium and harmony which the experiences of academic mothers do not attest to. The stories of Ann, Sally and Sue suggest that motherhood appears to inevitably imply feelings of guilt. I show that such guilt is externally created and perpetuated as well as internally reinforced. I link the understandings of guilt and potential for liberation from guilt to my third point that mothering is what mothers often believe is solely their responsibility. In other words, I examine the ownership of nurturing and show that what remains fixed and stubborn is the socially constructed notion that mothers are responsible for nurturing. I argue that this understanding of nurturing is oppressive and restrictive for mothers, fathers and children. Finally, I contend that for as long as motherhood remains a 'subjugated knowledge' that remains in the margins of epistemology academic mothers will continue to fail in their efforts to be both (Foucault 1997). I suggest that for as long as we, as academics do not give epistemological credibility to our motherhood and mothering, we undermine our value as both academics and mothers.

Contextual Background

It is likely that in the foreseeable future in South Africa, higher educational institutions will give more attention to the employment of academic women of all race groups. There is a host of literature that shows the increasing numbers of women academics in South African universities, as is no doubt the case in universities in other parts of the world (Cloete and Bunting 2000). As is for other countries across the world, be they the most economically and educationally resourced, women academics still do not occupy a significant number of senior university positions. Similarly, while women academics are likely to be given attention, it is unlikely that the academic mother will have any special treatment. In South Africa, there is no visible significant political or educational will in this regard and universities will use their resources on more politically and economically visible institutional changes. No doubt, this approach will find an echo across the globe.

I give space to each of the three women to introduce themselves in their own words.

> Anne: I used to believe that the challenge in life is to 'keep things simple'. I started both my academic career and motherhood rather late in life. After being a high school mathematics and science teacher and head of department for nine years, I entered the 'scholarly world'. On my fortieth birthday, my

second and younger boy was born. Being an educator and a committed person, I knew how important it was to be there, whenever, for my children. I also wanted to be a successful academic. I experienced conflicting identities which caused emotional and spiritual stress in my life – I strived for the simplistic existence that I once knew before two children entered into my life. As I write this, I know that I have also been transformed through my journey as mom and academic. In a week's time, I will present at a conference – and this time no children or family will have to be there – they will be fine, and so will I…I hope.

Sally: I am a 38 year old mother to a three-year old child and wife to a wonderfully supportive husband whom I adore. I am also an academic in a university position where I particularly enjoy the research aspect of my work. I am fortunate to have found a career in a department where fellow colleagues are women with young children too and we provide a very supportive environment for one another. I see myself as a responsible person and it's important to me to be effective in my role as an academic and a mother. I have learned though, that priorities must be negotiated constantly to achieve some kind of balance between family and work life even if just to create the illusion of balance. I love my work, I love my family and I firmly believe there is space for both in one life.

Sue: I have always been curious about the world around me and have placed a great value on the importance of having a general knowledge and not looking at anything in isolation. This broad perspective has motivated me to be interested in and study so many different topics across many domains, both formally and informally, over the years. It also probably explains why I do not have a linear path in my education or career – I went with what interested me at the time and neglected a traditional immersion in only one area. However, once I have an interest, I may become obsessive in my desire to know and understand a certain phenomenon. It is this intrinsic motivation that results in a tremendous drive and sometimes some distress for those around me who experience this as a whirlwind and a single-mindedness that is difficult for them to understand.[2]

Sally, Sue and Ann became academic mothers with no notable institutional expectations with respect to their changed status. In the beginning, Sally brought her child to her office because it was what she wanted to do, yet she was careful to not disturb the peace that this child-free environment had engendered. Sue did not want Megan, her little girl, to upset the work place and Ann did not speak about bringing her child to work. None of them indicated any particular expectation with respect to institutional support for their changed status.

Ann, Sue and Sally each had crisis moments with respect to the wellbeing of their children. Sue had a momentary scare when Megan choked on a sausage, Sally was deeply perturbed when Justin, her son, had an inexplicable high fever for a few days and Ann has never forgiven herself for not recognizing the seriousness of her son Andre's illness as she believes she ought to have. While such crisis may, from the outside, be perceived to be of varying levels

of seriousness, needless to say to each of the mothers, such distinctions are meaningless. Each put all else aside while their child was ill, nothing else mattered and work had disappeared into oblivion. In short, having a child brings moments of crisis and it is unequivocal that at these moments the wellbeing of the child takes unquestionable priority. It also seems evident to me that the wheels of the institution going on, turning at these moments, and that the academic mother returns to her work and pursues her tasks no matter how she may have been professionally compromised by her absence.

All three academic mothers set their professional goals and time frames and went on to fulfil these. While compromises had to be made with respect to what they wanted to achieve as mothers and as professionals, none had relinquished any responsibility. I was impressed with Sally's decision that she was going to define her own successes so that she could feel fulfilled with whatever she chose to do. Sally said she did not want rush up the promotional ladder and wanted to set her own goals for success. She was equally able to understand the desire for success as being the achievement of promotion to senior levels and felt that there should be a place for this too within an institution. Each participant's attitude and approach to success seems to suggest that there are various possible institutional permutations and paths for defining and shaping success. Unfortunately, universities rarely show any cognizance of this.

I was also deeply moved by the extent to which Sue, Ann and Sally felt so passionately about their work and their children. I saw that being a mother and being an academic meant much to them, that they would have been unfulfilled and unhappy if either of these aspects of their lives were not there. Although priorities shifted at different moments, the importance and value of being mother and academic did not waver for a second. All three were absolutely clear that they would not want to stay at home with their children as full time mothers. All three said they wanted to work and loved their work. All three sought their own ways of being both. I suspect that the same would apply to academic mothers across the world.

While Sue, Sally and Ann bent over backwards to be academic mothers, to meet their responsibility of being both, and to find fulfilment in both, universities barely batted an eye-lid at their presence, their battles and their victories. Indeed, Sue made the point that universities' expectations are exactly the same as before a baby came into your life. I don't think in any way anybody changes the rules or the guidelines or the expectations.

Balance: The Myth of Equilibrium

The stories of the search for balance that reverberates through the literature on motherhood (Grossman and Chester 1990; Lupton 2000; Young and Wright 2001; Moe 2003) are echoed as a constant refrain in the stories of Ann, Sue and Sally. Perhaps, it is most voluble in Sally's story who in the earlier days of our

conversations described the need for balance in a somewhat inevitable and uncomplicated way:

> I suppose every working mother now and then feels she would just like to get away from the demands of work and having to balance competing needs. I do too.

At this point, being mother and professional appeared to be a matter of balancing her own competing needs to be both. However, the complexity of the balance became increasingly clear in time:

> But why do I have to make a choice? Why… why when you are at work do you have to switch yourself off as a mother and when you are a mother you have to switch yourself off again. It's actually weird. I don't know how one balances the two things.

Sally recognized that she did not know how if at all that balance could be achieved. More importantly, she began to question the rightness of striving for balance, her questioning being prompted primarily by an inability to achieve balance. Her head of department telling her that her personal life would become very small relative to her work life left her feeling dissatisfied. She had immediately decided that this was not an option for her. The imbalance implicit in the balance idea became increasingly clear to her as she progressed down the road of being an academic mother. Put another way, Sally began to see that the idea of balance was fraudulent, a myth, and that what was really expected of her was an imbalance, one which favoured her professional life and not her motherhood. But she chose differently and consciously decided that her baby would come first. For her, that meant choosing whether to be at certain meetings, giving up on travel options, not being up to date with developments in her field and finding ways of dealing with the fact that she was missing out on much that was going on around her professionally. Neither could she spend as much time as she would have liked to with Justin. It also meant questioning the rightness of her being forced into a situation of choice that she did not really want to make. She admitted that she was 'cutting corners' but that she did not know how she would 'feel about it at the end of the day'. Even though she was frustrated at having to make choices between work and her motherhood, she made them and knew that in doing so she was not achieving any form of balance. For her, it was about prioritizing her son and taking control about some aspects of decision making. Although she was sad to let go of an opportunity to attend an international conference, she did, and she had no doubt that she would not travel for any significant length of time without her husband and her child.

Sue dealt with the need for balance by separating her lives. The moment and means of separation occurred when she got into her car and took a few

seconds to adjust to another self. The journey between home and office was her transition from mother to academic. But she recognized that much guilt that went with juggling:

> I see because of the exhaustion, because of the juggling because of the ja… continual guilt. If you are there you are guilty about not being here, and if you are here you guilty about not being there. … Um… ja, so let's say that I'm enjoying both separate lives.

Sue does not hesitate to admit that she was finding much difficulty in 'doing both well'. Separation was not a means to balance but rather a means to living both elements of her life to the extent that each was possible. Sue separated repeatedly; when she put her bag down as she walked into the house, when she got into her car to go to work, when Megan was with and not with her, through the hours that she allocated to each aspect of her life every day. Again the complexity of balance became self-evident as Sue spent many more hours working than she did with Megan, 'basically between 4.30 and 7.00 is her time. And I stick to that pretty religiously'. The idea of balance then was not about a squaring off of time. It appeared to have more a multifarious and mysterious form of measure that the literature assumes but does not explicate.

Balance also does not appear to have much to do with the spaces in which one is mother and academic. Sally took her child into her workplace in an effort to be both mother and academic, yet was conscious that the presence of the child was an intrusion into the work space. Sue too was aware that Megan was a distraction from work. Both women worked in dominant female environments where the children were apparently welcomed. Taking work home was another form of intrusion, this time in the family space. Sue drew boundaries through time and all three used the children's sleeping hours to get on with being academic. Ann confessed that she often did her creative work in the home but after the children had been dropped off at the crèche. Balance then was not about sharing space but about dividing spaces physically into office and home, or if the same space was being used, then using time frames whether defined by the clock or by activities as a divider. Perhaps the singular sublime moment that transcended these barriers was when Sally breastfed her child while conducting an oral examination. My point here is not that academic mothers should breastfeed their children during examinations. Instead, I suggest the sublimeness was not in the act itself, but in Sally's decision to do so, her anxiety coupled with the firmness and confidence with which she took the decision. It was a brave step one which made her both proud and anxious. It was ultimately a situation in which she asserted herself and took control. That made her feel good. The need for control of their lives is important for all three. Sue says that '…I always had the feeling before that I was in control with what I was doing. Now I feel a lot of the time I'm out of control'. All three recognise that control is often not within reach.

It seems that balance and control are frequently conflated, that having balance is interpreted to mean control and having control is interpreted to mean balance. Ann sought control by repeatedly bringing her family into the same physical spaces as her work. Being within reach meant safety for her and her children. It also meant being in control, or at least having the opportunity for control, lest things go awry as they did when she went to Namibia and her son Andre had become dangerously ill. Interestingly, she chose to bring the family into her work space only when she had to leave her everyday work space for ones that were more distant. She was proud that she was able to show her whole family at the conference in Norway and was even applauded for her efforts in doing so.[3] Yet, I wonder whether such accolades exist only because the instance was a one-off, one which was not likely to be repeated, and certainly no threat to being a daily occurrence. Ann seemed to have deeply imbibed the approbation that confronted mothers, whether they leave work often to be with their children or whether they leave their children in the care of a child minder (Lupton 2000). In a distant work environment, she combined both her need for control and her need to be both mother and academic, without the possible approbation that came with bringing both into the same space. The fleetingness of the achievement is verified in the two observations that Ann made of the trip. The first was that the effort was not sustainable and that she would never do it again. The second was that sadly, all had returned to normal when she got back home. Ann and Sally show that having one's child in the same physical space did not necessarily bring peace of mind, and Sue who sought separations showed that even physical separations did not bring peace of mind. While Sue imagined that physical and temporal separations were effectively separations of self too, this was put to pay when she collapsed into tears the first time she left Megan at home and travelled overseas. She had left her baby behind but not her motherhood. I was left wondering whether motherhood can indeed be limited to delineated spaces and times.

It is apparent that while the word balance implies a sense of equilibrium, stability and perhaps even equality, the efforts at balancing work lives and motherhood refutes any such possibility. Indeed, buying into the search for balance is tantamount to predicting failure. As Sue, Ann and Sally show, they are constantly juggling, choosing one over the other, blocking out spaces and times, but had never spoken of a sense of equilibrium in doing all this. On the contrary, they are acutely aware of imbalance. I suggest that feminists need to renounce the very idea of balance. It forces us into a frame of failure, into accepting a definition of work and motherhood that has nothing to do with experiences of both and it subtly suggests an evaluative frame within which we measure ourselves daily and constantly, and inevitably come up short. For as long as we describe women's efforts at mothering and working as a balancing

act, in other words as the discourse of balance defines our lives and efforts, and we conceive of our selves as aspirant yogic circus acts, we become complicit in the act of sublimating our lives to a discourse of dysfunctionality.

Born to Feel Guilty?

A striking though not surprising theme that runs through the stories of Sally, Ann and Sue is about feeling guilty. Ann was consumed with guilt about numerous moments in her life and these had obvious impacts on her mothering. She confessed that the mere thought of leaving Andre and going to another country made her feel guilty. Indeed, Ann tried to reconcile the fact that she wanted to go for her own fulfilment, by feeling guilty. In other words, the fact that she felt guilty did not make wanting to go seem too bad after all. It was as though guilt was the bridge between what Ann wanted and what she believed was expected of her as a mother and woman. Part of her reason for taking her family with her on her travels was to assuage guilt. Yet, Ann is never free of guilt. She is constantly trapped on the middle of the bridge, her feisty strong character caught between and among social and family expectations of woman and mothers and her own feminist sense of equality. Indeed, in the course of our conversations, Ann said she was not a feminist and that she did not even have many women friends. After reading her own story, a version in which I referred to her statement that she was not a feminist, she came back to me eager to disabuse me of this view. She said that perhaps she was a feminist, that she had always discouraged sexist jokes, that she did not stand back for boys at school and was a strong leader when she was at school. She then even recollected the women she was close to and the strengths they had given her. In her fights with Herman, she was clear that she would speak up for herself and that she would not 'shut up'. Reading her story offered Ann a different view of herself, one which made her feel positive. Yet, despite moments of feeling good about herself and saying 'I actually feel that the baby had enhanced my own identity as a professional, which is weird', Ann's guilt was overwhelming.

Even though Sally was unequivocal that she was a good mother, she too confessed to feeling guilty. She said that she felt guilty when she was at home about work and when she was at work about not being with her baby. Either way, she could not win. She says:

> Is it possible to give 100 per cent at work and 100 per cent to your child while you look after him yourself? I am not always sure. All that I know is there must be a way and that way is not the usual answer. The usual answer is 'Put your child in day-care and you have the entire day free to do your work' ... But I cannot live with that answer.

Sue, who went to great lengths to separate her mothering and her work also admitted that while she was trying to be both mother and academic, she often felt that she was doing neither well enough. Yet, all three were adamant that they would not be full-time mothers, that they wanted to be academics, they found fulfilment in their work and would not be happy if they stayed at home with their children. It seems then that if mothers want to work, guilt is an inevitable accompaniment to being a professional and mother. Connections between guilt and motherhood may be explained by understanding the patriarchal contexts of mothering. Here, Rich (1995) speaks of the moral underpinnings of motherhood. Feminist attitudes towards motherhood have veered between the romanticization of motherhood and dismantling the categories of woman and mother in efforts to redefine female identifiers (McMahon 1995; Cooey 1999; Snitow 1992). Yet, what ties these perceptions of motherhood is the sense of moral goodness that accompanies mothering. The sense of being judged then is both externally sourced through social approbation and expectations of mothers, and internally reinforced by personal judgments of mothering. Ann's first diary entry told of the first 'test' she had as a mother, one which she set for herself, measured herself and failed.[4] Indeed, one of the women Ann admired was a friend who had freed herself from an oppressive relationship and had given up a glamorous career to be a full time mother and opened her own crèche. She was happy that her children were at this crèche and being taken care of by a woman Ann thought was a good mother. Ann reluctantly admitted that she was better with teenagers than with small children, her own success as a high school teacher bearing testimony to this.

Sue set up her own forms of measure and judgment and said she was not doing well as mother and academic. She also declared that she felt bad about enjoying a good night's sleep the first night she was away from Megan. Despite being meticulous about allocating undisturbed time to her child, Sue still felt guilty. Even though Sally was confident she was a good mother, she still felt guilty and although Ann took her family with her, she too still felt guilty. While it is evident that guilt is a weapon that we wield against ourselves, I suggest that feelings of guilt have to be understood in the wider context of nurturing, specifically, the ownership of nurturing. In the section that follows, I suggest that mothers' claiming ownership of nurturing is closely linked to the perpetuation of feelings of guilt.

Letting Go and Letting In

In her book on motherhood and thinking, Ruddick (1995) argues for the conceptualisation of motherhood, not as something that mothers do but that it should be understood more broadly to mean nurturing. I like this. I like the idea, especially when it is evident from the stories I recount here, that mothering

as a lone act, such act being the prerogative of mothers, is not a tenable idea. Indeed, given the extended family system I come from and which has been prevalent in many parts of the world, I wonder if it ever was.

I listened to Ann talk about her husband who came home tired from a weekend of golfing, who made little, if any, effort to take care of their children and of her momentary joy at his feeding their child. I heard her effort at explaining his behaviour by saying that he travelled a long distance to work everyday and therefore could not really help with the children. I saw her recognition that it did not explain his failure to assist on the weekend. I felt sad as I saw the tiredness in her face, as she exhausted herself frantically running around, trying to organise their family venture to Norway. Ann tried to be everything at all times. And she was so afraid of 'failure'. She admitted that she felt she failed at her first marriage and that she wanted this one to work.

Ann's sense of failure was self imposed. That her first husband was unfaithful did not seem to matter. I suggest Ann did not know how to share mothering and that sharing this might have implied another failure for her. That she would have liked her husband, Herman, to help was clear. Her effort at leaving him to take care of the children while they were all in Norway showed that he was able to look after the children and she wanted him to, yet it was not a system either of them sustained on their return. The only person with whom Ann shared mothering was her mother. Her mother was probably the only person with whom it was acceptable to share mothering. She spoke warmly of the wonderful stories her mother could tell the children and the energy her mother had to play with them. In this context she admitted, albeit reluctantly, that she was simply not able to do these things as her mother did. Accepting that she could not do some things was an achievement for Ann. When Ann talked of her mother's passing, I was aware that she had lost more than her mother. She had lost the only person with whom she shared mothering. Her mother also offered Ann space to be Ann. As she left my office after speaking of her mother's passing, Ann lamented, 'there goes my time for golf'. In that statement, she conveyed a loss of so many things beyond golf.

Although Ann employed a nanny and she made only one brief reference to allowing the nanny to perform certain tasks, like feeding the children, because she was better at doing that. She admitted to feeling a mild jealousy at this. Ann did not really speak of sharing her mothering with the nanny. Indeed, in the course of our conversations, Ann spoke many times of the nanny leaving and of having to hire another. Ann was also aware that she wanted things to be different. Specifically, she spoke about feeling unappreciated. She said that no matter what and how much she did for the family; there was little appreciation of this from her family. Her example was that when there was no cheese in the fridge, everyone demanded cheese; but when there was, no one acknowledged

that she had bought it. She had learnt to respond by saying that they should do without cheese until she was ready to get it.

Sally too spoke of the social failure to appreciate mothers. She was annoyed with herself for thanking her husband, Robert, when he took care of Justin, yet there was no one to thank her. She was determined that she would not put her child in day-care. She eventually did when he was almost two years old and felt sad when he seemed to enjoy the social connections that day-care gave him. Sally spoke of her desire for Justin to be proud of her and to look nice for him. Perhaps, this was a form of appreciation of her nurturing that would have meant much to her. Her desire to look feminine, to pierce her ears and wear the earrings her husband had bought her, to 'do something with her hair' happened after Justin was born. I suggest that the efforts at nurturing had awakened her desire to be appreciated.

I was impressed with Sue's observation of her friends' leaving their partners out of parenting and paying the price for this by bearing the major burden for nurturing. Her story of handing Megan over to Andrew the moment they arrived home and consciously leaving him to do as he saw best was crucial for setting the platform for further nurturing. Sue tells the story of how when they arrived home from the hospital with the baby, her husband said that the nappy needed to be changed. She said she hesitated for a moment and then said he could change it, as they were both present when the nurse had shown them how to. David changed the nappy and returned with the nappy on back to front. Sue decided to remain silent as she knew that if she corrected him she would position herself as the one who knew, the one who was responsible for mothering. In choosing silence, she also chose to share responsibility. That Andrew was able to 'come out of his shell', to travel with Megan to Crete to join her on holiday, to take care of Megan when Sue travelled had much to do with this first important act of sharing responsibility for nurturing.

I suggest that shared parenting and nurturing do not simply happen. They are a conscious decision, one which has to be consciously implemented. It was evident that Ann wanted Herman to be more central in their children's lives. She had not found any sustainable way of doing this. Although Sally started off thinking she wanted to be the primary caregiver, she was quickly disabused of this by the obvious enormity of the task of taking care of Justin. Yet, she was adamant that the responsibility for mothering was still primarily hers. Sally began by being determined to have her child with her, became grateful for her husband's willingness and ability to take care of Justin, then reluctantly acknowledged Justin's need to be in a play group and socialize and even admitted that he did not seem to be bothered when she left him there, and finally acknowledged that she would be willing to leave her second child at a play group sooner than she had Justin. She had also moved from being

stubbornly the significant care giver for her child to a person that spoke strongly about the need for child care facilities at work and that all the talk of gender equality needed some form of real practical expression. Sally's progression showed that who nurtured was not simply a matter of logistical and practical arrangements, although these were important, it was also about a state of mind.

It was through a conscious decision to draw Andrew into parenting that Sue and Andrew were able to achieve the level of shared parenting that they did. In her study of mature women students, Edwards (1993) showed that eight of the 31 women she interviewed left their partner in the course of their study. The reasons, among others, were that they were unable to achieve equality with their partners within their relationships, that the partners consumed their emotional energies without sharing the burdens of housekeeping or nurturing, that it made sense to remove their partners from their sphere of responsibility. She also suggested that since it was not feasible for women to leave their children, leaving their partners became a viable solution. It is clear from Edwards's study and from the stories of Sue, Ann and Sally that while the desire for shared parenting, for shared nurturing, for shared mothering is strong among mothers, the means to do this is rarely there. I suggest this is about more than the provision of childcare facilities in the work place or flexible working hours. It is about the social perception that nurturing is women's work. More importantly, it is about women's own ownership of nurturing. It is time we gave up this sense of ownership. While I endorse Grosz's (1990) view that feminists need to both critique and construct the world, I suggest we also need to destruct restrictive patterns of behaviour, both within ourselves and in our environments. Sue, Ann and Sally in various ways and to various degrees articulate the need to let go and let others in, with respect to their nurturing. They demonstrate that they do not want ownership of nurturing. Neither do I. Yet, it is not easy to say this out loud for fear of being a 'bad' mother. My father, sister and mother were always at hand to love my girls. For as long as my father was alive, he offered immeasurable love and nurturing for my children. For that, I am deeply grateful. My children's lives are fuller and richer from the nurturing they receive from the many people in their lives. So is mine. As my girls grew up, my older daughter, in a period of estrangement from her father, said that she wished that loving a father went beyond the boundaries of biology. I knew what she meant. And I confess without shame that I am unable to mother alone. Now, I can begin to understand why it was possible for me to complete a PhD while being a single mother. It was because I was not a single mother. It's true I was divorced but I did not mother alone. I say this with a deep awareness of and respect for the mothers across the world who have no choice but to mother alone.

In returning to the feelings of guilt that Sue, Ann and Sally speak of, I suggest that guilt is intimately linked with the compulsion and belief that we ought to take full responsibility for nurturing. Our experience tells us of the sheer enormity of nurturing alone. Guilt is about feeling that we have to hide or apologise for our motherhood in the workplace. That we are bound not meet our own and social expectations as mothers is inevitable in such a context. I suggest that letting in, that is, sharing mothering, would also mean letting go of guilt. Put another way, letting go of the ownership of nurturing would also mean letting go of guilt.

Conclusion

In assessing the validity of my assertion that motherhood can be understood, in Foucault's (1997) terms, as a subjugated knowledge, and that it should be inscribed into our ways of thinking and our epistemologies, I turn firstly to an understanding that all three academic mothers in this study shared: that their motherhood did not belong in their work spaces. Both Sally and Sue indicate a sense of unease when they brought their child to work because the child would be a disturbance. Ann took her child only into temporary work environments. The unspoken message that children did not belong at work was clear. That intellectual work is organized and produced at universities in established and prescribed ways gives the academic mother, who has had no hand in shaping this space, little scope for flexibility. If universities pretend that the women who are producing research within their walls are not mothers, the potential for institutional adjustments remains closed. I suggest that if universities sought a package of institutional possibilities that allow academic mothers a number of permutations of how they could structure their work lives and their motherhood, universities would benefit from increased productivity. Academic mothers too are likely to be happier. And that matters for society.

Secondly, I am concerned about the perceptual divisions between work and mothering. I suggest that it is not simply the physical presence of the child that the work environment discourages, but also the emotional, intellectual and psychological presence of the child. Ribbens (1994:31) speaks of the need to incorporate 'emotions into our subject matter' and Rich (1995:68) makes the point that 'Reason was failing [her]'. Ribbens (1994), Ruddick (1995) and Rich (1995), all women scholars of note, speak powerfully of their experiences of dislocation and disjuncture between their emotional selves, their experiences and what scholarship and intellectual work entailed. All three speak in varying ways of the need to bring thinking and emotion closer. Sue, Sally and Ann speak of the deep emotional impacts that mothering had on them. My contention is that incorporating emotions into our thinking as Rich (1995) suggests we do, or finding ways to include our experiences into our thinking, is not enough.

The very division of reason and emotion paralyses and limits thinking. I take Wu's (1997) argument that 'the scrutiny of thought means that feminists must address the limits of the concept'. In other words, motherhood must be implicated in epistemology; it must be inscribed in our scholarship, creating possibilities for a synergy of motherhood and intellectual work. Thinking is about the wholeness of self, not the splitting and divisions of self. If reason functions as the periscope of thought, then thinking will remain limited.

In returning to Grosz's call for feminists to 'critique and construct' and my extension of this idea to include efforts to destruct entrenched ways of perceiving the world and one's self in it, I suggest that academic mothers replace the search for balance with a striving to find a 'Mona Lisa' state of being. The academic mother needs to be unmoved by the gaze of the world and her institution. I have yet to meet a working mother who said she was able to find the elusive balance. In order to critique and construct, we have to find the confidence and courage to determine for ourselves what is best for us as academics and as mothers. The academic mother needs to stop her own critical gaze at herself that absorbs the reflections of a judgmental world. She needs to find her inner peace and place of triumph. That place is likely to be different for us all. She needs to be unfazed by the world in which she lives. I say this, knowing that it is the striving and the journey towards it that allows us to continuously critique and construct, and not the expectation of arrival. I say this unequivocally, knowing too that we have no cause to doubt ourselves and that we all want to be good mothers and good academics. I say this, knowing that universities will go on as they always have, no matter what our struggles. In taking on this gigantic monolith of patriarchy, we have to remain unflinching in what is best for us, simultaneously, as academics and as mothers. And only we have the right the say what that may be. To construct what this means for us, we need to destruct what has been handed down to us, and assimilated into our selves, through institutional and social structures. To create this state of being, we have to go beyond the limits of reason, emotions and institutions, beyond balance, beyond guilt to solidity in and for ourselves. We have to define for ourselves what it means to be academic and mothers.

Notes

1. I did guest presentations on this book at seven universities outside South Africa and one in South Africa. In addition, I did one conference presentation on the methodological implications of the study.

2. The quotations of the three participants are all extracted from my book – *Academic Mothers*, 2007.

3. When her second child was born Ann was invited to a conference in Norway. She was heading a major doctoral project based in Africa and funded by the Norwegians. She decided to take both her children and her husband with her. Previously she had taken her husband and her sister with to Italy. She seemed determined to take them with her every time she left the country. After Norway she said, 'Never again'.

4. Leaving her child behind and going to Namibia. She felt she had failed because she had actually wanted to go and he became ill in her absence.

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