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Teaching and Researching Africa in an 'Engaged' Way: The Possibilities and Limitations of 'Community Engagement'[1]

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Abstract

An increasing number of universities around the world are making commitments to 'community engagement' or some similar term. The idea that universities should engage with their contexts is related to concerns about the relevance of the knowledge being produced by universities today. Such concerns about relevance are familiar to those working in African Studies where there have long been debates about the relevance of the knowledge produced by Africanists. In this article, I draw on some of these debates in African Studies to explore the possibilities and limitations of the idea of community engagement. I argue that it is not possible to produce knowledge that is broadly relevant to 'the community' as a whole. Rather, we need to identify for whom exactly we wish to produce relevant knowledge. In order to do this, questions around the politics of knowledge, which have been highlighted in many of the debates about African Studies, must be given further attention.

Résumé

Un nombre croissant d'institutions universitaires à travers le monde a pris l'option de privilégier « l'engagement de la communauté » ou quelque chose de semblable. L'idée que les universités doivent s'engager selon leur spécificité est une question en relation avec les préoccupations liées à la pertinence de la connaissance produite par les universitaires aujourd'hui. Ces préoccupations sont réellement prises en charges dans les institutions qui s'intéressent aux études africaines, institutions dans lesquelles il y a eu depuis longtemps des discussions qui tournent autour de la pertinence de la connaissance produite par les africanistes. Cet article s'appuie sur certaines problématiques débattues à propos des études africaines et envisage

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d'explorer les possibilités et les limites de l'idée d'« engagement de la communauté ». Il soutient qu'il est impossible de produire une connaissance qui soit largement appropriée à 'la communauté' dans son ensemble. Mieux, nous devons identifier ceux à qui est réellement destinée la connaissance pertinente que nous voulons produire. Pour y parvenir, davantage d'attention doit être donnée aux questions qui concernent la politique de la connaissance, questions qui ont été soulignées dans beaucoup de débats sur les études africaines.

Introduction

> We believe that higher education institutions exist to serve and strengthen the society of which they are part. Through the learning, values and commitment of faculty, staff and students, our institutions create social capital, preparing students to contribute positively to local, national and global communities. Universities have the responsibility to foster in faculty, staff and students a sense of social responsibility and a commitment to the social good which, we believe, is central to the success of a democratic and just society (Talloires Declaration 2005).

This is an extract from the Talloires Declaration, signed in September 2005 by 29 universities from 23 different countries (Talloires Network 2009a). The signing of this Declaration led to the establishment of the Talloires Network, a network of institutions sharing a commitment 'to strengthening the civic roles and social responsibilities of higher education'. The network now has 190 member universities in 58 countries around the world, all of which have made some form of commitment to promoting community engagement or some related term, like social responsibility or civic engagement (Talloires Network 2011).* This emerging concern with community engagement is also reflected by the increasing prominence given to various forms of service learning at higher education institutions with students being encouraged to do some of their learning off campus and, in the process, also to 'give something back' to the community.

The increasing attention being given to community engagement leads some to describe it as a 'new movement' (Dragne 2007:9). It seems likely that more and more institutions will be making commitments like these and that individual departments and disciplines will be encouraged or even pressured into introducing forms of community engagement into their teaching and research practices. What are those of us working in African Studies and related fields to make of these new commitments? In particular, what should those of us whose commitment to African Studies entails a commitment to producing knowledge about Africa as part of the political project of empowering Africa

* This article was revised in February 2011 for this late 2010 issue (Editor).

and Africans and of exposing and eliminating the exploitation and oppression of the continent and its peoples, make of community engagement?

Advocates of community engagement argue that engagement with communities outside the university will push universities to produce more relevant knowledge (or, at least, help demonstrate the relevance of the knowledge they produce) while also helping communities to access knowledge and skills that would otherwise be out of their reach. This question of relevance is very familiar to those who have written about or reflected upon African Studies. as As a field of study, African Studies has been the site of many disputes, and one aspect of several of these disputes has been the question of the relevance of the knowledge produced within the field. A consideration of some of the debates within and about African Studies reveals insights which are of value to those seeking to find ways in which universities can 'engage' with their contexts, particularly to those trying to introduce aspects of community engagement into academic programmes about Africa, whether doing this in Africa or elsewhere.

Community Engagement: A Brief Introduction

As mentioned above, community engagement is increasingly being understood as a core goal of higher education. To some extent, the new commitment to community engagement is a revival of earlier understandings of the role of the university (in the USA at least), but it is also the product of attempts to adapt to changes in the current socio-economic environment and in the positioning of higher education institutions within societies.

The change in mood that resulted in the increased prominence of community engagement had its beginnings around two decades ago. Ernest Boyer's 1990 Carnegie report, entitled Scholarship Reconsidered, is one of the documents which both reflected and shaped the early moves towards prioritising community engagement at higher education institutions in the USA in particular (Boyer 1990). Boyer argues that scholarship must be understood broadly, suggesting that research is often inappropriately emphasised and rewarded in higher education to the neglect of other scholarly pursuits. He identifies four aspects of scholarship: discovery, integration, application and teaching, and argues that all are essential and should be equally valued by universities (Boyer 1990:16, see also Boyer 1996). Later, what he first referred to as 'application' began to be understood as being more than just the application of the knowledge generated at universities. The word 'engagement' began to be preferred to the former term (see Barker 2004; Rice 2002; Sandman 2007). Unlike the notion of application, the idea of engagement suggests that university-community collaboration ought not to simply entail the application of 'expert' knowledge produced at universities, but rather that universities and community members

ought to collaborate in a way that allows for mutual and mutually beneficial influence.

One of the most important motivations for community engagement advocates is a concern that universities need to produce knowledge that is relevant to broader society. For example, Boyer speaks of how universities have unfortunately become 'a place where students get credentialed and faculty get tenured, while the overall work of the academy does not seem particularly relevant to the nation's most pressing needs' (Boyer 2003:145). His preference is to see this kind of university replaced by one that is a 'vigorous partner in the search for answers to our most pressing social, civic, economic and moral problems' (Boyer 2003:143).

In addition to this desire for universities to produce more relevant knowledge, changes in higher education and research cultures can also be credited with playing a role in bringing about an increased emphasis on community engagement at universities (Dragne 2007; Checkoway 2001). Universities have grown rapidly in size and increasingly cater for larger numbers of 'non-traditional' students, making the student body more diverse in age, race, nationality and class background. In addition, trans-disciplinary and collaborative research has become more popular as evidenced by the influence of Gibbons's writings about so-called Mode 2 knowledge production which is supposedly 'problem-focused', collaborative and interdisciplinary (Gibbons et al. 1994; Gibbons 1998). While I will not describe these shifts in detail, it should be acknowledged that these changes play a role in popularizing community engagement. As universities cease to serve such an elite population and as collaboration with outside partners rises in popularity, universities are being pushed into thinking more carefully about their relationships with their surrounding communities and, more generally, about how to respond to and engage with their socio-political contexts.

Universities have also begun to build stronger relationships with their surrounding communities because of funding pressures in the wake of declining state subsidies for higher education in many parts of the world (for a discussion of the US experience, see Burawoy 2010). Universities have been encouraged to build relationships with various 'outside stakeholders' and this extraversion has influenced the increased popularity of community engagement, even though it is related to very different concerns than those which drove Boyer and others to push academics to look outside their institutions towards the surrounding communities.

Of course, 'community engagement' is interpreted in different ways by different institutions and in different parts of the world. The different drivers of its increased popularity have also resulted in quite different ways of conceptualising the notion. There have been various attempts at defining this

term (see for example Barker 2004), but most commentators accept that the term is a broad one that evades easy definition. It is often used interchangeably with similar terms such as 'civic engagement', 'social responsibility', and 'service', although each term has slightly different connotations. Generally, however, it is fair to say that the term 'community engagement' is usually associated with activities such as service-learning, sharing of knowledge and information, application of research findings, collaborative research and student and staff outreach. While early attempts have focused particularly on outreach and voluntarism, interest in service learning and collaborative research has become more prominent in the last decade or so (Barker 2004; Dragne 2007; Hollander and Meeropol 2006).

It is important to stress that the increased prominence of community engagement is not universal and differs greatly from context to context. It has been enthusiastically picked upon and promoted in some contexts, such as South Africa, but in other parts of the world (such as Europe), this idea remains fairly marginal. For example, in the US existing debates about public universities and a series of reports by the Kellogg Commission on the future of state and land-grant universities have helped drive the debate on community engagement (see APLU 2011). In South Africa, the concept has been promoted as part of broader attempts to transform South African universities in a post-apartheid context (see Kagisano 2001). The differences in the ways in which the topic is popularised in different settings will affect the way in which it is being conceptualised and promoted on the ground, making it difficult to generalise about exactly what kinds of programmes and ideas are associated with community engagement in different contexts.

African Studies as a Contested Field

The concerns about relevance which are an important impetus for the increasing attention being given to community engagement are familiar to those working in African Studies and related fields. The term 'African Studies' includes a wide variety of studies and is conducted in very different ways in different contexts. While African Studies is often housed in particular departments and centres in the West, in Africa, what might be called African Studies is often conducted within particular disciplines, rather than housed separately.[2] In this article, I take 'African Studies' to refer very broadly to the study of Africa, both within and across disciplines, though with a particular focus on the study of Africa within the social science and humanities disciplines.

African Studies has always been a disputed field and many of the disputes in the field relate in some way to concerns about relevance. Even the origins of African Studies are disputed, with some recognising certain early African-American writings as the first examples of African Studies, while others trace its roots only as far back as prominent white Africanists such as the American

anthropologist Melville Herskovits. Yet others seem to consider African Studies (and Area Studies as a whole) as a post-Second World War phenomenon (see Keller 1998; Uchendu 1977; Wallerstein 1995; Zeleza 1997; Zeleza 2006b). Another set of disputes relates to the way in which African Studies has been conducted and about who should conduct African Studies. An important aspect of the latter set of disputes is the concern about the relevance of African Studies to Africa and Africans. Here, there is some dispute about whether or not African Studies ought to be relevant in the first place, as well as dispute about what exactly 'relevance' entails.

This question of relevance was one of the key issues leading to the much discussed disruption of the 1969 Montreal meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA), a US-based association of Africanists. At this meeting, the Black Caucus – a group of African-American, African and other black scholars – insisted that the ASA as a whole be radically transformed in response to a number of perceived shortcomings. Not least among these was the sense among members of the Black Caucus that the ASA needed to 'direct its energies toward rendering itself more relevant and competent to deal with the challenging times and conditions of Black people' (Black Caucus 1968:19). The demands of the Black Caucus shook the Africanist establishment, leading to much introspection and further debate and division (see for example *Africa Today* vol. 16, no. 5/6). This question of the relevance of African Studies was by no means resolved after the 1969 Montreal meeting, however. As Zeleza points out, discussions about African Studies appearing nearly three decades later in an edition of *Issue: A Journal of Opinion*, reiterate many of the concerns which provoked the 1969 conflict (Zeleza 1997:205). Once again, the question of the relevance of African Studies is raised. Writing in *Issue*, Martin and West, for example, warn: 'There is a spectre hanging over African Studies: the spectre of irrelevance both within and outside the academy' (1995:24). In African universities, there has been a related debate about the relevance of the knowledge produced by universities in general. This debate formed part of discussions of the 'Africanisation' of African universities in the immediate post-independence era, but the issue has resurfaced regularly (see for example Hagan 1993; Mkandawire 1997:20-21; Yesufu 1973).

The assertion that African Studies is in some way irrelevant to Africa is multifaceted. One facet is a sense that Western-based scholarship on Africa is more attuned to the dictates of the Western academy than to the needs and interests of Africans. Another aspect relates to allegations that African universities and intellectuals are alienated from African communities and so fail to achieve relevance – even though they typically place more value on relevance than do non-African universities and intellectuals (see Mamdani 1993;

Mkandawire 2005; Yesufu 1973). A third concern is that the concepts and theories used to study Africa are drawn from non-African experience and fail to be helpful in understanding Africa (see Uchendu 1977; Mbembe 2001). Related to this concern is the sense that African Studies has not taken seriously the perspectives and agency of African people and has not attempted to seek out and understand African explanations of the African experience (see Asante 1995; Mbembe 2001). Finally, African Studies is charged with producing misleading and damaging accounts of the African experience, thereby aggravating racist and imperialist attitudes towards Africa (see Black Caucus 1969; Challenor 1969; Mbembe 2001; Turner and Murapa 1969). What is evident is that the question of the relevance of African Studies is a question that has been persistently posed, but not yet resolved, and also that the accusation of irrelevance is directed at both Western and African scholars of Africa, although it is particularly white Western Africanists who have been accused of producing irrelevant knowledge.

For those concerned with addressing this long-standing question of the relevance of African Studies, recent calls for universities to become more 'engaged' with their surrounding communities, and with the communities they study, sounds promising. This new discourse of community engagement appears to be providing new impetus for universities – and hence all those who study Africa at universities – to go 'out there' and build connections outside of the university, and in this way become more sensitive to needs and more able to apply our knowledge meaningfully to social problems. Such an approach, and the funding and university support that go along with it, could open up possibilities for studying Africa in a way that is 'relevant' in the many senses suggested by the long-standing debates on the discipline. However, not all forms of community engagement are likely to be able to realise these possibilities. When thinking of how to achieve such relevance, attentiveness to some of the nuances in this debate could be helpful. In the sections to follow, I reflect on some of these debates in African Studies, drawing from them to make some comments about the possibilities of producing relevant knowledge through community engagement.

Reflections on Relevance

What does it mean to produce 'relevant' knowledge? It is clear in much of the writing about community engagement that there is a desire to move away from knowledge that is distant from and irrelevant to surrounding communities. Thus, Boyer speaks of how universities need to direct their attention towards 'larger, more humane ends', and the Kellogg Commission's discussion of community engagement calls on American public universities to 're-

turn to [their] roots' and 'build on [their] legacy of responsiveness and relevance' (Boyer 1996:20; Kellogg Commission 2001:1). In some sense at least, there is, then, a desire to produce and apply knowledge that is useful to communities outside the university. But what does it mean for knowledge to be 'useful' and to whom exactly should the knowledge being produced by an engaged university be useful?

An exploration of debates in African Studies is helpful here. An overview of some of the arguments being made all the way back in 1969 by the Black Caucus at the Montreal ASA meeting suggests that members of the Caucus felt that the knowledge being produced in mainstream African Studies was useful to some, but was not ultimately useful for the majority of African people. The Black Caucus did not complain that African Studies produced knowledge that was generally irrelevant, but rather decried mainstream African Studies for producing knowledge 'irrelevant to the interests and needs of black people' (Black Caucus 1969:18). ASA Africanists, the Black Caucus complained, treated Africa as an 'object for ... scrutiny and experimentation' rather than as 'the home of people' (Resnick 1969:14-15; see also Mhone 1972). The concern here is that Africa ought not to be studied in a way that allows scholars to demonstrate the relevance of their studies to existing theoretical debates, but does not bring any benefit to those being studied. In the words of Zeleza, Africa ought not to be treated as 'a tropical laboratory [that can be used] to test and refine the methodological and theoretical frameworks of the disciplines' (1997:195). Members of the Black Caucus, as well as contemporary writers such as Zeleza, argue that many Africanists produce knowledge that is useful in furthering their careers and in refining existing (and, it is suggested, Eurocentric) theories, but is not useful to those being studied.

Similar issues have been raised as part of debates about the role of universities in promoting the 'public good'. For example, Calhoun (1998:21) asks 'Whose public? Whose good?', and warns that 'Positing a community as the basis of the public good is apt to obscure contests over collective identity and disempower those whose projects are not in accord with those of dominant groups'. (Calhoun 1998:22; see also Singh 2001). It is very difficult for universities to act in such a way as to benefit 'the community' or 'the public' as an assumed whole.

In addition to arguing that knowledge on Africa was often not useful to Africans, critics of mainstream African Studies argued that much of mainstream African Studies is complicit in the oppression and marginalisation of African people. During the 1969 ASA dispute, the Black Caucus argued that much Africanist research was 'a subtle, but potent mechanism of social control and exploitation of African people and resources', and that it functioned as the 'hand-maiden of white Western, industrial and political international inter-

ests' (Black Caucus 1969:18; Turner and Murapa 1969:14). More recently, similar sentiments have been expressed by Mkandawire who argues that knowledge generated in African Studies has profound political effects, and that in the history of African Studies, many of those political effects have been negative for Africa. As he puts it:

> Too often in our history the quest for knowledge of Africa has been motivated by forces or arguments that were not for the promotion of human understanding let alone the welfare of the Africans ... [knowledge about Africa served] to reinforce preconceived prejudices, or [to master] instruments of domination of our societies. Although much has changed over the years, considerable research driven by these motives still exists, feeding African suspicions of even those whose quest for knowledge about Africa is driven by genuine interest in understanding the African continent as an important site for the performance of the human drama (1997:27).

Making a similar point, but focusing particularly on writings on the African state, Dunn argues that dominant discourses on the African state not only 'limit the view of African politics and international relations, but ... also produce troubling and dangerous policy prescriptions' (2001:62). As Mkandawire, Dunn and others show, knowledge produced on a topic (in this case Africa) is not politically neutral knowledge that can be used to good effect by anyone with access to it, but rather it may serve very particular (and possibly oppressive) ends.

The thoughts expressed by these writers are not unique to African Studies. The argument that knowledge is not neutral, but rather always comes from a particular political standpoint and has particular political effects, has been made in various ways by a number of theorists over the last few decades. Think for example of Said's (2003 [1978]) *Orientalism* in which he demonstrates that the apparent neutrality of the knowledge produced by Western Orientalists is spurious and shows how writing on the Orient is 'produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power' (2003 [1978]12). Likewise, in Robert Cox's much-cited 'Social Forces, States and World Orders', he argues that all theory is produced 'for someone and for some purpose. Perspectives derive from a position in time and space, specifically social and political time and space' (1996 [1981]:87). Both Said and Cox accept that some forms of knowledge manage to be less partial than others, but the point they both make is that no scholar can be completely neutral and objective. As Haraway and other feminist writers have pointed out, no scholar can do the 'god-trick' and present a neutral view from nowhere (1991:191). This kind of argument is also presented by Foucault in his discussion of discourse, where he declares that: 'We should admit ... power produces knowledge ... power and knowledge directly imply one another...' (1977:27).

Because this point about the politics of knowledge has been made in so many different ways by so many prominent social theorists, it may seem trite to make it here. However, I reiterate it because its implications have not been considered at length in much of the literature on community engagement. If knowledge is never politically neutral, then those seeking to promote community engagement ought not to ask 'How can we produce knowledge that is relevant and useful?', but rather 'Who is the knowledge we currently produce useful for?', and 'How can we produce knowledge that is useful for others?' If knowledge is always amenable to being used by some at the expense of others, then a commitment to providing knowledge that is useful to 'the community' is a little vague. Which community, where? And, even if we are to identify exactly which community it is we are keen to benefit, we still need to recognise that no community is a united, homogenous entity and that the needs of some in the specified community may run counter to the needs of others. It is thus important that community engagement advocates be pushed a little to think about the politics of knowledge.

Furthermore, if all knowledge has political effects, then all knowledge produced at universities does in actual fact influence communities outside the university. In some, though certainly not all, community engagement literature, one gets the sense that a contrast is being drawn between irrelevant, 'ivory tower' or 'blue-sky' knowledge which is isolated from and does not affect the surrounding society, and on the other hand, relevant, responsive knowledge which is produced in collaboration with and serves the interests of the community. However, if we accept the arguments presented above regarding the politics of knowledge, we then admit that all knowledge has political effects and that what is at stake is producing knowledge that will have different political effects.

But if we accept this, then it becomes harder to make a distinction between 'engaged' and 'non-engaged' knowledge. Instead, we are pushed to see all knowledge – even the most abstract, seemingly esoteric – as having effects on surrounding communities. When introducing community engagement into a particular university programme, attention thus needs to be given to the curricula because what is being taught already has implications 'out there' in the real world. Yapa provides an illustration of the point being made here in relation to the study of the Third World. He argues that what American universities teach students about the Third World contributes to the development of the 'patronizing, ethnocentric attitudes [American] students have towards the people of Africa and Asia', and 'conceals and marginalizes the innumerable ways in which we can creatively address problems of basic needs' (2002:44). The point that Yapa makes here and elsewhere is that academic discourse on poverty is 'deeply implicated as a causative agent' in the production of the prob-

lem (poverty) it apparently seeks to solve (2002:33; see also Yapa 1996). But then, as Yapa (2006) argues, introducing elements of community engagement into university programmes without critically reflecting on the ways in which current theories and discourses affect communities, may be counter-productive.

It can, then, be argued that the introduction of any community engagement initiative needs to be accompanied by critical reflection on curriculum content. However, some – although, I should stress, not all – literature on community engagement treats the concept as something that can effectively be 'added on' to existing university knowledge production and teaching. Barker (2004), for example, talks about how advocates of community engagement do not seek to eliminate other forms of scholarship. He says: 'The idea is not that other forms of scholarship are radically flawed, but that they are incomplete' (2004:127). However, if we think back to the critiques of mainstream African Studies or of the point about poverty made by Yapa, it becomes evident that just 'adding on' some kind of community engagement element onto university programmes may not be sufficient to make these programmes significantly better at addressing the social problems at stake.

The Politics of Knowledge: Contrasting Community Engagement with Critical Pedagogy

Current literature on community engagement is diverse and advocates of community engagement appear to include people with very different political ideologies and agendas. While there is often some reference to the way in which community engagement involves a 'commitment to the social good', and entails universities being 'agents of democracy' (Talloires Declaration 2005; Boyte and Hollander in Dragne 2007:9), community engagement literature rarely includes an explicit commitment to a very particular political project nor, as emphasised above, is there generally much sense of awareness of the politics of knowledge. When reading through community engagement literature, one picks up on several different – and even contradictory – political projects. Many consider community engagement to be a pro-poor initiative building on previous university outreach attempts. In literature taking up this perspective, there is talk of the need for the work of the academy to be 'directed towards larger, more humane ends', and insistence that universities must not 'remain islands of affluence, self-importance, and horticultural beauty in seas of squalor, violence, and despair' (Boyer 2003:147-148).

However, other quite different approaches to community engagement have emerged. For example, in her overview of community engagement literature, Dragne lists 'the development of regional economy by collaborating with business, industry and the social partners' as one of the key goals that emerge in

recent writings on community engagement (2007:10). In this kind of literature, community engagement is about universities collaborating with various outside actors (which could include businesses and large industries) in pursuit of shared goals. In a similar vein, a document produced by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) presents community engagement as entailing the production of knowledge 'through a network of policy-advisers, companies, consultants, think-tanks and brokers' and talks about universities needing to be accountable to 'voters, taxpayers and industry' (ACU 2001:i, iii). This suggests that community engagement is about universities collaborating with powerful 'stakeholders' in the wider society so as to produce the kind of knowledge that suits their needs. As mentioned earlier, to some extent the increased prominence of community engagement is associated with a general turn away from the state as universities try to establish stronger relationships with other 'stakeholders' as a response to the waning of state subsidies for higher education. Thus, many attempts to encourage greater general collaboration between universities and 'the community' are motivated by self interest on the part of universities rather than a commitment to the promotion of the 'social good' or some other noble sounding end.

As the earlier discussion of the politics of knowledge suggests, knowledge being produced by universities does not function as a toolkit which could, for example, be used one day by a mining company in pursuit of improving its profits and the next by a mineworkers' trade union defending employee rights. Thus, it is not enough for advocates of community engagement to talk about how important it is to produce knowledge that is useful and relevant to 'the community'. Rather, if we want to argue that the knowledge being produced by universities ought to be 'useful' and 'relevant', we need to decide for whom we seek to provide it. Knowledge that benefits one group within the community (say, for example, a big mining company) may well work to the detriment of another (say, for example, mineworkers). To put it in another way, when community engagement is considered to involve the production of knowledge that will empower the poor as well as strengthen the collaboration with big business and industry, then those who suspect that the interests of the poor and of big business and industry are unlikely to be served by the same knowledge may grow concerned.

At this juncture, it is useful to contrast talk about community engagement in higher education institutions with an earlier conversation about education – so-called critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy, commonly associated with the writings of Paolo Freire (1976; 1989; 1996 [1970]; 1998), Henry Giroux (1988; 1997; 2006) and Peter McClaren (1994; 2003; 2005) among others, is an approach to education which views the world as a place 'rife with contradictions and asymmetries of power and privilege', and which views educational

institutions as 'sites of both domination and liberation' (McClaren 2003:69-70). Critical pedagogists believe that it is not possible to teach in a 'neutral' and objective way, and advocate open partisanship rather than the pretence of objectivity. Those who adopt this approach thus explicitly aim to teach in a way that will empower those disempowered and marginalized in the societies in which they work. As Brookfield stresses:

> Critical pedagogy ... springs from a deep conviction that society is organized unfairly and that dominant ideology provides a justification for the uncontested reproduction of a capitalist system that should be seen for what it is – as exploitative, racist, classist, sexist and spiritually diminishing. Organizing to teach people to realize and oppose this state of affairs is what critical pedagogy is all about. As such, it has an explicitly transformative dimension. It is concerned to teach people how they can recognize and resist dominant ideology and how they can organize to create social forms that are genuinely democratic and that reject capitalist domination (2003:141).

Thus, critical pedagogists choose to take up an explicit political position, one that is anti-capitalist, anti-racist and anti-sexist and that aims to fight for the improvement of the lives of those marginalized by current economic and political systems. In producing 'relevant' knowledge, they thus aim to produce knowledge that is of use to those who are currently oppressed and marginalized. In order for knowledge to be relevant, it is suggested, we must decide whom it is to be used for, and to do this, we need to make an explicit political commitment.

A similar point has been made in debates about African Studies. Those opposing the irrelevance of much of African Studies to Africa and Africans argue that mainstream African Studies is irrelevant because it lacks political commitment. In the words of Wallerstein:

> The second charge [made by the Black Caucus] ... was that the work of white scholars has not been relevant to the problems of black men [sic], either in Africa or in the United States, and that it has not been relevant basically because it has not been committed to the cause of black liberation from white domination (1969:12).

Similarly, Mhone (1972:13) argues that Western Africanists are often unable to produce relevant knowledge because their 'emotions and destinies' are far removed from Africa. He insists that it is not enough to simply be 'intellectually motivated' (1972:11). Critics of mainstream African Studies stress that in order for the study of Africa to be relevant to Africa, scholars need to have more than just an intellectual commitment to Africa.

Most literature on community engagement lacks the bold political commitment evident in critical pedagogy and in the arguments of those criticising mainstream African Studies. Rather, much community engagement literature

makes cautious statements about how university education should strengthen democracy or increase 'social capital', but does not explicitly embrace – or reject – the radical politics of critical pedagogy. An important reason for this political vagueness is, no doubt, that advocates of community engagement (many of whom are drawn from the ranks of university management rather than from academia) seek to present community engagement as a broad and inclusive project and thus resist any explicit commitment to a particular political standpoint. However, if, as argued above, the production of knowledge is an inherent and unavoidable political process, then this reluctance to explicitly embrace a particular political stance simply obscures and avoids questions about the way in which community engagement initiatives are likely to shift – or, on the other hand, shore up – current distributions of power and privilege.

Of course, if advocates of community engagement did tie their concerns about engaging with the community to a clear political project, this would limit the likelihood of community engagement being embraced by entire university communities and thus make it less popular from the point of view of university managers. Furthermore, understanding community engagement in this politicised way would limit the funding possibilities open to those embarking on community engagement initiatives. The content of current programmes of this nature is largely a reflection of the interests of university management and of funders, many of whom are not at all concerned with shifting current distributions of power and privilege.

Conclusion

When viewed from the perspective of African Studies, the idea of community engagement holds some promise. For those whose commitment to researching and teaching Africa forms part of a broader commitment to opposing the exploitation and oppression of African people, any attempt to bring researchers out of universities and into contact with communities excluded from higher education institutions seems commendable. However, as suggested above, the move towards getting universities to 'engage' with communities can have varying effects.

Early community engagement literature (such as that of Boyer) seemed to have at least some bias towards producing knowledge that would empower the poor, although this commitment was certainly not framed within the radical political agenda of critical pedagogy. However, this literature did suggest that the idea of community engagement had its roots in concerns around poverty, inequality and similar issues. If community engagement is indeed to be part of a political project aiming at the realization of social justice and the ending of oppression, then the following key points need to be reflected upon.

Firstly, advocates of community engagement need to acknowledge that knowledge is neither 'relevant' or 'irrelevant', rather it is always relevant to some and less relevant (or useful) to others. Thus, engagement with 'the community' and the production of knowledge useful to it in general is not possible; rather, we need to decide which community or exactly who within a particular community we wish to benefit. Secondly, community engagement initiatives cannot just be tagged onto existing research or study programmes. If we take into account the arguments about the politics of knowledge referred to above, then any attempt at making knowledge relevant to a particular societal group requires that critical attention be given to the knowledge itself, to reveal the political perspectives informing the particular body of knowledge. To illustrate this point, not all forms of African Studies will benefit Africans, even if they are, as is indeed typically the case in African Studies, accompanied by initiatives involving 'engagement' with African communities through fieldwork, participatory research, outreach and the likes. Finally, and relatedly, advocates of community engagement need to be willing to take up an explicit political position. Of course, this means limiting the appeal of any given community engagement initiative, as the adoption of one political position rather than another, will inevitably alienate some while attracting others. As indicated above, this also means limiting funding opportunities for community engagement initiatives as the adoption of the kind of political position suggested earlier is likely to alienate many potential funders. But, as argued above, to avoid taking up an explicit political position is simply to obscure the politics of community engagement.

My overview of community engagement literature has, as is evident above, made me fairly sceptical of this new trend in Higher Education in terms of its ability to produce knowledge that will empower the poor and marginalized, and, in particular, the poor and marginalized in Africa. However, I should point out that while there is certainly cause for scepticism, there is much that is promising in the idea of community engagement and in the work and writings of some of those involved in it. Firstly, the whole discussion about community engagement is valuable in that it opens up debate about how universities and the knowledge produced by universities affect surrounding communities. Each university which adopts some kind of community engagement policy will have to consider how the university should fit into and relate to the surrounding community and such discussion may very well prove beneficial. Secondly, there are some who work within community engagement initiatives who do recognise the politics of knowledge and who are willing to tie their engagement with communities to a clear political project. Take, for example, Mark Falbo, the director for community service at John Carroll University in the USA, who was one of the around 40 people asked to contribute an essay as

part of the twentieth anniversary of Campus Compact, an organisation committed to promoting community outreach and engagement. In his essay, he recognizes many of the points made above, asking:

> What does engagement for global citizenship look like in the context of educational institutions who serve the world's privileged, a people whose economic and social lives reflect the experience of a small minority of the world's population? That American higher education is engaged in the world is a fact. The challenge is to reflect as a guild of scholars or as an industry (you pick your preferred metaphor) on how we are to be engaged in the world and on whose behalf (Falbo 2006).

Further in his essay, Falbo 'admit[s] to a preferential bias in favour of those who are voiceless or marginalized in the dominant cultural and economic system' (Falbo 2006), in this way making explicit his political position. While Falbo is not alone, community engagement literature on the whole lacks the awareness he has of the ways in which all knowledge has effects on communities and of the need for us to favour some communities above others.

For those of us working in African Studies who regard our work as part of a political project committed to social justice and are keen to produce knowledge which, as desired by the Black Caucus in their 1969 petition, is 'relevant and competent to deal with the challenging times and conditions of black people in Africa, in the United States, and in the whole black world', the notion of community engagement offers both great potential and serious limitations. Our aim should be to push the community engagement discourses of the universities where we work in a direction that recognises the politics of knowledge and that encourages critical reflection on curriculum content as part of the process of changing how we engage with the various communities who are affected by the knowledge we produce.

Those of us who teach about Africa at African universities may find the community engagement discourses here more suited to emancipatory purposes than those outside of Africa. The idea that universities should produce 'relevant' knowledge is perhaps less controversial in Africa than in other continents, and enthusiasm for community engagement in Africa (and particularly in South Africa) appears to be higher than elsewhere.[3] Thus, we should be able to use existing debates on the relevance of African Studies (as well as on the relevance of university education in Africa) in order to think carefully about how best to respond to the rapid development of community engagement policies and programmes on our campuses.

Notes

1. I would like to thank my colleagues and friends, particularly Pedro Tabensky, Peter Vale, Richard Pithouse and Thad Metz, for their helpful comments on an earlier version.
2. For a discussion of the reasons for these differences and for an overview of the discipline of African Studies in different contexts, see Zeleza (2006a).
3. One indication of this is that Africa has about the same number of members of the Talloires Network as does Western Europe, despite having a far smaller number of universities. Another is that the Association of African Universities has a particular project focusing exclusively on this issue (see AAU 2011). In South Africa, almost all major public universities have detailed community engagement policies and community engagement is actively promoted by the Council on Higher Education (see for example CHE 2006).

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L'enseignement supérieur au Maroc : de l'autonomie à la dépendance ?

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Résumé

La perte d'autonomie de l'enseignement supérieur marocain a commencé sous le protectorat avec la création d'une nouvelle filière pour la formation et le recrutement de l'élite. Ensuite, elle s'est confirmée après l'indépendance quand l'Etat a instrumentalisé l'enseignement supérieur aussi bien originel que moderne pour ses propres besoins. Certes, comparativement aux premières années d'indépendance, l'ensemble de l'enseignement supérieur a connu un développement quantitatif et qualitatif significatif. Cependant, il reste marqué par une dualité qui défavorise le secteur non sélectif (ouvert) en général et l'Université en particulier. Cette dernière institution est accusée d'être une « usine à chômeurs ». Or malgré une professionnalisation accrue des formations et diplômes notamment après la généralisation de la réforme LMD, le chômage des diplômés est toujours élevé.

Cherchant à rentrer davantage dans l'économie de la connaissance, l'Etat a mis en place un nouveau plan « d'urgence » (2009-2012) de développement du secteur de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche. Mais comment développer un secteur (celui de la recherche), alors que l'économie locale ne le sollicite pas ? A travers l'insistance sur la relation recherche-entreprise, l'Etat ne masque-t-il pas finalement son dirigisme politique et économique du secteur pour le soumettre à des normes extérieures ?

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Abstract

This article demonstrates that in comparison with the first years of independence, higher education in Morocco as a whole has experienced a significant quantitative and qualitative development. However, it is still marked by a duality that is disadvantageous to the non-selective (open) sector in general, and to universities in particular. The latter is accused of being an 'unemployed factory'. It is argued that despite an increasing number of professional trainings and certificates, especially after the generalization of the LMD reform, unemployment of graduate students is still high. To restore the situation and at the same time penetrate further into the economies of knowledge, the state has put in place a new 'emergency' plan (2009-2012) for the development of the higher education and research sector. This study raises different questions, namely why developing a sector (that of research) when local economy does not ask for it? Also, through the emphasis on the research-company link, is the State not finally hiding its political and economic plan on the sector under external standards?

Introduction : une perte irrémédiable de l'autonomie

L'enseignement supérieur traditionnel au Maroc avait des fonctions politiques de conservation culturelle et de formation/reproduction de l'élite. Dans ce cadre, la mosquée-université *Qarawiyine* poursuivait deux missions : entretien et conservation de l'héritage/patrimoine religieux au même titre que les autres institutions et structures traditionnelles ; reproduction socioculturelle par la formation des dignitaires religieux ou *ulémas*[1], occupant des postes dans l'enseignement supérieur, la magistrature et l'encadrement du culte musulman. La classe sociale - *khassa* - qui dominait la société de l'empire chérifien était issue de ce groupe de ulémas qui avait le privilège et le pouvoir de proclamer l'élection du sultan durant la *baya'â*.

Ainsi la Qarawiyine est une école particulière de cadres pour le pouvoir et la société, car comparativement elle « (…) possède l'autonomie, la structure informelle d'une université. Mais du point de vue de sa fonction, il s'agit plutôt d'un collège (au sens américain), le seul que le pays possède et qui prépare une petite minorité à participer à la vie publique, tandis que les *zaouias* encouragent les individus à une vie religieuse privée. » (Laroui 1977:199). C'est pourquoi « lorsque la politique réformatrice du Makhzen, faite en dehors d'elle, aura contribué à donner naissance à une élite nouvelle, la grande mosquée se trouvera au centre de l'opposition et marquera pour longtemps la réaction marocaine vis-à-vis de l'étranger. L'enseignement qu'elle n'a cessé de fournir est à l'image d'une société stable ; soutien d'une élite restreinte, il se devait d'être personnalisé

et invariable » (Laroui 1977:199). En 1910, à la veille du protectorat[2], 500 étudiants étaient inscrits régulièrement à la *Qarawiyine*.

Peu après son installation en tant que Résident général en 1912, fort de son expérience algérienne et suivant l'exemple du collège Sadiki en Tunisie, le Maréchal Lyautey crée des « collèges musulmans[3] » avec pour objectifs de former de nouveaux cadres – issus de l'élite urbaine – pour l'administration et le Makhzen. Ce qui revenait à dévaloriser progressivement l'enseignement supérieur traditionnel et à réduire les débouchés des sortants de la Qarawiyine notamment dans l'enseignement et le Makhzen[4]. De son côté, en 1918, le Sultan lui-même, imitant la réforme initiée par le Bey tunisien Mohamed es Saddok à Ez-zitouna, institue une évaluation des professeurs et crée une commission chargée de la réforme. Pour le groupe des *'alims*, cette réforme mettait pour la première fois la *Qarawiyine* sous l'autorité du sultan. De ce fait, on peut avancer l'hypothèse selon laquelle le protectorat, en intégrant l'Etat marocain au capitalisme international, a rendu possible la domination politique de celui-ci sur la société. Cette hypothèse est aisément défendable si l'on pense que la même opération politique a eu lieu quelques années auparavant dans la Tunisie sous protectorat.

Du point de vue de la relation société-université, la conséquence de la dévalorisation est que la *Qarawiyine* a vu son recrutement se ruraliser[5] et les débouchés de ses étudiants se raréfier. Pour la période 1942-1952, sur les 150 détenteurs du titre de *'alim*, la moitié était sans emploi en 1952 (Vermeren 1999:53). Cette frustration des *toulab*[6] devient une des caractéristiques structurelles du protectorat et constitua une des sources du nationalisme. Déjà mobilisés contre la promulgation du *dahir*[7] berbère en 1930, les *toulab* se sont engagés plus fortement dans une grève violente contre le *dahir* de 1933 portant réforme des études à la *Qarawiyine* et instaurant, comme à Ez-Zitouna (en Tunisie), trois cycles d'enseignement (primaire, secondaire et supérieur), des examens de fin d'année, etc.

Selon Merrouni (1983), la lutte politique pour l'indépendance avait bien rapproché conjoncturellement *toulab* et collégiens [modernes] en particulier à travers la diffusion et la défense du *Manifeste de l'indépendance* – du parti de l'Istiqlal. Cependant, les collégiens, destinés en principe à occuper des postes administratifs, en obtenant la possibilité de passer le baccalauréat, s'étaient ouvert de nouvelles voies d'études et de carrières professionnelles plus importantes que celles des *toulab*. Alors que ces derniers s'étaient toujours positionnés comme les gardiens des traditions, les collégiens, de par leur formation bilingue franco-arabe, apparaissaient clairement dans les témoignages recueillis par Merrouni (1983), comme les représentants d'une modernité à construire en suivant l'exemple des Français. En choisissant le camp de ces derniers, le pouvoir colonial avait clairement choisi ses « héritiers », légitimés

par un capital culturel bilingue et moderniste – qui ne dépendait plus de l'enseignement supérieur traditionnel – pour le contrôle de l'Etat.

Un enseignement supérieur au service de l'Etat et de l'administration

Au lendemain de l'indépendance, le nouveau gouvernement – dominé par des cadres issus du parti de l'Istiqlal – a voulu, comme en Tunisie, intégrer la *Qarawiyine* au Ministère de l'Education nationale. Ce qui a provoqué une farouche opposition[8] des *toulab* et des *oulama*, au nom de l'autonomie de l'enseignement supérieur. La création en 1964 à Rabat de l'Institut Dar-al-Hadith-al-Hassania, école supérieure de troisième cycle en sciences religieuses, indique que le pouvoir s'est donné les moyens pour diversifier le recrutement des cadres au détriment des sortants de la *Qarawiyine* (Tozy 1999 ; Vermeren 2007).

Cependant, le système d'enseignement supérieur moderne lui-même, celui hérité du système éducatif colonial (1912-1956), n'a pas connu de réforme politique en profondeur. En outre, jusque dans les années 1970, l'essentiel des structures nouvellement créées l'a été à Rabat. L'objectif assigné par les pouvoirs publics à ce système pendant de nombreuses années était de fournir rapidement des cadres pour l'Etat et l'administration. Cet objectif correspondait aussi à une représentation positive largement partagée à l'époque, dans différents milieux sociaux, selon laquelle l'éducation en général et l'Université en particulier sont des moyens « de lutte contre le déclassement social et pour le positionnement de certains groupes dans la hiérarchie socioprofessionnelle » (Ibaaquil 2000:141).

L'Université Mohamed V, la première dans le pays, est créée à Rabat (*Dahir* du 21/07/1959) près de quatre ans après l'indépendance, à partir de l'ancien Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines (IHEM). Mais l'insuffisance des structures était telle que l'Université de Bordeaux délivrait des diplômes marocains jusqu'en 1961, année de la création de l'Ecole Mohammadia des Ingénieurs (EMI) à Rabat. Elle sera suivie par l'ouverture en 1963 de l'Institut Agronomique et Vétérinaire Hassan II, également à Rabat. Dans le but d'instituer un secteur sélectif, les autorités ont aussi encouragé la création de grandes écoles sous la tutelle de différents ministères : l'Ecole Nationale Forestière des Ingénieurs (1970), l'Institut Supérieur de Commerce et d'Administration des Entreprises (ENSCAE), l'Ecole Nationale des Postes et Télécommunications, l'Ecole Hassania des Travaux Publics (1971), l'Ecole Supérieur des Sciences de l'Information (ESI 1974), etc.

Sous la pression des effectifs, les autorités étendent les structures universitaires à partir de 1990-1991, mais en instituant des formations professionnalisantes – à accès sélectif - à l'université à travers des Facultés

des Sciences et Techniques (FST), des Ecoles Supérieures de Technologies (EST) pour des sorties au niveau Technicien Supérieur (Bac + 2) et des Ecoles Nationales de Commerce et de Gestion (ENCG) pour des sorties au niveau Maîtrise (Bac + 4). Le secteur non sélectif bénéficie de la création d'une Licence Appliquée destinée à répondre aux besoins du monde économique.

L'introduction de la Charte nationale d'éducation et de formation en 2000 – par la Loi 01-00 – institue une « autonomie » pédagogique et une nouvelle architecture basée sur des niveaux de sortie à 3, 5 et 8 ans. Politiquement et économiquement, cette charte pose ainsi quelques jalons pour une inscription du système éducatif dans le processus de la globalisation[9] telle que pilotée par l'Union européenne. Cette inscription représente la condition d'une aide financière européenne aux réformes éducatives. Cependant, bien que se voulant novatrice, cette charte ne change pas la coupure ou la dualité, héritée du système français, entre les secteurs sélectif (grandes écoles et instituts) et non sélectif (universités).

Par contre, dans la nouvelle architecture on note deux voies principales, l'une académique (ou classique) – allant du DEUG[10] au Doctorat – et l'autre professionnelle qui commence au Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Professionnelles (DEUP), validé après 4 semestres, passe par la Licence professionnelle (en 6 semestres) et se termine avec un Master spécialisé ou professionnel.

La nouvelle loi légalise également l'introduction d'un enseignement supérieur privé, le rapprochement de l'enseignement supérieur public du « monde économique », la préparation des conditions pour la réforme LMD, « l'autonomie » des universités – sans la gestion collégiale – et enfin la réinscription des objectifs de recherche dans les missions des universités. Cette charte a été introduite 25 ans après la première loi organisant l'Université (*Dahir* portant loi N°1.75.102 du 25 février 1975). Y a été également défini le statut d'enseignant-chercheur. Le Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique (MESRS) sera créé en 1976 seulement. Cependant, sous la pression d'une demande sociale très forte d'accès à l'enseignement supérieur, notamment à partir des années 1970, le secteur non sélectif a connu un développement significatif.

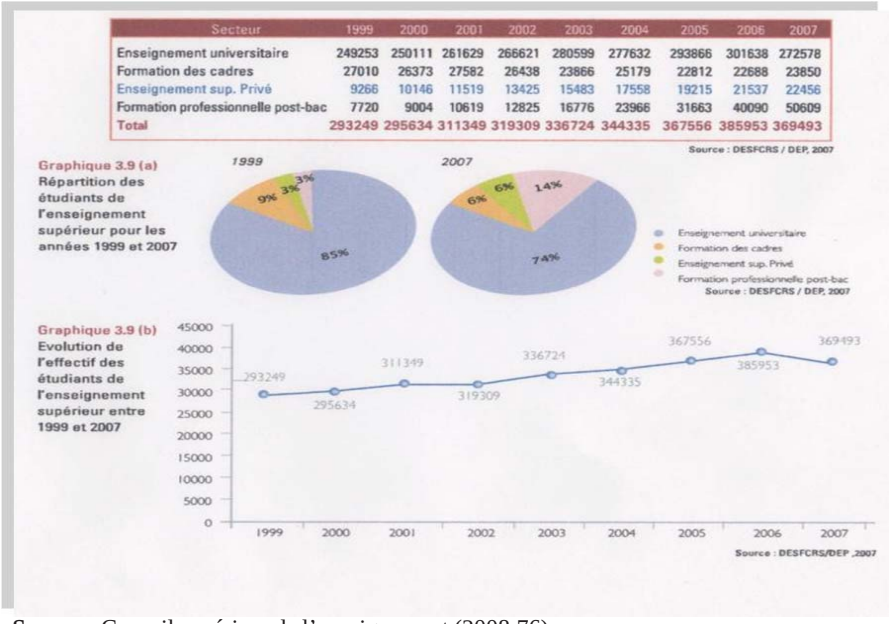
La décentralisation des structures proprement universitaires a été entamée en 1974 avec l'Université de Casablanca, celles de Fès en 1975, de Marrakech, Oujda, Meknès, Kenitra et Jadida en 1978. En même temps, toujours sous la pression – plus politique – les autorités décident d'arabiser[11] des matières scientifiques, mais sans véritablement changer la division des tâches et des pouvoirs entre les différentes langues en présence (Grandguillaume 1983 ; Youssi 1991 ; Moatassime 1992). Dans cette division des pouvoirs, les langues arabe et berbère répondent aux préoccupations identitaires et servent dans les com-

munications sociales courantes, alors que la langue française répond aux questions économiques et sert dans les communications plus formelles, en particulier dans le secteur de production (industrielle par exemple) et dans l'enseignement supérieur scientifique et technique. Dans cette division, la langue française sert également d'outil de sélection sociale, notamment dans les grandes écoles (et certaines filières universitaires) ainsi que dans le secteur économique (industrie, gestion, finances, etc.).

Un système d'enseignement supérieur de plus en plus dense, mais dual

Le réseau des structures d'enseignement supérieur se densifie considérablement, et s'étoffe en encadrement local. En 2000, on comptait 11 universités pour 249 253 étudiants et 9867 enseignants et enseignants-chercheurs à l'Université (source : DES/DEP 2007). Pour l'année 2002, Kleiche-Dray (2007) comptabilise 133 structures dédiées à la recherche, contre 23 seulement en 1956. En 2007 il y avait 15 universités, dont une privée, composées de 105 institutions implantées dans 17 villes et offrant 14 types d'enseignement pour un total de 369 493 étudiants (voir Tableau 1) :

Tableau 1 : Evolution de l'effectif total des étudiants de 1999 à 2007



Secteur	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Enseignement universitaire	249253	250111	261629	266621	280599	277632	293866	301638	272578
Formation des cadres	27010	26373	27582	26438	23866	25179	22812	22688	23850
Enseignement sup. Privé	9266	10146	11519	13425	15483	17558	19215	21537	22456
Formation professionnelle post-bac	7720	9004	10619	12825	16776	23966	31663	40090	50609
Total	293249	295634	311349	319309	336724	344335	367556	385953	369493

Source : Conseil supérieur de l'enseignement (2008:76).

Toujours en 2007, l'effectif des étudiants dans l'enseignement supérieur tout secteur confondu avoisine les 370 000 étudiants, soit un accroissement annuel moyen de 2,9 pour cent. L'examen de l'évolution de ces effectifs montre que le système a connu des rythmes différents selon les secteurs d'enseignement. Ainsi l'effectif des étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur privé et de la formation professionnelle post-baccalauréat s'est développé plus rapidement par rapport aux autres secteurs. En outre, l'effectif des étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur non universitaire public (la formation des cadres) a régressé de l'ordre de 1,5 pour cent par an durant la même période.

L'effectif des étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur universitaire public, a chuté de manière exceptionnelle durant l'année 2007, atteignant même -10 pour cent par rapport à l'année précédente. La répartition des étudiants par secteur montre une baisse au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur universitaire de 85 pour cent à 74 pour cent entre 1999 et 2007. Cette baisse semble avoir profité essentiellement à la formation professionnelle post-baccalauréat qui a progressé de 3 pour cent à 14 pour cent durant la même période. Enfin, moins spectaculaire mais significatif, l'effectif de l'enseignement supérieur privé a également augmenté, passant de 3 pour cent à près de 6 pour cent durant la même période.

Dans l'enseignement supérieur universitaire public le nombre d'étudiants est passé de 249 253 en 1999 à 272 578 en 2007, dont 69 pour cent en Sciences juridiques, économiques et sociales et en Lettres et Sciences humaines. Concernant l'année 2007–2008, les chiffres indiquent une légère augmentation par rapport à l'année précédente : 289 927 étudiants, dont 62,7 pour cent en Sciences juridiques, Economiques et Sociales et Lettres et Sciences Humaines (voir Tableau 2).

Tableau 2 : Effectifs étudiants pour l'année 2007–2008

	Etudiants
Enseignement Originel	4 620
Sciences Juridiques, Economiques et Sociales	100 805
Lettres et Sciences Humaines	80 879
Sciences	45 868
Etablissements polydisciplinaires[12]	22 319
Sciences et Techniques	9 996
Médecine et Pharmacie	9 538
Médecine Dentaire	980
Sciences de l'Ingénieur	5 361
Commerce et Gestion	3 640
Technologie	4 919
Traduction	127
Sciences de l'Education	881
Total Général	**289 927**

Source : Direction de l'évaluation et de la prospective, 2009.

Malgré une légère baisse dans ces deux derniers domaines, il y a toujours une massification dans les domaines à accès ouvert, notamment dans les facultés des Sciences juridiques, économiques et sociales et dans les Lettres et sciences humaines :

A l'inverse, les inscrits dans les filières sélectives ne représentent que 4 pour cent de l'ensemble des étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur. Par ailleurs, le taux d'accroissement moyen de l'effectif des étudiants inscrits à l'université est resté relativement stable durant la même période, soit moins de 1,12 pour cent par année. Cependant, par rapport à 2006, ce taux est affecté par une baisse remarquable, atteignant moins 10 pour cent de l'effectif en 2007.

Cette baisse significative peut s'expliquer par la dégradation des conditions d'encadrement à l'Université que l'on peut apprécier à travers le rapport Etudiants/Enseignants. En 2007 par exemple les filières de Médecine et Pharmacie – relevant du secteur sélectif – offraient un rapport de 7 étudiants par enseignant, alors qu'en Sciences Juridiques, Economiques et Sociales le rapport était de 85 étudiants par enseignant (Tableau 3).

Tableau 3 : Taux d'encadrement pédagogique par domaines d'études en 2007

Tableau 3.6 : Taux d'encadrement pédagogique par domaine d'étude pour l'année 2007

Domaine d'étude	Effectif étudiant	Effectif enseignant	Rapport Etud/Ens
Enseignement Originel	4354	118	37
Sc. Juridiques, Economiques et Sociales	106702	1252	85
Lettres et Sciences Humaines	83115	2119	39
Sciences	47539	3148	15
Sciences et Techniques	9527	1020	9
Médecine et Pharmacie	7882	1051	7
Médecine Dentaire	1023	86	12
Ingénierie	4249	399	11
Technologie	4189	381	11
Commerce et Gestion	3194	132	24
Traduction	97	11	9
Sciences de l'éducation	707	52	14
Total	272578	9769	28

Source : DESFCRS / DEP, 2007

Graphique 3.6 : Evolution du taux d'encadrement de 1999 à 2007

Source: Conseil supérieur de l'enseignement, 2008.

Autrement dit, si la moyenne générale de 28 étudiants par enseignant[13] en 2007 marque une certaine amélioration par rapport à 2006, elle profite d'abord au secteur le plus sélectif en général et aux disciplines scientifiques et techniques en particulier. En outre, replacé dans la durée, le rapport Etudiants/Enseignants accuse au contraire une hausse comparativement à l'année universitaire 1999-2000.

Dans le secteur sélectif, bien qu'elle soit publique, Al Akhawayn University[14] d'Ifrane semble échapper complètement aux règles habituelles d'admission qui caractérisent normalement le secteur universitaire. En effet, son mode de fonctionnement et son ouverture à l'international la rapproche davantage du modèle d'une grande école que d'une Université : Son mode de sélection s'appuie sur les dossiers scolaires, la langue anglaise et les frais d'inscription, même si elle propose des bourses d'excellence pour des étudiants méritants. Il faut plus de 30 000 DH[15] (environ 2700 •) à un candidat marocain pour s'y inscrire, contre plus de 45 000 DH pour un étudiant étranger[16]. Ces tarifs ne comprennent pas les frais d'hébergement, de restauration et d'achats d'ouvrages. Par rapport aux universités africaines Al Akhawayn University se classe 19e dans le Top des 100 meilleures universités du continent[17]. Elle est loin derrière des universités sud-africaines et égyptiennes, mais elle est la première au Maghreb.

Comparativement aux autres universités maghrébines en général et marocaines en particulier, Al Akhawayn University semble refléter la division des tâches entre différents secteurs d'enseignement supérieur : un secteur non sélectif, accueillant le plus grand nombre d'étudiants dont on peut penser qu'ils ont des revenus plutôt modestes et un secteur très sélectif, affichant parfois aussi des certifications internationales, ouvert seulement à une minorité d'étudiants nationaux et internationaux disposant de meilleurs revenus et d'atouts linguistiques recherchés (anglais et français en particulier). De toute évidence, ce second secteur confère un rôle particulier au Maroc dans la mobilité plutôt Sud-Sud des étudiants. Il devient ainsi un des pôles d'enseignement supérieur intermédiaires entre le Sud et le Nord (Mazella 2009).

L'Université, « usine à chômeurs » ?

Introduite par la Loi 01-00, la réforme LMD a été adoptée en 2002 par le Ministère de l'enseignement supérieur et confiée au Comité d'Animation, de Pilotage et de Suivi de la Réforme (CAPESUR). Ce comité est composé des 14 recteurs et présidents d'universités, de doyens, de directeurs d'établissements d'enseignement supérieur et de représentants du syndicat National de l'Enseignement Supérieur (SNESup). Son rôle est d'orienter la réforme, en étroite collaboration avec la CPU (Paris) en particulier sous la forme de Fonds de Solidarité Prioritaire (FSP) à hauteur de 4,33 millions d'euros pour la

coopération française et un apport marocain de 3 millions d'euros, en soutien à la réforme. Ce soutien[18] s'est traduit aussi par un programme franco-marocain (2004-2007) dit « Appui à la Réforme de l'enseignement supérieur marocain » (ARESM) dans lequel se sont impliqués 14 universités marocaines et 39 universités françaises.

Cependant, malgré son ouverture sur les représentants syndicaux, le CAPESUR reste un comité largement dominé par l'administration et des responsables désignés. Outre le centralisme excessif, tant dans la conception et que dans l'application, qui semble nuire à la réforme (Kohstall 2008), les acteurs universitaires sont restés extérieurs au dispositif et sont parfois très critiques[19] à l'endroit du système et des réformes engagées. Dans un état des lieux dressé peu après l'introduction de la réforme LMD, Basfao (2005)[20] juge au contraire très sévèrement l'ancien système en soulignant des dysfonctionnements en particulier dans le secteur ouvert qui inscrivait, selon lui, 90 pour cent des bacheliers : la durée moyenne pour l'obtention d'une licence (générale) était de 9,33 années, soit un surcoût de 230 pour cent ; le taux moyen de déperdition dans le premier cycle était de plus de 50 pour cent. Parmi les nombreux facteurs invoqués pour expliquer cet état, Basfao cite l'insuffisance de la motivation chez les étudiants, le manque de préparation pour l'enseignement supérieur et un hiatus entre la langue de l'enseignement fondamental (primaire et collège) et celle de l'enseignement supérieur.

Le rapport officiel du Ministère de l'Education nationale (2008) est critique à l'égard des nouveaux inscrits dans les filières LMD. Car 75 pour cent des bacheliers s'orientent vers les Lettres et Sciences Humaines et les Sciences Juridiques, Economiques et Sociales, au détriment des filières techniques et professionnelles, donnant en principe des compétences plus recherchées sur le marché du travail :

> A titre d'exemple, les Ecoles Supérieures de Technologie connaissent un taux de remplissage moyen ne dépassant pas les 40 pour cent. Par ailleurs, le redoublement et le décrochage des étudiants au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur continuent d'enregistrer des niveaux élevés, avec un taux de redoublement annuel moyen de 17 pour cent pour l'ensemble des filières, atteignant 30 pour cent dans les filières à accès ouvert. La 1ère année du cursus constitue à cet égard une période charnière d'adaptation qui connaît les taux de redoublement les plus élevés. Notons cependant que la réforme pédagogique opérée au niveau des filières à accès ouvert a permis d'améliorer le rendement interne du système. Au vu des résultats affichés par la première promotion depuis la mise en place de la réforme LMD, le rendement de cette première promotion semble être meilleur puisque, au total, 33 pour cent des étudiants ont obtenu leur licence contre 26 pour cent avec l'ancien système.

> Toutefois, ce constat reste à nuancer faute d'informations exhaustives sur le taux de réussite global des étudiants de la première promotion du système LMD, et sur les durées de séjour moyennes par cycle » (MEN-ESFCRS, 2008:39).

En effet, pour l'instant, il n'y a pas de données officielles sur l'insertion des nouveaux diplômés sortant des filières LMD[21]. Parmi les mesures préconisées par le MEN, il y a l'amélioration de « l'environnement de l'excellence » à l'horizon 2012 par une augmentation des effectifs en classes préparatoires qui passeront de près de 4000 à 7550 élèves, une amélioration des conditions d'hébergement et de restauration des étudiants, la création d'une dynamique d'émulation, une extension des capacités d'accueil dans les universités, etc. Mais cela reste au stade de projets.

Dans une perspective historique, Zouaoui (2006) estime que la dégradation du niveau d'enseignement supérieur était « inéluctable » dès lors que les niveaux primaire et secondaire, ont connu un processus de mal développement les conduisant vers une médiocrité. Constatant une différence dans le niveau d'encadrement entre secteurs sélectif et non sélectif, il considère que la massification est un autre facteur de dégradation de la qualité dans l'enseignement supérieur, en particulier dans le secteur non sélectif. Sur le plan socio-économique, les critiques les plus sévères à l'endroit de l'Université sont apparues dans les années 1980, après la mise en application du Plan d'Ajustement Structurel (PAS) recommandé par la Banque mondiale et le FMI. Car une des conséquences du PAS a été la limitation des investissements publics dans les domaines sociaux et éducatifs en général et les recrutements dans la fonction publique en particulier (Mellakh 2000). Autrement dit, le changement de politique étatique qui s'est traduit par un retrait entre autres en matière de recrutement public, non compensé par l'investissement privé, a créé un problème social lié au chômage des « trop diplômés » depuis le début des années 1990.

D'après la direction des statistiques, en 1997, le taux de chômage des sans diplômes était de 9,8 pour cent, alors que celui des diplômés du supérieur s'élevait à 30,5 pour cent, (HCP 1997). Dix ans après, le taux de chômage des diplômés du supérieur a certes baissé pour s'établir à 20,8 pour cent, (HCP 2007) mais l'écart avec le taux de chômage des sans diplômes (4,9%) reste élevé. Cet écart est encore plus grand entre le taux de chômage de ceux qui n'ont aucun niveau scolaire (2,4 %,) et celui des personnes ayant un niveau supérieur (21,8 %,). C'est en effet une situation pour le moins paradoxale, qui dure depuis plusieurs années et qui semble généralisable, dans des proportions différentes, à tout le Maghreb (Charmes et Musette 2002 ; Musette et Hamouda 2006). Une évaluation des dispositifs d'insertion mis en place par les autorités marocaines (Ibourk 2005) fait ressortir trois éléments : les limites d'un traitement

social du chômage devenu structurel ; un cadre incitatif à la création d'entreprise peu efficace et donc à revoir ; enfin, l'inadéquation du secteur privé par rapport aux projets d'insertion d'une partie de la population – hétérogène - des jeunes diplômés demandeurs d'emploi.

Répondant à l'accusation, régulièrement reprise par la presse locale, selon laquelle l'enseignement supérieur en général et l'université en particulier constituent une « usine à chômeurs », Ibaaquil (2000) estime qu'il s'agit d'abord d'un dysfonctionnement de la mobilité sociale. Selon lui, trois problèmes en sont à l'origine. La politique d'imitation de programmes éducatifs extérieurs conduit à un « renforcement du processus d'acculturation anarchique et une incapacité endémique à rechercher des solutions originales, adaptées aux contextes locaux et régionaux, ainsi qu'aux contraintes de l'environnement international » (2000:151). Ensuite, la croissance des effectifs de l'enseignement supérieur, conséquence d'une explosion de la demande sociale d'éducation, met l'université en particulier dans une situation de quasi saturation alors qu'elle est loin d'avoir répondu à « sa mission sociale : faire accéder une majorité de jeunes à un niveau d'études supérieures » (ibid). Enfin l'introduction du critère d'efficacité économique, conformément aux injonctions d'organisations internationales financières et économiques (…) oblige l'enseignement supérieur à rompre avec sa mission universaliste de développement personnel et d'éducation citoyenne pour l'étudiant. De ce point de vue, « l'adéquation parfaite formation-emploi » lui semble être comme une « nouvelle utopie libérale » incompatible avec l'objectif de développement d'une jeune nation.

Après l'évaluation en janvier 2008 du programme ARESM franco-marocain pour la période 2004-2007, le Ministère de l'enseignement supérieur a approuvé la prolongation du programme pour la période 2008-2010. Sur les trois volets visés par ce programme, gouvernance, formation et recherche scientifique, le Ministre s'est déclaré satisfait et a qualifié cette coopération de « novatrice et efficiente[22] ». L'objectif annoncé de la prolongation est de finaliser l'informatisation de l'administration pour qu'elle puisse « mieux gérer les ressources humaines et financières en vue de consacrer l'autonomie des universités marocaines » (*Le Matin* 19.01.2008). Au-delà de cette normalisation, les responsables visent deux autres objectifs : 1) Rendre l'université marocaine « en mesure d'exporter son savoir-faire acquis grâce à ce projet dans le cadre d'une coopération triangulaire. Un transfert du savoir-faire au profit de pays tiers de l'espace régional et méditerranéen » (Ibid.) ; 2) Attirer des investisseurs étrangers dans l'enseignement supérieur.

Ces objectifs permettent de penser que l'Etat cherche à rentrer dans ce que l'UE appelle l'économie de la connaissance. Or, pour ouvrir le marché marocain de la formation supérieure aux investisseurs étrangers, l'Etat a besoin de développer quantitativement et qualitativement ce secteur. C'est aussi dans ce

cadre que nous interprétons la décision du gouvernement d'appuyer les réformes en cours, en définissant en octobre 2009 un programme dit « d'urgencee »,[23] étalé sur plusieurs années pour l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche :

1. En amont, améliorer l'offre de formation en rénovant les structures matérielles[24] d'accueil existantes (à travers les 97 établissements universitaires).
2. Augmenter le rendement de l'enseignement supérieur, c'est-à-dire atteindre le taux de 69 pour cent de diplômés à l'horizon 2012, contre 45 pour cent en 2008 et réduire le taux d'abandon à moins de 12 pour cent, contre 22 pour cent en 2008.
3. En aval, le programme prévoit de doubler les taux d'insertion actuels des lauréats par une insistance sur les filières scientifique et technique et l'orientation de 25 pour cent des étudiants de licence et 50 pour cent des étudiants de master vers des filières professionnelles.
4. Pour la recherche universitaire, à l'horizon 2012, le gouvernement fixe l'objectif de 3 500 publications dans des revues internationales indexées, contre 1991 seulement en 2008. La formation par la recherche doit viser durant la période 2009-2012, la soutenance de près de 2 300 thèses doctorales en 2012, contre 820 en 2008. Pour la même période, les universités doivent atteindre l'objectif de 330 brevets déposés et s'engager autour de projets de recherche-développement pour mettre en place plus de 1660 projets collaboratifs avec les entreprises.
5. Aux niveaux pédagogique et administratif, le programme prévoit des formations pour les enseignants chercheurs et le personnel administratif. L'objectif étant « la promotion de ressources qualifiées selon les normes et standards internationaux ».

Le coût de ce programme de soutien aux réformes n'a pas encore été communiqué. On sait cependant qu'une partie du financement se fera au moyen de prêts européens.[25]

Un potentiel de recherche considérable à l'Université, mais un secteur en mal d'autonomie

Depuis la fin des années 1990 et début 2000, l'Etat accorde un rôle stratégique au secteur de la recherche en général et à celui de la R&D en particulier. Si l'on juge par la structuration du secteur – forte implication des institutions étatiques et ouverture sur le monde économique – et le niveau d'investissement financier (0,8 % du PIB en 2003)[26], on peut penser que l'Etat poursuit un double objectif : s'insérer dans le processus de la globalisation avec un rôle nouveau[27]

– c'est-à-dire. reposant sur des activités à forte valeur ajoutée – dans la nouvelle division internationale du travail ; et rapprocher le monde de la recherche et celui de l'entreprise pour atténuer le manque chronique de coordination entre la formation et l'emploi d'une part et entre la recherche et l'innovation industrielle d'autre part.

Dans la synthèse réalisée en 2007, Kleiche (2007) observe certes une augmentation de l'activité de R et D dans les entreprises : 1,6 pour cent du CA en moyenne. Cependant, parmi les entreprises ayant bénéficié de l'aide de l'Etat pour le développement de la R&D, seules les grandes entreprises industrielles en sont satisfaites. Pour les PME-PMI, les aides sont insuffisantes et les démarches relativement lourdes.

De manière générale, l'activité de recherche est « confrontée à un tissu industriel caractérisé par la prédominance des PMI, par une production « mûre » à base de main d'œuvre peu qualifiée ainsi que par le manque de savoir-faire et d'intérêt pour l'absorption d'expertise et de technologies avancées. Les investisseurs font le plus souvent appel à des technologies clés en main, à la fabrication sous licence, au dépannage par des experts étrangers. Ces pratiques s'exercent au détriment des services locaux jugés peu fiables ou lents, qu'il s'agisse de la recherche scientifique et technique ou des services d'ingénierie nationaux. Le recours aux transferts de technologie a été justifié par la nécessité de mettre en place dans les plus brefs délais une base industrielle fonctionnelle. Il n'est pas guidé par la préoccupation de promouvoir les capacités techniques nationales. Ainsi le secteur industriel importe 85 pour cent des services de conseil et d'ingénierie dont il a besoin, ce qui représente 4 milliards de Dirhams, soit l'équivalent de la moitié de la facture pétrolière, ce qui équivaut à 1,6 pour cent du PIB. La recherche scientifique est peu intégrée au développement expérimental (R&D) et celui-ci reste limité dans l'industrie, bien qu'en progression » (Kleiche 2007:31).

Selon l'enquête de terrain de Mellakh (2007), malgré la multiplication des dispositifs et incitations à l'intégration de l'activité R&D dans le monde économique, les situations et les attitudes des patrons sont très variées à l'égard de cette activité. L'inexistence d'un service R&D dans l'entreprise n'est pas toujours un facteur défavorable à l'activité d'innovation. Un service des méthodes ou même un personnel qualifié en place peuvent faire de l'innovation quand la politique de la direction les encourage. Dans ce cadre, fournisseurs et clients exigeants peuvent également constituer des facteurs d'innovation. Mais beaucoup d'entreprises ne connaissent pas les programmes publics en la matière ou ne sont pas en phase avec les objectifs publics.

Enfin, les rapprochements université-entreprises sont difficiles à réaliser malgré la multiplicité des réseaux formels (RDT, PTR, PRD, RMIE,…)[28], d'où un manque de coordination entre l'industrie et la recherche universitaire et

l'inexistence d'une interface Etat-entreprise (de type consultance par exemple) qui semble limiter singulièrement la portée de la politique gouvernementale et des partenaires associatifs, par exemple l'association *R et D Maroc*.

Pourtant, en plus des financements publics, la recherche publique[29] marocaine bénéficie depuis quelques années déjà du soutien de programmes européens de recherche (PCRD, FSP, MEDCAMPUS, EUREKA, etc.) et de coopérations très importantes, plus particulièrement en sciences et développement technologique, notamment avec la France[30], l'Espagne, la Belgique et le Portugal. Ce double investissement donne, selon les indicateurs de l'Observatoire des Sciences et Technologies (2007), une position très appréciable en termes de publications scientifiques aux niveaux maghrébin et africain. L'évaluation sur la base bibliographique ISI fait ressortir une dizaine d'établissements marocains parmi la centaine de producteurs scientifiques africains et classe la production marocaine au 3e rang après l'Afrique du Sud et l'Egypte (Kleiche-Dray 2003 et 2006). Cependant, à partir de 2003, pour de nombreuses raisons, le Maroc perd sa 3e place – au niveau africain –, après un fléchissement en 2000, en termes de publications au profit de la Tunisie (Rossi et Waast 2008).

Par rapport à cette baisse, Rossi et Waast (2008:17-18) se demandent s'il s'agit

> (…) d'un changement générationnel qui touche la recherche scientifique au Maroc ? Les auteurs les plus âgés réduisent progressivement leur encadrement académique et l'énergie consacrée à la rédaction de publications scientifiques se raréfie. Seulement quelques auteurs plus jeunes prennent la relève en s'appuyant souvent sur des réseaux de collègues du pays. Des disciplines deviennent moins attrayantes pour les thésards et les jeunes chercheurs : cette tendance est confirmée sur le plan international pour les Sciences de la Terre mais peut, pour d'autres disciplines, être spécifique au Maroc. Les acteurs de certains sous-domaines disciplinaires qui avaient connu un essor et un développement il y a déjà quelques années, rentrent dans une phase moins productive sans disposer d'une relève. Avec les indicateurs bibliométriques il reste délicat de confirmer ces hypothèses. (…) Une approche sociologique par enquêtes de terrain auprès des acteurs, concernant leurs stratégies, leurs motivations, leur approche de la recherche, dans leur contexte académique devrait fournir des éléments complémentaires de compréhension. La prise en compte et l'analyse des contraintes administratives et financières du monde de la recherche au Maroc devrait servir à éclairer le contexte que leurs acteurs doivent affronter et gérer pour assurer le développement de leur production scientifique. Il s'avère

> que la recherche marocaine est parvenue à un tournant. On peut penser qu'il est besoin de lui reconnaître une fonction propre et qu'il est temps de lui trouver un nouveau moteur.

Selon Cherkaoui, il faut aussi tenir compte de l'effet de la politique gouvernementale lancée en 2005 et qui organise les départs volontaires à la retraite dans la fonction publique. L'auteur ne juge pas cette politique qui s'est traduite par l'économie de 39 000 postes, y compris dans l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche. Néanmoins, il constate que ce sont essentiellement dans les « domaines les plus ouverts sur le libre marché du travail qui connaissent une chute drastique des publications. Ce ne sont pas les sciences humaines mais bien les sciences sociales, dont le capital est plus aisément convertible sur le marché du travail et le secteur privé, qui voient leur production accuser une baisse drastique. » (2009:31-32). Il y aurait donc également un effet du marché sur le niveau de publications dans certaines disciplines ou domaines scientifiques. Autrement dit, n'offrant plus de prestige universitaire ni de revenus intéressants comparativement à ceux du marché privé, l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche semblent bien avoir des difficultés à garder tout leur encadrement.

Au niveau industriel par contre, à la faveur de programmes incitatifs importants, l'Etat a réussi à attirer plusieurs investisseurs et entreprises susceptibles de favoriser le transfert de technologies (électronique, industrie automobile, aviation, etc.) vers le Maroc. Par exemple l'Etat soutient directement des projets d'investissement et de transfert de technologie avec des sociétés comme Matra Automobile Engineering, spécialisée dans la conception et le design automobile (34 Millions DH, 60 emplois), ST-Microelectronics (STM)[31], qui élargit son activité au Maroc en créant un centre de design et de conception de circuits intégrés (100 millions DH, 500 emplois), etc. Ces entreprises s'ajoutent à celles qui sont déjà en place, telles qu'Assystem, Snecma Engines et Valeo par exemple.

Cependant, en guise de transfert technologique dans beaucoup de cas il s'agit de sous-traitance (automobile, aviation, centres d'appel, etc.) utilisant une main d'œuvre a faible coût et permettant aux entreprises étrangères de rester compétitives sur le marché mondial. En outre, la politique d'innovation et les dispositifs mis en place pour sa traduction concrète restent éminemment étatiques. Dès 2003, notamment, lors des journées de restitution des résultats de l'évaluation européenne de la recherche marocaine (Waast 2003), s'est posée la question de la fonction sociale de la recherche de manière générale et celle de son autonomie vis-à-vis du pouvoir en particulier. Autrement dit, c'est moins le soutien de l'Etat aux activités de recherche et de R et D qui pose problème, que l'excès d'encadrement politique et la volonté d'instrumentalisation économique dont elle fait l'objet depuis de nombreuses années.

S'intéressant principalement à la recherche en sciences et techniques, le MEN-ESFCRS (2006:28-29) relevait entre autres points positifs « la constitution progressive d'une masse critique de chercheurs et de ressources matérielles et financières de plus en plus importantes grâce à l'effort de l'Etat ». Néanmoins, parmi les points négatifs, il constatait une « faible reconnaissance de la fonction recherche au niveau national, [une] absence de politique de recherche dans certains secteurs tels que la santé, l'environnement, le transport, la culture,…», et plus généralement une « absence de statut de chercheur[32] ».

Ainsi pour le MEN-ESFCRS (2006:31), « élaborer une vision et une stratégie de la recherche sur le long terme est une nécessité impérieuse pour doter le système national de recherche d'une gouvernance performante susceptible de faire de ce dernier un véritable levier pour le développement économique et social du pays. ». Pour ce faire, à l'horizon 2025, le Ministère préconisait « une meilleure gouvernance » dans le secteur de la recherche, une « meilleure mobilisation des ressources humaines », une « meilleure communication et gestion de l'information » et une fourniture des moyens et des financements adéquats. Cependant, à aucun moment, il n'a été envisagé de construire une véritable politique locale d'enseignement supérieur et de recherche et de rendre ce secteur autonome par rapport au pouvoir politique et des impératifs économiques à court ou moyen termes.

Conclusion

Historiquement l'enseignement supérieur a évolué sous la double contrainte : celle des autorités locales et celle du protectorat. Traditionnellement gardien des savoirs anciens, lieu de formation des élites et source de légitimité pour l'accès aux hautes fonctions de l'Etat, l'enseignement supérieur est devenu un système contrôlé, subissant des réformes exogènes. De ce point de vue, le protectorat a servi entre autres à créer de nouvelles structures pour former les nouveaux héritiers de l'Etat et de la haute administration. Quelques années après l'indépendance, le choix de rebâtir un système éducatif sur le modèle colonial confirme cette orientation politique qui affectera durablement l'enseignement supérieur.

La création de nombreuses structures notamment à partir des années 1970 n'a pas non plus remis en cause la dualité du système : secteur sélectif, versus secteur non sélectif. Sous l'effet de la massification, le système a été étendu et décentralisé à partir des années 1990. Dans cette extension, la professionnalisation des formations a pris une grande ampleur, mais en respectant une certaine hiérarchie : d'une part, des formations professionnalisantes à accès régulé dans des Ecoles supérieures de technologie, des Facultés des sciences et techniques, Ecoles nationales de commerce et de gestion, etc. et, d'autre part, des licences appliquées à accès ouvert à l'Université.

La charte nationale d'éducation promulguée en 2000 dessine une nouvelle architecture des formations supérieures, calquée sur le système LMD. Elle intervient peu de temps après la mise en application du PAS, ce qui explique l'encouragement d'une ouverture du système éducatif sur le secteur privé et son inscription de manière générale dans le processus de la globalisation. Certes, depuis l'indépendance les effectifs ont connu une progression remarquable : environ 370 000 étudiants en 2007. Cependant, ces dernières années, l'enseignement supérieur privé et la formation professionnelle connaissent un développement plus significatif : les effectifs dans le secteur privé ont progressé de 3 à 6 pour cent et de 3 à 14 pour cent dans la formation professionnelle.

Dans le secteur public, plus de 60 pour cent des effectifs sont concentrés en Sciences juridiques, Economiques et sociales et en Lettres et Sciences humaines. Ce qui prouve que la masse des étudiants ne s'inscrit pas dans les visées gouvernementales (professionnalisation et cycle cours en particulier). Dans ces filières, le nombre d'étudiants par enseignant (N=85) est très élevé par rapport à aux effectifs des filières sélectives. Comparativement, le développement particulier de certaines universités et grandes écoles montre que les autorités ont mieux investi dans le secteur sélectif. Destiné à l'élite locale et africaine, ce secteur reflète bien une politique économique tendant à capter une partie des étudiants mobiles sur le marché international de la formation. A l'inverse, faute de moyens, l'Université (classique) est accusée de former des demandeurs d'emploi. Mais, les difficultés d'insertion des jeunes diplômés (depuis 2000) ne montrent-ils pas justement les limites de la réforme LMD et de la professionnalisation d'une bonne partie des formations universitaires ?

Il manque encore des données concernant l'insertion des étudiants ayant des diplômes type LMD. Cependant, les bilans officiels sont négatifs et alarmistes (MEN-ESFCRS 2008). Paradoxalement, dans une économie encore largement sous-encadrée, les taux de chômage des diplômés du supérieur sont toujours plus importants que ceux des sans-diplômes ! Le lancement du programme dit d'urgence 2009-2012 pour l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche est censé répondre à au moins cinq problèmes fondamentaux : améliorer l'offre de formation et les conditions d'étude, augmenter le rendement de l'enseignement supérieur, améliorer l'insertion des diplômés, augmenter le niveau de formation des ressources humaines pour une meilleure gestion pédagogique et administrative et, enfin, augmenter la production scientifique et technique.

Ce dernier secteur recèle un potentiel très important et bénéficie déjà d'un investissement très élevé. Mais son problème est double : 1) Le secteur économique locale ne le sollicite pas, d'où l'import massif de l'expertise étrangère (1,6 % du PIB en 2007) ; 2) Derrière la volonté d'établir une relation recherche-entreprise, l'Etat encadre politiquement et économiquement le secteur et le soumet à des critères extérieurs. Certes, comparativement à leurs collègues

Algériens, par exemple, les enseignants et enseignants chercheurs Marocains sont moins critiques[33] vis-à-vis de l'Etat. Néanmoins ils ne se sentent pas davantage impliqués ni encouragés à s'investir dans le processus de réformes de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche (Ghouati 2009a, 2009b et 2011).

Dès lors, comme pour l'ensemble de l'enseignement supérieur, se posent deux questions fondamentales : quel est le rôle social de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche et partant, quel statut pour le chercheur et l'enseignant-chercheur dans la société ? Sous couvert d'impératifs économiques toujours urgents et conjoncturels, liés à la dépendance du marché mondial et la globalisation, l'Etat ne reproduit-il pas finalement la dépendance politique de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche ?

Notes

1. C'est aussi un titre (*alimiya)* délivré par l'Université de la Qarawiyine – comme à Ez-Zitouna en Tunisie, à El Azhar en Egypte – qui permet à son détenteur d'encadrer entre autres des étudiants et d'attribuer la *ijaza* (Licence).
2. Après une période d'encerclement militaire et diplomatique d'une décennie, la France imposa au Sultan Moulay Hafid le traité du protectorat le 30 mars 1912 (Vermeren, 2002).
3. Le collège de Fès est fondé en octobre 1914 et celui de Rabat en février 1916.
4. Il s'agit d'un pouvoir traditionnel au Maroc représentant les structures de l'Etat (Sultan, trésor public, administration, etc.). Après l'indépendance, le Makhzen a fait l'objet de nombreuses critiques politiques, notamment au regard du système qu'il représente (allégeance, soumission, opacité du mode de gouvernance, etc.).
5. En 1938, le nombre des urbains (représentés très majoritairement à l'époque par le groupe des Fassis) était tombé à 200, contre 580 pour les ruraux (Source : Lucien Paye, cité par Vermeren, 1999: 52).
6. De *taleb* ou *taleb al-'ilm* : étudiant ou élève à la recherche de la science.
7. Décret introduit par les autorités coloniales et signé (contre son gré ?) par le Sultan le 16 mai 1930. Le contenu de ce décret semble avoir été inspiré par la politique berbère des militaires français en Algérie et accordait un droit coutumier traditionnel aux tribus berbères. Ce qui revenait à les soustraire à la magistrature du Sultan et au droit musulman. Au Maroc, comme dans tout le Maghreb, ce *dahir* à été l'objet d'une totale réprobation et soulèvement pacifique de masse. Les premières manifestations commencèrent à Rabat et à Fès, précisément à partir de la *Qarawiyine*.
8. Par exemple la grève étudiante avait duré du 15 novembre 1956 au 16 février 1957.

9. Comme dans toute l'Afrique, ce processus est piloté par un Etat caractérisé par « une posture d'extranéité » vis-à-vis de la société (Khelfaoui 2009).
10. Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales, diplôme français en usage avant la réforme LMD.
11. Pour situer le contexte politique dans lequel l'arabisation est introduite à l'Université, on peut citer l'exemple d'un communiqué signé Allal Al-Fassi du parti de l'Istiqlal (3.1.1973), dans lequel il demande aux autorités de mettre en place une arabisation de l'administration, de l'enseignement et de l'ensemble des secteurs de la vie publique. Peu après la publication de ce communiqué, le journal *Maghreb-Informations* (du 17.1.1973) ajoute : « Pour qu'il y ait arabisation réelle, il faut qu'elle soit épaulée par la réforme agraire, l'industrialisation, la modernisation de l'enseignement. Il est urgent de rétablir la langue nationale, mais ce rétablissement doit s'accompagner d'un changement radical des structures et des orientations de ce pays » (cité par Grandguillaume 1983:181).
12. Les établissements polydisciplinaires proposent des filières dans les domaines scientifiques, Sciences juridiques, économiques et sociales et Lettres et Sciences humaines.
13. Les grades en usage au Maroc sont les suivants : Professeur de l'Enseignement Supérieur (PES) ; Professeur Habilité (PH); Professeur Agrégé ; Professeur Assistant (PA) ; Maître-Assistant (MA) et Assistant.
14. L'International Institute for Higher Education in Morocco (IIHEM) de Rabat, l'Ecole de gouvernance – conçue sur le modèle de Sciences po (Paris), Sup' Management, HEC, les classes préparatoires aux grandes Ecoles, etc. font également de la sélection sévère et ne sont de fait des structures ouvertes qu'à une élite.
15. Soit plus de quinze fois le SMIC marocain.
16. Voir http://www.aui.ma/DSA/Admissions/admission-fr/admissions-frais.htm, consulté en septembre 2009.
17. Il s'agit d'un classement élaboré selon le modèle classificatoire de Shanghai et proposé par http://www.webometrics.info/ top 100_continent.asp?cont=africa, consulté en novembre 2009.
18. Sur certaines modalités politiques de l'aide française, voir aussi Benchenna (2009).
19. « Les enseignants-chercheurs, écrit Abibi, sont transformés en simples courroies de transmission de l'administration (…). Dans un tel contexte, la réforme et les nouveaux processus d'accréditation et de validation des diplômes ne seront qu'un simulacre dont les bénéficiaires ne seront pas les étudiants. Le LMD, par la multiplication des examens et des sessions de rattrapage ne fait que renforcer la possibilité pour le plus grand nombre d'étudiants d'aller jusqu'à la licence (pré requis non exigés), au lieu du DEUG, mais sans s'interroger sur la valeur

d'un parchemin qui, loin de garantir un métier… Les enseignants-chercheurs tentent sans succès d'endiguer le torrent qui les emporte et sur lequel [ils] n'ont aucune prise. Le LMD, dans ces conditions, n'est qu'une monnaie de singe, un trompe-l'œil. Enfin, le LMD créera dans un futur proche des clivages très forts entre deux philosophies de l'enseignement : une philosophie utilitariste à court terme qui veut que la formation soit essentiellement dirigée vers des débouchés professionnels; l'autre philosophie, qui était la grande ambition du XVIIIe siècle, qui fait de l'université le lieu d'une formation générale, adaptable et un observateur critique de la société…» (Abibi Larbi, « L'échec de la réforme », in http://www.infosdumaroc.com/ modules/news/articles-577-opinions-debat-universite-l-039-echec-de-la-reform.html, juin 2009).

20. Un des animateurs de la réforme LMD au Maroc.
21. Voir l'intervention du directeur de l'enseignement supérieur marocain El Bachir Kouhlani (2009) lors du « Forum politique » sur le processus de Bologne qui a eu lieu le 29 avril 2009 à Louvain-la-Neuve : http://onderwijs.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/forum/Bologna_Policy_Forum_intervention_Morocco.pdf, consulté en novembre 2009
22. Le bilan détaillé du programme n'a pas été rendu public. Mais si l'on juge par l'article du quotidien *Le Matin* (19.01.2008), le Ministre semble satisfait du transfert au Maroc d'outils et de formation développés en France (le logiciel Apogée pour l'administration universitaire marocaine, des formations en environnement, tourisme, management, TIC et finances).
23. Source : *« Portail national du Maroc* » :

    http://www.maroc.ma/PortailInst/Fr/Actualites/Universite+ Programme +d+urgence+elaboration+d+ici+janvier+d+un+ schema+directeur+pour +l+extension+ de+l.htm, consulté en octobre 2009.
24. Par exemple atteindre 53 000 lits dans les cités universitaires à l'horizon 2012, ce qui correspondrait à une augmentation de 41 pour cent par rapport à 2008. Généraliser les restaurants à l'ensemble des cités universitaires et octroyer 180 000 bourses en 2012.
25. Par exemple le gouvernement français a accordé un prêt de 50 millions d'euros à la rentrée 2009 pour soutenir les réformes dans le domaine de l'éducation (Cf. http://www.maroc212.com/-Economie-.html, 27/02/2009).
26. Source : Ministère délégué chargé de la recherche scientifique (http:// www.minrecherche.ma/ politique/ 36.htm, le 13/2/2009).
27. Traditionnellement, outre le tourisme, le Maroc est plus spécialisé dans les domaines du textile, du cuir, de l'agro-alimentaire orienté vers l'exportation, la production de matériaux de construction et de biens de consommation à faible valeur ajoutée et dans les activités extractives et dérivés (phosphate).

28. Réseau de diffusion technologique, Prestation technologique réseau, les provision pour Recherche-Développement et réseau Maroc incubation et essaimage.

29. L'enquête de Gaillard et Gaillard (2006) a fait ressortir l'existence de petites unités de recherche (ou laboratoires d'un peu plus de 7 personnes) rattachées aux universités dans 82 pour cent des cas et ayant « un fort potentiel hautement qualifié mais largement sous-utilisé notamment au sein des établissements d'enseignement supérieur où près de 10 000 enseignants (sur 14 522 recensés en 2000 par le CNCPRST) ne feraient pratiquement aucune recherche. » (p 165).

30. En termes de potentiel (de recherche) lié à la mobilité internationale on peut également signaler la présence en France en 2008 de 30 300 étudiants marocains inscrits majoritairement en 2è et 3è cycle de l'enseignement supérieur et plus particulièrement dans les filières sciences et techniques et ingéniorat (Source : Bruno Lutinier, 2008, «Les effectifs étudiants étrangers en 2008 », *Note d'information*, 09-25, Paris, MESRS).

31. L'élargissement des activités de production au Maroc s'est traduit par la création de 6000 emplois à Casablanca. Cependant, dans le cadre d'une restructuration mondiale de ses activités en microélectronique, STM a annoncé des suppressions d'emplois (1300) qui devraient se faire lors du transfert des activités de l'usine de Aïn Sebaâ vers celle de Bouskoura, toutes deux situées à Casablanca. Commencé depuis 2007, ce transfert devrait se terminer en 2009

    (Cf. http://www.econostrum.info/ La%E2%80%90crise% E2%80%90dans%E2%80%9 0la%E2%80%90m icroelectronique %E2%80% 90abo rde %E2%80%90les%E2%80%90sites%E2%80%90de%E2%80% 90production%E2%80%90de%E2%80%90Mediterranee_a763.html?preaction=nl&id= 10552326 %00%00, consulté en juin 2009).

32. Les relations peu conflictuelles syndicat-ministère n'ont pas empêchées l'émergence de certaines revendications liées au statut. En effet, lors du dernier congrès du Snesup (Maroc), ouvert sous le mot d'ordre « un statut pour les enseignants chercheurs dans le cadre de la fonction publique pour développer l'enseignement supérieur et la recherche scientifique », les congressistes ont clairement signifié aux pouvoirs publics qu'ils souhaitaient avoir un statut qui ne soit pas ordinaire et surtout plus conforme avec la nature de leurs missions (Cf. « Neuvième congrès du Snesup : les enseignants-chercheurs réclament la révision de leur statut », *Libération* du 11 avril 2009).

33. Ce qui ne les empêche pas de porter la revendication jusqu'au niveau syndical. En effet, lors du dernier congrès du Snesup (Maroc), les congressistes ont clairement signifié aux pouvoirs publics qu'ils souhaitaient avoir un statut qui ne soit pas ordinaire et surtout plus conforme avec la nature de leur mission d'enseignement et de recherche (Cf. « Neuvième congrès du Snesup : les enseignants-chercheurs réclament la révision de leur statut », *Libération* du 11 avril 2009).

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Academic Freedom and Dual Career Academic Couples: The Complexities of Being a Woman Academic in the University Space

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Abstract

This study focuses on dual career women academics in a higher education (HE) institution in Nigeria. It explores the experiences of some of these women academics and exposes the internal dynamics that characterize intra-group interactions in the academe. It subsequently raises the issue of equitable participation of men and women academics in HE institutions in Africa. It attempts to understand how the constructed identities of dual career women academics intersect with their interactions in the university space, and impact on their career experiences. Paying attention to the marital institution also, this study explores how these women's academic freedom can be undermined by the power play in this arena, bearing in mind their categorization. The study thus identifies the areas in which the autonomy and academic freedom of women academics in dual career marriages are possibly undermined. Ethnographic methods provided data for this study. The article concludes that the challenge of academic freedom demands more inward examination of the 'micro politics within' in order to incorporate the interests of all stakeholders within the intellectual community in the struggle for academic freedom and academic democracy in the continent of Africa.

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Résumé

Cette étude concerne les femmes universitaires au Nigeria. Elle explore l'expérience des ces femmes et expose les dynamiques internes qui caractérisent les interactions dans le monde académique. Ensuite, l'étude pose la question de la participation équitable entre les hommes et les femmes dans les institutions académiques en Afrique. Elle cherche à comprendre comment les identités construites des femmes enseignantes déterminent leurs interactions dans l'espace universitaire et comment elles influent sur leurs expériences de carrière. En tenant compte de l'institution maritale aussi, cette étude s'intéresse à la façon dont la liberté académique des femmes peut être compromise par les rapports de pouvoir dans cette arène à cause de leur catégorisation. Les données dans cette étude ont été collectées grâce à des méthodes ethnographiques. En conclusion, l'étude affirme que le défi de la liberté académique requiert une introspection sur la 'micro-politique interne' afin d'incorporer les intérêts de tout les acteurs de la communauté intellectuelle dans le combat pour la liberté et la démocratie académique dans le continent Africain.

Introduction

This article focuses on academic freedom and dual career women academics in a university in Nigeria, exposing the internal dynamics that characterize intra-group interaction in the academe. Higher education scholars have, increasingly, recognized the gendered nature of the university experience (see for instance Mbow 2000; Fashina 2000; Sall 2000; Chanana 2003; Odejide et al., 2006; Tamale and Oloka-Onyango 2000; Mama 2003; Morley 2003; and Pereira 2007). To these scholars, the university is not a gender-neutral environment. Rather, gender disparities within the larger civil society also permeate the university space and determine women's positioning. Although some of these studies focus on gender and academic freedom, a lot is still yet to be researched on this aspect of academic experience. As Sall (2000) suggested, there is the need to highlight specific aspects of academic life and issues related to academic freedom and human rights in the academe (Sall 2000:ix). Currently, much of the literature focusing on gender and academic freedom in Africa has under-represented dual career academic couples in their analyses. Studies like Mbow (2000) and Fashina (2000), for instance, highlighted certain areas in which women's academic freedom is violated within the university system in Senegal and Nigeria respectively. While Mbow used personal experience to interrogate the ways religious beliefs impact negatively on academic freedom, Fashina noted the sidelining of gender issues in the academe

as an 'unserious' issue and unworthy of scholarly attention (see also Tamale et al., 2000; Ouendji 2000).

Dual career academic couples, to a large extent, have remained virtually undocumented in the analysis of gender in the university space in Africa. Of particular interest are women in this category that constitute a segment of women academics that have received much attention in scholarship. This, however, does not rule out the peculiarity of their categorization; hence, the need to identify and separate the 'particular' from the 'universal'. Undeniably, dual-career women academics experience the university somewhat differently from other women academics. Their absence in the literature represents not only the undermining of the peculiar experiences of diverse categories of women academics but also a missing link in our comprehension of gender and academic freedom in Africa. Dual career women academics' experience of the university is multifaceted and complex, which calls for the investigation of these complexities in order to identify peculiar challenges that confront them and that, possibly, undermine their autonomy and academic freedom in a way unfamiliar to other women academics. Paying attention to the socio-cultural context of work, this study attempts to understand how the dual career women academics' constructed identities intersect with their participation in the university space, and impact on their career experiences. Obviously, a study of how the socio-cultural context of work impacts on the career experience of workers is necessary in the discourse on HE institutions in Africa.

In the recent past, scholars have drawn attention to the nature of the institutional or organizational cultures in the universities in Africa and their impact on students and academics (see Works like Diaw 2007; Tsikata 2007; Odejide 2007). Like other studies, dual career women academics (henceforth DCWAs) are not within the orbit of these attempts. Focusing on the marital institution also, this study explores how the DCWAs' academic freedom and autonomy can be undermined by the power play in this arena, bearing in mind their peculiar categorization. Finally, the study investigates the strategies women academics employ to contest space. This article concludes that the challenge of academic freedom still demands more inward examination of the 'micro politics within' in order to incorporate the interests of all stakeholders within the intellectual community in the struggle for academic freedom and academic democracy in the continent of Africa.

Research Design and Methodology

For the sake of anonymity, our university of study is termed First Generation University (FGU).[1] The choice of a FGU as the site for this study is informed by two but similar reasons. First, the conservative nature, particularly in its gender ideologies at the informal socio-cultural context of the university, makes

the institution suitable for a study of this nature. Second, as an institution that at its establishment was predominantly male-centric in terms of both student enrolment and academic staff recruitment, the culture of the university environment has continued to be predominantly androcentric. This study adopts a symbolic interactionist perspective, since the focus is on the socio-cultural context of work in the academe. In such a study, Hodson et al. (2002) observed, the focus is not only to explain the work experience from the worker's perspective, but also to describe and explain larger patterns that may be invisible to individual workers (Hodson et al. 2002:35).

The study draws on primary data gathered through ethnographic methods such as key informant interviews (KIIs), participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and career histories. Secondary materials were also consulted. A total of 30 informants were interviewed – 20 dual career women academics; and two retired dual career female professors, which offered the researcher the opportunity to ascertain how social and historical realities have possibly impacted on dual career women academics' experience of the university; and eight men academics out of which six are dual career men academics. These choices were made in order to gain insights into the possible reasons why some men restrain their wives' careers. The data were analyzed using content and interpretive analyses.

Academic Freedom and the Socio-cultural Context of the Academe

The university as an institution of higher learning has its peculiar cultural system, though the culture of the larger civil society on which the university is established impacts significantly on the culture of the university. As Diaw (2007) also noted, the university is not a carrier of a completely neutral knowledge, but houses men and women who are themselves products of diverse cultures and particular memories 'which lead them to define their identity, to create relationships, to break or consolidate prejudices, and transact so as to acquire power or exclude others' (Diaw 2007:17). Nevertheless, the university world is on the one hand particular, and on the other universal. Within these particularities and universalities, gender ideology remains a reality in the life and practices.

By and large, women in HE institutions in Africa have remained an 'endangered species' in the university space. The situation is such that women, as late comers into the system, continue to occupy marginal positions both in access and decision making (Mama 2003; Chanana 2003; Odejide 2003; Odejide et al. 2006; Morley 2003; Morley et al. 2005; Otunga et al. 2004; Pereira 2007). Indeed, the Victorian notion of the woman has affected, and continues to affect, the definition of the woman in the academe. The socio-cultural landscape of the university has, therefore, remained largely patriarchal. Invariably,

women academics confront socio-cultural impediments in their bid to pursue careers in academia. Access to leadership positions has not only been demarcated by a 'glass ceiling' – and coated with a sticky floor – but also demarcated with Plexiglas (Quina et al. 1998; Terosky et al. 2008). Not only has women's academic freedom and autonomy been undermined in various ways, particularly through social and cultural constructs, but the violations have also continued to be the accepted norm, and any attempt by an individual or group of individuals to question such infringements is viewed as non-conforming, with the prejudices and stereotypical attitudes associated with such labelling.

Indeed, women's class condition in contemporary African society is largely a product of colonial contact and the capitalist ideologies that are associated with colonialism, which has dichotomized human society, and man and woman relationships are segregated between the 'self' and the 'other', where the 'self', the man, remains the basis of measurement and categorization. The male hegemonic hold on social and cultural capital, which is the means of intellectual production (Ukpokolo 2009), and the ideological support which they enjoy in contemporary society, has continued to militate against the woman. Most first generation universities in Nigeria are founded and rooted on this gender relationship that is based on binary opposition, particularly with regard to decision-making, access to and control of space as resource for power in the academe. Within the university space, the woman academic is expected to conform to a particular way of 'being' that depicts this conventionality. The dual career woman academic in particular is faced with dual challenges (i) the presence of her partner in the same environment puts much burden on her to ensure conformity, and (ii) the tensions between her 'real self' and her 'acceptable self' limits her ability to contribute her utmost in the academe. In this way, there is a challenge to academic freedom and the autonomy needed for intellectual productivity and career advancement.

Since the 1990s, the subject of academic freedom has increasingly become topical on issues concerning the university, its administration, curricula development, autonomy of knowledge production and vast areas that affect the university and the stakeholders in the system. In many African countries, the state's undue influence in academia through the neo-liberal policies that have continued to sweep through the global market economy has had a negative impact on political and economic realities in African continent, with detrimental impacts on the university. Indeed, some of the offshoots of governments' unpopular policies such as structural adjustment programmes and the neo-liberal policies have encroached on the freedom of the university, researchers, and students, either overtly or covertly. Academic freedom, as defined by *The Kampala Declaration* as 'the freedom of members of the academic community, individually or collectively, in the pursuit, development and transmission

of knowledge, through research, study, discussion, documentation, production, creation, teaching, lecturing and writing' (*The Kampala Declaration* 1990), encompasses multiplicities of issues, one of which is the 'women question'. Although gender was neglected in *The Kampala Declaration* document, academic freedom cannot be discussed exhaustively without the inclusion of gender.

In any case, one of the tenets of academic freedom and social responsibility in *The Kampala Declaration* 1990 is the demand for freedom of the universities to develop and pursue programmes without undue interference and dictates from the corridors of power outside the university system. As the document further noted, academic freedom also implies the liberty to carry out research activities without unwarranted restrictions from any quarter. For this reason, *The Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility* sets up a standard bearer 'for the African intellectual community to assert its autonomy and undertake its responsibility to the people of our continent' (*The Kampala Declaration* 1990). Issues thrust up by *The Kampala Declaration* are vast and multiple and affect the system and the stakeholders in the system in varied ways, raising meanings and counter-meanings that must be continuously interrogated. As a concept, embedded in much contradictions and loaded with numerous social, political and cultural dynamics and at times invoking contradictory dimensions, it continues to evolve, leading to its expansive and eclectic nature (Radhakrishan 2008:185). One of the issues embedded in these contradictions is gender in the university space.

Dual Career Academic Couples in an FGU

The term 'dual career couple' was coined by two European academics in 1969 and since then, the term has been widely used and popularized by scholars from various disciplines (see Rusconi 2002). 'Dual career couple' indicates partners who pursue an occupational career characterized by high professional standards, a high degree of commitment and a developmental sequence (Rusconi 2002:2). Married partners can become dual career couples through three methods of hiring: (i) dual hiring when the partners are hired at the same time either sequentially or jointly (ii) independent hiring, when each of the partners responded to separate advertisements without any reference to the partner, and (iii) solo hiring, when each was hired independently and probably at different times (Schiebinger et al. 2008). Although there is a paucity of literature on dual career academic couples in Africa, in America and Europe, issues about academic couples are widely discussed in the literature. Among the research on dual career couples in the United States and Europe are those that focus on institutional policies on dual career hiring, tenure track issue, and challenges of dual career choice (see Bird and Bird 1987). In Schiebinger et al.

(2008) the authors observed that in the US, the hiring of academic couples moved from three per cent in the 1970s to 13 per cent since 2000, and this reflects the interest organizations have developed in dual hiring. To this extent, plans such as spousal hiring programmes and joint-appointment are some of the efforts a number of institutions in Europe and America make to accommodate dual career couples (Rusconi 2002). Increasingly, more and more couples are getting into the work force. The implication is that in no distant future, dual career couple issues will become significantly relevant globally as institutions attempt to recruit new staff to fill their vacant positions.

The FGU, currently, does not have any official policy on dual hiring. Also, the institution's academic planning unit does not have official records of the number of dual career academic couples at the university. This reflects the fact that the issue of dual hiring has not gained official acknowledgement at the university. Evidence from my fieldwork indicates that not less than 80 dual career academic couples,[2] scattered across different disciplines, currently work in FGU. In Medicine, there are more cases of disciplinary endogamy than in other disciplines. Findings also indicate that the majority of the dual career academic couples in the institution were hired independently. However, in some cases, one of the partners hired first, usually the man, may have an indirect influence on the appointment of the partner, by possibly passing information to the spouse of an advertisement in the university official bulletin. A colleague once commented on such influence as 'the husband brought her in'. In other words, the husband probably influenced the appointment of the wife. This, of course, is an assumption. Although such an assumption is neither a common trend nor an official position, when it occurs the partner must still merit the position she applies for, be subjected to recruitment interviews with other applicants, and must prove that she is the best candidate for the position she wishes to occupy. Otherwise, she may not be recruited.

Some scholars have argued that men assist their partners in getting jobs more than women do. In their research, Schiebinger et al. (2008) for instance, conclude that 'men more than women have used their market power to bargain for positions for their partners' (Schiebinger et al. 2008:16). One of the reasons that could account for this feature is the patrilocal residential pattern in most cultures that demands that the woman joins her husband after marriage. This gives the man the responsibility of negotiating for position for the relocating wife. Another factor is the global problem of gender discrimination in the work place that affects the recruitment of staff. More often than not, the recruitment panel is dominated by men, which could have implications for hiring. The 'glass ceiling' and the 'plexiglas' issues mentioned earlier restrict many women from getting to the top in the work place, hence denying them

the opportunity of being key players in decision making. These can work against women and affect their ability to bargain for positions for their partners.

Because a temporary appointment is not the procedure for staff recruitment in FGU, positions are advertised both in the university official bulletin and in the national dailies. This contrasts with Willot's (2009) observation of the University of South Eastern Nigeria (USEN) where he noted that informality characterizes academic appointments. According to him:

> Very often an individual – sometimes a postgraduate or ex-student or non-academic member of staff – will be contacted by an academic because there is a vacancy in their department. If the person is qualified and influential people within the department are happy for them to join, they will enter the university. To get around administrative procedures related to advertisements and interviews, new academics will often receive temporary appointments initially, which are 'regularized' later. There is a general belief that recruitment is now much more based on connections than previously, a change that began during the financial crisis and subsequent era of austerity and structural adjustment during the 1980s (Willot 2009:10).

Since unlike USEN, the temporary appointment method is not the practice in FGU, it reduces the possibility that one's spouse will be recruited on the basis that the husband is already in the system.

Often, because of the huge resources required to run the university, and lean subventions from the federal government to the educational sector, the institution tends to recruit staff of lower ranks ranging from lecturer grade downwards despite the fact that such an applicant may have a PhD and publications, or even occupy a higher or equivalent position in the university where he or she is relocating from. This is unlike what obtains in many other universities in Nigeria where such an applicant could bargain for a higher position. Based on this and other related reasons, there is the assumption that career mobility is faster in other universities in the country than in FGU. The reason for the institution's mode of recruitment cannot be unconnected to the fact that FGU has in its employment a pool of academic staff occupying professorial rank (predominantly men)[3] that could function as mentors to the younger academics. Thus, hiring high ranked academics may amount to wastage of lean resources. Once recruited, the individual's success depends mainly on his or her ability to publish in respectable journals and follow the university's procedures regarding the number of publications for promotion to relevant positions.

A number of problems may emerge when couples do the same kind of job, pursue the same career, foster the same aspirations, and interact within the same work space. Issues such as resource utilization, career track issues,

competition, and career geographical mobility are part of the major issues that dual career couples contend with, and if not properly handled could lead to frustration, career instability and, at times, crisis in their marriage. Currently in FGU, most DCWAs entered the academic profession as married women, which suggest that either they met their partners while at the university and the men were already holding teaching positions, gained some social and career grounds before the women qualified for positions as academic staff. Or, even though they were already married before the men got recruited in FGU, the women were not qualified to be recruited as academic staff. For some others, they were qualified at the time but there were no recruitment opportunities in their fields. For these categories of dual career academic couples, there already exists a gap between the men and the women. Of course, there are also some who started their careers together, but over time, the husbands took the lead. Child bearing and certain cultural dynamics are contributory factors to the emergence and sustenance of a gap between couples in dual career marriages, with women in the 'trailing' position. Evidence also suggests that the majority of the dual career couples in our institution of study are in disciplinary exogamy.

Dual career couple can have certain advantages as a result of the kind of partnership they enjoy by being in the same profession, particularly if their partnership is that of academic endogamy. However, partners who do not work in the same department may still be in related fields that could engender collaborative research. In such situations, they can partner in publications and assist each other in accessing materials and even generate a pool of related library materials from which each can benefit. Hence, a dual career couple who share the same career line can benefit immensely from each other. As a respondent noted, 'when your husband is a lecturer too, he helps you to network within the university' (Fieldwork 2009). In their study of dual career academic couples in the US, Schiebinger et al. (2008) concluded that:

> Partners share intellectual interests and discuss their academic work with each other. Sharing professional networks stands out as perhaps the greatest career gain for academic couples compared with other couple types (Schiebinger et al. 2008:37, 39).

They also observed that in the academia 'where power and privilege still often divide along gendered and racial lines, access to multiple circles of knowledge and influence can potentially boost careers' (Schiebinger et al. 2008:39). However, my research findings suggest that such a conclusion applies where the play of power in the home front does not interfere with career aspirations or where there is no evidence of competition between the partners.

Complex and Multifaceted Identities: Dual Career Woman Academic in the University Space

The dual career woman academic in FGU faces diverse challenges like other women academics in universities in Nigeria. Challenges such as career disruption, lack of institutional networks, detrimental impacts of the 'double shift', and limited geographical career mobility are features of women's career experiences in the academe (see Ukpokolo 2009). However, there are certain intragroup dynamics that mark the experiences of the DCWAs that may be unfamiliar to other women academics. The intersections of their peculiar categorization with their participation in the university space, coupled with the 'micro-politics' in the marital institution impact on their academic freedom and careers, and make their experiences complex. This section explores these dynamics and how the DCWAs contest space.

Negotiating the Public Space

The university space, both formal and informal, constitutes an arena for self-definition. Apart from creating an identity in one's chosen field, the social arena significantly accentuates self-identity and can impact considerably on one's intellectual productivity through the networks such encounters generate. As Bagilhole noted, informal networks 'bring mutual career benefits through collaborations, information exchange, contacts for research resources, career planning, professional support and encouragement' (Bagilhole 2007:25), and can be relevant in promotion decisions. Academics, generally, negotiate the university space, establishing alliances and professional contacts. Self-definition leads to categorization. Whether one is located at the 'centre' or 'periphery' depends on what one makes of the space, how one is defined within the space, and the meanings and significance implicated in these dimensions. The peculiarity of the experiences of the DCWA borders on the social meanings and counter-meanings ascribed to her categorization in FGU. As Stets et al. noted, societal meanings and norms about social categories serve to guide behaviour (2002:145). The DCWA is conscious of the presence of her partner as an academic in the system, and this influences her interactions in the university community. Being aware of the gendered attitudes that characterize informal institutional culture, the DCWA masks the 'self' in order to sustain the social image her husband has constructed and is still constructing in the university community. This portrait of the 'self' as the 'other', is acceptable and ideally suitable for the social category that controls power and still seeks to control more power. The DCWA knows that failure to recognize the gendered power play in the social arena could generate negative stereotypes, such as labelling, from those with whom she interacts in the community. Such label-

ling portrays the DCWA as a 'deviant' from the values and norms of the prescribed sociality within the university community.

In her negotiation of space, the DCWA discovers that her role is daunting and tasking. As Roper-Huilman (2008) rightly submitted:

> Negotiation of multiple identities, particularly by people who have multiple non-dominant identities, exacts a painful toll on those doing the negotiating. This toll takes time and energy away from women faculty members' abilities to contribute their scholarly expertise in ways that would benefit the institution and the larger society (Ropers-Huilman 2008:36).

The 'self' of a DCWA is, therefore, a multifaceted self: in her interactions, whether with students, colleagues or her contribution to issues in the university community, she is conscious of her complex identities which affect her performances, including her scholarly contributions. She contends between self representation as an academic and 'mutedness'. In situations where she discovers painfully that she cannot manifest the 'ascribed' identity creditably, she withdraws and remains silent, compromising her individuality for societal acceptability. To avoid losing favour in the social space, it pays off to remain less visible in the public space, or else be labelled. Findings indicate that many of the DCWAs that 'dared' to conduct themselves contrary to the 'prescribed' rules of sociality in the past were labelled and, and at times categorized. Typically, in such a socially 'segregated' society, consciously or unconsciously, people do not want to be categorized into a 'group' or identified as part of a non-dominant group. According to a retired DCWA (professor), 'Some men tried to discourage their wives from associating with some of us that were vocal then. They said we were untameable' (Fieldwork 2010). 'Untameable' connotes 'uncultured', 'untrained', 'unrefined', or a 'lack of social decorum'. A male academic reasoned:

> Even when a man is not concerned about the actions of the wife, other men outside will interfere saying, 'Can't you check your wife?'... These people will not want the 'virus' that has infected their colleague's wife to infect their own women too. And the husband may reprimand her. This can make the woman to become passive (Fieldwork 2010).

In this way, male colleagues collude in the subordination of their colleagues' wives. Such collusion has the implication of check-mating the willingness of DCWA to actively participate in the Senate, for instance, or be vocal in the university community generally. Hence, places of decision-making such as the Senate may be avoided by some DCWAs. For instance, a Senior Lecturer noted that because her husband is a professor in FGU, she finds it uncomfortable attending the Senate meetings because as she noted:

> My husband is always at the Senate meetings and he is widely known on campus ... If I get to the Senate and I need to contribute and my husband holds contrary opinion, what do I do? Unless if I get there I will keep quiet ... You see what I mean? (Fieldwork 2010).

Findings indicate that most of the DCWAs that attend such gatherings are 'observers'. According to one of the retired professors, she once asked a DCWA why she never spoke at the Senate meetings, and she responded: 'When the big elephant has spoken, the baby elephant keeps quiet', implying that there was no need for her to speak after the husband had spoken in the meeting. This raises the question of autonomy and personal identity of the DCWA. How does she contend with her social identity as an academic within the university community? A male academic hinted:

> The idea is that this is supposed to be a male gathering ... even with all our learning, with all our education, our exposure ... In this university, men still want to feel that it is a man's world. I'm not saying that it is right, but that is the reality on ground (Fieldwork 2010).

The perception that women ought to be silent in the public space affects DCWA's interaction pattern and their ability to participate maximally in the intellectual community. The public versus private divide is, thus, exemplified in the opposing interaction patterns among many dual career couples. While many DCWAs live private, controlled and protected social life, most men explore the public domain, which further gives them some leverage and opportunities to make further contacts and establish alliances that could enhance their career opportunities.

Undeniably, a major issue that shapes and re-enforces DCWAs' interactions in FGU community is sense of shame. According to a male lecturer:

> At times, they [DCWAs] try to protect the image of their husbands, so that when they [the husbands] get to the staff club or any place, other men will not say 'aa.aaaaa.aah your wife has done it again today ... she disturbed the whole of the Senate' (Fieldwork 2010).

Rather than 'make a mistake', the DCWA withdraws and remains docile, sustaining the gendered ideologies pervading the university community. Although officially there is no formal segregation between men and women interactions, stereotypical attitude and unofficial gendered discrimination affect women's participation in both formal and informal spaces. DCWAs are very conscious of the social meanings or stigmatization which 'unacceptable' conduct in the university community could generate. Hence, the tendency to remain less visible in the space.

Apart from the formal spaces, informal spaces such as the university staff club have continued to be predominantly the men's preserve, particularly with regards to the participation of DCWAs. Although a few women academics whose husbands do not work in the system occasionally visit the staff club, most DCWAs tend to avoid the arena, except a few that occasionally go there in the company of their husbands. A male academic who is also an emerging scholar gave the reason why the wife[4] accompanied him regularly to the staff club:

> I take my wife to the staff club to give her exposure. I know it is not common for women to be there but I want her to feel confident in any environment (Fieldwork 2010).

Attitudinal barriers constitute a challenge to many women's participation in both formal and informal spaces in HEIs, causing many to lose self confidence or become apathetic. There is therefore the need to confront and break through these barriers. In FGU, there is no institutional policy legislating against women's participation in any space, or affirmative action in place to encourage their participation. Women's absence in certain spaces is simply a matter of 'tradition', apparently passed on from 'generation to generation'. A DCWA elaborated:

> Check the people that go to the university staff club. You can hardly see a dual career woman academic there except she goes with her husband. Few women academics that go there don't have their husbands in this system. You know, you are so careful not to hurt your husband's social image. As a result, you live more isolated and withdrawn life than other women academics (Fieldwork 2010).

Most DCWAs, as members of the university community, contribute in sustaining the social status quo by 'playing according to the rules'. Hence, both the staff club and the Senate as male spaces reinforce and sustain men's hegemonic control of space as a resource for power. Invariably, social exclusion creates a space for the dominant group to continue to consolidate their hegemony. Findings from the retired DCWA indicate that at the earlier periods in the history of the institution, many DCWAs were able to engage in the 'struggle' for the control of public space through their active participation in the life of the institution, particularly at the Senate, (but not staff club). A retired dual career female professor observed that the presence of expatriates somehow affected women's interactions at the time: seminars, tea parties organized by academics were opportunities for men and women academics to interact, including dual career couples. Nevertheless, she noted that cultural notions of the place

of the woman in private space were also widely prevalent, as some of them were labelled for being vocal in the community.

Findings also indicate that there is the tendency to ascribe the success of DCWAs to their husbands, which informants believe, in a way, reflects the perception in the society that women are incapable of rational inquiry. An informant commented:

> People believe that it is the man that assists the woman even when they are not in the same field. The woman's success or achievement is ascribed to the man. They believe you are riding on your husband's back, no matter how intelligent you are as a scholar (Fieldwork 2010).

An informant cited an example of a research grant award which she received (the first and the only person in her faculty then) and her male colleagues concluded that it was her husband that wrote the proposal. A retired DCWA reported that in their time, when one was promoted, colleagues congratulated the husband, 'for giving the woman the support'. According to her, the male colleagues would say to the husband: 'Of course, we must thank you. If you did not give her support she wouldn't have gone so far'. When you get promotion, they thank him ... Even when the man is not supportive, the woman gives the impression that he is (Fieldwork 2010). Experiences of many DCWAs in this study also revealed the tendency for people to treat the DCWA as extensions of their husbands, which at times can violate the right of the DCWA. As a female informant reasoned:

> People could use your husband as template and begin to create problems for you. If the man is well known or does not have good character, they will use that to associate you. The way they see the man is the way they see you, and this has implications (Fieldwork 2010).

For dual career couples in academic endogamy, the partner's position as the head of unit or department can limit the benefits the partner could obtain from it. For instance, if there is a vacant position in a unit and the wife shows interest, the partner may not be positively disposed to recruiting her to avoid being stereotyped as biased. 'You are defined with him. So, his hands are tied' (Fieldwork 2010). Because wives are treated as extensions of their husbands, many informants also noted that DCWAs are less likely to gain certain choice appointments if their husbands are already occupying similar positions in the institution. A retired DCWA stated:

> There was a time my husband was in the Council and I wanted to be in the Council and people were surprised that my husband was there and I was interested. 'Is it for their family?' they were asking (Fieldwork 2010).

Of course, she lost in the election to the Council. Although linking the DCWA with the spouse has some benefits, the human rights of the woman are jeopardized through negative attitudinal dispositions and denials of rewards, particularly where her partner's position and rewards are substitutes for her rights.

The Marital Institution and Dual Career Woman's Academic Freedom

The power play within the marital institution can be a major constraint to DCWAs' careers. Collaboration is possible 'when the man is on top', an informant observed. Even when there is no competition between partners in a dual career marriage, colleagues could induce such an attitude by discussing their individual outputs. This can raise tension and create a crisis at home and subsequently spill over to affect the woman's career. Some informants reported that instances of an 'embargo' on international conference attendance are prevalent in some homes. This points to the reality of restraining the woman's career, and depicts the undermining of DCWAs' academic freedom. Others pointed to a 'financial squeeze' as another mechanism some husbands employ to control their wives' career advancement. Competition between spouses in the academia is rarely obvious to outsiders. Often, the man's leadership position in the family seems to be threatened when the woman takes the lead because of the 'relays of power' (Morley 2003) that are culturally defined and institutionalized in the family structure. For this reason, the woman academic in a dual career marriage may 'slow down' her career aspirations to ensure that there is a career gap between her and her spouse in what an informant termed 'voluntary step down when she gets the heat' (Fieldwork 2010). An informant hinted:

> The core value that men should take the lead is still much present with the academics. So, it makes the woman uncomfortable to be on the lead (Fieldwork 2010).

Another informant asked an instructive question: 'How do you address a couple "Dr", and "Prof" so and so in an academic environment when the man is still a Senior Lecturer and the woman is already a professor? A.a.aaaaaaah You see? It is abnormal' (Fieldwork 2010). An informant said that she got her PhD few months before her husband but maintained that she must not be called 'Dr' till later, though according to her, her husband was not against her being addressed by the title. Obviously, salient social and profound cultural inhibitions may be contributory factors to women academics' 'trailing' positions in dual career marriages in the academe. A retired DCWA stated: 'To a large extent, the man made more progress in dual career marriages. If you catch up with him, it shows he is not working' (Fieldwork 2010).

Findings also indicate that spouses in academic profession do not have equal access to career opportunities. Husbands tend to benefit more in career

mobility than wives. An informant commented that because the husband is an academic, when he has access to information that may be of benefit to her, he forwards it to her mail box. However, she noted that it does not mean that she has his express permission to utilize such information. For such husbands she hinted:

> They [the husbands] mean well but they want you to look at it in the context of your responsibility at home as a wife. If, for instance, he forwards issues on scholarships and fellowships, I know he simply wants me to be aware of it and not that I could go away from home for three months or a year. So, it is not practical. The issue of career mobility, you see. Culture impacts on women's careers (Fieldwork 2010).

The implication is that unequal distribution of household responsibilities hinders many women from achieving professional fulfilment. Again, a supportive husband in a dual career marriage may not necessarily allow role overlap. A DCWA noted:

> Most of the time it is the man that is ahead ... So many restrictions on publishing and travelling affect women's career (Fieldwork 2010).

Evidently, men often resort to 'traditional' gender-role patterns in taking family decisions concerning the woman's career. Consequently, many women are denied those opportunities that can enhance their careers as they lack autonomy in career decisions. Many female informants also noted their inability to avail themselves of the opportunity offered by sabbatical leave to gain exposure like their spouses as a result of their roles as mother and wife. Performance of these identities and their cultural definitions conflicts with their identity as academics and impact negatively on their careers. Another DCWA related her recent experience:

> I was to attend an academic engagement in another state, for which I had been planning for about three weeks. And suddenly my husband came back and told me he had been invited to a programme outside the country ... There was no need to even discuss my earlier plans ... He is gone (Fieldwork 2010).

The question then is: Which of the partners privileges his or her career in dual career marriages and why? From my research, most of my informants (both men and women) noted that the husband's career takes priority over the wife's. This corroborates the findings of Schiebinger (2008) where 68 per cent of the male survey respondents reported that they consider their own careers more important than those of their partners (see Schiebinger 2008:35). In my research, only 18 per cent of my female respondents stated that their husbands gave equal priority to both careers. Interestingly, these respondents are made

up of retirees and few emerging scholars. Incidentally, for the retirees, their husbands shared the same perspectives with them as they were both vocal in the university community when they were in the institution. When asked why most men give priority to their careers, most of my male informants stated that because they contribute more to the family income, their careers should take precedence, though they also affirmed that they would not want their wives to earn more than they do. A male informant reasoned that economic power helps men to create male hegemony, hence the need to reduce the woman's economic power and sustain the man's.

A DCWA noted that there are homes where DCWAs cannot use their money to pay for journals because they do not have power over their income and not because they cannot afford it, and this affects their productivity. A male academic also reasoned:

> Maybe there is a fear; there is this men ego ... 'I want to be the head; I don't want my wife to be above me' ... No man wants to be under a woman ... The fear could be there. Men want to be the major bread winners to feel secured at home. Our culture and our religion seem to support this ... Maybe the fear is unfounded, but the fear is there nonetheless. I have seen men who would deliberately frustrate the woman ... because of the fear in them (Fieldwork 2010).

Economic power reinforces social power, and this could be a source of threat to many men's sense of security and control when their wives become major income earners. Men and women are enmeshed in social and cultural practices that have become part of their lives. Women's attempts to think or act otherwise could create problems in their marriages. Surprisingly, most of the female informants asserted that they give support to their husbands to achieve their career ambition, unlike most men. The position of the wife on the career ladder, more often than not, determines the attitude of the husband. The husband who has reached the peak of his career ladder (professorial position) may be more positively disposed to the wife's career aspirations, or where there exists a wide gap between the husband's position and that of the wife, with the man occupying the higher position. Even then, family decisions on career issues do not follow a gender-neutral pattern.

Findings also reveal that religious circles, where most men and women academics participate, contribute to women's limited agency in university public life. In recent decades, with the spread of Pentecostalism, church denominations are planted in many locations both within and around FGU. Women are admonished to be submissive in these churches. Submission includes exhibition of restraints in challenging constituted authority whether in the public space or on the home front. Women academics seem to be conforming to this mode of behaviour. Exploring the perceptions and lived experiences of female

students in a Nigerian university, Odejide (2007), for instance, noted the obvious gendered hierarchy that is pervasive in both the university's student religious fellowships and student politics, which she observed is characterized by a gendered hierarchy popularly attributed to traditions that the female and male students have internalized. Findings from the current research have not differed significantly. In both Christian and Islamic religious gatherings, women are expected to be self-effacing. Mainstream leadership positions in many orthodox churches are men's preserve. This situation, in recent times, is coming under criticism. In Sowunmi (2009), the author documented Biblical evidence that support women's inclusion in the Holy Order, and objected to the use of the Bible by some to justify women's exclusion. She further argued that women's exclusion in many church denominations globally is based on sexism, a practice, she noted, that lacks Biblical backing under close scrutiny. An informant noted that women's absence in the mainstream church leadership could, possibly, affect the kind of issues that are viewed as relevant of teaching in many churches. Issues such as family life and work that may address women's 'double shift' and women's career challenges may not be reflected in popular church teachings – a situation which some believe could change if women are allowed into mainstream church leadership.

In any case, DCWAs in consonance with other women academics have devised means of managing the complex socio-cultural reality of their career lives. The next section addresses the strategies women employ to negotiate the university space and the extent to which they have succeeded.

Contesting Space and Forging through the 'Plexiglas'

Despite the challenging social and cultural impediments confronting dual career women academics in FGU, some women academics at different historical periods of FGU devised diverse approaches in attempts to bring women's voices into the university public space. Some of the first sets of DCWAs (now retirees) employed the strategy of coalition building. An informant reported that, at the Senate, they constituted themselves into a group of four academics, an informal group, as a strategy to make their voices count and to challenge issues raised. Through the agency of some of these women at that time, women's voices were not totally silenced in the community. One of them submitted that though most men colleagues were not comfortable with women speaking in the public, members of the group, to a large extent, enjoyed their husbands' support as they were also vocal in the university community. This gave them the encouragement to forge ahead. Coalition building provided them a mechanism to contend, contest and navigate the space despite the cultural constructions that undermine women's voices, albeit some suffered stigmatization.

Larger women groups outside the campus were also useful. Informants mentioned such groups as Women in Nigeria (WIN), the National Association of Women Academics (NAWACS), the Women's Research Centres, among others, as providing viable instruments for the articulation of women academics' voices, and a platform for discussions and debates on gender issues. Although the 'group of four' in the Senate no longer exists, others have continued to be useful. Diverse issues, ranging from 'sexual harassment', 'gender equity and development', to 'women in higher education', and so on, are some of the issues that have been discussed on such platforms in recent times. In such programmes, principal officers of the university such as the Vice-Chancellor (Academic) and the Dean of Students are key invitees. Women believe that, over time, legislation against these socio-cultural constructs that continue to hinder both the participation of female students and all categories of women academics will find a way into the university policy. Also, scholarly publications have provided women academics with vehicular means of contesting space in FGU. Many women academics in the institution that engage in higher education studies use scholarly publications as tools to bring to the fore the issue of women's positionality in academia. Surprisingly, signs of change seem to be emerging. In 2007, the university inaugurated a Gender Mainstreaming Project Committee. Included in the mandates of the committee are the preparation of a gender policy for the university, and the establishment of a Gender Mainstreaming Office in the institution.

Currently, the committee is working on the development of a gender policy. This is a welcome development and an indication that voices from the fringe have made impact in the university mainstream. The expectation among women academics is that this development will usher in a transformative gender policy for equitable male and female participation in FGU in no distant future. Nevertheless, breaking through micro-politics at the family level has continued to be problematic for DCWAs. The intersections of the internal dynamics of the private space and the DCWA's career necessitate choice making which many DCWAs are unwilling to make. Consequently, many who successfully resolve the private fail to resolve the public and vice versa. However, for the few whose husbands share their perspective, the resolution of both becomes easier. The role of the religious institutions in sustaining many women's lack of political will to break through certain social and cultural norms implies that most women are unwilling to agitate for change at the home front, a situation which finds support in the religious circles where men and women interact. Invariably, a lot of DCWAs are thus caught up in the dilemma of resolving the public and private spaces interface. For some, the strategy is privileging one at the expense of the other as the need arises.

Conclusion

This article has tried to reveal some of the complexities characterizing DCWAs' experience in academe. Findings offer insights into the socio-cultural context of work in many HEIs in Africa, coupled with how power plays in the marital institution impact on DCWAs' careers. It seems that particular cultural constructions can undermine the academic freedom and autonomy of a group within the system in a manner imperceptible to casual observers. The undermining of DCWAs' autonomy is evidenced in the attitudinal cultural constructions that violate freedom of expression and utilization of space in the university milieu and the strategically devised means to check her career advancement at the home front. Over time, she loses her individuality for the collective. Stigmatization, invisibility or 'mutedness', as the responses from my informants indicated, reflect the contradictions in the academics' struggle for academic freedom, autonomy and academic democracy in our continent. The socio-cultural context and ideologies under which men and women work, interact and pursue their careers in the academe, damage the marginal productivity of many women academics.

The Way Forward?

- There is a critical need for transformative gender policy that can engender attitudinal change in the universities in Nigeria. The reality in most universities, presently, distorts the collective identity of academics, those invested with the mandate to generate knowledge that will transform our individual and collective destinies, and the destiny of our continent. Also, increasing the number of women academics can create a more gender responsive work environment in the university.

- Most informants suggested that there is a need to discuss the issue of women academics' participation in the university space, either in workshops or seminars, not in a confrontational manner, but in a collegial way – a case of 'let us reason together'. Religious leaders of centres on campus also need to attend such programmes. As a male informant stated, the issue of the careers of women academics has caused friction in many homes. Discussing this issue in a very rational, collegial manner could foster gender equity.

- Many male informants are worried that many women who have risen to high positions in their careers tend to be boisterous at home and this creates fears in many men. Some men, therefore, employ defensive mechanisms to restrain their wives' careers. These

informants advised that successful women should not view high status as instrument of competition with their husbands.

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Notes

1. In Nigeria presently, there are 27 federal universities out of which five belong to the first generation university category. One of these five was selected for this study, and termed 'FGU'.
2. Although official data on the number of dual career academic couples in the institution are not available; through fieldwork, the researcher was able to arrive at a total of 85 dual career academic couples.
3. TheTable below reflects academic staff distribution in FGU by 2009/2010 session, indicating designation and sex (Source: FGU Planning Unit). The gender implication of this distribution is that with more men in the higher positions, the possibility that men tend to mentor men puts women at a disadvantage, and consequently, marginalizes them in decision making by virtue of their numerical strength and position in career ladder.

Academic Staff Distribution in FGU

Designation	Male	Female	Total No. of Staff	Percentage of Female to Male
Prof	188	28	216	13
Associate Prof.	54	18	72	25
Senior Lecturers	258	93	351	26.5
Lecturer I	189	88	277	31.8
Lecturer II	141	69	210	32.9
Ass. Lecturer	60	31	91	34.1

4. The wife is a PhD student in FGU and at the same time a teaching assistant in the institution.

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In Search of Sources other than Governmental in the Financing of Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Word of Caution Beyond the Gains

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Abstract

With the massification of higher education, the African higher education system is undergoing a profound structural crisis. The economic situation is not the only cause of the debilitating state of higher education in Africa. The African university is caught up in a dilemma: It seems to be left with little choice but to diversify the sources of its revenue, which means the necessity of introducing cost sharing. With this scheme, students and parents, especially, are expected to bear an important share of the cost of education. This article takes a look at the financial and management reforms adopted in some African countries in a bid to boost access, quality and efficiency. It documents the cost sharing measures introduced alongside its gains, then takes a critical look at the impact that revenue diversification might have on the mission of the university, the quality of learning and the community with the increasing commercial ordering of life. It suggests that African governments and university leaders resolutely look for ways beyond the financial and management policies to bail out their tertiary education systems. Building political consensus and adopting regional and continental strategies will go a long way toward creating sustainable institutions of higher learning.

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Résumé

Le système de l'éducation supérieure en Afrique est en train de subir une crise structurale profonde à cause de la massification. Par conséquent, l'université africaine semble n'avoir d'autre choix que de diversifier ses sources de revenus. Ce qui implique la nécessité d'introduire un système de partage des coûts de l'éducation. Cette étude jette un regard sur les réformes financières et de gestion adoptées dans certains pays africains. Elle documente les mesures de partage des coûts introduites et leurs gains. Aussi, l'étude jette-t-elle un regard critique sur l'impact que la diversification des revenus peut avoir sur la mission de l'université, la qualité de l'enseignement et la communauté confrontée à la tournure commerciale de la vie. Il y est suggéré que les gouvernements africains et les dirigeants de l'université recherchent résolument des moyens en dehors du financement et des politiques de gestion pour sauvegarder les systèmes de l'enseignement supérieur. L'étude suggère que créer un consensus politique et adopter des stratégies régionales et continentales aideraient considérablement à la viabilité des études supérieures.

Introduction

In the beginning, the modern African university was a success story. A single national university established for the training of human power for the much-needed bureaucracy of newly independent nations yielded commendable results (Court 1991). Today, fortunes are dramatically reversed. While the pressure from the expanding numbers of students, compounded by economic hardships, is a threat to quality education, the colonial legacy and the political mismanagement of the universities also act as the last straw that breaks the camel's back. Whoever the culprits, the most visible manifestations of the crisis have been the decrease in university budgets, which had led to decaying infrastructure, increasing unrest on university campuses, and mostly the questionable quality as well as the relevance of the training provided (Somda 1995:1).

The African university seems to be left with little choice but to diversify the sources of its revenue, via cost sharing (Johnstone 1986, 2000, 2004; Ishengoma 2004; Some 2006; Ngolovoi 2008). Cost sharing expects students and parents, especially, to bear an important share of the cost of education. This article takes a look at the financial and management reforms adopted in some African countries in a bid to boost access, quality and efficiency, and it advocates a more integrative approach to the sustainability of higher education institutions.

The Massification of Higher Education in the Midst of a Deep Recession

Austerity in higher education has become a universal phenomenon, assailing all countries, poor and rich alike. Massification – often accompanied with a ballooning student population in Africa and in inverse proportion to the state budget capacity of weak economies – a phenomenon that is a common trait in higher education in virtually all countries, has magnified this austerity:

> Enrolment growth has outpaced financing capabilities. Africa has maintained its public investment in higher education over the last fifteen years, allocating approximately 0.78 per cent of its GDP and around 20 per cent of its current public expenditure on education to this sector. However, during this period, the total number of students pursuing higher education tripled, climbing from 2.7 million in 1991 to 9.3 million in 2006 (annual average rate of 16 per cent). The situation is even more dire in the poorest countries in Africa (approximately 9.63 per cent of their GDP is allocated to higher education), where during the 1991-2006 period the number of students quadrupled while available public resources have, in general, only increased at most by 75 per cent (Haddad 2010:7).

The unit cost of higher education outpaces the annual inflation rate, hence the notion of cost disease (Johnstone 2001). In sub-Saharan Africa, though, the austerity is a galloping one:

> [T]he woeful economic situation of most African countries during the 1970s and 1980s has meant a steady dwindling of both externally and internally sourced financial resources for the universities, resulting in funding levels which cannot match, in real terms, the requirements of critical inputs, equipment, books and journals, to sustain acceptable standards of instruction, research and service (Adams, Bah-Lalya and Mukweso 1991:349).

This situation is fraught with consequences. Adams et al. conclude that the prolonged period of deep austerity of the 1980s:

> … has shifted the focus of the policy debate on education from a paramount commitment to human resource development to the present painful preoccupation with finding ways of financing it. Moreover, these pressures on the education sector are felt at a time of strong social demand by a generation of youth whose rising expectations are matched by their commitment to political activism (p. 349).

The plight of African universities is inversely proportional to the euphoria born out of a marked sense of nationalism, following the tide of the independences in the 1960s. Sawyerr (2003) contended that the African states took upon themselves 'a decisive leadership role' for the social and economic transfor-

mation of the newly independent nations. While this is not exclusive to African nations, the African situation has been unique with regard to 'the degree of specificity and narrowness in which the purposes were stated in some instances and the generosity of the public support to the new universities' (Sawyerr 2003:4). African universities were tasked, among other things, with serving revolutions, socialist economies, nation building or African unity. It follows, still according to Sawyerr, that the state alone shouldered all the costs of higher education, at the taxpayers' expense.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Universities in sub-Saharan Africa are desperately searching for alternative sources to mitigate the rising costs of higher education against the background of diminishing public monies, ironically at a time of competing needs: health care, agriculture, roads, primary education, etc. Solutions to eke out the limited budgets of the different states seem to be confined to revenue diversification to the detriment of African solidarity. Thus, African universities risk missing out on crucial fronts: The Humboldtian spirit consisting of the search for truth conditioned by *Lehrfreiheit* and *Lernfreiheit* (Clarke 1985); effective teaching; the idea of service to the community; economic development and the formation of a strong civil society. Equally important is the promise of the idea of university as the great equalizer, mitigating the intergenerational transmission of privileges. In this article, I use a theroretical framework that articulates caveats related to the financing of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. While Johnstone (2002) does not reject university entrepreneurship, he perceives three downsides to it that invite caution. The risk of stealing faculty and institutional time is real, especially if the countries do not have what is called, euphemistically, very clear rules. The second danger is that the entrepreneurial activities can easily be at loggerheads with the professional ethics prevailing in academe:

> This can occur ... when a funding source has a vested interest in the results of the research that it is funding. The compromise of academic values does not need to be so blatant as the outright falsification of evidence or suppression of findings. The very decisions of what to investigate (and perforce what not to investigate) can be affected by funding sources with vested interests – including government agencies. Alternatively, the academic compromise can come in the form of limitations on dissemination of the findings (Johnstone 2002:31).

The third limitation of entrepreneurship is that since all the departments do not have the same marketing power, some may not benefit equally from the spoils, so to speak (Sawyerr 2003), especially in the absence of clear rules. Varghese,

in a similar vein, worried that the laws of the market could rule supreme, given that 'the role of the state is not confined to funding. There are other roles centring on appropriate balance between social demand, governmental regulation and social equity' (Varghese 2000:20). The World Bank joined with Varghese in voicing a cautionary note. 'Markets require profits and this can crowd out important educational duties and opportunities' (World Bank 2000:15). Financially strapped governments notwithstanding, the analytical dichotomy entertained by some stakeholders between public good and private good is of little service. The debate on education either as a public good or its matching piece, education as a private good, is finally unproductive. Sawyerr (2003) blames two factors that contributed to the view that education was first and foremost a 'private good': the internal economic meltdown and external policy pressure.

The result was the reduction of public expenditure on Africa's universities in real terms, especially in terms of the unit costs per student, and the extension of the policy of cost-recovery to higher education. Government appropriations to universities were often slashed to the bone; also, subsidies for students were reduced or removed altogether (Sawyerr 2003). Sawyerr takes a dim view of 'narrow economistic bottom-line considerations of efficiency and value-for-money [that] have tended to get lost in the shuffle – sometimes with the explanation that those purposes could be addressed as economic conditions improve – a version of the "trickle-down" theory' (Sawyerr 2003:39). He bemoans the fact that in the 1980s and early 1990s, African states and most donors deserted the financing of higher education, which further precipitated its dilapidation.

There is the danger that the university could be narrowly and exclusively conceived of as a place of the 'production of skills for the job market', thus forfeiting the long-term interests of society that 'are best served by the university as a thinking and learning place' (Sawyerr 2003:44). As a matter of fact, universities have been trying a good many measures as they face the daunting alternative of 'adapt or die' induced by the economic crisis. In the wake of this, faculty have become past masters in moonlighting and veritable bounty hunters of unending consultations, quite understandably to make ends meet, their wages being a mere pittance. In this case, teaching and research no longer occupy the centre stage. Ghost universities with ghost lecturers can only precipitate the descent into the maelstrom of mediocrity. Also, several university administrators try to hook private sources to eke out the meagre state appropriations. The authorities, cognizant of this situation, sometimes appoint university leaders, not on the basis of their academic track record, but rather on how well they can hold out the begging bowl (Sawyerr 2003).

Method

I have selected one case in African higher education that points to discernible patterns of success, although caution is needed here, especially after this university has hit rock bottom in the quality of its educational output, starting in the 1970s: Makerere University in Uganda. In addition, I have included two cases that point to possibilities and that are worthy of note as instances where the policy has been more or less accepted by students, faculty and staff (although it is too early to establish how successful they are) Kenya and Tanzania. Finally, there is the case where cost sharing was implemented from top down and that is still subject to student contestation such as the University of Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso (West Africa).

I have gone to great lengths to review the World Bank policy concerning the financing of higher education in developing countries with a special attention to sub-Saharan Africa. The reason is that the World Bank is rightly or wrongly perceived as the originator of cost sharing in higher education in Africa. A detailed literature about the position of the World Bank on the financing of higher education in Africa was necessary in order to place the reader in a position to better understand matters. I have come to this research from multiple locations. As an African, as a former graduate from a francophone country, where the introduction of tuition is rather a novelty and is adamantly fought by students, and also as a scholar of cost sharing who studied for 'free'. This offers me a particular vantage point for understanding the need for cost sharing, but also the imperative of looking beyond financial and management reforms to salvage the African university that is going to wrack and ruin in several countries.

The World Bank and the Financing of Higher Education in Africa

It is hardly imaginable to discuss the financing of higher education in Africa without taking a look at the World Bank' s involvement, at least at policy development level. The Bank has often occupied the limelight for the almost explicit hostility towards higher education in Africa throughout the mid-1980s until the end of the 1990s as a result of both declining government resources and the international focus, mainly guided by the policy prescriptions of the Bank, on primary education (Youssef 2005).

Its view on higher education has evolved from the 1980s to the 2000s so that it is now more appreciative of government investment. Yet, it is still calling for greater efficiency and greater cost sharing. Thus:

> Twenty years ago, the *Education Sector Working Paper* (World Bank 1974) began the process of emphasizing the importance of primary and basic (including non- formal education) and urged the raising of the proportion of education lending to this sector (from 11 to 27%) and, in consequence,

> reducing the proportion going to higher education (from 40 to 30%) (King 1995:20).

The Education Sector authored by Psacharopoulos (1980) made the case that the rate of returns to primary education was higher than that of higher education. This comforted the Bank in its neglect of higher education to the benefit of primary education. In 1985, Hinchliffe noted in *Issues Related to Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*, that higher education was not sustainable because of high unit costs (ten times higher than the per capita income and worse still, 50 times higher than primary education); the under-utilization of facilities, oversubsidization of students from privileged backgrounds, not forgetting the high non-teaching costs (King 1995). *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* (1988) diagnosed that African higher education institutions needed capacity-building. This sub-sector was lacking in the appropriate mix of inputs; was of low quality; entailed high costs with inequitable and ultimately inefficient finance. As a medicine, the World Bank advocated cost sharing in the form of developing private higher education institutions and charging fees in the public sector. As Youssef (2005) put it:

> By advocating privatization and user fees, private resources could be mobilized, reducing government spending on higher education so that funds could be allocated to the bolstering of primary education which enjoyed greater rates of return (pp. 20-21).

Thus, the 1988 report took a dim view of the financing of higher education in Africa and urgently recommended the reduction of the public costs per student by cutting down the non-teaching costs that are unusually high and the student subsidies, and by introducing tuition charges as well as providing fewer subsidized services and student stipends.

In a nutshell, adjustment, revitalization and selective expansion became the order of the day. Youssef (2005) unpacking the terms adjustment, revitalization and expansion, had this to say:

> While expansion included making the necessary investments towards the long-term goal of universal primary education and revitalization focused on issues of academic standards, the centerpiece of the policy package was adjustment which directly addressed the issue of cost as a means to both cut government spending and redirect funds to the provision of primary education (p. 20).

Changing its instrumental approach to higher education during the 1990s, the Bank, as Yepes (2006) put it:

> [B]egan paying attention to broader political-economy aspects and relying on positive incentives to the actors. More recently, together with UNESCO, the Bank focused on poorer countries while placing higher education in a broader context of life-long learning, using info-communication technologies when possible (p. 25).

In 1994, *Lessons of Experience* tempered the power of the rate of returns analysis that justified the recommendation to reallocate resources from higher education to the lower levels of education. Given the methodological limitations of that approach, and the importance of higher education for producing the professional and technical specialists required by each country, the report called for increased Bank attention to the needs of higher education institutions (World Bank 1994:94).

At the same time, the Bank advocated the differentiation of higher education institutions, the diversification of finance, the redefinition of the role of the state in higher education, and the focus on quality, equity and responsiveness.

Much more recently, in *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promises* (2000), the World Bank observed portentously that the developing world is at risk of lagging behind in a world economy more and more dominated by knowledge. 'As knowledge becomes more important, so does higher education. ... The quality of knowledge generated within higher education institutions, and its availability to the wider economy, is becoming increasingly critical to national competitiveness' (World Bank 1994:9). Such an observation does not bode well for developing countries in general, and more narrowly, sub-Saharan African countries. The reason is that '[t]hey are chronically underfunded, but face escalating demand. ...Faculty are often underqualified, lack motivation and are poorly rewarded. Students are poorly taught and curricula undeveloped' (World Bank 1994:10). The World Bank grimly concluded that at this rate, development is in jeopardy.

The World Bank encourages a new vision coupled with careful planning and high standards of management. It has identified three areas where immediate action is necessary: funding, resources and governance. It is required of public funding a more consistent role, and students, institutions, business and philanthropy will do well to join hands. Calling for an optimal use of human and physical capital, the Bank encourages the development of new technologies of communication and the integration of developing countries into the global intellectual community. However, all the efforts can be meaningful only if located within an enabling environment of good governance. On its own, the World Bank (1994) admits that better management is supposed to 'lead to more effective deployment of limited resources'.

The *Task Force* argued that counting only on public funding for higher education leads to a blind alley. Government funding levels depend on govern-

ment resources. Private financing contributes to alleviating the charges of governments who can devote the resources to other needs:

> The financing of higher education does not need to be limited to the public purse. In fact, higher education can be provided and financed either entirely publicly, or entirely privately (including by non-governmental organizations), or by some combination of the two (World Bank 2006:55-56).

The World Bank actively supports several countries in the reform of their higher education systems. At the joint conference in Accra, Ghana, in September 2003, it reaffirmed its commitment to revitalize the higher education systems in Africa, which points to the softening of its former position with regard to higher education:

> Noting that 'the Bank does not have a very strong credibility around higher education', Birger Fredriksen, the Bank's representative, reassured participants that the Bank 'would like to strongly support higher education in Africa' (Teferra 2004:1).

In *Constructing Knowledge Societies* (2002), the Bank explains why continuing public support for higher education is necessary while addressing the appropriate role of the state, as well as how to diminish the adverse effects of reforms. It had promised its support to the tertiary education institutions in the developing countries, and now emphasizes a comprehensive approach rather than the heretofore area approach:

> Through effective partnerships with other multilateral institutions, national governments, NGOs, and the private sector, the World Bank aspires to apply its financial resources and extensive knowledge base toward increased efforts in the tertiary education and science and technology sectors, which will help create the foundations of democratic, knowledge-based economies and societies (World Bank 2002:99).

In order to minimize dissent within the institution, the Bank favours consensus building and solutions adapted to each society through effective management and financial modalities.

A Few Management and Financial Solutions Tried Out in Universities in Africa

Measures akin to 'internal efficiency and cost-saving arrangements' (Sawyerr 2003:45) have been implemented in several universities. A considerable amount of outsourcing of municipal services such as telephones, electricity, cleaning services, etc., has taken place. The practice of user charges has also seen the light of day as well as the development of technical training and distance edu-

cation. Universities are more sensitive to the demands of their constituencies, and so develop courses that address the 'here and now' situation of the job market. As part of the innovations, they have developed strong links with business 'as a means of providing service to the community, raising income for the universities and providing hands-on experience for students' (Sawyerr 2003:45-46). The student cafeteria, photocopying and transcripts, among others, are no longer free in many universities.

Financing Higher Education in Burkina Faso

In 2006, the total number of students enrolled in public higher education institutions in Burkina Faso was 30,472, with a projected value of 75,200 students in 2015, or a ratio of 2:5 (World Bank 2010). The average annual expenditure is 37.23 (2004 US $ millions) against 23.1 for the resources available. The University of Ouagadougou, the flagship university in the country, started in 1974 with 370 students. Virtually all students who completed high school automatically benefited from a grant that was relatively generous (Guenda 2003). This grant has been merit-based since the 1990s and amounts to CFA 500,000 per student and per year.

The government had to reduce student benefits drastically as the country was going through structural adjustment programmes in 1991. A quota system was introduced based on a cutting-point at the high school exam, the *baccalauréat*. To sugar-coat the pill, *l'Aide*, a financial assistance equivalent to CFA 150,000 per year (renewable twice) was given to students who did not qualify for the grant. In 1994, a student loan programme, the FONER to a value of CFA 150,000 upgraded to CFA 200,000 in 2007, was set up for students in their third year and upward. The rate of recovery is poor. Minimal collection and other issues have set the scheme up for review, according to the World Bank (2010). In effect, in 2009, only 20 million CFA have been recovered out of the more than 15 billion loaned since the beginning of the programme. In 2007/2008, 2,233 grants were allocated to students against 21,620 students who benefited from the financial aid, and 3,862 for the loans.

The tuition is of a dual-track type with students at elite public institutions paying up to 1,800 euros. This does not include room and board. Tuition fees, then, constitute up to 50 per cent of institutional income in these elite institutions (World Bank 2010). Already, in 1992, with the first attempt to reduce student grants and install *l'Aide*, students went on rampage. Landmark student protests about their financial conditions are the Year 1997, 2000, 2002, and 2008. The FONER political acceptability can be measured by the refusal of students to pay back, even after they have graduated and have been gainfully employed.

In 2002, the tuition fee that was 7,500 CFA doubled to 15,000 CFA ($75), causing student riots. But before, in the year 2000, a protracted student strike

led to the cancellation of the academic year. It ushered in the reorganization of the University of Ouagadougou. What is known as the *Refondation* is a top-down management process that was supposed to increase academic outcomes and bring a better articulation between programmes and employment opportunities. It was not a consensual policy as it involved less than ten percent of the university instructors and did not seek or was not in a position to garner student input at all. Whether the *Refondation* has achieved what it set out to do is still not clear, judging by the recurrent faculty and student strikes. These have seriously disturbed academic activities. The academic year that normally starts in October has been put off many times to January, sometimes even later. There is the risk of running a second-hand higher education system that will jeopardize the badly needed human capital formation.

Students resent the financial and management measures adopted by the Ministry of Higher Education, as they encroach on their well-being. At the University of Ouagadougou, Korbeogo (1999) argues that several students are in a situation of dire poverty. They engage in parallel activities such as petty trading, private tutoring, and as 'escorts' for female students, to meet the vital minimum, given the material precariousness in which they live. The hardships include the difficulty in feeding themselves and transportation, as many of them live downtown, far away from the university. The same hardships have been documented by Some (2006) who describes the bulk of the student body at the University of Ouagadougou as mired in crass poverty, leading them to fall back on their parents whenever possible. The low socio-economic family background of the majority of students makes it difficult for them to expect the support of their parents. As Korbeogo mentions:

> Unfortunately, the social origin of the people surveyed shows the very limited capacity of parental response in poor families where the father is often the only bread-winner who provides for the material and financial needs of the children. For in some cases, the students who are scholarship holders become providers of income to the families (Korbeogo 1999:54).

To survive, they are obliged to run into debt. Worse still, they indulge in acts of stealing. They steal bikes, and do not pay their way into the Restaurant Universitaire, the student cafeteria, as not all of them can afford the ticket. Elaborating on the grim student living conditions, Korbeogo shows that many students are obliged to come together to rent small rooms in twos or threes, sometimes more: 'Thus divided between his studies and fighting for his way out, the academic results of the student will be on the decrease, which is a factor of attrition' (Korbeogo 1999:54).

Guenda (2003) also captures a grim image of the student conditions at the University of Ouagadougou as they toil through the material hardships largely imparted by the reduction in the number of grants and other social advantages. He deplores the fact that many students suffer from hunger. This reduces their

attention span and makes the assimilation of lectures difficult. As Woodhall (2002) maintained, cost sharing can only be successful if there is a student loan scheme that allows students to defray the cost of their education. Paradoxically, student loans have a track record of failure all over the world (Altbrecht & Ziderman 1991). This pattern of failure points to the social, cultural, political and technical difficulties encountered by student loan schemes.

The Experience of the University of Dar es Salaam

At the University of Dar es Salaam, the difficulties facing higher education have come to the fore as a public concern too. Stakeholders, through workshops and seminars, have agreed to take the bull by the horns. In order to bail the university out, it has been decided to implement new management and financial reforms. The new vision for the university aims at a transformation as the changes are profound, holistic and systematic rather than isolated (Luhanga & Mbwette 2002). The management and financial reforms are best seen as two moments of the same dynamic. They work in tandem even if the financial reforms draw heavily on the management reforms.

The financial reforms include the implementation of the University Finance Management(UFM) study of 1993-1996; the computerization of financial operations; the establishment of the UDSM level of external finance administration unit (EFAU); the computerization of external finance operations (multicurrency); the implementation of the financial information system (FIS) as part of the INFOPOL project; the diversification of sources of funds; the introduction of a formula for internal allocation of the Government subvention; the rationalization of services; and staff retrenchment. The goals of the management reforms are:

- Implementation of the new organizational structure of positions of UDSM;
- Enhancement of the strategic planning culture;
- Clustering of faculties and institutes into campus colleges;
- Rationalization of services (municipal and support services);
- Implementation of income-generating and cost cutting measures;
- Establishment of Companies;
- Enhancement of third party investments;
- Establishment of regional admission centres;
- Introduction of smart campus cards for students and staff (Luhanga & Mbwette 2002:103).

All these measures aim to streamline the university system and make it more efficient, responsive to its clientele, sensitive to the community, faithful to the search for truth and knowledge production, and cost-effective. In a nutshell, this fits into the vision of a sustainable university. Measures directly in tune

with the revenue diversification concern the rationalization of services, Enhanced Income Generation and cost- cutting, and the formation of companies. The rationalization of services is undertaken to reduce the cost of delivery of academic programmes (Luhanga & Mbwette 2002). Private investors have supplanted the university in the provision of municipal services such as cleaning, maintenance and catering:

> In general, it has been decided that the university will never be directly involved in offering such services to the university community. The only other major service that is currently still directly provided by UDSM is the health services undertaken by the UDSM Health Centre. A proposal for its rationalization with the view to reducing costs and also enhancing its income generating potential is now under discussion (Luhanga & Mbwette 2002:100).

The rationalization of the services has tremendously reduced overhead costs. For example, with the layoff of administrative and technical staff – as unfortunate and wrenching as it was – the student and administrative staff ratio that was 1:2 in 1994 has gone down to 1:8. Also, income-generating activities are seriously considered at UDSM. Third party investors are assiduously wooed to take over commercial spaces on campus. The forum convened in May 2001 at Dar es Salaam, targeting local and foreign investors, is a watershed in the desperate search for sources other than governmental in the African higher education landscape. The UDSM, very serious about it, has gone as far as setting up two companies wholly owned by the university. These are DUP Ltd. and UCC Ltd. The intention is to ensure that the facilities are operated commercially and do not in any way cost the University any funds. In any case, the ultimate goal is to see these companies offer subsidized services to UDSM in a sustainable way by generating income through their commercial activities (Luhanga & Mbwette 2002:101).

Cost sharing was introduced in Africa's education policy in the 1980s for public as well as private universities (Oketch 2003). What is taking place in Tanzania is not an isolated case.

Kenya

Tuition fees are crucial in the policy of cost sharing. The fact that sub-Saharan Africa has relied on tuition-free higher education has wrought enough havoc regarding access, participation, equity and efficiency. Yet, the annual average rate of enrolments in African public universities is estimated at 7.5 per cent. It is therefore not reasonable to think that the state can continue to finance education all alone, especially when the students take excessive numbers of years to complete a degree. Demographic factors, national economic performance, the distribution of income, donor funding and level of external debt, patterns

of previous provision and social demand, all militate for a shift of major costs of education to students and parents:

> Standard models of public funding, for example, tend to imply a transfer from the rich to the poor. However, empirical evidence ... and new theoretical work ... show that free higher education implies a transfer from lower income groups to higher income groups (Oketch 2002:89).

In order to preserve access, many researchers have advised the introduction of student loan programmes to allow most students to fund their education. However, as broached earlier, '[m]any countries have had ... problems because their loan schemes have not been delinked from government current expenditures, budgeted annually as part of education allocation' (Oketch 2003:99). This speaks volumes for the difficulties besetting loan programmes. The 1974 Kenyan loan programme was just a grant, and even a bad grant with its minus 3 per cent recovery rate (Some 2008). The Higher Education Loan Board (HELB) set up in 1995 immediately ran into problems. Eligibility criteria were not fraud-proof and students from wealthy families were said to be automatically granted the loan as it was very difficult to verify the validity of documents submitted.

Today, the situation has somewhat been addressed. Oketch makes the point that loans should be set up in such a way as to absorb all fees and living costs. He thinks that most of the failure of loans comes from inadequate capitalization. 'When loans are insufficient, they cause learning setbacks because they do not serve their purpose. One of the reasons for the resistance of loans in many sub-Saharan African countries is that the amount given to students and institutions is insufficient. They cannot fully cover the needs of students' (Oketch 2003:100).

Mwinzi (2002) documents the havoc wrought by the impoverishment of students as a result of inconsiderate cost sharing measures at the University of Nairobi. He finds the financial assistance to the students far from adequate. The Kenyan Higher Education Loans Board (HELB) set up subsequent to the introduction of cost-sharing 'has been faced with many financial and administrative problems and as a result, it is not in a position to provide adequate loans to the increasing deserving applicants' (p. 2). Consequently, students are indulging in income-generating activities (IGAs) that are at loggerheads with learning. Several students are reported to be involved in drug and illicit alcohol selling, cohabiting and prostitution.

If African universities are intent on diversifying their sources of finance, care must be taken not to allow the corporate idea to deflect them from the traditional mission of a university. I shall elaborate on this idea in due course. As seductive as the American model of financing higher education may be,

Africans must pay attention to the specificity of their countries. In this sense, while borrowing sound educational practices experimented elsewhere, they must not forget to look inward in order to wrest endogenous solutions based on African solidarity. This is the place to caution African universities, which seem to have embraced the Bologna Declaration all too enthusiastically, against endorsing unexamined borrowing. That there are roadblocks in the way to endogenous solutions must not throw African leaders into a self-defeating paralysis. The search for an African solution seems to be a sustainable way to go about Africanizing the university that desperately remains a European idea transplanted into Africa.

Makerere, a Beacon of Hope, but For How Long?

One innovation, particularly bold as well as imaginative is

> … the reservation of space at public universities for fee-paying students. This has happened at UCAD in Senegal, the University of Ghana and the KNUST in Ghana, and some of the universities in Kenya. However, the best known of all have been the dramatic developments at Makerere University over the last ten years (Court 1999:47).

All these miscellaneous measures have gone some way to contain non-educational overheads. Once again, Sawyerr points out that francophone Africa has been at great pains to implement cost-containing measures which, no doubt, affect students and faculty's gains. The experiment under way at Makerere, assuredly, deserves to be expanded upon if only because of its originality, novelty and boldness.

Ng'ethe et al. (2003), in an attempt to conceptualize innovation in higher education in Africa, after a laborious deliberation – quite understandably because the term is rather an import from business – proposed that it is '… the planned implementation or application of new ideas, practices and services, which arise through creativity, interaction and insight, with the aim of improving an existing situation, practice or service, and thereby bringing about change' (p. 18). It follows that what took place at Makerere University is nothing short of an innovation. Makerere has not always been the respectable higher education institution that it is today, poised to enter the pantheon of the best higher education centres in Africa; it has not always enjoyed the relative financial autonomy that it has now, as it hitherto relied quite exclusively on government funds not always forthcoming.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the university struggled to exist, owing to political and economic instability. This turbulent period saw a number of both senior expatriate and Ugandan lecturers leave for 'greener pastures' and 'exile respectively' (Ssebuwufu 2002:87). Thanks to a broad-base management style

and bold administrative, academic and financial reforms, the Makerere University overhauled a dilapidated university system:

> At Council level, inclusive representation and authority by all stakeholders has been introduced. The new Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act now provides for election of the members from among the University staff, whereas in the past, the council was primarily composed of government appointees. Council will now include representatives from the business and industrial sector. The consultative and participatory management maximizes the involvement of different segments of the university community. It encourages participatory decision-making (Ssebuwufu 2002:87).

Ssebuwufu has relevantly remarked on the fact that student and staff protests have been dramatically reduced because of the open channel of communication. As a result, the university is expanding in quality and resources, compared to most campuses on the continent. It has successfully diversified its revenue sources and somewhat shifted the burden of education from exclusive government provision to parents, students, business and partners in cooperation. Thus, it has made the desirable possible and the possible come true. The fees charged new students have been a crucial element of this positive change:

> Makerere has with this increased income instigated major improvements in the physical and academic infrastructure. The increase in the internally generated revenue within the university has been significant. In 1996 the income generated was Ush.5.07 billion. In 1999, it increased to Ush.10 billion, representing an increase of 100% (Ssebuwufu 2002:91).

Makerere has introduced cost sharing measures with great success – although this achievement should be celebrated cautiously (Sicherman 2008; Sawyerr 2004; Mamdani 2007) – thanks to the transparency that has constantly accompanied the process. The sense of belonging and ownership from the part of all the stakeholders has minimized the distrust between the administration of the university and the other stakeholders. The university has been able to keep afloat financially, and to its credit, it has resorted to a policy of shared prosperity. The faculty members have seen consistent increases in their salaries:

> The contribution to the salary/wage bill is about 1.5 billion per annum, whereas before 1996, the university contributed nothing. As a result of the improving terms and conditions of service, the university has been able to attract and retain its high caliber staff in all faculties, and to reduce the high turn-over that it used to experience during the seventies (Ssebuwufu 2003:1-10).

The university seems to husband the financial resources more or less providently. A number of funds have been set up. Among others, the Makerere University in-House Pension Scheme extends to all the employees. The eight per cent deducted from the total revenue generated has already insured a 15-year monthly pension. Here, cost sharing is protecting the workers' pension scheme, contrary to the Ghanaian student loan scheme covered by the Social Security and National Insurance Trust fund (SSNIT) that threatens to deplete the workers' pension (Some 2008; Kotey 2003). The Makerere University Staff Development Fund (four percent) is used for higher training of faculty. There is also a Maintenance Fund (five percent) to prevent the physical plants from running down. It is incongruous to invest in costly physical plant if there is no plan to maintain it. Research has not been forgotten with a Research and Publication Fund being set up. Perhaps, more important to an environment of peace and quiescence is the attention devoted to students. So, all the stakeholders understand where the money generated through the efforts of all parties to cost sharing is spent and with what effect, thus reinforcing the legitimacy and 'unavoidability' of cost sharing.

Makerere could inspire more than one university. It is instructive to note that Makerere points to real possibilities in terms of revenue diversification in cash-strapped countries, a situation magnified by a stark opposition to cost sharing. This case is a clarion call to action. It instils a new sense of hope and shows that poor African universities can implement some form of cost sharing. Makerere has broken this circle of apparent moral and material inescapability.

In Court's rendition of how to provide funds other than governmental revenue for a sinking institution in an African context, Makerere University in Uganda diversified its revenue to become an example to be emulated by most African universities:

> Few universities attempted, and none succeeded, in redistributing the cost of tertiary education to providers other than the government. Countries that tried to introduce cost-sharing faced violent confrontations with students. ... These confrontations tended to persuade nervous governments to return to the status quo (Court 1999:3).

The secret of Makerere has been the far-reaching financial and administrative reform, the optimal use of facilities, and especially, a dramatic increase in fee-paying students. 'In the space of five years, Makerere has moved from a situation where none of its students paid fees to one where 60 per cent do' (Court 1999:3). In the year 2003, over 80 per cent of the students admitted on a yearly basis were privately sponsored. As Ssebuwufu (2003) observed, this falls in line with the 1989 Educational Review Recommendation and World

Bank Initiative, which strongly recommended that students share the burden of the costs of their university education.

The pace at which it all occurred is nothing short of a 'Quiet Revolution' as Court put it. To account for this, he pitched his argument at the level of a confluence of factors nested in a supportive external environment and an innovative institutional context. Interestingly enough, Court underscores the consensual aspect of the reform:

> Reforms, while urgent and radical, were not sprung upon the public of the university in a sudden unexplained manner, as a *diktat* from above in apparent response to external pressure. ... Rather, they occurred in a long process of negotiation, consultation and explanation both within the university and outside it (Court 1999:11).

Among the favourable factors then were the existence of an enlightened university leadership who believes in the virtues of the market, the political stability coupled with the government's readiness to grant the university autonomy, and not the least, the macro-economic reform that has made possible steady economic growth.

Yet, whether the current achievement of Makerere University is sustainable is a matter of debate. Musisi and Muwanga (2003) lament the insufficient facilities and the insufficient staff resulting from the unexpected expansion of enrolments and the subsequent fall of standards; the uneven improvement in faculty gains; the poor living conditions of students; and the worsening of the gap between haves and have-nots as a result of the dual-track system. It is not even up to its Africanness that has not been called into question by some. In Sicherman's (2008) view, 'a history of an African university seems impossible without a definition of "African university" as 'the conventional development model sees an African university as run by Africans, centrally ... devoted to increasing knowledge of all aspects of Africa, and graduating high-level personnel to staff local institutions' (p. 19). Just because a university is located in Africa does not make it an African university. Sicherman, continuing with her word of caution, has this to say: 'Makerere is accused of commercialization, an abandonment of planning on national need and academic competence in favour of short-term responses to a crudely defined market' (p. 32).

A Case for Sustainable African Universities

As seductive as revenue diversification might sound, it may not be enough to overturn the low quality of universities caused by the scarcity of funds and to bring peace and quiescence on campus. It would barely suffice to construe

the falling of standards and quality in the African university as merely a problem that could be fixed if only the financial resources were forthcoming and sound management arrangements were out in place. Granted, money is the sinews of war. But even so:

> Ensuring financially sustainable tertiary education policies and constraints proper to each country, various measures, such as student flow orientation, cost-sharing, rationalization of social expenses, improvement of governance and management practices, and private sector development, may be used in combination to achieve an optimal balance between economic requirements and financial resources that may be mobilized (Haddad 2010:9).

Culture, organization and action are crucial here. This is in no way an attempt to make light of the fiscal issue. Once again, the point is that the crisis of the African university cannot be reduced to financial and budgetary dimensions. Revenue diversification runs into to serious obstacles in Africa, poverty aside. Among other issues, means-testing is difficult to implement and loan collection problematic, as borrowers are often not easily tracked down (Some 2006; Ngolovoi 2008; World Bank 2010). Student loan programmes are also not functional and often do not put enough money into the hands of students. It is not quite clear whether students regard these loans as real loans to be paid back. Philanthropy, at least in the way it plays out in the West, is nearly non-existent (Johnstone 2008). Cost sharing, therefore, seems to be a difficult concept to implement in the African context. Policymakers and decision-makers are wise to be well aware of the ecological factors of the African society in their crusade to build sustainable tertiary education institutions on the continent.

It is arguably the case that the financing of higher education in Africa can only be effective if embodied in a vision that goes beyond mere budgetary and financial issues. It has become public knowledge that:

> Very few countries in Africa have room to increase public funding to tertiary education. Even though the African percentage of GDP per capita dedicated to higher education (0.7%) is below the world average (0.84%) it would be difficult to increase public resources considering the very narrow fiscal base in most countries and the needs from other sectors of the economy, in particular in a context of financial crisis (Haddad 2010:9).

The paradigm of cost sharing seems to work in developed countries with their culture of credit rating, tracking individuals and their revenues through their social security numbers, and the possibility for students to find gainful employment during summer (Johnstone 2004). As pertinent as cost sharing might

be in sub-Saharan African countries, the missing link in the picture is the misrecognition of the socio-political, cultural and historical context of modern Africa. Sawyerr counsels 'very thorough and realistic assessments of history, material circumstances, political/economic conditions and prospects, against the general background of global movements...' (Sawyerr 2003:30). The continent was balkanised and a strong sense of micro-nationalism is still present, where regional synergies are long overdue (Haddad 2010). These synergies need not be a slavish copy of the European initiative in higher education. Unfortunately, Africa comprises 52 states, all big on their sovereignty.

As said in the opening lines of this article, the university was a symbol of national pride and all states made it a point to have theirs, whether this university was viable in and of itself or not. In any case, one has to deplore the fact that regional integration in higher education has barely scraped the surface of political discourse. Consequently, the duplication of programmes in neighbouring countries does not allow for economies of scale. Africa, this vast continent, has also differentiated economic possibilities. While a university should primarily serve the community in which it is founded, it should also pay attention to geography. For example, it would be less productive to have an agricultural university in a desert just to make the citizens feel good about the way they think of themselves as a people. Pooling regional forces together to make consolidated mightier institutions seems to be the best way to go.

To mitigate the inadequacy of the budgetary/financial model – however well-thought out it is – as the panacea to the sustainability of African higher education, one must integrate the political and organizational dimension. African societies are highly politicized, with universities being hotly fought-over battle grounds. Politicians have learned to use universities as their Trojan horse in order to gain a political innings. That is where ruling parties and opposition alike go poaching for soldiers for their cause. In this case, even if students always have real cause to show down against material conditions, they are conditioned to do so, and this creates a volatile situation. Coupled with the fact that governance is the steward of transparency in the management of public affairs and the husbandry of the meagre resources of the country, conditions that are often absent or insufficient, one can foretell that no matter what financial resources could be mobilized for universities, and no matter how well students were treated, university unrest will have come to stay with us as long as consensus-building among the different actors of the university has not been made a priority. To build a sustainable higher education system in Africa, Sawyerr (2003) warns that there are no easy choices, counselling government and the donor community to steer clear of 'one- sided, simplistic, usually economistic prescriptions for dealing with hugely complex problems' (Sawyerr 2003:30), implying that social consensus is the *sine qua non*.

Conclusion

Higher education in Africa has reached a crisis point. This sounds trite. Universities are being thwarted in their mission by an ever-bulging student population at a time of dwindling resources. This is magnified by a worldwide financial austerity that has always kept the African economies in the doldrums for too long. Whether prodded by the World Bank or on their own, African governments have launched cost-cutting measures that are located on the continuum of drastic reduction in the number of grants; gradual introduction of tuition fees where higher education used to be free; some increase where students were already paying for their studies; and student loans.

Governments have also enlisted the contribution of philanthropists and business. If the desperate search for the diversification of revenue to achieve more efficient institutions of higher learning is laudable and, perhaps, is no choice left, the pristine mission of the university should never be lost sight of by the different stakeholders. There is a sense in which the search for supplemental resources could crowd out the idea of a university, as certain trends in most reforms are troubling. Privatization altogether of higher education poses a threat to access and quality. The outsourcing of certain services to people who may only abide by the commercial ethos is infelicitous. Mamdani (2007) has aptly elaborated this concern in *Scholars in the Marketplace: The Dilemmas of Neoliberal Reforms at Makerere University 1989-2005*.

Not only could the neoliberal reforms be a bar to access for the majority of students; and worse still, a bar to opportunity to learn, they could also corrupt and subvert the very idea of a university. Also, one avenue often neglected in the search for sources other-than governmental to finance African higher education, is regional cooperation. Several programmes from different universities in the sub-region could come together in a single country, depending on the geopolitical and economic possibilities. Duplication of the same programmes in neighbouring countries seems improvident and is downright insensitive to the notion of the economies of scale. It also ignores the comparative advantages of countries.

Although revenue diversification is a difficult concept to apply in the African context, it can be more effective only if the Augean stables of African politics are cleansed, giving rise to consensus-building and sound governance that reassures most actors that the common good is the *summum bonum* of financial and budgetary policies. Experton and Fevre (2010) advise that, with regard to the difficulty of implementing financial reforms, some caution be exercised: 'Social assessment of the proposed reforms through wide consultation is necessary to build consensus among the diverse constituents of the tertiary educational community, while allowing for a high degree of tolerance for controversies and disagreements' (p. 9). In other terms, cost sharing, or

revenue diversification writ large, can be allowed to stay its course if it comes in draped with legitimacy. It will accomplish what it sets out to accomplish if embedded within local, regional and continental synergies. The nascent concept of an African University (Haddad 2010) points in a good direction. On the whole, reforms should make it a priority the fact that the university is a place for reflection and the development of ideas (Sawyerr 2003). Therefore, it is deplorable that 'the focus has tended to be less on the substance and core of the university enterprise, namely, curriculum, pedagogy and research, and more on funding, governance, management, access, equity, etc.' (p. 26).

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GATS and Higher Education in Nigeria: A Preliminary Investigation of the Indicative Patterns of Consumption Abroad by Nigerians

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Abstract

This article presents some preliminary evidence on the existence and magnitude of consumption abroad and the type of trade in higher education, using a combination of advertisement survey data by Nigerians during 2001-2006 and secondary data on Nigerians enrolled in universities outside the country. We found that higher education consumption abroad is increasing without explicit regulation by Nigeria's regulatory bodies. The findings also point to the development of a market for local recruiting agencies and the need for regulation not only for quality control but also to avoid collusion between local students recruiting agencies, foreign higher education providers and foreign embassies. The study therefore proposes the setting up of a technical committee to advise on issues concerning negotiations on higher education during the WTO rounds and also provide a clear framework on the process and dynamics of the trade for the benefit of the citizens and the country.

Résumé

Faisant usage d'une combinaison de données générées par le recensement de publicités au Nigéria entre 2001 et 2006 et de données secondaires sur les Nigérians inscrits dans les universités situées hors du pays, cette étude présente quelques preuves sur l'existence et la magnitude des inscriptions à l'extérieur et du type d'échange dans l'éducation supérieure. Nous avons

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trouvé que les inscriptions pour l'éducation supérieure à l'étranger ont augmenté sans une régulation explicite des organes régulateurs du Nigeria. L'étude montre qu'il y a un développement dans le marché local des agences de recrutement et un besoin de régulation, non seulement pour assurer un contrôle de qualité, mais aussi pour éviter des collusions entre les étudiants locaux, les agences de recrutement, les institutions académiques de l'extérieur et les ambassades. Par conséquent, l'étude propose la mise sur pied d'un comité technique pour donner des conseils sur les questions qui concernent les négociations sur l'éducation supérieure durant les rencontres de l'OMC, mais aussi pour jeter les bases claires du processus et des dynamiques d'échanges au bénéfice des citoyens et du pays.

Introduction

Policymakers and stakeholders in the education sector are increasingly becoming aware of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), particularly its risks and benefits as well as potential opportunities. This is revealed by active speculation on different countries' negotiating positions for increased liberalization of trade in education services in the ongoing Doha round. The implication of including education services in GATS created much concern and debates among various stakeholders in the education sector (Knight 2003). Antagonists pointed out the potential threat posed by GATS to national autonomy to regulate higher education, the value of education as a social good, quality assurance, social equity and wider access (Altbach 2001). They underscore the limited capacity of public and private educational institutions in developing countries to withstand competition from trans-national corporate providers, the weakness of national frameworks for regulating cross-border providers, the risk of diminishing the role of the state both as a provider and controller, as well as the risk of trading off education for some perceived benefits in another sector (Altbach 2001). Commercialisation and trade of higher education is identified as a critical issue by the Association of African Universities (Sawyerr 2002).

Proponents, mostly trade experts and educators, note that international mobility of students, teachers, education and training programmes has been happening for a very long time, and that the prospect of expanding import and export of education services is a key advantage of putting the sector within the framework of GATS. Despite the fears of opponents, the inclusion of education under the GATS should provide new opportunities and benefits, especially in terms of diversifying educational suppliers and enhancing access, introducing innovative ways of programme delivery, building capacity through cooperative linkage and partnerships, and enhancing economic growth through in-

creased trade. Some have also argued that GATS could play a useful role in helping achieve greater market openness concerning activities ancillary to education, such as quality assessment and testing, and in ensuring appropriate and adequate regulatory measures in this area (Suave 2002). In particular, GATS application to developing countries is flexible as it takes note of their limited capacities. In any case, the growth of international market for higher education services would continue in the short and medium term, regardless of the outcome of WTO negotiations on trade in services by different countries (Larsen 2003), since trade in higher education services has always existed and the political, economic and technological factors that have driven this expansion over the past decade will continue to act as an engine for its growth.

In Nigeria, higher education embraces all institutions offering post-secondary education such as the universities, polytechnics and colleges of education. Universities are sub-grouped into specialized areas like technology, education, and so on. There are 75 universities: 63 conventional; 9 for science and technology (S&T); and 3 for agriculture. There are 23 private universities and over 300 applications in waiting (*Guardian*, October 13, 2005). The state funds the public universities, while private universities rely mainly on income from tuition fees. The country's higher education regulatory framework is drawn from the constitution and operationalized through government policies. Under these, specific standards are set and there are agencies for quality control. There are also bodies of universities that use various methods for quality and evaluation to moderate these institutions' activities. Trans-national provision of education is mainly through consumption abroad, a commercial presence and cross border provision. So far, Nigeria has not received a request to liberalize its higher education sector system though the country has offered to liberalize in accordance with GATS principles. There has been no national debate on transnational provision of higher education but it remains to be seen if the benefits of imports of higher education would surpass costs (Falase 2004).

Given the controversy surrounding the appropriateness of inclusion of education services in the GATS, this article assesses the new trend in studying abroad by Nigerians. It presents some preliminary evidence on the patterns and trends of higher education imports in Nigeria and their implication for the GATS schedule of commitment in the ongoing Doha round. The article covers mainly the consumption abroad of higher education by Nigerian students, largely due to the role which higher education plays, as a class of educational services, directly involved in the education, training and retraining of professionals. The analysis focuses on the period 2001-2006.

Higher Education in Nigeria

Higher education in Nigeria refers to educational opportunities for further studies after secondary education. Nigeria provides such educational opportunity through three main types of tertiary institutions. These are the universities, the polytechnics and the colleges of education. The origin of Nigeria's higher education system dates back to 1934 when the colonial government established Yaba Higher College which eventually suffered from high dropout rates leading to the government setting up a commission in 1943 to seek advice on the higher education requirement in the country. The University College, Ibadan, was founded in 1948 to offer degrees jointly with the University of London and remained Nigeria's only university until independence in 1960. The number of universities in Nigeria has since grown such that by 2005 there were 75 universities. Ownership of universities has also altered to include private entrepreneurs, and federal and state governments to particularly reflect the 1999 constitutional provision of the restoration of higher education on the concurrent legislative list which allows the federal and state governments as well as private individuals and corporate bodies the opportunities to provide higher education services. The liberalization of the education sector has not merely enhanced the expansion of university education opportunities, it has solidly established a reasonable foundation in all areas of disciplines, namely the humanities, sciences, medicines and technology such that by the end of 2007, there were 93 universities offering most of these courses in Nigeria (Table 1). Apart from the federal, state and private universities, there are four national specialized universities, one military university and one National Open University. Even with the rapid growth of universities in the country, enrolment in the universities has also risen considerably with close to a million students enrolled in all the universities in Nigeria by 2008.

Table 1: Profile of University Education in Nigeria

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Students in University	444,949	606,104	727,408	724,856	810,132	92,765	40,969
Teachers in University	18,426	22,046	23,871	23,535	26,321	n/a	n/a
Number of University	57	59	63	80	83	93	n/a

Source: Compiled from JAMB Records, Research and Monitoring/Evaluation Department 2008.

Despite this, it is revealed that the problems of higher education in Nigeria are both supply and demand related. On the supply side, there is inadequate supply capacity manifested in insufficient number of spaces for prospective students, partly caused by free tuition in all federal government institutions that brought about university admission/enrolment rationing through competitive examinations conducted by the Joint Admission Matriculation Boards (JAMB) for all prospective students seeking admission into the various universities. Table 2 presents university placement rates in Nigeria between 1978 and 2006. The demand for university education in Nigeria has risen over the years and the inability of supply to keep pace with this increase created substantial unmet demand.

Since the 1978/79 session when the Joint Admission Matriculations Board (JAMB) was established, the admission rates by JAMB have never been above 20 per cent of those seeking admissions except in the 2006/2007 session, suggesting that there is a rejection rate of more than 80 per cent. The implication is that domestic private and foreign providers can bridge the gap and make admission opportunities available for students who could not be admitted into highly subsidised federal and state university places. Local universities respond to the excess demand for higher education by over-admitting and subsequently have over-stretched available facilities. Many private universities were also established in order to mop up the excess demand; but given the exorbitant unsubsidised school fees which only a few Nigerian parents can afford, they have only scratched the surface of the problem. But the eventual cost of university education abroad is far more than those incurred by parents in local private universities.

Due to the continued widespread of excess candidates seeking admissions into the local universities, foreign universities provide worthwhile alternatives. Studies such as Sawyerr (2002) and Olaniyan (2001) suggest that in addition to excess demand, Nigerian universities, and in fact African universities, are faced with a plethora of problems that reduced the quality of education provided in such universities. The problems observed in the Nigerian education sector include inadequate financing, leading to incessant strike actions and subsequent delay in students' completion of studies; insufficient and irrelevant learning materials, including old and outdated equipment, books and journals; inflexible managerial structures; poor planning for enrolment expansion and outdated curricula which trigger increasing discontent from many parents and prospective students who respond by looking beyond Nigeria's shores to demand higher education. Coupled with above is the inadequate access given by the number of available spaces for prospective students relative to the number seeking admission.

Table 2: Placement Rates of Undergraduate Admissions into Nigerian Universities

Session	Number of Applicants	Number of Placement in First Degree by JAMB	Percentage of Placement
1978/1979	114,397	14,417	12.6
1979/1980	114,801	17,729	15.4
1980/1981	145,567	24,191	16.6
1984/1985	191,583	27,482	14.3
1990/1991	289,572	48,168	16.6
1995/1996	487,029	84,743	17.4
1996/1997	472,362	76,430	16.3
1997/1998	419,807	72,791	17.3
2000/2001	550,399	60,718	11.0
2001/2002	828.214	78,416	9.5
2002/2003	828,334	83,405	10.1
2003/2004	851,604	91,280	10.7
2004/2005	913,559	92,103	10.1
2006/2007	526,281	128,292	24.4

Source: Compiled from JAMB Records, Research and Monitoring/ Evaluation Department 2001 and 2008

Evidence of the rising demand for higher education abroad is presented in Table 3 which indicates that Nigeria belongs to the top twenty-five countries of origin of global international students, coming before such countries as Malaysia, Pakistan and Russia. Nigeria maintained the twentieth position in both 2008/09 and 2009/10 academic years. Though the country's share of global international study was only one percent in 2009/10, Nigerian students' demand for higher education abroad rose by five per cent in contrast to the negative growth rates for the majority of countries in the top twenty five, implying a great potential for future demand from Nigeria.

Table 3: Top 25 Places of Origin of International Students, 2008/09-2009/10

Rank	Place of Origin	2008/09	2009/10	2009/10	% Change
	World Total	671,616	690,923	100	2.9
1	China	98,235	127,628	18.50	29.9
2	India	103,260	104,897	15.20	1.6
3	South Korea	75,065	72,153	10.40	-3.9
4	Canada	29,697	28,145	4.10	-5.2
5	Taiwan	28,065	26,685	3.90	-4.9
6	Japan	29,264	24,842	3.60	-15.1
7	Saudi Arabia	12,661	15,810	2.30	24.9
8	Mexico	14,850	13,450	1.90	-9.4
9	Vietnam	12,823	13,112	1.90	2.3
10	Turkey	12,148	12,397	1.80	2
11	Nepal	11,581	11,233	1.60	-3
12	Germany	9,679	9,548	1.40	-1.4
13	United Kingdom	8,701	8,861	1.30	1.8
14	Brazil	8,767	8,786	1.30	0.2
15	Thailand	8,736	8,531	1.20	-2.3
16	Hong Kong	8,329	8,034	1.20	-3.5
17	France	7,421	7,716	1.10	4
18	Indonesia	7,509	6,943	1.00	-7.5
19	Colombia	7,013	6,920	1.00	-1.3
20	Nigeria	6,256	6,568	1.00	5
21	Malaysia	5,942	6,190	0.90	4.2
22	Kenya	5,877	5,384	0.80	-8.4
23	Pakistan	5,298	5,222	0.80	-1.4
24	Venezuela	4,678	4,958	0.70	6
25	Russia	4,908	4,827	0.70	-1.7

Source: Institute of International Education accessed at http://www.iie.org/en/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/International-Students/Leading-Places-of-Origin/2008-10 on 28 December 2010.

Data on study migration obtained from the Higher Education Statistics Agency of the United Kingdom indicates that the number of Nigerian study migrants could be higher than revealed in Table 4. That source of data shows that Nigeria ranks third in the top ten non-EU countries of domicile in 2008/09 for higher education students in UK higher education institutions. In addition to this ranking, the growth rate is quite phenomenal, at 22 per cent, the number of students having risen from 11,785 students to 14,380 between 2007/08 and

2008/09 academic years. The disparity between these sources of data notwithstanding, the fact that Nigerians are increasingly studying abroad is indubitable; additional analysis of this trend is provided in the data analysis section of the paper.

Table 4: Top Ten Non-EU Countries of Domicile in 2008/09 for HE Students in UK Higher Education Institutions

Country of domicile	2007/08	2008/09	% change
China	5,355	7,035	.70
India	5,905	4,065	1.50
Nigeria	1,785	4,380	2.00
United States	3,905	4,345	.20
Malaysia	1,730	2,695	.30
Pakistan	305	610	.30
Hong Kong	700	600	1.00
Canada	005	5,350	.90
Taiwan	615	5,235	6.80
Saudi Arabia	535	5,205	7.20
Total non-EU domicile	29,640	51,310	.40

Source: HESA, Students in Higher Education Institutions 2007/08, 2008/09 sourced at http://www.hesa.ac.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1666&Itemid=161 on 28 December 2010.

Regulatory Bodies of Higher Education in Nigeria

The Federal Government of Nigeria has the right to control quality by three agencies. These agencies may standardize operational mechanisms of the system of the admission procedure; and supervise course contents and number of units of core and elective courses that can qualify a student for degree or certificate from any of the three units of the higher educational system. The agencies include the National Universities Commission (NUC) which is the supervising and accrediting agency of all universities in Nigeria, the Joint Admission Matriculation Board which is in charge of entrance and matriculation examinations into all the country's tertiary institutions. The third agency is the Committee of Vice-Chancellors (CVC). These federal agencies' quality control functions are manifested through accreditation of courses, recommendation of the establishment of new tertiary institutions, no matter the ownership status, and periodic inspection of operational mechanisms of the institutions as well as maintaining a balance in government policies. The agencies are additionally responsible for the allocation of federal government funds to institutions owned by the federal government, and made available through the Federal Ministry of Education. While private and sub-national universities have their own sources of financing, they remain subject to federal government agencies for the regulation and control of the quality of education.

In addition to these formal bodies, universities also enjoy the benefit of complementary arrangements for exchanging ideas on university administration and standards through the Committee of Vice-Chancellors (CVC), which harmonises the perceptions and policies of university managements and advises the federal government on related policy issues and implications. The admission process in all tertiary institutions is handled by the Joint Admission Matriculation Board (JAMB) which retains the mandate to harmonize student admissions to higher institutions in Nigeria through the conduct of the Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examinations (UTME) and through the streamlining of the qualification requirements for all potential entrants. But universities are the one that select the candidates and forward their nominations to JAMB for the issuance of admission letters. Up till 2010, University Matriculations Examinations were held separately for universities and other higher institutions, before the policy was changed to allow JAMB hold a single Unified Matriculations Examinations for students seeking admission. In addition to passing the examinations conducted by JAMB, each tertiary institution conducts further selection (Post-JAMB) test on the applicants before making final selections of those to be admitted. This is aimed at further strengthening the admission process to the universities.

Literature Review

Education Services and Trade in Education

The GATS aims at expanding trade in services, opening markets and facilitating economic growth. Its goals for higher education as a service include removing restrictions on market access and barriers to competition (Bennavides 2005). Once a nation becomes a signatory to GATS it is subject to the general obligations of this agreement and it makes specific commitments regarding market access and national treatment in specific sectors such as education. There are costs to non-participation in the GATS. A country outside the agreement risks not having equal access to certain markets and thus loses favourable access to markets in critical export areas (Mihyo 2004) since the signatories generally agree to abide by the basic obligations of the GATS (for example, most-favoured-nation treatment, transparency) and make market access and national treatment commitments for specific sectors to eliminate or reduce services trade-restricting regulations. There is a hierarchy of obligations with general obligations applying to all members, followed by commitments specified by each member. These specific commitments serve as the basis for subsequent negotiations between member countries that are signatories to the GATS (Knight 2003).

Trade in education services is usually interpreted by educators as a subset of cross border education, and for the most part is described as those activities that possess commercial or for-profit characteristics (Knight 2004). Cross border education is a term that educators use to capture wide-ranging educational activities that form part of international academic linkages and agreements, international development/aid projects and international commercial trade initiatives (Suave 2002). This interpretation is much narrower than the one used by trade economists. From their perspective, even if a cross border education activity is seen to be non-commercial in purpose – for instance, a development assistance project or the exchange of students or professors for a semester – there is still export value in a country's balance of payments from accommodation, living and travel expenses and therefore there are commercial implications (Larsen and Vincent-Lancrin 2002).

There are controversies about the comparative benefits of negotiating higher education services within the WTO framework, both among developed and developing countries. Larsen et al. (2002) pointed out that even developed countries have been noticeably reluctant to make proposals for further liberalization of trade in educational services. This is due to the concerns for many potential threats posed to cultural values and national traditions by trade liberalization in educational services. This view was supported by Ginsburg et al. (2003) who argued that higher education institutions in both Chile and Romania are much more vulnerable to foreign influence/domination, although they also have somewhat greater opportunities to broaden their role in the global 'business' of higher education.

Education services are commonly defined and identified in five main categories based on the traditional structure of the sector and the United Nations Provisional Central Product Classification (CPC) used by most GATS parties. These categories are primary education services, secondary education services and higher education services which in turn include one sub-classification that relates to the teaching of practical skills in post-secondary education and the other that deals with more theoretical educational services provided by universities, colleges and specialized professional schools. The other main classifications are adult education, encompassing all education services that are not provided in regular school and university systems, and the 'other' education services which include anything not mentioned elsewhere, with the exception of recreational matters. The WTO/GATS also identified four main modes of trade in education services that receive legal protection through GATS (Mihyo 2004). These are cross border supply, consumption abroad, commercial presence and presence of natural persons. Cross border supply refers to the provision of education services where the services cross a country's border while consumption abroad refers to the situation where consumers or their property

move into another country of supply to consume the education service. Where the service provider establishes commercial facilities in another country in order to render the service, such service provision is classified as commercial presence while the presence of natural persons refers to a temporary movement of persons to another country to provide education service.

Consumption abroad is manifested mostly in the mobility of students whose magnitude and potential are clear from the fact that there were approximately two million international students worldwide in 2003, with the United States hosting nearly a third of this number. Bohm (2003) estimated that the total number of international students will be about eight million in 2025. This is confirmed by a recent study which also suggests that individual institutions and national governments are looking to differentiate themselves from their competitors by developing and implementing targeted recruitment strategies to attract the growing number of prospective students seeking higher education outside their country of origin (Verbik and Lasanowski 2007). The burgeoning trend of consumption abroad of educational services clearly has its pull factors, including employment and residency opportunities, the quality of the education, accessibility as well as government promotional activities in the destination countries. Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) examined the factors motivating international student choice of the host country which are described as a variety of 'economic and social forces' within the home and host countries. The paper by Maringe, F. and S. Carter, (2007) aimed to explore the decision making and experience of African students in UK HE and provided hypotheses for re-conceptualizing these processes. It found that African students come to study in England on the promise of getting a truly international HE experience.

According to Vo et al. (2009), pull factors which students take into consideration for deciding on their host countries and institutions are geographic location, weather, culture, and the economic and social position of the country such as living cost and the education system which includes language used, courses offered, perceived image, communication and cooperation; and recommendations are factors influencing the choices of a student's decision on the destination for studying abroad. The push factors include promotion and encouragement to students offered by the personal development through intercultural communication, practising language skills and travelling. Eder et al. (2010) identified three push factors (personal growth, language and career) and three pull factors (college issues, physical geography and US culture) as the main determinants of the choice of country and institution to study, with personal growth and college issues being the most important push and pull factors respectively. It is noteworthy that many analyses of international mobility of students do not link student movement to the GATS but to the general migration literature.

McMahon (1992), and Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) argued that the decision to attend universities abroad results from a combination of push and pull factors. Push factors operate within the source country and initiate the student's decision to undertake international study while pull factors operate within a host country to make that country relatively attractive to international students. Within the context of educational decision making in a pull-push model, Davidson and Wang (2008) opined that the drivers of desire to pursue an international education include the quest to gain a better understanding of Western culture, the belief and the perception that an overseas course may be superior quality-wise, the increasing difficulty of entering a home-based university, the associated intent to migrate, and sometimes the non-availability of the course at home. Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) noted that the key driver for international flows of students from Asia and Africa has been difficulties associated with access to higher education. As demand often exceeds supply capacity by far, the local entry requirements are often set too high and this may force students to seek higher education services abroad. All these drivers constitute the push factors as they encourage students to pursue their education elsewhere (i.e. overseas).

Li and Bray (2007) believed that economic globalization and higher education internalization should be considered as part of the macro considerations behind international student mobility. Given that both globalization and internationalization are dynamic processes, they are often linked to different effects in different societies. The pursuit of higher education overseas is seen as opportunities arising from globalization and internationalization of education. In the case of students in the Third World countries seeking admission overseas in developed and advanced societies, the poor quality of the education system at home, followed by a long litany of complaints that stem from a single source, under-funding, are prominent factors behind preference for overseas education. Overcrowding arising from paucity of facilities has equally been identified as one of the push factors.

Conversely, the pull factors revolve around attractions located at the host countries. Such factors include advanced research facilities, congenial socio-economic and political environments, and the prospect of multinational classmates. Mpinganjira (2009) argued that the international student market has become highly competitive globally of late. This has to do with the fact that international education contributes greatly to a country's social, cultural, intellectual as well as economic engagement with the world. It has become the tradition that many host countries do have national bodies, often supported by government and educational institutions, with the sole aim of promoting the nation's education and research capabilities internationally. Bourke (2000) revealed that such agencies organize educational trade fairs in key target mar-

kets, operate advice and information centres and produce national guides on higher education opportunities in their countries. Notable examples of such bodies include the International Education Association of South Africa (IEASA), the British Council for the UK, Aus-trade for Australia and the International Educational Board of Ireland (IEBI).

Beyond supply conditions that constitute push factors, McMahom (1992) found that the flow of students abroad is related among other factors to the relative sizes of the students' home economy compared to the host countries with most students going for countries more economically developed than theirs. Personal benefits which may include learning or practising foreign languages; learning about new cultures; the need to broaden personal experience or be independent; enhanced career prospects and status implied in studying abroad are identified by Krzaklewska and Krupnik (2005) as part of the pull factors. Other pull factors according to McMahom (1992) are the economic link between home and host countries, the availability of scholarships from host nations, and political and cultural links between home and host countries.

GATS Negotiation Process and Nigeria's Position

The Doha round of negotiations was launched in 2000. Although Nigeria made commitments in four sectors, including telecommunication services, financial services, tourism and transport in the Uruguay round, none was made for education services (Bankole 2002). Even then, there are possibilities of proposals for education services in the future. This is not surprising as education is one of the least committed sectors (Knight 2004). Only 44 countries scheduled commitments in education and 21 (counting the EU as one) of these included commitments to higher education of which three are African (WTO 2007). Some countries such Congo, Lesotho, Jamaica and Sierra Leone made full unconditional commitments in higher education, perhaps with the intent of encouraging foreign providers to help develop their educational systems (Knight 2003).

Only four (USA, New Zealand, Australia and Japan) of the 21 countries with higher education commitments have submitted a negotiating proposal outlining their interests and issues in the Doha round. The four proposals underscore the need for governments to retain their sovereign right to determine their own domestic educational policy, a right confirmed in the provisions of the WTO. Australia believes that governments must retain their sovereign right to determine their own domestic funding and regulatory policies and measure. New Zealand claims that the reduction of barriers to trade in education does not equate to erosion of core public education systems and standards. The US proposal envisions that private education and training will continue to supplement, not displace, public education systems. Finally, Japan suggests that any

measure in the education services sector should be considered with primary interest in maintaining and improving quality (Nyborg 2002).

In terms of specific commitments, the European Union included higher education in its schedule with clear limitations on all modes of trade except consumption abroad, which generally means foreign fee paying students. Under mounting public pressure, the European Union Trade Commissioner indicated in 2003 that the European Union would not further commit Europe's health and education sectors in the GATS (European Union, Press Release 2003). The United States has commitments in its 1994 schedule in adult education services and other services. Australia's commitment for higher education covers provision of private tertiary education services, including university level. Australia and New Zealand, which both had commitments in education services in their 1994 schedules, have not further extended their commitments in that sector in the Doha round. Japan, for its part, offers to make commitments on 'adult educational services' and 'other education services' in general, where in the past it has only made commitments with respect to 'foreign language tuition services for adults'.

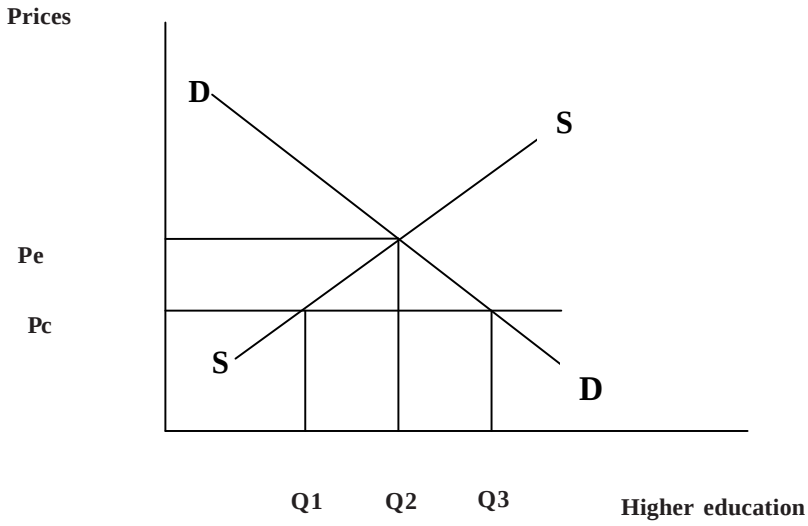
Sehoole (2004) suggest that it would not be wise for African countries to embark on negotiation alone but rather through the use of regional and sub-regional initiatives, resources, expertise and plans to negotiate the best possible policies for the African continent without foregoing the role of the state in these processes. Nigeria did not schedule any sub-sectors of the education sector in its Uruguay Round of GATS commitments. However, given that it needs to offer some sectors for liberalization in the ongoing Doha round of negotiations to conform to the GATS principle of progressive liberalization, the country has offered to liberalize the commercially provided higher education sub-sector. This may have been as a result of the realization of the burgeoning trade in higher education services, particularly consumption abroad which this article analyses below.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of demand and supply is adopted to explain the demand for foreign higher education. The GATS framework states the mode of supply (cross border supply, consumption abroad, commercial presence and presence of natural person) which involves export supply and import demand for education services. In Nigeria, the regulatory body controls admissions based on the available infrastructure such that the NUC only admits a small proportion of qualified students. In other words, the government does not allow the market to adjust to a market-clearing price. Instead, the condition is that of maximum price legislation in the higher education market.

Figure 1 presents the demand and supply conditions under a price ceiling in an imperfect market for higher education in Nigeria. The graph indicates that in order to obtain equilibrium in the higher education market, quantity Q_2 spaces must be given by the local institutions at a fee of P_e. However, the government legislates a maximum school fee that could be charged by government institutions that corresponds to P_c in the graph. At the government price P_c which is lower than the market-clearing price P_e, applicants' demand for higher educational spaces is more than what government institutions can provide.

Figure 1: Demand and Supply of Higher Education Services under Government Low Pricing of Education



Applicants thus demand for quantity Q_3 at price P_c but government institutions can only supply Q_1 generating an excess demand for spaces in higher institutions. The normal adjustment to this disequilibrium that will be set in motion is an increase in price. Since price is not flexible, it constrains the number of spaces with the excess demand constituting the number of students rationed out of the system, and which provides enormous opportunity for domestic private and foreign higher education institutions. This is coupled with the willingness of the applicants to pay. This excess demand therefore stimulates consumption abroad for higher education.

Methodology and Analysis of Data

Methodology

This article provides a descriptive analysis of the market for consumption abroad as a key mode of supply under GATS framework. The data utilized were gathered through both primary sources, namely an advertisement survey which is found attractive for use in the market strategy assessment of foreign educational institutions on aggressive recruitment of Nigerian students, and secondary sources which are mainly OECD data on student study abroad. In the first source, essentially, data were collected from two newspapers that enjoy widespread circulation in Nigeria, namely *This Day* and *The Guardian* news papers. The results of the analysis are indicative since there are other newspapers that were not consulted and because advertisement placements are used to proxy demand for foreign higher education which in real sense is an 'invitation to treat' and not actual demand data. Nonetheless, the trend of demand for foreign higher education from the data generated from these two sources can be effectively assessed as many foreign academic institutions advertise for places in Nigerian newspapers while some engage agents to advertise and recruit students on their behalf.

In recent times, the British Council also assists British institutions to advertise and recruit students from Nigeria. Even at the British Council, data was said to be undergoing processing and not made available. The market strategy data focused on the number of foreign higher institutions placing advertisements either by themselves or through agents and the type of courses, degree or diploma or certificates that they offer. Data are analysed based on the GATS mode 2 of education services supply. Hence, an indication of consumption abroad by Nigerian students is measured by the growth of Nigerian Students enrolled in higher education institutions outside the country.

Analysis of Data

This section presents some evidences on the existence and magnitude of consumption abroad of higher education. The study first utilizes data from advertisement placements of foreign higher education providers to examine market strategies of foreign higher education institutions in enrolling Nigerian students. The study further provides evidence on the profile of consumption abroad by Nigerian students.

Market Strategies of Foreign Higher Education Institution

Many foreign providers of education source for students from Nigeria through advertising in newspapers either by themselves or through an agent that is

chosen to represent them. Table 5 presents the growth of the intention to engage Nigerian students by foreign higher education providers between 2001 and 2006.

Table 5: Advertisement Placement Made by Foreign or International Providers

Years	No. of Advertisement	Growth in No. of advertisements	No. of Advert by agents	No. of Advert by Agents without Specific Institution	No. of Self Advert
2001	28		20	2	6
2002	37	32.1	29	2	6
2003	40	8.1	35	3	2
2004	110	175.0	105	1	4
2005	320	190.9	287	12	21
2006	1214	279.4	673	287	254

Source: Computed from Advertisements in *The Guardian* and *This Day* Newspapers

The table shows that there has been a consistent growth in the number of advertisements for Nigerian studentship by foreign institutions, from a modest rate of 8.1 per cent in 2003 to 279.4 per cent in 2006. The growth in the advertisement placements reflects two things: one, foreign providers have realised the existence of a large market in Nigeria into which they can tap, and two, this recognition of a large market for Nigerian students is backed up by effective demand for which many foreign institutions are competing. In the same vein, while the number of foreign institutions engaging in this quest for Nigerian students is increasing, many of them engage agents within the country to assist in the recruitment of Nigerian students for their different institutions. There were 20 such agents in 2001, but by the end of 2006, more than 673 of such agents advertised for one or more foreign institutions. This represents about 300 per cent above the number of agents that operated in 2005. Most of the agents specifically represent higher institutions in the UK and the US. While it is rare for foreign higher institutions to advertise directly on their own for the admission of students, a few still followed the approach. By 2006, 89 institutions followed this method. UK institutions enjoy an added advantage because the British Council in Nigeria organizes regular education fairs where higher institutions in UK are introduced to students and recruitment conducted in many cases.

The number of institutions and their agents that advertised in Nigeria is indicated in Table 6. While only 26 foreign higher education institutions were identified in 2001, the number increased to 654 in 2006, representing an average annual increase of 71.2 per cent. Also in 2001, 15 local companies advertised on behalf of the 26 foreign higher education institutions. In 2006, though 654 foreign higher education institutions advertised to recruit Nigerian students, 89 engaged in self advertisement while others were represented by 172 local recruitment agents. This implies that more local agents are entering the business of recruiting students to move abroad for higher education. The most surprising issue is that international providers of education advertise their educational wares through representatives that are not part of the formal higher education system in Nigeria. Only one recently licensed private university could be identified out of the many local companies involved in the recruitment of students to foreign higher institutions. Lagos, the commercial capital of Nigeria accounts for more than 82.1 per cent of the location of local companies engaged in this market, reflecting some urban bias in the recruitment exercise. However, more agents are now springing up outside Lagos to include Abuja and other towns such that some agents now operate from virtually all the 36 states of Nigeria.

Table 6: Advertisement by Foreign/International Providers

Year	No of Institutions	No of Agent	No of Self
2001	26	15	6
2002	35	17	6
2003	37	16	2
2004	109	25	4
2005	308	53	21
2006	654	172	89

Source: Computed from adverts in *The Guardian* and *This Day* Newspapers.

The type of programmes advertised by the foreign higher education providers is indicated in Table 7 under the assumption that the courses for which Nigerians demand mostly generate the majority of advertisements. Hence, most of the adverts for recruitment are for postgraduate degrees and diplomas given that the two programmes (previously spelt 'program') accounted for more than 70 per cent of all the advertisements in 2006. This is not surprising in view of the cost associated with foreign study, suggesting that students worked for some time for post-bachelors degree in Nigeria before seeking higher degrees abroad.

Table 7: Type of Programmes Advertised by Foreign Providers

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
First Degree/HND	8 (22.9)	13 (28.3)	9 (18.4)	41 (33.1)	90 (23.4)	199 (15.1)
Diploma	12 (34.3)	13 (28.3)	12 (24.5)	37 (29.8)	119 (31.0)	314 (23.9)
Professional Study	7 (20.0)	9 (19.6)	9 (18.4)	14 (11.3)	64 (16.7)	178 (13.5)
Post graduate	8 (22.9)	11 (23.9)	19 (38.8)	32 (25.4)	111 28.9)	623 (47.4)
TOTAL	35 (100.0)	46 (100.0)	49 (100.0)	124 (100.0)	384 (100.0)	1314 (100.0)

Note: Percentages are in parenthesis.
Source: Computed from advertisements in *The Guardian* and *This Day* Newspapers

The UK appears to be the main destination for students recruited from Nigeria (Table 8). In 2006, UK institutions represented 68.8 per cent of educational institutions that advertised to recruit Nigerian students. The other countries that are important destinations of Nigerian students include the US and Canada as well as Eastern Europe. The proportion of consumption abroad by Nigerians in other African countries is low with an average of three per cent over the years. This may not be unconnected with the assumption that Nigerians believe that the best higher institutions are in the developed countries coupled with a somewhat widespread perception that it could also be a source of

Table 8: Preferred Countries of Students

Countries recruit to	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
USA and Canada	4	10	4	20	53	176
	(14.3)	(27.0)	(10.0)	(18.2)	(16.6)	(13.4)
UK	15	17	16	74	192	904
	(53.6)	(45.9)	(40.0)	(67.3)	(60.0	(68.8)
Eastern Europe	3	8	14	3	33	62
	(10.7)	(21.6)	(35.0)	(2.7)	(10.3)	(4.7)
Western Europe Excluding UK	2	0	1	6	16	84
	(7.1)	(0.0)	(2.5)	(5.5)	(5.0)	(6.4)
Africa	1	1	2	4	10	42
	(3.6)	(2.7)	(5.0)	(3.6)	(3.1)	(3.2
Asia	0	0	1	1	6	21
	(0.0)	(0.0)	(2.5)	(0.9)	(1.9)	(1.6)
Australia, NZ and Japan	3	1	2	2	10	25
	(10.7)	(2.7)	(5.0)	(1.8)	(3.1)	(1.9)
TOTAL	28	37	40	110	320	1314
	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Note: Percentages are in parenthesis.
Source: Computed from advertisements in *The Guardian* and *This Day* Newspapers

assistance in migrating to developed countries after the completion of higher education. In essence, most of the local companies recruit students to the UK, US and Canada. Within Africa, South Africa is the preferred destination.

Consumption Abroad: Persistence and Trends

This study reveals that there is a growing number of Nigerians who are consuming higher education services abroad. This is not limited to a particular part of the world although Table 9 indicates that most of those students abroad are in the United Kingdom. It is important to note that in all the countries, consumption abroad has increased over the years from 14,495 students in 2004 to 23,322 in 2008. While enrolment in Nigerian universities has also increased over the years, Figure 1 reveals that the growth in consumption

Table 9: Number of Nigerians Enrolled in Higher Education Institutions in Selected Foreign Countries

Country	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Switzerland	26	27	25	34	39
Korea	6	13	11	21	24
Italy	92	91	120	158	142
Iceland	1	1	1	2	3
Ireland	-	-	-	-	183
Portugal	2	-	-	-	5
Slovak Republic	1	2	1	6	5
Poland	52	77	110	187	355
Norway	35	47	52	48	65
Japan	49	46	44	45	52
Czech Republic	20	23	21	25	28
Turkey	16	22	35	52	63
Austria	91	80	86	93	106
Finland	102	110	154	233	372
Hungary	85	107	174	201	
Greece	38	42	164	13	158
Germany	630	562	541	513	548
France	124	138	146	153	152
Spain	22	15	15	24	31
Sweden	69	102	229	333	362
Denmark	60	65	80	80	74
New Zealand	21	20	27	23	50
Netherlands	96	107	137	141	158
Belgium	208	192	206	162	171
Canada	582	-	1 098	1 212	1 806
United Kingdom	12,067	14,937	16,862	19,223	19,975
TOTAL	14,495	16,826	19,067	21,743	23,322

Source: HESA, Students in Higher Education Institutions sourced at http://www.hesa.ac.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1668&Itemid=161 on 28 December 2010.

abroad is higher than the growth in enrolment in local universities. While less than two per cent of all enrolments in universities by Nigerians are outside the country in 2004, they had increased to 2.42 per cent by 2008. With the slow growth in the number of available spaces for new entrants into universities in Nigeria, it is expected that more Nigerians will choose to study abroad for higher education.

Discussion and Conclusion

This article sought to unearth the implications for Nigeria's participation in WTO/GATS in the higher education sector by assessing the existence and magnitude of consumption abroad in higher education. Though Nigeria did not commit the higher education sector under GATS in the Uruguay round, its Doha initial offer in this sub-sector motivates the article's objectives. Constrained by limited data on actual student placement data, the article utilized an advertisement survey to assess the probable magnitude of international provision and of Nigerians' demand for higher education. Most local institutions/ companies involved in recruiting students for foreign universities do not belong to Nigeria's formal higher education system and are reluctant to provide useful information for research for fear of consequent unfavourable legislation.

The analysis of advertisement data showed that consumption abroad in higher education may be rapidly growing as more students are recruited to the main traditional destinations such as the UK, US and Canada, as well as non-traditional countries such as South Africa and Australia. While some local recruiting firms have partnerships with foreign educational institutions, a sizable number have specific countries to which they recruit students. In addition, some foreign education institutions use more than one local recruiting agent to source for Nigerian students. This is confirmed by the data on the proportion of students that are registered in universities outside the country.

The article thus confirms that trade in higher education exists in an unnoticed way in Nigeria. Foreign higher education institutions have agents in Nigeria that serve as their representatives, which conduct interviews for prospective students in conjunction with their staff. The local agents also facilitate visa procurement by helping visa processing for students. In other words, the existence of foreign providers has the possibility of increasing the supply of higher education in Nigeria, thereby reducing the existing enrolment gap and creating a new market for recruiting students into foreign institutions. This form of trade in higher education is presently operated mostly by locally incorporated firms without explicit regulation of their activities, except for the foreign embassies whose behaviour in the issuance of visas to students constitutes the main restriction to this type of trade. While there may be no real need

to regulate local recruiting firms, threats of collusion between local recruiting firms, foreign institutions and embassies against students who seek admission into foreign institutions independently of the local recruiting agents may exist, as there have been cases of visa refusals despite payment of tuition fees. Nonetheless, there is a need to ensure that only recognized institutions in their home countries are allowed to recruit students from Nigeria since psychological and financial losses could arise from attending NUC-unaccredited foreign institutions.

The study also found that higher education consumption abroad is growing rapidly as Nigerians enrolled in universities outside Nigeria have increased over the years. This has implications for the country's trade and balance of payments both in the short and the long run. Nigeria's initial offer in higher education services in the Doha negotiations indicates a liberalized regime, but a technical committee to advise on issues concerning negotiations on higher education as well as issues relating to erecting the safeguards for the post-negotiations market access regime may be required to ensure adequate consumer interests and quality control. There is a greater need to embark on data generation on demand for foreign higher education by Nigerians, not only for proper education planning purposes, but also for negotiating bilateral and multilateral trade in education services.

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The Relationship Between Vice-Chancellors' Leadership Behaviour and the Work Behaviour of Lecturers in Nigerian Universities: Implication for Leadership Training for Vice-Chancellors

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Abstract

The study examined the relationship between the leadership behaviour of Vice-Chancellors and the work behaviour of lecturers in the universities of South-West Nigeria. The study employed the correlational research design. Twelve out of the 27 universities in the South-West geo-political zone were selected as the study sample, using the stratified sampling technique. Two sets of questionnaires were adapted and used for data collection. The instruments contain items relating to the leadership behaviour of Vice-Chancellors and the work behaviour of lecturers. The second was measured in terms of level of participation in university administration, cooperation, commitment and conformity. Lecturers' perception of the influence of Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour on their work behaviour was assessed on a rating scale ranging from 1 to 4. Four null hypotheses were posited and tested using the Pearson Product Moment Correlation. The test revealed varying degrees of association between Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and lecturers' work behaviour. Recommendations for enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of the university system aimed at the devel-

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opment of a culture of high level cooperation, commitment, participation and conformity of lecturers included a proposed leadership training programme for Vice-Chancellors. To facilitate the proposed training programme, sensitivity training, T-groups, in-baskets, case studies, business games behaviour modelling and action learning techniques are particularly recommended.

Résumé

Cette étude analyse la relation entre le mode d'administration des recteurs et l'attitude au travail des enseignants dans les universités au sud-ouest du Nigéria. En faisant usage de la technique de recherche corrélationnelle, d'un échantillonnage stratifié et de deux sortes de questionnaires pour la collecte des données, douze parmi les vingt sept universités de la zone géopolitique du sud-ouest ont été sélectionnées pour cette étude. L'attitude au travail des enseignants a été mesurée par rapport à leur niveau de participation dans l'administration de l'université, leur coopération, leur engagement et leur conformité. La perception qu'on les enseignants de l'influence du mode d'administration des recteurs sur leur attitude au travail a été évaluée ; ce qui révèle des degrés d'association à plusieurs niveaux entre les deux. Pour une meilleure efficacité et une plus grande efficience du système universitaire, cette étude propose l'instauration d'une culture de coopération au haut niveau, de l'engagement, de participation et de conformité des enseignants à travers un programme de formation de leadership pour les recteurs.

Introduction

The success or failure of any organization is determined to a large extent by the attitude of the individuals or members of the organization. In order to achieve organizational goals, individuals in an organization need to develop positive attitudes in their interaction with one another. Human functioning in the modern society is dependent to a great extent on cumulative human co-operation. All organizations, in fact all aspects of human endeavour, owe their success to the cooperative efforts of people working together. Most failures in human engagements are attributable to a lack of cooperation and satisfying relations among people.

In this regard, the school as a formal social organization cannot be an exception. Recently, there has been a sharp increase in the rate at which teachers in Nigeria are being criticized for their poor attitude to work. On many occasions, both parents and the general public have attributed the poor level of students' performance to teachers' unwillingness to do their job well.

The general public impression of the teaching profession may well be reflected in the words of Durojaiye (1998), cited in Shoyole (1998:1), who, during one of his lectures, said:

> Teachers are so high in demand. Yet, they are low in spirit. They seem to have lost zest for work; all their zeal and energy would appear to be largely directed to fighting for one thing or another.

Many school and university administrators have often expressed surprise at the increasing rate at which teachers demonstrate a carefree attitude in carrying out their duties. Some teachers have turned to habitual late-comers. Some absent themselves from school whenever they feel like it. Many of those who stay in school sometimes refuse to teach their students, and dodge classes. All these tend to create a poor atmosphere in the schools and universities (Williams 1993:303).

It is well known that teachers constitute a very important part of the educational system. Apart from parents, teachers are closest to children, and so their behaviour always has great influence on the behaviour of the children they teach. How far we have succeeded in producing well-trained and motivated teachers remains a moot point. Of course, it appears that the road to the realization of this will remain obscure as long as teachers continue to demonstrate an unwillingness to exhibit the right attitudes necessary for the accomplishment of established educational goals.

One might begin by asking if there are any institutional factors which more or less cause certain categories of teachers to demonstrate a poor attitude to work and others a positive one. One such factor may not be too far from the type of leadership that exists in the school. Williams (1993), for example, lends credence to this supposition when he wrote:

> There is no greatest test of leadership on the part of a principal than his positive influence on the professional growth of his teachers. If he is accepted by his teachers merely as a school executive and not as a professional leader, he cannot be regarded as a successful principal. He is responsible for contributing definitely to the professional improvement of his teachers, and he will probably not succeed unless he becomes to them a stimulating professional leader (p. 303).

The primary function of any educational system and its teachers is to promote learning. How well this school business will be achieved is determined by numerous factors. One of such factors is the quality of leadership. For any school leader to succeed, he or she must try to inspire the teachers and work harmoniously with them. It is only by winning the hearts of the teachers that their cooperation can possibly be elicited. Homans (1990) appeared to support

this view when he observed that school administrators spend much of their time working with groups, and also that effective administrative leadership involves an understanding of the behaviour of people in groups. Adequate leadership demands group effort, which will be assured if only the leader knows what he or she wants and how to get it. The leader only needs to initiate structures and coordinate the efforts of the staff for ensuring maximum productivity. The second factor relates to the work behaviour or attitudes of the followers. If members of an organization fail to perform their own part of the task, then it will be unlikely that the organizational goal will be achieved. Indeed, the extant literature, for example Ojo (2009), reveals that work behaviour measured in terms of staff cooperation, conformity, commitment, morale and participation, are part of the conditions for measuring the achievement of organizational efficiency and goals. We consider each element here.

Staff Cooperation and Organizational Efficiency

When two or more people work together in pursuance of a common goal, they need to show some spirit of oneness and cooperation among themselves. Each position in the work place, such as the school, has a role or a set of roles attached to it. This implies that any person who occupies a position must have to play the expected role. Despite their individual differences, employees need to work together. They have to cooperate among themselves for them to succeed. For instance, we know that in a university, the Vice-Chancellor gives directives to the principal officers. Lecturers teach students. But for the students to learn effectively, the cleaning staff need to prepare classrooms well and in good time. Failure on the part of lecturers or the cleaners to perform their functions will have a negative effect on the whole system. This may result in a chaotic atmosphere. Therefore, cooperation is strongly needed for the attainment of organizational efficiency.

Staff Conformity and Organizational Efficiency

The school as a social organization has a set of clearly established norms that guide the behaviour of its members. The propensity or drive to conform to school norms by students and teachers may arise from intrinsic and extrinsic (environmental) factors. Simply put, conformity is a stimulus-response behaviour. It needs to be emphasized that conformity may come from within the individual. This is positive voluntary conformity. It may also arise involuntarily out of necessity accentuated by cohesion, fear of threat, punishment or victimization. In this latter case, conformity can be viewed as negative or superficial.

Staff Commitment and Organizational Efficiency

Commitment is a condition which is required as an honest contribution in achieving a pursued goal. A committed worker is a conscientious one who knows what is expected of him or her, and does it willingly and honestly. For example, a committed teacher does his or her job at the right time, whether he or she is being noticed and supervised or not. A committed teacher recognizes the fact that the work takes place in, and with, a group that has a common goal. A committed teacher goes about the job with some feeling of attachment to the common purpose. If teachers are committed, there is no doubt that the school will become efficient.

L*eadership Behaviour, Staff Morale, Commitment, Participation, Cooperation and Achievement of Organizational Goals*

Meyer (2001) examined the relationship between the expectations of teachers and administrators and the effects of congruence or discrepancy in perceptions upon teachers' job satisfaction and found that the greater the agreement between the teachers and the principals in their expectations, the more favourable their attitude towards their work. This finding underscores the need for the leader and the subordinates to relate with each other on the basis of mutual understanding. In their discussion on the attitude of a good leader, Peterson et al. (1992), established that a leader 'must know about human behaviour and human motivation, about ways to foster and stimulate human improvement, both individually and in groups'. This is also in agreement with Ajayi's view (2005) that the ability to work with others and benefit from their ideas, knowledge and views will go a long way to ensure effectiveness and efficiency of all academic staff in the university.

Ogunmola, in Borishade and Okebukola (2006), stressed the need for a human relations approach to educational administration and emphasized that a leader ought to understand the right way to motivate subordinates, acknowledge their diversity of needs, be aware of situational factors, and also know that individuals or groups of people cannot be motivated in the same way. The authors discussed a leadership approach to problem-solving, which they believe demands a positive attitude on the part of the leader. Borishade and Okebukola argued that when a problem arises, many factors such as group influence, individual needs and work situation tend to compound the problem. Both the physical and psychological make-ups of people are complementary in a work situation. They advocated the recognition of human worth.

Getzels (1997) identified other dimensions of leadership, which include the 'nomothetic', 'ideographic' and 'transactional' forms. The nomothetic leader upholds the characteristics of the classical approach to the organization, and

expects the workers to fulfil their duty towards it. The nomothetic leader imposes rules and sanctions to make the subordinate conform to institutional goals. The ideographic leader is particularly concerned with the personal aspects of the subordinates, with the emphasis especially on the needs of subordinates. The transactional leader places an emphasis on both the individual and on organizational needs, as demanded by each situation. The point is that leadership, according to Adegbite (2007), is a function of the leader's personality, the group's personality and the situation. In view of this, in the school system, the leadership needs to make the greatest contributions to the productivity of workers by developing the means for increasing motivation and improving leadership for this purpose.

Stone (1990) undertook a study regarding leadership in relation to the situations in schools. The study looked at the interaction of school leadership and school outcomes against the backdrop of other studies such as the contingency theory of leadership effectiveness propounded by Fred Fielder (1967) and other studies on the influence of the principal as an important figure in improving the school system. David (2001) carried out a study of the relationship between the principal's leadership behaviour and teachers' morale, and on the relationship between a teacher's age, sex, length of service and level of education, and teacher's perception of the principal's leadership style. The findings showed a significant positive relationship between the teacher's perception of the leadership style of the principal and their morale, between age and teacher's morale, between the perception of a principal's leadership style and teacher's age, and between length of service of teachers and their morale. The study found a significant negative relationship between teachers' sex and teachers' perception of the principal's leadership style. Male teachers rated all the leadership dimensions high, while females rated them low. No significant relationship was found between teachers' morale and sex, between teachers' morale and level of education, level of education and perception of principal's leadership style, length of service and perception of principal's leadership style.

King (2001) studied the influence and effect of 'Executive Professional Leadership' (EPL) of elementary school principals on teachers' morale and performance. The study revealed a positive and causal relationship between executive professional leadership and teachers' morale and performance. In terms of morale, the study revealed that in those schools where the principals were ranked in the top quarter of the executive professional leadership scores, an average of 91 per cent of their teachers were said to display pride in the school. However, in the schools where the principals were found in the bottom quarter of the executive professional leadership scores, an average of only 73 per cent of the teachers were so described. The study indicated that the principal's executive professional leadership does indeed influence classroom

performance of the teachers. The higher the executive professional leadership score of the principal, the more likely the teachers were 'to do everything possible to motivate their students', 'plan classes so that different types of students can benefit from them', 'provide opportunities to go beyond the minimum demands of assigned work' 'try new teaching methods in their classroom', 'take a strong interest in the social and emotional problems of their students', and be less likely to 'do "textbook teaching" only'. Looking at the result of King's work, it can be deduced that leaders who provide a high degree of professional leadership are likely to encourage teachers to be more productive and develop higher morale.

Staff Morale, Commitment, Participation and Co-operation and Achievement of Organizational Goals

The achievement of organizational goals depends on the attitude of the members of the organization. The attitude of the teacher towards his or her work is dependent on the feelings, concerns and commitment that the teacher develops regarding the work. This in turn can either be facilitated or jeopardized by the type of relationship that exists among the teachers and the students, or by the leadership behaviour of the principal, and even by the teacher-teacher relationship. The nature of these interactions tends to shape the atmosphere of the organization (Aguba 2005).

In a study in 2001, Strati provided insights into the power of reward. The author concluded that rewarding experience in association with attitude object tends to make that person lean towards the attitude object more favourably and vice versa. Sometimes, people erroneously believe that attitude is dependent on the personalities of those involved. But it is necessary to consider the situation under which the personalities are operating. Farnham (1999) in Oni (2009) is of the view that the efficiency with which groups achieve either group or individual goals can be reduced by inaccurate social perception. In other words, a lack of positive interaction in schools can jeopardize the activities of teachers in the attainment of desired goals. It can be observed that social behaviour is steered by perception of the social environment just as many actions in the physical environment are regulated by perceptions of physical objects. Therefore, inappropriate social behaviour is a function of incorrect or distorted perception of social situations.

The studies cited so far have focused on the leadership styles of principals and the predispositions of teachers. The findings of the studies may not be the same in the university setting, owing to differences in the school and university administrative structure, mission and vision. Also, most of the research cited is from outside Nigeria, and so, the findings of these studies may or may not be applicable to higher education in Nigeria.

The policy, theory and practice of higher education in Nigeria applies in the colleges, monotechnics, polytechnics and universities (National Policy on Education 2004). In terms of administrative structure, the colleges are headed by provosts, while the monotechnics and polytechnics are headed by rectors. University administration in Nigeria is hierarchically structured. The Vice-Chancellor is the administrative head, supported by two Deputy Vice-Chancellors, one for management services (MS) and the other for academic and research (AR). At the faculty or college level, we have the deans or provosts and heads of departments. At present, there are 104 universities spread over all the six geo-political zones in Nigeria. Out of this number are 27 federal universities, 36 state universities, and 41 private universities. The distribution of the universities by geo-political zones shows that the South-West geo-political zone has the largest number of such institutions: 27 federal, state or private.

Research Problem

By the statute establishing the university education sub-sector in Nigeria, the universities are mandated to engage in teaching, research and community service. In order to achieve the tripartite mandate of universities in Nigeria, it is expected, for instance, that the Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and lecturers' work behaviour should not be at cross purposes. Given this supposition, perhaps it is useful to ask whether or not the leadership behaviour and work behaviour of Vice-Chancellors' and that of lecturers in the universities in South-West Nigeria are mutually complementary.

The present study, therefore, set out to determine empirically the relationship between these two variables. In this study, the leadership behaviour of Vice-Chancellors and the work behaviour of lecturers are measured in relation to such variables as openness, transparency and leadership styles. The last may be autocratic, democratic or *laissez faire*. Variables related to lecturers' work behaviour include the lecturers' perceptions, level of commitment, level of conformity, level of cooperation and level of participation in university activities.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were posited for the study:

1. There is no significant relationship between lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and their level of commitment.
2. There is no significant relationship between lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and their level of conformity.

3. There is no significant relationship between lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and their level of cooperation.
4. There is no significant relationship between lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' behaviour and their level of participation in university activities.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is two-fold: (i) to determine the relationship between the Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour (as perceived by lecturers) and university lecturers' level of commitment, conformity, cooperation and participation in the university administration; and (ii) on the basis of the findings of the study, to propose an appropriate capacity building programme capable of improving the performance role of the university system in Nigeria.

Methodology

The study employed two designs, the *ex-post facto* and the correlational research designs. The choice of correlational research design is based on the understanding that the design is appropriate for determining relationships between variables. According to Nwankwo (1984), a correlational design implies exactly what its name indicates: a survey or examination of the extent of the relationship between different variables. Its purpose is to investigate the extent to which variables in one factor or subject relate with variables in one or more other factors or subjects.

Two types of instrument designed by Ezewu (1985) were adapted for this study. The first, titled 'Leadership Behaviour and Lecturers' Perception Questionnaire' (LBLPQ), was used to measure lecturers' perception of Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour. The second, titled 'Employee Participation, Cooperation, Conformity and Commitment Questionnaire' (EPCCCQ), was employed to measure the effect of lecturers' perception of Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour on lecturers' level of participation, cooperation, conformity and commitment. The lecturers' perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour was determined using the responses of lecturers to the items in the EPCCCQ. This questionnaire has a rating scale in which lecturers were asked to rate items based on their perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and how such behaviour influenced their level of participation, conformity, cooperation and commitment. In the four-point Likert scale employed, the highest rating of 4 indicates the highest level of agreement, while 1 shows the lowest level of agreement.

The two types of instruments were pre-tested to establish the rational equivalence of the instruments, using the Kuder Richardson formula. In the process, a number of items were eliminated, while some other new ones were added. The reliability of the instruments was assessed by the use of the test-retest technique. The questionnaire was pilot tested over three weeks, using a sample of sixty lecturers in six universities, one university from each state. Two of the universities were federal, two were state, and two others were randomly selected from the private universities. The Pearson Product Moment Correlation Coefficient of reliability of the two sets of scores were calculated and found to be 0.64 for Leadership Behaviour and Lecturers' Perception Questionnaire (LBPQ) and 0.61 for Employee Participation, Cooperation, Conformity and Commitment Questionnaire (EPCCCQ). These figures were found to be highly significant at $P < 0.05$. Thus, the questionnaires were considered highly reliable.

The main study was carried out between January and April 2010 in the universities within the South-West geo-political zone of Nigeria. The population comprises 27 universities (made up of federal, state and private universities). The 27 universities cut across the six states in the South-West. The focus of this study is on the universities in South-West Nigeria because of the high concentration of higher education institutions in this zone. Also, the South-West zone has the largest number of first generation universities that serve as catchment areas for students and lecturers from other geo-political zones. We therefore consider the findings of a study on vice-chancellors' leadership behaviour and the work behaviour of lecturers in this region capable of serving as a useful barometer for enhancing effective university administration and functioning, not only in the zone under study but also in other five geo-political zones in Nigeria.

A sample size of 12 Universities (representing 44.44 per cent of the entire total) was chosen. The 12 universities were selected in equal proportions to represent four federal universities, four state universities and four private universities. In addition, two universities were picked from each of the six states in the South West Nigeria. In selecting the universities, simple random sampling and stratified sampling techniques were used. The stratification was based on having two universities per state. Six hundred lecturers were selected on an equal basis from the 12 universities, translating to 50 lecturers per university.

The test of the null hypotheses involved the use of the means and standard deviation coefficient, in each case.

Results

Hypothesis One: There is no significant relationship between lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and their level of commitment.

Table 1: Relationship between Lecturers' Level of Perception of their Vice-Chancellors' Leadership Behaviour and their Level of Commitment

Variables	X	Y	SD	N	r-cal	r-crit (Table value)	d.f	α	Decision
Lecturers' Level of Perception of their V.C.'s Leadership Behaviour	5.67		0.78	12	0.58	0.553	11	0.05	H_{01} rejected
Level of Commitment of Lecturers		7.86	2.99						

Table 1 shows that the correlation value of 0.58 for federal, state and private universities put together is greater than the table value of 0.553, given 11 degree of freedom at the 0.05 level of significance. This implies that the null hypothesis is hereby rejected. The implication is that the level of lecturers' perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour is significantly related to their level of commitment.

Hypothesis Two: There is no significant relationship between lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and their level of conformity.

Table 2: Relationship Between Lecturers' Level of Perception of their Vice-Chancellors' Leadership Behaviour and Level of Conformity

Variables	X	Y	SD	N	r-cal	r-crit (Table value)	d.f	α	Decision
Lecturers' Level of Perception of their V.C.'s Leadership Behaviour	5.67		0.78	12	0.44	0.553	11	0.05	H_{02} accepted
Level of Conformity University Rules			7.95	1.53					

Table 2 shows that the correlation value of 0.44 for federal, state and private universities put together is less than the table value of 0.553, given 11 degree of freedom at the 0.05 level of significance. Thus, the null hypothesis two is hereby accepted. The implication is that the lecturers' level of conformity to university rules has nothing to do with lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour.

Hypothesis Three: There is no significant relationship between lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and their level of cooperation.

Table 3: Relationship Between Lecturers' Level of Perception of their Vice-Chancellors' Leadership Behaviour and Level of Cooperation in the University.

Variables	X	Y	SD	N	r-cal	r-crit (Table value)	d.f	α	Decision
Lecturers' Level of Perception of their V.C.'s Leadership Behaviour	5.67		0.78	12	0.59	0.553	11	0.05	H_{03} rejected
Level of Commitment of Lecturers		5.32	0.094						

Table 3 shows that the calculated correlation value of 0.59 for federal, state and private universities put together is greater than the table value of 0.553, given 11 degrees of freedom at the 0.05 level of significance. This implies that the null hypothesis three is rejected. This means that the lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour is significantly related to their level of cooperation.

Hypothesis Four: There is no significant relationship between lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour and their level of participation in the university activities.

Table 4: Relationship Between Lecturers' Level of Perception of their Vice-Chancellors' Leadership Behaviour and their Level of Participation in the University Activities

Variables	X	Y	SD	N	r-cal	r-crit (Table value)	d.f	α	Decision
Lecturers' Level of Perception of their V.C.'s Leadership Behaviour	5.67		0.78	12	0.75	0.553	11	0.05	H_{04} rejected
Level of Commitment of Lecturers		9.94	0.012						

Table 4 shows that the calculated correlation coefficient value of 0.75 for federal, state and private universities put together is greater than the table value of 0.553 given 11 degrees of freedom at the 0.05 level of significance. Thus, the null hypothesis four is hereby rejected. This means that the lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour has a significant relationship with their level of participation in university activities.

Discussion of Results

The test of Hypothesis One revealed that the Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour is significantly related to the lecturers' level of commitment. The finding also showed that the lecturers' level of conformity to University rules has nothing to do with the lecturers' level of ' perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour. This result is at variance with the findings of Strati (2000) that teachers' level of conformity to school rules depends on the teachers' level of perception of their school administrators' leadership behaviour. The result of the test of Hypothesis Two revealed that the lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour has a significant relationship with their level of cooperation.

This result is in line with the position of Farnham (1999), supported by Letuka (2007), who argued that employees' level of perception of their supervisors' leadership behaviour determines their level of cooperation in any organization. The study is also in line with the position of Jaffer (2001) who argued that a worker has good perception of the leader only if the leadership behaviour is positive and encouraging. It was observed from the results of the test of the third hypothesis that the lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour has a significant relationship with their level of participation in university activities. This result is in line with the position of

Meyer (2001) and Inyang (2001) who examined the relationship between the expectations of teachers and administrators and the effects of congruence or discrepancy in perception on teachers' satisfaction, and found that the greater the agreement between teachers and principals in their expectations, the more favourable their attitude towards their work. The result is also in line with the argument by Stone (1990) and Okebukola (2006) that subordinates' perception of their leaders' leadership behaviour will determine their level of participation in organizational activities.

The test of Hypothesis Four revealed that positive leadership behaviours from the Vice-Chancellors of the universities studied, and as perceived by the lecturers, tend to encourage the lecturers to become highly committed to their work. This result is in line with the position of Getzels (1991) who found that positive leadership behaviours from a supervisor in an organization tended to encourage subordinates to be devoted to their duties. It was equally observed that in some of the universities where the lecturers rated their Vice-Chancellors as having positive and encouraging leadership behaviours, the lecturers were always motivated and willing to be fully committed. The lecturers from the universities where Vice-Chancellors' behaviours were perceived as negative and discouraging exhibited lukewarm attitude and were less committed.

Also, the lecturers' attitude towards obeying the rules and regulations of their universities was not found in any way to be connected with the lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors. Lecturers viewed their decision to obey university rules and regulations as a protective measure regarding their own interests and jobs. A majority of the lecturers did not feel that they could disobey the universities' rules because their Vice-Chancellors had uncaring leadership behaviour. Even those lecturers in the universities where the Vice-Chancellors showed negative and uncaring attitudes still obeyed university's rules.

It was also observed that most of the lecturers showed an uncooperative attitude to the authorities of the universities where Vice-Chancellors were perceived to have uncaring leadership behaviour. As a matter of fact, the universities where the Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviours were rated as low were found frequently experiencing friction and uncooperative attitudes from the lecturers, most especially through their unions (i.e. the Academic Staff Union of Universities). This trend was found to cut across almost all the universities studied. The few exceptions were the private universities.

On the issue of lecturers' level of perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour having a significant relationship with lecturers' level of participation in university activities, it was discovered that in universities where Vice-Chancellors displayed positive leadership behaviour, the lecturers were

also willing to participate in university activities. This implies that in order to enhance lecturers' participation in university activities, a Vice-Chancellor needs to exhibit positive leadership behaviour.

Conclusion

In general, university education is regarded as a public good; and from the review of the literature and the findings of this study, it can be argued that there is a need for the university system in Nigeria to move more efficiently to carry out its three-pronged roles of teaching, research and community service. In order to do so, one factor in this regard is the need for Vice-Chancellors and lecturers to complement each other in the performance of their roles. This can only be achieved when the Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviours and lecturers' work behaviours are mutually reinforcing.

The findings of the study hold implications for leadership training for Vice-Chancellors. Specifically, the study revealed that the lecturers' perception of their Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour is significantly related to their level of commitment; that the lecturers' level of conformity to university rules has nothing to do with the Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour; that the Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour has a significant relationship with the lecturers' level of cooperation; and that the Vice-Chancellors' leadership behaviour has a significant relationship with the lecturers' level of participation in university activities. On the basis of these findings, it is suggested that in order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the university system in Nigeria, and to build a long-lasting culture of a high level commitment, conformity and cooperation among the university lecturers, there is a need for a leadership training programme for the Vice-Chancellors. This type of leadership training programme could cover areas such as the dynamics of human behaviour, personnel functioning and administrative ability management, the politics of planned change, governance, organizational behaviour and other key leadership competences. In order to facilitate the proposed leadership training programme for Vice-Chancellors, management training techniques such as behaviour modelling, T-group action learning, gaming case studies and in-baskets, and so on, are recommended. Although the study was conducted in the universities of the South-West geo-political zone, comprising federal, state and private universities, the findings were found relevant and applicable to universities in other geo-political zones, where similarities exists in the structure and character of university administrations.

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