COMMITTEE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN AFRICA

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Emigration, Campus Cults, and Linguistic Imperialism:
The Consequences of Structural Adjustment in African Universities
CAFA 17
Table of Contents

Introduction: The Stalemate ...................................................... 1

Campus Cults and Their Implications in Nigeria ...................... 4

Democracy Interrupted: The Case of Femi Aborisade ................. 13

Globalization and Francophone African Student Migrants: Narratives of Broken Dreams .................................................. 16

Colonial Anglophonism and the African Academy .................... 20

Eritrea at Ten: Victories and Realities ....................................... 24

CAFA Editorial Board
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WHO IS CAFA AND WHAT DO WE STAND FOR?
The Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA) consists of people teaching and studying in North America and Europe who are concerned with the violations of academic freedom that are taking place in African universities and who believe that it is crucial that we support the struggle our African colleagues and African students are conducting to assert and preserve their rights.

CAFA was organized in the Spring of 1991; since then we have been involved in numerous campaigns on behalf of African teachers and students. We have also created and continue to update a "Chronology of the African student Movement from 1985." The CAFA Newsletter contains scholarly articles on the impact of the World Bank and IMF policies on African education as well as action alerts and other information about student and faculty struggles on African campuses.

For back issues of the Newsletter and updates please point your browser at the CAFA web site, http://www.autonomedia.org/cafa

The annual fee for membership in CAFA is $25. The Newsletter is not for sale, it is freely distributed. To send comments about and/or criticisms of the articles in the Newsletter or to submit articles to the Newsletter please contact CAFA's coordinators:

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Introduction to CAFA 17: The Stalemate

CAFA has been exposing the destructive impact of the World Bank's policies on Africa's university system for more than a decade. In this issue we will be surveying a wide range of indirect consequences of structural adjustment. The first articles in this issue show that phenomena like the arrival of Nigerian university students in the factories of North Carolina, the rise of violent "secret cults" on Nigeria's campuses and the increasing hegemony of the English language in African universities are the result of structural adjustment policies introduced more than a decade ago. The last article by Matt Meyer focuses on the difficulties being encountered in the attempt to reconstruct an African university system after a period of war and devastation in Eritrea.

In this Introduction, however, we would like to take a step back in order to assess the situation of African universities as a whole and note a disconfirmation of the analysis of the impact of World Bank policies we made when we first started our work in 1991. We began investigating the impact of the World Bank's structural adjustment policies for African universities then and we concluded that these policies were a recipe for "academic exterminism" in Africa. We meant by "academic exterminism" the following: Since the African university systems had started out at almost a zero enrollment level due to the colonial policies, the dramatic relative growth of the 1960s and 1970s had simply moved enrollment rates in universities up to one per cent by 1980. In other words, only one student out of one hundred high school graduates was going on to university twenty years after formal decolonization. The World Bank's policies, aimed at dramatically increasing the cost of university education for students and cutting state support for the universities, seemed to inevitably mean a collapse of student enrollment. But a collapse of one percent rate can only be to zero, hence academic exterminism.

This, however, did not happen in the 1990s. African students systematically and aggressively rejected the World Bank's higher education financial policies as an attack on Africa's collective future. In demonstration after demonstration, through university closures and police occupations of campuses, the students' major demand has been to preserve and increase access to university education in the face of the World Bank's will to "shut them down." African governments of all varieties (from Nigeria's military regime to Tanzania's democratic one) have harshly repressed the student movement's struggle against the World Bank's agenda. These governments have been complicitous with the Bank by incorporating these plans as part of larger structural adjustment deals that they negotiated. The postcolonial African states' famous "authoritarianism," in this case, is simply the result of their acting as the international banks' "warrant chiefs."

The result of this struggle, pitting the most powerful monetary institutions on the planet—the World Bank and IMF—against the youth of Africa has resulted in something of a stalemate by the end of the 1990s. On the one side, the university student population has increased throughout the 1990s and 2000s, although at a lower rate than in the 1960s and 1970s, UNESCO statistics tell a tale of high enrollment growth between 1960 and 1990, i.e., between the end of formal colonization and the beginning of the Debt Crisis and the era of SAPs, and then a decline of growth with the 1990s showing a modest increase:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% growth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965-70</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-80</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-85</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-90</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-95</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
UNESCO statistics show that their academic externalism policy has failed. Gross enrollment rates for universities in Sub-Saharan African countries have increased over the last two decades (see Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of enrollment of eligible students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(From Table II.5 in UNESCO 1999)

The restriction on university enrollments which was feared by the student movement, with a few exceptions, has not materialized as the following table of the number of university students indicates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Enrollment (in thousands)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>2177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(From Table II.3 in UNESCO 1999)

The exceptions include Guinea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia (where the university system has all but shut down due to the breakdown of the whole apparatus of social life). But these positive statistics do not reveal the other side of the ledger: the World Bank's collapse from the other side of the ledger: the World Bank's dramatic, even if we factor in the building boom of the late 1970s (see Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>% of GNP per capita publicly invested in higher education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>708.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>240.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, for example, in Ghana (one of the most "structurally adjusted" countries in Africa) the percentage of investment in tertiary education in 1990 was 10.1% of the total of educational spending, in 1970 it was 11.0% and in 1990 it was 3.3% of the GNP.

The investment per individual student has dramatically fallen even though the fundamental costs for university education are very high indeed, unaffordable for most students and their families without some social investment. These statistics measure the infrastructure, the loss of qualified teaching personnel, the lack of library and information resources, etc. Hence, in the African universities of the 1990s, an increased number of students have failed to gain access to the universities.

This statement has led to a desperate cycle of student struggle and state violence. The value of students in the eyes of the African state is dramatically falling and, increasingly, student protests meet an immediate response of guns and death.

Even more dangerous perhaps than direct police violence is the violence of the "secret cults" (so precisely described in Christian Akani's article) which has been unleashed against student groups protesting against structural adjustment in Nigeria. For the "cultists" have literally adopted Margaret Thatcher's shibboleth -- "There is no alternative" to the neoliberal ideology of "everyone for himself" -- and feel justified to do anything to get ahead. They have banded together to terrorize any mode of student solidarity that is not based on a project of domination over others. They too are product of the state, for they politically and psychically express and intensify (with the tacit support of some authorities) the devaluation of the African student.

How can we, as academics in North America, help to break the stalemate? At the very least we can refuse to either profit from or be accomplices in the process. We cannot serve and/or profit from or allow our colleagues to serve and profit from the World Bank with a clear conscience. That is why we ask you to support the Code of Ethics for Global Education in Africa (which is reprinted on the back cover of this issue). The Code sets out the limits of complicity with those who are trying to break the will of African youth who are fighting with their lives for the right to an education at the highest level they can attain.

Another way for academics in the US to refuse to profit from the World Bank's attack on African education is to support the campaign to have the largest retirement pension system for academics, the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association-College Retirement Equities Fund (TIAA-CREF) join the boycott of World Bank Bonds. Many of our readers have their retirement pensions with TIAA-CREF and we can make our voice literally count.

Bibliography

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**TIAA-CREF: Stop Buying World Bank Bonds!**

The World Bank is one of the most powerful financial institutions in the world. People in the global South struggle every day with programs imposed upon them by the World Bank which limit poor people's access to health care, clean water and education. The UN has estimated that 19,000 children die every day from preventable diseases because of the international debt burden -- much of the debt is owed to the World Bank, which refuses to cancel this debt and thus free up funds for AIDS treatment and prevention, education and health care.

TIAA-CREF holds more than $5 million in bonds issued by the World Bank. (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development). We are calling on TIAA-CREF to join the growing global boycott of World Bank bonds and pledge not to invest in World Bank bonds until the bank accedes to calls from global civil society to drop the debt and stop its policies to economic colonialism.

For more information about the World Bank Bond Boycott campaign call or write the Center for Economic Justice, 733 15th St., Suite 338, Washington, DC 20005. (202) 393-6665. www.worldbankboycott.org, bankboycott@ecojustice.net
Campus Cults and Their Implications in Nigeria

Christian Akani
Institute for Academic Freedom in Nigeria

I. BACKGROUND OF CAMPUS CULTS

Campus Cults have existed in Nigerian universities from before the 1990s, but their prevalence in the 1990s was unprecedented. Like other secret groups, the activities of Campus Cults are shrouded in mystery, masquerading as the aura of mysticism which has reinforced their allure among students. The groups' objectives, decision-making processes, and methods are not revealed to the public. Members are not allowed to communicate with outsiders, nor are they allowed to leave the premises during meetings. The secrecy of the Cults is a major concern, as it fosters an environment of fear and intimidation among students.

Many people have argued that the take-over of Nigerian Universities by the country's political culture, as well as the failure of the Economic and Currency Board (ECB) in the 1990s, were the roots of the cults' spread. The exacerbation of political and economic crises forced students to seek solace in the Cults. The government's response has been to ban the Cults, but their activities continue to be diffused across the country.

II. THE IMPACT OF CAMPUS CULTS

The impact of Campus Cults on Nigerian universities is profound. They have disrupted the academic environment, creating a culture of fear and intimidation. Students are compelled to join the Cults or face the consequences, which include social ostracization and physical harm. The Cults have also disrupted the academic calendar, with meetings and activities taking place during regular classes and exams.

The Cults have also contributed to the decline of academic standards. Faculty members are afraid to teach, while students are afraid to learn. The Cults have also been linked to acts of violence, including bombings and shootings, which have resulted in the loss of lives and property.

III. THE RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The Nigerian government has taken steps to address the problem of Campus Cults. They have banned the Cults, imposed strict penalties for membership, and arrested leaders. However, these measures have not been effective in curbing the Cults' activities. The government's failure to address the root causes of the Cults has allowed them to continue to thrive.

IV. THE FUTURE OF CAMPUS CULTS

The future of Campus Cults in Nigerian universities is uncertain. While the government's efforts to suppress the Cults have not been successful, the increasing awareness of the negative impacts of the Cults may lead to a decrease in their popularity among students. However, until the underlying issues are addressed, the Cults are likely to continue to pose a threat to the academic environment in Nigerian universities.

TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIVERSITY</th>
<th>NO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal University of Technology Owerri</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnani Dan Fodio</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilorin</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Harcourt</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabar</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adekola</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maiduguri</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibadan</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Technology Akure</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Newswatch, August 9, 1999, p. 17.

The Universities gradually become battle grounds for the rulers to demonstrate official vindictiveness, to silence vocal students union bodies, to subject lecturers and their families to part and suffer the consequences, and to violently rule the country according to their wishes. As the universities lost their intellectual base, they lost their protection, and were unable to protect the students from the violence and intimidation of the government. The universities were turned into tools of state power, and the students were left to suffer the consequences.
CULT ACTIVITIES

Fraternities like the Pyrate Confraternity, Eye group, Black Axe and the Buccaneers have been existing in the universities even before the country achieved independence. To a large extent, some of them had an altruistic mission and were mostly made up of bright students. In fact, they were elite clubs because only few students satisfied their rigorous requirements for admission.

The Pyrate Confraternity derives its inspiration from The Treasure Island mythology and is anchored on three cardinal objectives: 1. To abolish convivial sexual intercourse; 2. To revive the age of chivalry; 3. To end tribalism and elitism. It was also patriotic, in the sense of high esteem valor, bravery, oneness, and condemned hackneyed practices that enslaved ethnic discrimination in any form (Akani 1996: 57).

Unfortunately, as the decade in the universities deepened, and the struggle for power within the group became ravening, divisions and antagonistic relationship emerged. This was how many cults grew up in the universities, including the female ones. It is impossible to count them because of the mode of their formation. For instance, while it is believed that the Buccaneers broke away from the Pyrates, in the same manner, the Vikings, broke away from the Buccaneers. The Black Axe emerged at the University of Benin as a new Africanism black movement as seeing itself as a distinct group that opposed the war of supremacy between the Pyrate Confraternity and Buccaneers. This group reminiscences on African pride and it is linked with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in the United States led by Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. They were committed to upholding African philosophy because "black is beautiful."

By the end of 1990's, almost all higher institutions in the country including secondary schools and the Nigerian Defence Academy had been overtaken by cult groups. Vikings, Durea, Mafia, Mga Mga, brothers, Trojan Horse, Eye, and K.K.K. for males, and females, respectively.

The rate with which these groups are formed shows the insecurity of life in the universities. Each group tries to tightly protect its territory, the interest of its members against any bastardization of its symbols, mottoes or signs.

The command structure of the cults makes it possible for orders for destruction to most dangerous of all the officers of the group, as he organizes most of the death squad activities. Members are admitted after an excruciating ritual which does not only humiliate them but also brutal form. You are dehumanized, in some cases hypnotized, made to pass through drumming, singing and dancing which takes place from 10pm to 3am. In a secluded area (Akani 1996: 67). According to the confessions of an initiated member:

We finally got to the bush known as the Snake Skull Island around 1am, and it was drizzling. Songs, drums and whistling filled the air. At the Island from the password they would know the 'Lords and the Started', Under the rain we lay down in the grass according to the beating because many universities and polytechnics were there. It was a gathering of a broken arm, it was time for the initiation rituals. The first step was to choose your 'deck' name (Chimereze 1999: 35).

The initiation ritual is a crucial stage in the life of a cultist. It is at this stage he learns how to internalize the essence of the group, introduced to narcotics mixed with blood, endures painful hardship and ties deadly weapons. All of this makes him feel high, above the law and invisible to foes. After this, he prows on campus in search of a prey to destroy. Oganbamure has argued that clandestine movements are incubated by societies that have isolated themselves in social and political anemia.

Sometimes initiates die as a result of the harrowing initiation experience. This was how the first cult casualty was registered in 1986 at the Rivers State University of Science and Technology, Nkpokwu. Mr. Sunny Cebu, a law student, died after an initiation ceremony that badly affected some vital parts of his body. From 1986 until now many students have been killed as a result of cult clashes in and outside the University campus. It is difficult to register the exact number of students that have been killed as a result of cult clash because of no accurate statistics and the way cult cases are handled in the country.

Rivals and assumed enemies are killed outright. This was how eight students of Obafemi Awolowo University were killed and beheaded, and others were wounded in 1999. In 2001, about seven students were killed, some butchered with a small ax, while many people ran away at the University of Port Harcourt. Many people believed that the cause of the massacre that disrupted the school activities for days arose out of a power struggle among rival cults. The fallout of this fight for supremacy was the death of seven students. It was alleged that one of the students was traced to the operating room and killed.

The same scenario was repeated in the State University of Science and Technology Nkpokwu. About six students were killed in a retaliation action. In 1996, two students were killed in the same University. It was alleged that one of the killed students belonged to the Vikings and occupied the dreaded position of Hitam. By 2001, some of the killers were spotted on campus. In a swift action, the campus was infiltrated by the Vikings' death squad, and about six of the students mostly from other universities were rounded up and killed.

Apart from the killings in Port Harcourt, in 1999, about five students were killed in Enugu State University, and in the same year, three students of University of Calabar met their death. Also in the same year in the Delta State University Abraka, the cult clashes between the Black Axe and Buccaneers led to the death of four students and the Assistant Registrar, whose wife was shot on the leg.

The most vulnerable groups are female students and lecturers. Most female students have come to see Nigerian Universities as a jungle. They are often raped, beaten up, forced to enter into unhealthy relations and at most times killed. In desperation, some decided to form a female wing as an escape strategy. According to Ugwuabo,

He (Prince) took a walk around the faculty of law of the (Jos) University at night. As he paled up and down, he came face to face with three female students. The other two fled. The girl screamed but her action died down when her captor pulled out a knife. Prince dragged her into the desolate law faculty where he tore off her dress (Ugwuabo 1990: 106).

In Nnamdi Azikiwe University a female student was killed, while some others had their nipples cut off.

In 1997 a Professor of Geography was killed in his University of Port Harcourt quarters by people suspected to be cult members. Also in the University of Ilorin Professor Yinka Ayaji Dapau was killed in 1998. Professor Dapau was a committee that flushed out about two hundred students that entered the school illegally.

As cult groups took over the universities, academic performance abysmally fell. Exam malpractices and certificate forgeries became common phenomena. These were done through University clogs or inflated and lecturers. Marks were also inflated and sent. For the cult members nothing is impossible, even if they are caught and charged to court or expelled from school, in a matter of weeks, they would be released and given admission in another school. "The cult life provides them the promise of a simplistic solution to life's
problems as he now acquires respectability among peers in spite of academic failure such a situation helps to keep him on an even keel" (Ogunbamure 1999:26)

In extreme situations they warn the school authorities to succumb to their demand or face their wrath, and turn to armed robbery to satisfy their wants. Again, most of the communal clashes in the country's universities have a majority of cult members as active participants.

They have handshakes and language that are peculiar to each group. They always have a territorial meeting hang-out that can be a restaurant, bar, night club or park. They always have this uncontrollable feeling of not wanting to be with their families even on holidays, because they prefer spending their time with fellow cult members (Chimeziee 1999: 25).

As the cult member passes through dehumanizing processes, and energy boosting feats, he becomes aggressive and anti-social. He becomes a psychopath (Chimeziee 1999: 27). He can be hired as a mercenary to participate in wars he does not know about and be paid to kill enemies. This was how a law lecturer in the Rivers State University of Science and Technology was killed in 2001 with the active arrangement of a former girl friend in his bedroom.

The situation prevailing, then, in all the Nigerians universities is one of generalized suspicion and fear, as nobody knows whom cult groups will cut down.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

It is evident that the neglect of education by the Nigerian military rulers has led to woefully low standards of education, and the emergence of secret cults. One needs to visit exam centers in any Nigerian school to appreciate the enormity of the problem. The non-seriousness of the students, and the illusion of joining secret cult groups and forging certificates to get admission has resulted in mass failure in exams. In the November 1998 secondary school certificate examination (SSCE), only 8.37% of the 694,227 Mathematics, only 10.9%, had grades 1-6, while 59% failed. According to a Punch newspaper, the woeful showing by SSCE candidates is hardly surprising. "It goes to collapse of the country's educational system, caused largely by the neglect of the sector by dictatorship" (Punch Newspaper May 21, Friday 1999: 8).

In some cases vigilators and principals aid the candidates to pass the exams. From table shows.

TABLE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXAMINATION MALPRACTICES</th>
<th>1992-1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>EXAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>35,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>483,92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>72,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>119,945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>103,737</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>380,017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the same vein, the SSCE in November/December witnessed another unprecedented failure rate. From 1992-1996, a total of 213,747 candidates were involved in examination malpractice, making it a total of 593,864 candidates caught in fraudulent activities in the two exams from 1992 to 1996. Unfortunately, candidates who are ill equipped for university work, and caught in examination fraud find their way into the universities. It has been discovered that the bulk of cult members come from this group. They forge certificates and pay money ranging from N50,000 upwards to get admitted in their choice discipline. This was how two lecturers in the university of Lagos admitted more than fourteen students in 1998 after collecting N50,000 from them.

From 1990 to 1991 the threat posed by cult brutality became unbearable. Life on campus became unsafe as cult members brought sophisticated weapons to exams halls and halls of residence. It has been alleged that some of the cult groups have become security outfits for the school authorities and the military government at the universities of Lagos (UNILAG), Benin (UNIBEN), and the Rivers State University of Science and Technology (U.S.T.). The anti-cult campaign which the students of the universities of Port Harcourt, UNILAG, U.S.T and the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) carried out only gathered momentum and fizzled out in the late 1990's.

It was only in 1999 that Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's administration paid casual attention to the cult menace on the campuses. This was after the killing of eight students in Obafemi Awolowo University that shocked the whole country. The Kayode Esbo Committee was set up to find the causes of the killing. The Vice Chancellors and the University administrators were given the power to design strategies for bushing out cult groups from their schools. Incentives were also promised for cult-free universities. These immediately led to a lot of anti-cult campaigns by students and school authorities. Cult members openly confessed and renounced their membership. A security apparatus and police stations where established in the schools.

The result was electrifying. In 2001 about three hundred and five students were expelled from school for forging certificates at the university of Calabar. On Ondo State University, about one hundred and three students were rusticated, while nineteen were charged before a Chief Magistrate court for the murder of a final year student, about twenty-one students of Nassara Polytechnic were arrested for being members of the Black Axe. In University of Benin, which was described by the BBC as the most violent in Africa, a forty member special committee to fight cultism was inaugurated. In the University of Ibadan, Professor Olumuyiwa Awe, one of the progenitors of the Pyrate confraternity, headed an anti-cult panel to try cult members.

This is why it is not mind boggling if, in spite of the creation of state committees on campus cults and the Federal Government's mandate to Vice Chancellors, by the year 2000, cult groups had regrouped, surfaced and started to do business as usual. The death of a year three student at the University of Port Harcourt, in January 2002, is a case in point.

CONCLUSION

I have shown that the neglect of Nigerian education right from the kindergarten to the tertiary level by successive governments and especially the military regimes has adversely affected the growth and standards of Nigerian education.

Right from 1971 when the first Nigerian student was killed (Adekunle Adegebu) at University of Ibadan, to 1991, more than forty-seven students have met their death as a result of state-induced brutality. From 1986 to 1996, about thirty-two students have lost their life as a result of cult clashes. Again, from 1996 to 2002, more than hundred and seven students have been killed as a result of cult clashes; about four hundred were expelled or rusticated, and more than thirty-five were charged to court for various offenses ranging from murder, stealing, and possession of fire arms, as the tables below show.
TABLE III
NUMBER OF DEATHS IN NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES 1996-2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Universities</th>
<th>Number of deaths</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>U. of Sci. &amp; Tech, Port Harcourt</td>
<td>2 Christopher Chioma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Calabar</td>
<td>1 Mosadod Pereia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Uyo (UNIUYO)</td>
<td>1 Aisaka Umeoh, Estakambo Bassy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ibala Polytechnic</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>INIUYO</td>
<td>1 Chierye Nwankwo raped to death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Lagos (UNILAG)</td>
<td>2 Wole Owode, Akinola Akinkanmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Port Harcourt</td>
<td>6 Drowned at Choba River after an initiation ceremony,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Benin</td>
<td>2 Emeka Nkwocha, Humphrey Oba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ogun State University</td>
<td>5 William Obong Ropo Ewenla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calabar Polytechnic</td>
<td>1 Dapo Okesola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UNICAL</td>
<td>1 Godwin Eji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Lagos State University (LASU)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ogun State University</td>
<td>4 Saheed Adegbeye, A. Akinola, Olefemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Ilorin (UI)</td>
<td>Ogbemegese, Kunle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obafemi Awolowo University</td>
<td>1 Bolado Adamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ilorin Polytechnic</td>
<td>3 Idomile Clifford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.T</td>
<td>3 They died as a result of poor medical treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>UNICAL</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delta State University</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Ambrose Ali University</td>
<td>3 Chidiere Aronga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ekpoma</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LASU</td>
<td>3 Peter Otolo Principal Assistant Registrar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O.A.U</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nnamdi Azikiwe University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ondo State University</td>
<td>1 Vivian Odogwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Federal Polytechnic Offa</td>
<td>2 Seye Ogungbemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Port Harcourt</td>
<td>3 Kabiwa M. Kosoko, Akinniyi Nurudeen, Adebowale Emmanuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>University of Port Harcourt</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NUMBER OF STUDENTS EXPELLED/RUSTICATED/CHARGED TO COURT ON CULT-RELATED MATTERS 1996-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Expelled/Rusticated Charged to Court</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>UNICAL</td>
<td>6 Charged to court in Cross Rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>State for the murder of two students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>UNILORIN</td>
<td>30 Suspended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>UNILAG</td>
<td>49 Suspended 6 expelled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>UNIZIK</td>
<td>7 Suspended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Ibadan Polytechnic</td>
<td>18 expelled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ESUT</td>
<td>2 expelled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Ambrose Ali University</td>
<td>10 arrested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Ogun State University</td>
<td>69 Students expelled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>UNICAL</td>
<td>305 expelled for certificate forgery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nassarwa Polytechnic</td>
<td>21 arrested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ono State University</td>
<td>103 rusticated, 19 charged before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ado Ekiti chief magistrate court for murder.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NUMBER OF LECTURERS KILLED 1996-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Enugu State University &amp; O.A.U.</td>
<td>Hycinth Agbo, Mathew Adebona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>UNIPORE</td>
<td>Professor Peter Oyige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University of Ilorin</td>
<td>Professor Yinna Ajayi Dopenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>U.S.T. Port Harcourt</td>
<td>Iyobu Nemigboka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The economic effect of these deaths on their families and the country in general is enormous. Some families lost any hope of survival, others have yet to recover from the shock and are perpetually confused. The contributions of these students to the growth and development of the country have been precluded. All this, in no small measure, has contributed to make Nigerian education unable to respond to socio-economic challenges. Degree certificates awarded to students have been reduced to mere paper, as their possession no more demonstrates a contribution to knowledge. It is important to say that the quality of leadership in the country from the Local Government Councils to the National Assembly and other sectors of government is a direct reflection of the unscholarly educational foundation of the country.

If the government is genuinely interested in eradicating cultism on our campuses, it should overhaul the entire educational edifice. Cultism is nurtured by socio-economic factors, once those factors are dealt with, cultism will gradually disappear. It has been discovered that cult members cannot be disciplined because of their wide connections. Thus sons and daughters of government officials caught in cult activities cannot be punished as, for example, in Akwa Ibom State. This sense of untouchability has led non-connected students to always allow cult members have their way in all things.

Government must revisit the question of academic freedom and of the funding for universities. The interference in University matters by the government has led to the compromise of most university values and intellectual production. Universities must be given the powers to select, discipline, and assert their authority over academic activities.

Above all, Nigerian education must freed from the suffocating grip of the World Bank/IMF-dictated educational programs. We face a dead-end in our educational sector if they continue to influence what we learn and how we learn it.
The Case of Rome: Apology

Doctorate Interlude:

The Young Roman, 13

39. Submission of the Case. 49. When We Shop, 14

Secondary School

Real Estate

Some Words of Knowledge for Groups

Appendix

Supplied Proverbs


The Justice for Rome: Apology

Doctorate Interlude:

The Case of Rome: Apology

Doctorate Interlude:
In 1994 along with Chief Gani, Femi helped form the National Conscience Party. Imagine the circumstances: The military had recently outlawed the formation of parties and had ruled that immediate imprisonment would follow anyone who dared to do otherwise. The act itself represented an extraordinary defiance to the regime. The party was formed to campaign against the annulment of the general election on June 12th 1993, arguing, like many in Nigerians at the time, that the civilian winner of the election should be sworn in as president. It developed a program based on the access of the poor to social service, education and health care, as a fundamental human right. The party has gone on to oppose privatization and it has argued that the companies already in private hands must be renationalised. Femi Aberisade is the National General Secretary of the NCP.

What happened next? The Abacha regime collapsed after the death of its leader. The appointment of his second in command Abubakar, who led the country back to civilian rule, marked what many thought was a turning point for the country. In the elections held in 1999 a civilian leader was elected in Nigeria for the first time in almost twenty years. Obasanjo was elected to widespread international and national acclaim. The hope was that his regime would bring about much needed reforms to a country crippled by economic stagnation, mass poverty and political corruption. The visit by Bill Clinton, the President of the USA, in May 2000 symbolized Nigeria's "return" to international acceptability. Nigeria was reborn.

If things were as they seemed, there would be no need for social science. Graze the surface, and Nigeria's new truth looks rather like the old. The government has remained under the rule of corrupt and conservative forces while demonstrators and campaigners have found that they face the same repression that met them in the days of the military. Femi reminds us of the character of political power in Nigeria "The recent termination of military dictatorship on May 29, 1999... has not heralded fundamental change. Power is still held by forces that actively collaborated to strengthen military dictatorship. There has been a change in the military uniform to civilian dresses on the part of those ruling society, but there is no change in policy."

In an anti-privatization campaign in Osun State this year Femi was one of many demonstrators arrested and beaten up. "On February 17, 2001, I was one of the leaders of the mass demonstration in Osun State, one of the states of the Federation. I have never been so brutalized. I was mercilessly beaten up, my clothes torn and I was tear-gassed at close range in the police station. When I challenged the police that they had no right to attack suspects without prosecution in the court of law, the police officers retorted, 'You are guilty before us. Before us here, you are guilty.'"

Today the state sanctions through silence the assassination of activists and unionists. Trade unionists have faced repeated attacks, including the attempted murder of the trade unionist Dr. Oyebade. He was dismissed from his work as the Principal Administration Officer in Osun State for his involvement in trade union work. He led workers on a prolonged strike for an improvement to the minimum wage.

Femi has faced similar threats. Employed in 1993 to work as a lecturer at the Polytechnic in Ibadan, Femi's work was always highly regarded and he has continued to year he received a letter stating that his work was "no longer required" on the grounds that the Polytechnic was being "restructured and reorganized." The Polytechnic owns an established as stipulated by the college authorities, and his objections went unanswered.

The decision to remove him was transparently political. Femi has been a persistent and trenchant critic of those who run Oyo State, the Alliance for Democracy. In August 2000 the Academic Staff Union of Polytechnics (ASUP) helped to organize a strike to demand an increase in wages to match the nationally approved wage structure for tertiary institutions. Femi was key to organizing that strike and as a leading campaigner in Nigeria he was a source of inspiration to others on the strike.

Within a few days of the strike being called, students independently held a huge and popular demonstration in support of the strike's demands. Police attacked the demonstration. The government alleged in the aftermath that students had destroyed state property. The Governor of the State personally denounced the students who he claimed had been led astray by left wing and Marxist lecturers. A Commission of Inquiry was set up, making the recommendation that radical lecturers and students must be flushed out of the Polytechnic of Ibadan. Femi's dismissal followed the publication of the report.

Despite the Polytechnic's claim that his dismissal was simply a question of "restructuring," another report by a Visitation Panel recommended that more lecturers be employed in Femi's old department, the Department of Business and Public Administration. Legal action has been taken but the reality is that the judiciary is not independent of the executive arm of the government; the government employes and pays the judges. Still Femi is determined to take his case through the courts.

Femi's suffering is that of his nation. Nigeria has undergone a political transition to a "democratic" government - a civilian regime - for which activists and campaigners like Femi have spent their lives fighting. It is in these circumstances that those campaigning for real change find themselves. The perplexing paradox that haunts Nigeria today is that everything has changed yet everything stays the same. Multi-national Companies still act with impunity in the oil rich south supported by a national government that claims it is committed to democracy and equality. Bluntly, "the civilian government in Nigeria has proved to be more in tolerant than military dictatorship. Throughout the era of military dictatorship, I did not hide the fact that I was teaching in a state-owned institution whenever I was arrested and detained. But, not once did they contemplate sucking me for my political convictions and political activities."

The international campaign calling for the reinstatement of Femi Aberisade is a crucial fight. It is a way of supporting the continued struggle for democratic rights in Nigeria while expressing our solidarity with a person who, in his relentless battle for the working class and poor of Nigeria, is a lesson for us all. It is a terrible indictment of the current government that one of its most remarkable individuals has been forced onto the breadline.

What can you do? The campaign, Justice for Femi, needs your support. There is an international petition that has many signatures from people around the world and it has appeared in several Nigeria newspapers. If you would like to become involved in the campaign, make a contribution and sign the petition then contact: justicefolfemi@hotmail.com
Globalization and Francophone African Student Migrants: Narratives of Broken Dreams

Oussiea Alidou, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, Department of Africana Studies
Rutgers University

Production of skilled labor through formal education was a development mission fitting the modernization vision of the nascent independent African nation-state from the 1960s till mid-80s. This mission coincided with the protectionist philosophy of the West during the Cold war era in its attempt to reserve/preserve employment for its citizens. At the same time, the West imposed severe limitations on immigration of skilled laborers and intellectuals. This protectionism was disguised by pseudo-humanitarian argument against the brain drain in favor of the Africa's modernization imperatives. From 1960 to the mid-1980s Africa managed to produce and retain a large proportion of its intellectuals and skilled laborers. At the same time the West continues to export to Africa its own skilled labor, competing with local labor on unequal terms.

With the end of the Cold War and the intensification of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) by World Bank and IMF, we began to see the collapse of the African educational system. This coincided with a relaxation of the immigration laws as they apply to African intellectuals and skilled laborers. Consequently, there has been an exodus first of academics and more recently students to the West, especially to the United States. English Francophone African students who had not had a noticeable tradition of migration to the US have now followed the great African bandwagon to the United States in pursuit of the "American Dream." These waves of student immigrants with "dreams" have now become a subject of romanticizing discourses on a new African Diaspora in formation. One of the tasks of my paper is to critique and challenge this romantic conception coming from scholarship produced in the Western (and more especially US) academy. The paper will also look at the meaning and implications of these mass migrations of students from Francophone Africa both in terms of their experiences in the US and the homelands they left behind. These questions will be foregrounded against the interplay between education in Francophone Africa, globalization, and immigration against the larger theme of the interplay between African students diaspora in the US and what is happening to their dreams of furthering the education or job opportunities in their new homeland.

In her book, Globalization and its Discontents, Saskia Sassen argues, in a chapter titled, "Economic Internationalization and Migration," that:

[Mass] migrations do not just happen; they are produced. And migrations do not involve just any possible combination of countries, they are patterned. Further, immigrant employment is patterned as well; immigrants rarely have the same occupational and industrial distribution as citizens in receiving countries. And while it may seem that immigrations are ever present, distinct phases and patterns are clearly discernible (Sassen 1998: 56-57).

In the remainder of my presentation I will focus on the state of the students from the Niger Republic who represent an important body of immigrant laborers in many of US factories in major as well as small cities with the goal of demonstrating how their conditions support Sassen's argument regarding the patterned economic internationalization of laborer. Furthermore, I will show that while the influx of Nigerien students into the USA may appear as a sign of liberalization of immigration law with a promise of offering them better opportunities for pursuing educational ambitions denied at home as result of the collapse of African higher education, the real intent is to absorb literate (and very often highly skilled) youth as cheap and vulnerable labor in the US economic system. But let us examine the structure Nigerien immigrants encounter in the US in general and in New York and Greensboro, North Carolina in particular where the majority of Nigerien immigrants and students reside. In fact, Greensboro is known today in Niger even in the most remote villages.

At this stage it is very difficult to give a precise estimate of Nigeriens in these two localities. A great number of immigrants fear the implications of this information. According to the Presidents of their associations I interviewed, there are about 3000 to 4000 Nigeriens in these locales. Several factors account for the problem of census: a) Most immigrants live illegally because their visas have expired or they entered the country under a different identity through a network of traders who develop a whole system of sponsoring individuals under their business visa. b) Undocumented immigrants often distrust one another and the Nigerien diplomatic services. And c) Nigerien immigrants tend to live as a close community, reproducing patterns of association according to the structure of their home country.

According to my inquiry, 85% of the Nigerien immigrants in the USA were admitted with a B-1 visa. Most of these B-1 visa holders were illiterate in French or in English, thus they did not have any formal schooling. In general, these Nigeriens work as cheap laborers in fast-food restaurants, cleaners, and security men in shops while also selling African crafts in the main commercial streets in the New York and Philadelphia metropolitan areas. The remaining 15% comprised about 12% representing the student population which came with USAID or other international scholarships and less than 1% with private funding for higher education and the diplomatic personnel working in the embassy or consulate. Finally, Nigerien women constituted less than 1% of the immigrant population, educated or uneducated. Before 1996, 99% of the Nigeriens who graduated from U.S. institutions returned home after graduation. However, since 1996, the configuration of the Nigerian immigrants in the US has drastically changed. There is more and more an influx of educated young people. The pattern of immigration from Niger can be described as follows:

- 99% are males between 22-40 years, who are aspiring to further their education or the professional training they could not pursue at home given the collapse of the educational system.
- 15% of this new wave of immigrant population from Niger have a least a university first degree while 50% graduated from high school.
- 10% are graduates from the bilingual French-Arabic educational track, for Niger offers this possibility in the school system. Thus, this implies individuals who are educated in French and Arabic.
- 60% of the total population of immigrants from Niger are illiterate at their arrival.
- Few among these take advantage of the ESL program offered free of charge to immigrants populations.
- Less than 1% make it through their own means in the US higher education system and at the level and field of their choice.

What are the difficulties the Nigeriens students who have migrated to the US between 1996 to the present facing?
1) Financial burdens: The ambition to further their university training, push Nigerian students to low wage labor with the hope to save enough funds. Once in the US, the students realized that the wages they are earning by working as cheap laborers at $5 (at most $10) an hour are not sufficient for sustaining a decent social welfare let alone costly educational fees. They struggle to pay their rent in over crowded apartments (two bedrooms for seven, individuals sleep in shifts), and their health care since their employment does not cover any benefit even health, 2) The validation of their degrees given the difference between a French/Francophone curriculum design versus an Anglo-Saxon system. 3) Language barriers. After a year or two, most Nigerian students burdened by 10-12 hours’ work a day and given their insecure immigration status, end up abandoning their dream to further their education. They refocus their aspiration toward a secure return to Nigeria through saving in order to purchase a house and try to establish a business that would generate survival revenues at home. This partly accounts for their packed living arrangement in crowded apartments. Another major pressure for the Nigerian students is the moral obligation to support the parents and relatives left behind. The pressure becomes more intense given the romanticized idea projected of life in the USA, as the world’s super power. This condition is more critical for the males who mostly left their wives and children in the care of their relatives. 

More and more Nigerian students are migrating to the US because there are no outlets in Niger. The other neighboring countries that used to be safe havens are facing the same type of crises, and are closing their doors to outsiders. Since the early 1980s, the political austerity imposed by the international financial agencies, in addition to the lack of leadership vision are factors which offer no positive alternatives for the Nigerian graduates of high school or university. University Abdou Moumouni was closed six times between 1990 and the present. The state, which remains the main employer, does not employ new graduates. Niger is one of the world’s poorest countries by all economic indicators set by UNDP, World Bank, and IMF. How do the Nigerian students obtain their visas to USA and why is the status precarious? As I pointed out earlier, before 1996 most students came to the USA with a USAID scholarship or other international scholarship and less than 1% of Nigerians eventually stayed in the US after their graduation as a result of their marriage to a US citizen or if they elect to look for a job in their field in the US. But from 1996 onwards Nigerian students have entered the US and remained in the US as immigrants laborers in a wide range of unskilled and unsecured jobs (security guards, cab-drivers, delivery men, cleaners). 99% of these immigrant students entered the US not with a student’s visa, but with a B-1 visa which they have acquired through a complex network of traders whose main business is selling US immigration visa status to students. After several rejections of their application in the US after their graduation as a result of their marriage to a US citizen or if they elect to look for a job in their field in the US, the students pay between $500,000 to 2 million CFA to the traders who have managed to be accepted as established import export traders eligible for B-1 type visas. According to the criteria set by US immigration laws, this category of traders can send their agents to conduct business transactions in the US on the students’ behalf (after having a huge amount of money acquired after selling a family house, farm or withdrawing life savings from the students, the traders introduced the dossiers of the students-turned-business agents at the US consular office using the names of some of their own children whose names were registered as agents and heirs to their business to these students. Most often, with this pretext, the visas are granted. Given the network through which they have entered the country most students realize once in the US that the B-1 visa makes them ineligible for university admission. Furthermore, the issue of their assumed identity catches up with them because the names on their diplomas and their immigration papers do not coincide. Once they realize that they cannot pursue their dream of a higher university diploma, they resort to what they sarcastically call “the Nigerian first American diplomas” which are the social security number and state ID cards. This step allows them to look for survival, but in very risky and the lowest paying jobs. However, the network of traders is not the only outlet for acquiring visas by Nigerian students. Often immigration officers working at the US embassy also extort huge amounts in bribes from the students and grant them tourist visas. Unfortunately, as they come bitterly to realize later, these too do not allow them to stay in the country beyond the granted period, on their visa, which is usually three months, nor to work legally. Again the Nigerian students are forced “underground” into a life of non-existence where the most menial and security less jobs are the only way to survive. 

What can we draw from this information? Is there a correlation between globalization, immigration of students from francophone Africa and the internationalization of labor? And what about education as a basic human right in the globalization era? According to Sassen (1998), “mass migration during the 1800s made an integrated contribution to the formation of a trans-Atlantic economic system. Before this period, labor movements across the Atlantic had been largely forced (notably slavery) and mostly from the colonized African and Asian territories” (Sassen 1998: 57). I want to argue that economic globalisation, which is fundamentally tied to the development and sustenance of economic and development policies on the one hand, and the creation of economic interest models in so far as the question of US immigration policy is concerned. Moreover, it deliberately triggers the same type of human movements from Third World countries to the USA even though it is packed into a seemingly more sophisticated term “voluntary migration.” The US immigration offices are not so unaware of the lot of Nigerian students who operate as undocumented foreign workers in the country. Their tolerance is justified by US factories’ satisfaction with educated cheap laborers who can do the type of jobs that Nigerian students are tolerated, given the labor they provide, the US corporations as well as the immigration services are very aware of their educational ambitions and their potential to freeze their potential in the US. In conclusion, since the 1970s most of the literature from the US academy focuses on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on Africa’s higher education dealt with the issue of the brain drain and its focusing on African studies in America. Despite the fact that our continental culture, leaving out their real dreams to have the same opportunity that new metropolitan culture has, the alienation of many of us in the US and my own personal experience I have to pursue our goal to finish our doctorate and to teach and I have to be a living witness that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing, and finding that we are the only one that could say, different kind of research and writing. "Yes, in the US, education is a basic human right." 

Bibliography

Colonial Anglophobia and the African Academy
Alamin Mazrui
The Ohio State University.

Globalization is rapidly expanding the frontiers of the English language, galvanizing the language to conquer new territories at an unprecedented rate. A 1996 survey of the British Council estimated that worldwide today, "there are over 1,400 million people living in countries where English has official status. One out of five of the world's population speaks English to some level of competence. [And] demand from the other four-fifths is increasing. By the year 2000 it is estimated that over one billion people will be learning English." (Quoted by Goodman and Graddol, 1996: 181).

Being the only super-power in the post-Cold War period, the US has naturally become central in this globalization process. The globalization of empire that the British attempted in the formal sense has been carried further by the US to a point where "Americanization in its current form is a synonym for globalization, a synonym that recognizes that globalization is not a neutral process in which Washington and Dakar participate equally." (Readings, 1996: 2). This U.S. dominance of the global space led George Steiner to remark that "so far as it is indeed the world language, English is, essentially, American English." (1992: 2).

If the globalization of market forces has provided the stimulus for the globalization of English, it is now possible to argue that the language has become important in its own right for the consolidation of a neoliberal global order. Within the international capitalist market, the "center" (and the US, in particular) has been serving as the "proto-elite" while the "periphery" can be likened to the labor and consumer dimension of the trans-national capitalist equation. And it is increasingly the English language that allows the proprietor nations of the center to have contact with each and every consumer nation in a way that leads to increasing consolidation of the global capitalist market.

The English "take-over" in several domains like news and entertainment media, internet communication, and international trade is probably taking place spontaneously as a result of U.S. pre-eminence in communication technology and world economy. In education, however, there has been a deliberate Anglo-American policy, backed by huge investments by British and U.S. agencies, to strengthen and consolidate the position of English in Africa and elsewhere. This is a subject that has been treated quite elaborately by Robert Philiphson in his classic work, "Linguistic Imperialism" (1992). Furthermore, as I have shown elsewhere, this is a global linguistic design that has had the tacit support of the Bretton Woods institutions through policies that advantage English over local languages (Mazrui, 1997). And all these pro-English policies, of course, are ultimately channeled through self-interested local ruling classes for implementation in Africa's educational institutions.

In addition to the economic implications alluded to above, this encroachment of English in African education in the so-called Angophone Africa has been seen to have cultural implications as well. Ngugi wa Thiong'o's position articulated in several of his writings is, of course, widely known. His phase "linguistic imperialism in African education only deepens chains of mental colonization" (1986, 1998). Others have focused on the intellectual dependency fostered by English-language education, describing how, through English, Africa remains captive to the intellectual paradigms emanating from the West, limiting the continent's own scope for organic intellectual renewal from within (Aldou and Mazrui, 1999).

But it is the postcolonial/postmodernist school of thought that has gained increasing ground over the last few years, seeing "discursive practices" as essential to the understanding of the cultural politics of English as a world language. While acknowledging that English has indeed served hegemonic and imperialist functions over the decades that it has established itself in "Angophone" Africa, members of this school see language not merely as "a means to engage in struggle" but also as "a site of struggle" over meanings (Pennycook, 1994: 265). In the words of Weedon, "once language is understood in terms of competing discourses, competing ways of giving meaning to the world, which imply differences in the organization of social power, then language becomes an important site of political struggle." (Weedon 1987: 267). Thus, if English is the language "through which the forces of neocolonial exploitation operate," it is also seen to be the language through which counter-discourses and insurgent knowledge can be formulated (Pennycook, 1994: 326).

It is against this backdrop that these postcolonial/postmodern theoreticians have advocated the transformation of the English language classroom into an arena of cultural production. And all English language teachers around the world are urged to "become political actors engaged in a critical pedagogical project to use English to oppose the dominant discourses of the West, and to help the articulation of counter-discourses in English." (Pennycook, 1995: 55).

While I am essentially in agreement with these thinkers about the "transformability" of imperial languages, it is disturbing that, in the majority of cases, the power to transform is located in individuals (especially within the ranks of the intellectual elite) with little regard to the dynamics and counter-dynamics that are actually taking place in society. There is no doubt that the individual initiatives of writers to reconfigure the linguistic media inherited from the colonial era are important, especially in demonstrating the potential and capacity of these languages to create counter-discourses. But we must not mistake a transformed English in, say, Chima Achebe's Things Fall Apart with a transformed African or even Nigerian English. At best it is just Achebe English unless it can be demonstrated that Nigerians and/or Africans have made it their own in real life. In other words, the only section of African societies that the imperial languages may have entwined under this "individualist" paradigm, is that of the disproportionately tiny class of intellectuals.

It is the contention of this presentation that, historically, the anti-hegemonic transformation of imperial languages in a manner that captures a new consciousness and mobilizes their competitors against the colonial dispensation, has taken place in such a way that collective struggle and mass movement. The liberationist idiom in the English of many nationalist leaders, from Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana to Julius Nyere of Tanzania, had its foundations in the broader African nationalist struggles against colonialism. But it is also true that this nationalistic counter-discourse has had serious limitations in the context of the new politics of neoliberalism in the age of globalization.

In regard to this linguistic metamorphosis of the language of the colonizer, some of Frantz Fanon's views are particularly instructive. Nationalist leaders did indeed appropriate, mobilize and modify their national structures imposed by colonialism. Fanon's dissatisfaction with his nationalistic social structures imposed by colonialism. Fanon's dissatisfaction with his nationalistic social structures imposed by colonialism.

Fanon's dissatisfaction with his nationalistic social structures imposed by colonialism.

Wherever one might stand on the issue of armed struggle, Fanon's central point is that a revolutionary vocabulary that has unchained itself from the trappings of the oppressor's discourse framework can only emerge from new forms of organization, pitted against the oppressor's discourse framework.
radical combat with the oppressor. As he adds, "the very forms of organizations of the struggle will suggest a different vocabulary—Brother, sister, friend—these are words outlawed by the colonialist bourgeoisie, because for them my brother is my pursuer, my friend is part of my scheme for getting on" (1963: 47). And it is this process of linguistic "liberation" within the French language that Fanon came to observe as the Algerian struggle against French rule was unfolding.

In his eloquent work, Words Unchained, Chris Searle makes observations with regard to the Caribbean island of Grenada. As in Africa, the Caribbean has experienced decades of cultural and linguistic domination, with the imperial languages being both the conveyors and mediators of colonial and, later, neo-colonial ideologies and relations. But the 1979 revolution in Grenada, led by Maurice Bishop, provided conditions for the people to create their own political, economic and cultural destiny. It was the first sustained anti-imperialist revolution of the English-speaking world, and its impact upon the English language was proving to be transformational as its impact upon many other of the institutions that it inherited. "Language was [now] in their hands to be molded according to their process and resources, to release all the history, energy and genius of their people's lives and creativity which had been dammed underground for centuries." (Searle 1984: xxi)

The language that had once appeared to legitimize racism and dependency and the people lose confidence in themselves, had now been set free to become the vehicle of a new consciousness, a new vision, and the construction of a new society. It is little wonder, then, that the US government would not allow the Grenada revolution to take its own course.

These and other examples demonstrate that the radical transformation of English as an imperial language requires certain conditions of struggle for a radically new social order. The process cannot be the preserve of individual writers, academics and intellectuals totally isolated from the larger part of the social milieu in which language is processed and (re)created.

Within Africa, a potential source of national struggle against neocolonialism has always been the university. And if the requisite conditions for successful "appropriation" of the English language exist at all in Africa, they are more likely to be found on university campuses than anywhere else. Yet, over the years, policies have been pursued by the World Bank, by IMF, by national governments whose overall objective has seemingly been to silence the university and neutralize its potential as an arena of struggle. More recently, this agenda has manifested itself in two ways.

1. There has been the attempt to change the class composition of the African university student body through IMF conditionality. The World Bank has figures indicating that the majority of students in African universities have been drawn from the ranks of the peasantry, the working class and petty traders. But the families of many of these students do not have the means to bear the rising cost of university education imposed by IMF's so-called cost-sharing formula. One of the net effects of SAPs, therefore, may be to transform the African university into an institution of those in the middle and upper classes who are expected to develop a vested interest in furthering the cause of globalization.

2. This second mode of action seems to have taken the form of increasing violence against university students. The editors of the Newsletter of the Committee on Academic Freedom in Africa have noted how a new wave of violence has engulfed African campuses, from Addis to Abidjan. This bloody period, according to the editors, epitomizes "the literal war African states (which are committed to the structural adjustment ideology of the World Bank and IMF) are waging against African youths who see no future for themselves or their countries in the path these states are following" (2001: 30). This violence is ultimately intended to pacify the students, bring them into line, and get them to submit to the ideological hegemony of globalization.

Under the circumstances described above, then, the conclusion regarding the "appropriatibility" of English becomes clear. To promote and maintain the conditions for such a linguistic "appropriation" there is urgent need for a concerted struggle that should include the Africanist community in the US and elsewhere -- to save the African university from being "mainstreamed" and eventually canalized into serving the interests of globalization. These efforts around the academy, in turn, need to be linked to the struggles and alliances that are growing within the global civil society and directed against the neoliberalist order.

Finally, as much as the struggle over and within English has to continue, I must reiterate a point that my colleague, Dr. Ousseina Aldiou and I made (Aldiou and Mazrui, 1999), that counter-discourses in English are not the same thing as independent discourse. Counter-discourses may continue to be entrapped in the terms of reference of the dominant discourse. An independent discourse, on the other hand, is one that allows Africa to set its own intellectual terms of reference. While the power to formulate independent discourses is itself a matter of global struggle, it is worth reflecting whether, at this historical juncture, the quest to center African languages in African education does not, in fact, offer better prospects for the construction of independent discourses. This, of course, is another subject altogether that is beyond the focus of this essay.

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Blackwell.
Eritrea at Ten: Victories and Realities
Matt Meyer

The following excerpt, from a forthcoming book on transformative educational practices in South Africa, Eritrea and the U.S. (Africa World Press, www.africanworld.com), provides a snapshot of perspectives from Spring 2001—about one year after the devastating two-year-long Eritro-Ethiopian border conflict. Despite numerous pedagogical innovations in Eritrea’s pre-independence liberated territories, and an avoidance of the onslaught of post-independence structural adjustment, conditions—as noted herein—leave much to be desired. Though the world appears vastly changed since that long-ago Spring, with internal debate stifled within Eritrean ruling circles and a U.S. administration setting its terror sights as much on Africa as on Central Asia or the Middle East, the process of building an empowering educational infrastructure from below is still high on the to-do list of the continent’s newest country.

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"The policies of the Ministry of Education are written in pencil," said eleventh-grader Kesse as he joined in central Eritrea. "They are changing and changing all the time." An average student, now completing his studies in Asmara, Kesse has been working hard all his life, leading up to a meeting about to take place over our new roommate over the next to the central market. Two of his friends have joined us, but neither of them awaits the school-leaving tests that will determine Kessie’s future. If he’s in his class, he may get admission to the University of Asmara, and higher education in general. If not, perhaps he can go back to his village and survive on subsistence farming or working with family and relatives. Right now, he reflects, "I don’t even feel qualified to hold up a pen or paper."

Tsehaye, a tall, quiet type from Adi Kolef, has already been up to postgraduate studies to the private Don Bosco Technical Training School in Dekemhare, a small but vibrant town some thirty minutes from the capital. "Where are the good teachers now?" he asked, thinking back over his year in the public schools. "There is not enough money, there are not enough teachers for the courses, there are not enough materials like labs for science, so many of them become demoralized." In the higher grades, Tsehaye suggests students do not have any choice but to focus all attention on the exams, also a dismaying dynamic. "Even if I am very clever, the university cannot tolerate a high percentage of smart students. More secondary schools must be built." As a university as well," chided in Solomon, a tenth-grader from Jertuwa, also studying in Asmara. A year away from the critical examinations, with a personality more focused on sociality than on academic concerns, Solomon was one of a number of students mistakenly taken into military training during the three-year war. When questioned about the time at "boot camp"—anticipating possible deployment to the front lines—Solomon spoke of how many people he knew already serving. "Even my father, all our parents and brothers are at the front," he stated. "We were not afraid to die at the time... If we would have shown fear of being killed, there would be more chance of us surviving. What is worse is his loss of time at school. "We were worried about our studies," he noted. "So some of us wanted to return."

"When the war broke out," Tsehaye admitted, "I was completely demoralized. There was a real question facing all of us: Are we going to live or to die?"

Kesse, on a more forward-looking note, spoke to his own hopes for possible educational reform. "If I were to speak with the minister of education," he suggested, "I would tell him to organize more meetings with students, to ask about our problems—especially in the high schools. We did have one meeting," he recalls, "with teachers and administrators," but more talk is needed about the limitations facing students interested in college education. In addition to involving students in the problem-solving process of school and social change, it is clear that the recent war left its effects on all students. "Clever, educated teachers should not be sent to the front," Kesse concluded. And finally, a more universal cry: "We should be given more tolerant and competent teachers."

Father Angelo Regazoo, the founder and director of the Don Bosco Technical School, sympathized with the perspective set forth by these students. A European Catholic educator, trained in various Asian schools, Regazoo has followed the general mission of the Don Bosco order in building schools that can teach practical trades. Providing students not necessarily going to university with a chance for a certificate in commercial or technical skills so they can find paying jobs upon graduation. The Eritrean government supports these efforts—both politically and fiscally—and they undoubtedly take some of the burden off the tightly squeezed public system. With a high demand for teachers and schools, and a shortage of supply, the Ministry of Education (MOE) currently depends on collaborations such as the one with Don Bosco—but in some ways, these technical training schools have, in themselves, become centers servicing an intellectual elite.

Regazoo sighed at the thought of the complex situation both he and the MOE are in. Everyone wants to provide education for all, with expert specialization but also a general base of critical and practical knowledge. He bared the stumps of a gristly fast, from woodshop to computer lab to garden, talking of how all the desks and tables are constructed by Don Bosco students, and how a few more chickens in the farm area could provide a model for self-sufficiency, with enough eggs for a hearty daily breakfast for all learners. Ultimately, however, Regazoo could not help but come back to his basic philosophy: "Our purpose here is to reach the poor."

With little if any tone of condescension, he suggested that a university education should not be looked upon as the be-all and end-all in a largely rural society on a largely rural planet. "The more you get away from the poor, the more you want to work behind a desk wearing a tie, the more problems you will have solving your own problems, he stated. 'Talking like a true own problems—and solving the problems of this country—Regazoo liberation theologian—or like the Catholic Worker educators of our own country—Regazoo education would be like that, too." In a tiny but popular bar near downtown Asmara, tables were filled up in the pre-dinner rush on its independence eve. With a four-day weekend to commemorate the tenth anniversary, folk were coming into the capital from many surrounding areas. There was a big anniversary, folks were coming into the capital from many surrounding areas. There was a big anniversary, folks were coming into the capital from many surrounding areas. There was a big anniversary, folks were coming into the capital from many surrounding areas.
"The reason it will take ten years to reach our vision," continued Dawit, "is because of all the problems we currently face. Teachers should only teach one shift a day—a maximum twenty-four-hour-a-week instructional block, instead of the current thirty-six hours. There should be a maximum of forty students per class. We need to build more schools and recruit more teachers. Most of all, our salaries must be increased, above those workers serving other ministries. To be fully solved, this problem of teacher shortage must see to a doubling of the current number of educators up to at least 7,000."

Both teachers suggested that, while strides were being made in the area of gender equity, with special after-school and weekend classes for girls supported by the government, the move toward democratization was slow to nonexistent. "We are definitely not given a role in shaping what school policy is like," noted Dawit. "The Teachers Association," added Hailemariam, is a union "in name only—it has not been useful at all." Additional recommendations for reforms included: giving houses or accommodations to all teachers, especially those sent away from where they live; institute evening classes for failing students; and focus more attention on rural communities, whose youth have to simultaneously serve as farmers as well as students. Parents and community members in all parts of the country, they admitted, are beginning to get involved with cooperation and some school-based collaboration. Education is seen as vital, but few teachers—including Dawit and Hailemariam—seemed prepared to incorporate the lessons of nonformal, "uneducated" elders into the basics of day-to-day study.

At first I must admit to being somewhat shocked at the negativity and apparent pessimism of these teachers from Mengesha. There was clearly a wide gap between their thoughts and experiences on the one hand, and the general impression of Eritrea's educational successes on the other. As it became clear that they were, in fact, representative of many community-based educators, especially at the secondary school level. It seemed necessary to try to look more closely at how the years between 1996 and the present had affected the school system nationally. An appointment was set up for an interview with former educationist Alemseged Tesfai, one of Eritrea's leading intellectuals and a consultant throughout the years with several ministries and educational initiatives.

Arriving early for our meeting at his meager office in the building of the Eritrean Research and Documentation Center, Alemseged was ready to see us at 8 a.m. as we arrived. His salt-and-pepper beard and gentle smile belie his many years and many roles in the struggle, at one point heading up the Eritrean Land Commission, now primarily working on an authoritative documentary of the independence movement. "I was at the beginning of the educational process of the EPLF," he began directly, "one of the founders of the Zero/Revolution School and chair of the curriculum committee. Some of us were teachers, with experience and degrees from Teacher Training Institutes, but I was a lawyer by trade—never thinking that I'd be part of an educational structure."

"The philosophy of education at the beginning," he continued, "was based upon two distinct principles. First, we felt that education had to be as practical as possible. There had to be a link to practice itself and to the realities and needs of the environment facing the country. Secondly, we were committed to the idea that education should always be taught in the mother tongue, at least through primary school level." Alemseged recounted how the EPLF tried to put their principles into practice, developing and preparing special curriculum and language texts, dealing specifically with issues involving the revolution. He frankly stated that the language aspect of their principles was always problematic—and still is. The emphasis on Arabic by some was attacked as having overly religious motivations in a secular state and struggle, but now Eritreans have come back with doctorsates from Egypt or the Middle East and have difficulty working in primarily English-language or Tigrinya-dominated offices. Professional development, and Eritrea's ability to train its own people and develop its own materials within a multilingual context, is pivotal to the long-term resolution of this conflict. Otherwise, one can infer a split between the largely illiterate rural communities who would benefit most from mother-tongue instruction and the highly educated urban leadership, who might appropriately need one (or at most two) uniformly acceptable languages of communication and documentation.

When asked about the apparent gap between the educational ideals of the EPLF and the current problems facing teachers and many students, Alemseged reflected again on the early days. "At the Revolution School, we knew that we were lagging behind. We had a whole generation of people in the 1970s and 80s who were not at all educated, but were committed to the country. The process of both education and teacher training at the school was very personalized, intensively hands-on and community-specific, with a highly motivated group of learners. "The kids that were brought up in that school," he said with quiet pride, "are some of the best teachers we have in this country. They have stuck firmly to our original desires."

In general, Alemseged continued, educational policy and practice has—in his evaluation—been one of Eritrea's major successes, with the most obvious indication of this being the building of new schools. "The government boasts of being countryside-friendly," he noted, "and in the practice of building schools, one can see that this makes it true." The level of education in most urban areas, he admitted, leaves much to be desired. "There are too few schools, too many students per class, students not getting a proper education, and teachers getting increasingly frustrated. We're stuck with people who want to think that they're the solution to this problem, Alemseged stated with a certain how to pinpoint the roots and solutions to this problem, Alemseged stated with a certain
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Globalization and Academic Ethics
The Editors of CAFA

One of the consequences of economic globalization has been the internationalization of US higher education institutions and universities. International studies, study abroad programs, international cultural exchanges have become a "must" on most American campuses. In the last decade, a number of major U.S. educational organizations have asked that "provisions should be made to ensure that at least 10 percent of all students who receive baccalaureate degrees in this country will have had a significant educational experience abroad during their undergraduate years." (See Michael R. Lasch, Encounters with Difference: Student Perceptions of the Role of Out-of-Class Experiences in Education Abroad (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 8) Equally momentous have been the efforts by U.S. administrators and funding agencies to turn American academic institutions into "global universities," i.e. global educational centers, recruiting from and catering to an international student body.

We have also witnessed the growing engagement of US academics and colleges in the restructuring of academic institutions in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the former socialist countries, and the management in these same regions of private, generally English speaking universities, unaffordable for the majority of aspiring students.

All these developments constitute the most substantial innovation in US academic life over the last decade. They have been promoted and hailed as a great contribution to the spread of "quality education" and global citizenship. The reality, however, may be quite different. We call on our colleagues to ponder on the implications of these changes, especially for African universities, and to oppose the mercenary goals which underlie them. Consider the following:

1. The internationalization of the curriculum and academic activities is often conceived within a framework of global economic competition that turns multicultural awareness into a means of neo-colonial exploitation rather than a means of understanding and valorizing other people's histories and struggles.

2. As the National Security Education Program (NSEP) has demonstrated, the Pentagon and the CIA are the most prominent government agencies promoting and financing the internationalization of US academic education. This prominence is inevitable since they, more than ever, need a cosmopolitan personnel at a time when the US government is openly striving for economic and military hegemony in every region of the world.

3. The globalization of US universities has been facilitated by the underdevelopment of public education throughout the Third World, upon recommendations of the World Bank and IMF in the name of "rationalization" and "structural adjustment."

4. In some African countries where universities have been shut down, the life facilities are often used by American study abroad programs. These programs benefit from the cheap cost of study, and the program directors can even hire at very low wages laid off teachers and former students as helper/facilitators.

5. U.S. teachers and college administrators are being financed by USAID to intervene in several third world and former socialist countries to (a) set up private universities; (b) restructure entire departments, schools, programs, curricula. In other words, US academics are being presently employed by the U.S. government to carry on cultural/educational work abroad that suits its economic, political, ideological objectives.

Considering the above developments, we believe that the time has come for U.S. academics to show our colleagues in Africa and other third world regions the same solidarity that would be expected of us by colleagues on our own campuses.

It is in this context that we are proposing the following "University Teachers Code of Ethics for Globalization in Africa." We urge you to circulate it among colleagues in the institutions where you work, at conferences, and other academic events and ask people to comment upon it. Please send your comments to one of the coordinators of CAFA as soon as possible. They will help us in the coming months to construct a final code of ethics that can be subscribed to by a substantial number of people involved in "global education in Africa. We intend to present the code to the organizations involved in financing or overseeing global education initiatives as well. Even more important, we want to use this declaration—adopted as it might be—to promote solidarity with our African colleagues and campaign to reverse the recolonization of African universities.

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We are university teachers and we publicly declare our adherence to the following principles of academic ethics in our work in Africa:

--we will never, under any circumstance, work (as researchers, with a study abroad program, or in any other capacity) in an African university where students or the faculty are on strike or which has been shut down by students' or teachers' strikes and protests against police repression and structural adjustment cut backs.

--we will never take a position at or cooperate with the World Bank, the IMF, USAID, or any other organization whose policy is to expropriate Africans from the means of the production and distribution of knowledge and to devalue African people's contribution to world culture.

--we will never take advantage of the immiseration to which many of our African colleagues and students have been reduced, and appropriate the educational facilities and resources from which African colleagues and students have been de facto excluded because of lack of means. Knowledge acquired under such conditions would be antagonistic to the spirit of multiculturalism and scholarly solidarity.

--we will consult with colleagues and activists in the countries where we carry on research, so as to ensure that our research answers the needs of the people it studies, and is shaped with the cooperation of people whose lives will be affected by it, rather being dictated by funding agencies' agendas.