Challenges of Quality Education in Sub-Saharan African Countries

Education in a Competitive and Globalizing World Series

Daniel Namusonge Sifuna
Nobuhide Sawamura

NOVA

EDUCATION IN A COMPETITIVE AND GLOBALIZING WORLD SERIES

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PREFACE

Quality is at the heart of all education systems, as good quality teaching and learning environments ensure effective learning outcomes. Quality influences what students learn, how well they learn and what benefits they draw from their education. The quest to ensure that students achieve decent learning outcomes and acquire values and skills that help them play a positive role in their societies is an issue on the policy agenda of nearly every country. As many world governments struggle to expand particularly basic education, they also face the challenge of ensuring that students stay in school long enough to acquire the knowledge that they need to cope in a rapidly changing world.

The purpose of this book is, therefore, to profile some aspects of education quality in the African education systems and to highlight key policies for improving the teaching and learning outcomes. The book is also intended to provide basic information to scholars who are interested in studying education in the Sub-Saharan African region. To enable users to understand and appreciate developments, trends and changes that have taken place in the education systems, for most chapters, the book deliberately adopts a historical approach, which leads to some focus on developments that dzate back to the colonial period in Africa.

In grappling with the issue of quality education, it is contented that in studies of quality and equality issues in education in third-world countries, as yet there is no consensus on the definition of the term "quality." More importantly, notions of quality change over time and are tied to societal values. Quality education is, therefore, a relative concept. Educators who seek particular defined outcomes tend to rate it in those terms and will rank educational institutions according to the extent to which their graduates meet those outcomes. The standard of comparison would be in some sense fixed and different from the values, wishes and opinions of the learners themselves.

There are also some educators who argue that the concept of quality is elusive because its content depends upon how we choose to define our preferred outcomes of schooling. It is, however, noted that common to all education systems is the objective of improving the cognitive achievement of pupils. Furthermore, all nations also wish to help create, through education, better citizens, namely, people who can support and help strengthen the values that the particular society holds dear. In this regard, quality should be seen in the light of how societies define their purpose of education. In most systems, two principal objectives are at stake, namely, to ensure the cognitive development of learners and the emphasis on the role of education in nurturing the creative and emotional growth of learners and in helping them to acquire values and attitudes for responsible citizenship. However, quality education must pass

the test of equity; thus, an education characterized with discrimination against any particular group is not fulfilling its mission. For African education systems to meet such cardinal functions, government efforts in ensuring the achievement of these important outcomes are quite vital.

Considering the diversity in the understanding and interpretation of quality education, developing approaches for monitoring and improving it is still a very difficult task. However, from the traditions underlying it and the different conceptualizations, it is clear that cognitive development and accumulation of particular values, attitudes and skills are important objectives of educational systems in most societies. Their contents may differ, but their broad structures are perceived to be similar throughout the world. This implies that the key to improving the quality of education is to help education systems achieve their objectives. A new consensus and impetus is building around the imperative to improve the quality of education with regard to how well students are taught and how much they learn. These factors are likely to have a crucial impact upon the length and value of their schooling experiences.

Although the concept of quality education is still contentious, it is clear from many research studies that good quality education facilitates the acquisition of knowledge and of skills and attitudes that have intrinsic values and also helps in addressing important human goals. Evidence is now clear-cut on the links between good education and a wide range of economic and social development benefits. Better school outcomes, as reflected in student scores, are related to higher incomes in later life. Empirical work has also demonstrated that high quality schooling improves national economic potential. There are also strong and significant social benefits. For example, it is now believed that the acquisition of literacy and numeracy, especially by women, has an impact upon fertility.

For the youth and children in school, access to use of reading materials in languages that they understand are critical in acquiring basic functional skills. Numerous national and international learning assessments have demonstrated that availability of books and other printed materials in school classrooms and libraries is associated with higher student performance. Hence, measures of the availability and use of textbooks and written materials are important indicators of school-based literate environments and therefore the quality of its outcomes. Apart from the teaching and learning materials, research also seems to point to ample instructional time based on actual learning time as an important factor in what constitutes a conducive learning environment. And, above all, secure, uncrowded and well maintained schools, as well as more, and well trained, teachers as another important indicator. Student learning assessments can be used to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of an education system and compare student achievement and competencies across schools or systems. African governments, therefore, seriously need to invest in the provision of teaching and learning materials to uplift the quality of learning environments.

With regard to the function of education in developing countries, it appears likely, on the basis of somewhat limited evidence, that the returns of school quality are, if anything, higher than in more industrialized contexts. Using simple measures of basic cognitive skills, studies show that such skills are separately important in determining earnings, apart from the effect of general schooling attained. Although there is still data paucity, which suggests the need for caution in interpreting the results due to other extraneous factors, there is some strong evidence associated with increases in test scores suggesting a substantial return to higher levels of cognitive skills and the probability of higher levels of school quality in good and conducive learning environments.

Quality education is also perceived to have a strong impact on a country's development goals. It is generally believed that formal schooling is one of the key contributors to individual skills as well as human capital. Although there are other factors that play a similar role, schools have a special place, not only because education and skill creation are among their prime explicit objectives, but also because they are the factors most directly affected by public policies. It is also well established that the distribution of personal incomes in society is strongly related to the amount of education people have had. In general terms, more schooling means higher lifetime incomes, other factors such as economic development being equal. Improving quality education in Africa, therefore, has to be done in tandem with better socio-economic management, which has, on the whole, been extremely weak.

Quality education is further perceived to have an impact on a country's economic growth. The relationship between measured labour force quality and economic growth is said to have even a much stronger influence than the impact of human capital and school quality on individual productivity and incomes. Economic growth determines how much improvement can occur in the overall standard of living of a society. More specifically, a more educated society may translate into higher rates of innovation, higher overall productivity through firms' abilities to introduce new and better production methods, and a faster introduction of new technologies. In this regard, the recent industrialization in the tiger countries of South East Asia is living proof of the need for good quality education, which needs to be emulated by African countries.

At both societal and individual levels, there is growing evidence to suggest that quality education as measured by test scores has an influence upon the speed with which societies can become richer and the extent to which individuals can improve their own productivity and incomes. It is also clear that years of education and acquisition of cognitive skills, particularly core skills of literacy and numeracy, have economic and social pay-offs with regard to income enhancement, improved productivity in both rural non-farm and urban environments and strengthened household behaviour and family life.

This implies that the content of the curriculum is important, in the sense that school systems that do not impart literacy and numeracy would not be associated with these benefits, and those that do so more effectively, namely those that are of higher quality, are associated with larger incomes. Hence, differences in education quality can affect human behaviour in ways that facilitate the achievement of a wide range of human goals. Providing wide opportunities to improve quality of schooling will therefore facilitate change in behaviour. This would include increased access to education and retention in the school system.

In order to discuss some measures to be taken to attain quality education, in all chapters, the book attempts a-state-of-the-art review of educational developments since the colonial period, with a stronger focus on the post-independence era in the Sub-Saharan Anglophone countries. Chapter 1 focuses on the purpose of colonialism and how it related to education, the pitfalls of decolonization and education, the influence of technical assistance on shaping educational policies in Africa, World Bank and IMF imposed structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), and stagnation in educational quality and development. Chapter 2 discusses the concept and function of quality education and increasing international interest in issues of quality, while Chapter 3 focuses on early childhood care and education and how its quality needs to be improved. Chapter 4 discusses primary education with a focus on the curriculum, access and participation, international interest and issues of providing quality education. Chapter 5 provides an overview of the development of secondary education,

structures and issues of quality. Chapter 6 discusses the establishment and growth of university education, role of university education and course programmes, access and participation, and challenges of university education. Chapter 7 focuses on the general low priority placed on teacher education by development agencies; evolution of poor quality teacher education; objectives of teacher education and teacher qualifications; and quality, relevance and efficiency of teacher education. Chapter 8 grapples with the concepts of adult education and adult literacy, literacy and development, goals and expectations of literacy programmes, some examples of national adult literacy programmes, access and participation, and quality and relevance. Chapter 9 attempts to define the concept of technical, vocational education and training (TVET) and its status in the colonial period, factors leading to its resurgence after independence, rationale and objectives of TVET, its forms, access and participation, quality and relevance.

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Chapter 1

EDUCATIONAL POLICY TRENDS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the purpose of colonialism and how it related to education, the pitfalls of decolonization and education, the influence of technical assistance on shaping educational policies in Africa, World Bank and IMF imposed structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) and stagnation in educational quality and development.

DECOLONISATION AND EDUCATION

In the mid-nineteenth century, Africa changed phase from the Slave Trade to colonization by various European powers. The main reason for the shift was to establish what was commonly known as "legitimate commerce" for the benefit of those powers. This was vividly captured by the famous French historian, Victor Hugo, in the following statement:

> ... Go forward, the nations! Grasp this land! Take it! From whom? From no one. Take this land from God! God gives the earth to men. God offers Africa to Europe. Take it! Where the kings brought war, bring concord! Take it for the cannon, but for the plough! Not for the saber, but for commerce! Not for the battle, but for industry. Not for conquest, but for fraternity! Pour out everything you have in this Africa, and at the same stroke solve your own social questions! Change your proletarians into property owners! Go on, do it! Make roads, make ports, make towns! Grow, cultivate, colonise... (Rist 1997).

To convince the French Chamber of Deputies to embrace colonialism as a policy in 1885, economic benefits were given considerable emphasis. It was argued:

> Colonial expansion follows an economic objective: "colonial policy is the daughter of industrial policy." The continual growth of production and the accumulation of capital require new outlets, especially as international competition is intense and everyone has to increase their economic area... . Colonisation is necessary if France is to keep its place in the concert of nations and avoid the highroad to decay! If it withdraws into itself and refrains from colonization, other nations will do it instead, but in the name of less noble values and with less talent... (Rist 1997).

Philanthropic reasons were also advanced to justify colonialism, but to a much lesser degree than the economic importance. The same reasons for colonialism can be read in the writings of the time by other European nations who were participants in the colonial adventure.

On the basis of commercial motivations for colonization, it was abundantly clear from the outset that it was not to be carried out in the interest of the colonized people. Colonialism was, therefore, designed and operationalised to the exclusive benefit of the metropolitan states. The nature of the colonial economies and their supporting infrastructures attest to that fact. Colonial economies, in a large measure, consisted of cash crop production and extraction of forest products and minerals and other commodities that were processed in the metropole capitals, a process that has been continued to the present. No major industries were established in the colonies, and the infrastructure that existed mainly served the key economic centres. These types of economies did not expand to require a lot of labour, and the kind of labour needed was largely of unskilled nature, in which case, there was very little demand for education and training.

With regard to the provision of education, available literature shows that most colonial powers were reluctant to offer education purely for the benefit of the colonized people. In fact, most colonial regimes were in a serious dilemma: whether or not education should be provided, and if it were to be provided, what form was it supposed to take? For example, at the time of colonization, in France, a large segment of the French population opposed education for Africans because they thought that the purpose of colonization was to satisfy the need for new markets for French industrial production and to be the source of cheap labour as well as cheap raw materials. Proponents of this view argued in favour of limiting schooling for Africans because they felt that "the more you educate individuals in this situation, the more they hate you" (Rist 1997). The general view, however, was that the educational programs for Africans should be limited and be given to a small elitist group. Along similar thinking, in Britain, for example, the Education Committee of the Privy Council, in its report in 1847, severely criticized what it called "a bookish type of education," and instead advocated for "a strong vocational orientation," which would lead to settled and thriving peasantry (Berman 1975). What should, however, be emphasized is that in talking about vocational education, the colonial school curriculum placed no premium on professions such as engineering, technology and allied subjects. Most often, the so-called vocational education carried a racial overtone, which stressed that Africans should be trained so that they would fulfil tasks appropriate to their presumed intellectual and social inferiority. Such ideas were well captured in Lord Frederick Lugard's book the *Dual Mandate*, which was published in London in 1922. As the architect of the British empire in East and West Africa, Lugard's view was that education in the African colonies should not only avoid a literary curriculum similar to that one offered in India, which had led to disenchantment with the empire, but was unsuitable to Africans due to inherent intellectual traits (Berman 1975).

In short, therefore, colonial education was designed to serve the needs of the colonial state, and at no time were the aspirations of the Africans considered. Colonial schools functioned as part of an ideological state apparatus and were designed for capital reproduction and accumulation. In this regard, the educated labour in Africa consisted largely of low-level functionaries whose main task was to promote and maintain the status quo. The colonial powers did not only neglect education for their colonized population qualitatively, but quantitatively as well, because their main attitude was based on imperial self-interest.

Consequently, the type of education provided was generally patchy, being of a selective nature, concentrating in particular areas and among certain interest groups to the utter neglect of others, since it was mainly guided by pragmatic reasons. It created very serious disparities between urban and rural areas as well as geographic and ethnic divisions in practically all the colonial states (Uchedu 1997).

However, despite its fragmentary nature, Western education, as Coleman points out, was instrumental in the rise of nationalism and the subsequent achievement of independence in most African countries. It is noted:

> The introduction of modern educational system in colonial areas had significant political consequences. It was the single most important factor in the rise and spread of nationalist sentiment and activity. From the modern educational system emerged an indigenous elite which demanded the transfer of political power to itself on the basis of the political values of the Western liberal tradition or ethical imperatives of Christianity, both of which had been learned in the schools... . Designed essentially to serve only evangelizing or imperial purposes, Western education became a prime contributor to the emergence of new independent nations (Coleman 1965).

Since the early sixties, it has not been a subject of much contention that African independence, in a large measure, was perceived to have been a compromise between the colonial powers and the middle-class leadership of the nationalist movements (Fanon 1962). The former turned over the machinery of state to the latter, in turn for which the latter implicitly promised to hold in check the radical tendencies of the lower class protest and to leave basically intact the overall economic links with the former (Bassy 1999). This, in essence, meant the replacement of colonialism with neo-colonialism, which is a process whereby colonial powers still extend their influence and dominance over political and economic matters in Africa. Neo-colonialism eroded the prospect of genuine independence by strengthening the dependency of African states on their former colonial rulers to the mutual advantage and benefit of both the foreign powers and domestic partners. As a result of such ties, African political scientists argue that the African ruling elite has left unchecked the exploitative relationship that existed during colonialism. This means that African leaders are keen to subject their countries to European exploitation rather than work for the interests of their own people. It is further argued that what African leaders call nation building merely refers to political and administrative reforms aimed at experimenting with European political traditions and strengthening of the economic ties with the former colonial masters (Adekele 1997).

The process by which most African countries in a large measure remain neo-colonial client states, therefore, requires no emphasis. The ruling elite still oversees economic structures that were set up in the colonial period, with very little or no change at all. What has often been referred to as economic expansion and growth has largely meant increasing cash crop production, mineral extraction and related economic activities. On the whole, there has been no meaningful industrialization and, hence, little diversification in the export trade, let alone processing their so-called raw materials before exporting them. A reliance on crude export of raw materials has meant that their external trade is subject to erratic international prices of demand for primary commodities (Rist 1997).

The ruling elite having put itself in a position where it cannot effect change to alleviate the poverty of its people and thereby stem discontent, it devised different means of holding onto power indefinitely. These have included the shift from pluralism to centralization of power in the hands of a single party, which is grafted on the personalization of such power in the party leaders, who in turn become state presidents in the kind of divine right presidential doctrine (Tardoff 1991). Another strategy has been a scramble for power within the elite class through the illegal seizure of governments by military dictators, who advance dubious schemes aimed at promoting and advancing the interests of their groups. Among the commonest strategies, however, has been holding onto power through corrupt practices. Such corruption normally takes many forms, which include, among others; falsifying election results in which, quite often, losers are declared winners, and embezzlement of public funds by the ruling elite and their associates. It is now widely admitted that corruption is quite rife in the entire African body politic. As it has been recently observed, it is a matter of regret amounting to national calamities that, according to estimates, the amount of money held by African political leaders in foreign accounts is said to be equivalent to the size of the African external debt (Mafeje 1999).

The education sector was not different from other sectors in the decolonization process. In the three decades of the post-colonial era, most African states either created or significantly expanded the network of public sector schools as an important means of addressing the so-called challenges of modernity and of meeting the requirements of participating in a global system of modern states. Conventional developmental wisdom in the West at the time when African countries achieved their independence admonished that "Education is the key that unlocks the door to modernization" (Harbison and Myers 1964). The logic upon which this wisdom rested was that education would offer Africans training so that they could find work in the newly created modern sector and thereby contribute to their countries' prosperity. Consequently, each African state spent considerable human and financial resources to develop their public education systems (Boyle 1999).

Apart from expanding their education systems, little or no effort was made to change the ethos and values of colonial education. As it has been pointed out:

> ... Post colonial education in Black Africa is essentially a colonial legacy. After the overthrow of colonial regimes, colonial education systems in Africa were merely replaced by those which, although satisfying the aspirations of many educational reforms, conformed, to a large extent, to the system in the colonial country. It was the avowed policy of the colonial governments to make education in their dependencies similar to those at home as a means of depersonalizing the African and for paternalistic and assimilationist reasons. It was an attempt to limit the number of intermediate and top-level African cadres... (Moumouni 1968).

In this regard, apart from minor structural and organizational changes, very little has changed in the philosophy and curriculum content of African education. Therefore, both in principle and practice, African education has largely remained a colonial legacy. Some very meaningful changes were, however, tried with a degree of success by Guinea under Sekou Toure, by Tanzania during the time of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere and by Mozambique in the time of Samora Machel. In the rest of most of the African countries, the colonial education values and ethos have remained intact, and in some cases attempts have even been made to parallel the French, Portuguese and English systems due to the nostalgia of

having diplomas that are comparable in tone and content to those of France, Portugal and Britain.

Education in Africa is, therefore, still designed after Western models and paradigms that have little connection to life in Africa. African institutions, particularly universities, still largely teach most subjects whose content is Euro-centric, with most of the textbooks imported from Europe and the United States, if they are affordable. Very little is generally taught about Africa based on African research (Bassy 1999). As in the colonial era, education is still perceived as the major determining factor for social mobility, because it is only through education that an individual can achieve higher occupational enhancement, high income, higher status and higher prestige. It is seen as the only avenue into the elite status, and educational policies are still designed to perpetuate this elitist perception. The African elite are, therefore, on the whole totally unwilling to effect educational changes that are likely to undermine their self interests. This attitude, like the colonial one, is derived from the notion that "peasant children should remain attached to the land" and should, therefore, only receive brief education that fits them for that purpose (Moumouni 1968).

THE INFLUENCE OF DONOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

In the 1960s, when most African countries achieved their independence, the world was assumed to be divided between rich and poor countries or developed and undeveloped countries. The development of the poor countries was an "internationally" recognized objective of the developed countries for which they had a special responsibility. Such development in economic terms was to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor through economic growth by investment and financing, especially the transfer of expertise from developed to developing countries. Although social development was not explicitly stated, it was assumed that inequalities would eventually be reduced either as the benefits of growth trickled down to the poorest groups of society or through some kind of public appropriation of the means of production.

In the African independent socio-economic setting, education became an object of intense effort and enthusiasm in the so-called decolonisation process due to the belief that it held the key to unlocking the door for Africa's political and economic development. It was also perceived as the determinant of economic growth and, therefore, its relationship with political leadership and economic development was advocated. In the 1950s, for example, P. C. Lloyd initiated scholarly debates over the kind of modernity a highly educated African elite would bring to politics and society in the independent Africa, while J. Coleman provided regional experts with some theoretical foundations for their studies of the ways in which education and development were interrelated (Boyle 1999).

It was on this basis that there was a rapid growth in certain aspects of education at the time most African countries achieved their independence. Consequently, a reasonable proportion of the populations enjoyed access to primary education and the benefits of functional literacy. The creation of state-wide systems of education in the region, despite the challenge it presented for educators and the burden it represented for state budgets, stood out as one of the principal developmental achievements of African governments in the post-

independence era. However, apart from expanding the educational systems, little or no effort was made to change the ethos and values of colonial education.

Education for human resource development and modernisation was an area that early on demonstrated the strong influence of the donor agencies and Western scholars during the dawn of independence and after in Africa. With the achievement of independence in most African countries by the early and mid-sixties, planners were guided by the human capital and modernization theories, which assumed that education was the most profitable form of investment not only to the society but also to the individual. Education was believed to contribute to economic growth by improving the quality of the labour force by giving qualified workers the skills and knowledge demanded by the modern sector of the economy; thus making these workers more productive including better standards of health and child care, reduced fertility rates and others. This perception, which was advocated largely by economists from Western industrialized countries and donor agencies, stemmed from the understanding that the lack of high- and middle-level human resource development was a major bottleneck to economic growth. Human resource planning was, therefore, a partial solution to this problem. To illustrate the efficacy of investment in formal education as being essential to high and sustained rates of economic growth, the experiences of the United States of America, Japan and, more recently, Korea were cited to support the causal link between education and growth (Simmons 1980).

Apart from the human capital and modernisation theories, which lay behind the expansion of formal education during the early period of political independence in each African country, human resource planning was dictated by the need to provide local replacements of expatriate personnel. The provision of formal education, especially secondary education and higher education opportunities, had been a major political issue in the colonial period. In the eyes of the African nationalists, the colonial administration had deliberately suppressed the expansion of secondary and higher education, the two levels modelled on the Western education systems, in order to limit the number of Africans taking important jobs in the administrative or private sector.

Donor agencies and Western expertise, as well as a combination of local personnel needs, were largely responsible for pushing for education for human resource development in Africa. The 1960s were designated as the First Development Decade by the United Nations. In the proposals for developing education during this particular decade, although the principle of universal primary education was recognized and targets set for its attainment in around 1980, priority was given to secondary and tertiary education. Educational planning, therefore, was to concentrate resources in the production of highly skilled human resource in response to the human resource and modernization theories. These ideals were also embraced by the international financing organizations, including the Special Fund component of the United Nations Development Programme and independent African governments.

The Addis Ababa Conference of African Ministers of Education held from May 15 to 25, 1961, which sparked off the expansion of the formal education systems in Africa, and crystallised the donor and national perspectives on the development of education. The conference resulted from a decision taken by the General Conference of UNESCO at its fifth session to convene a conference of African states for the purpose of "establishing an inventory of educational needs and programme to meet those needs in the coming years." The conference was held under the joint sponsorship of UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

The conference report stressed Africa's need for more and better educational opportunities and suggested that the substance of education be adapted to fit the era of independence. Although

mention was made of the need for agricultural training and community development, emphasis was on more academic reform, such as the inclusion of African history and culture in the curriculum and the importance of meeting high-level manpower requirements of emerging nations. Greater urgency was however, assigned to secondary and post-secondary education rather than universal primary education, if for financial reasons the two were incompatible. Primary and adult education were to be developed at the same time, with the goal of achieving universality by 1980. There was need for massive financial commitment. In order to meet their needs, African nations would have to allocate increasing percentages of their national income to education. Massive amounts of external aid would be required as supplements, and the conference called on UNESCO, developed countries and non-governmental organizations to support and share in the implementation of the proposed plans. The Addis Ababa conference set a stage for educational development strategies in most independent African countries (UN Economic Commission for Africa/UNESCO 1961). Some examples of educational developments in a number of countries best illustrate this particular strategy.

Kenya, perhaps, illustrates the education development trend adopted by most countries in the region. Immediately after independence in 1963, the Minister for Education appointed an education commission, commonly known as the Ominde Commission (named after the chairman of the commission) to survey the existing educational resources of Kenya and to advise the government in the formulation and implementation of national policies for education. On education and human resource development, the commission was influenced by the existing international opinion as well as internal political and socio-economic forces. A number of existing publications also had considerable impact on the commission's approach to this problem, including the reports of the *High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya, 1964-1979*, the *Development Plan, 1964-1968*, and the *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*. These publications had evolved a principle that identified a direct relationship between education and economic growth. It was noted that if education could produce the high- and middle-level manpower so badly needed by a developing country, then the pace of economic development in Kenya could be accelerated. Hence, while the commission endorsed the provision of free primary education as a valid educational policy objective, primary education was not as important in this respect as secondary, commercial, technical and higher education (Republic of Kenya 1965). A greater emphasis on primary education was not to be allowed to hinder economic growth in these other sectors. Following the recommendations of the commission, the independent government of Kenya, therefore, chose to place more emphasis on the expansion of higher levels of education, gearing them to the manpower needs of the modern economy (Tuqan 1976).

Tanzania pursued a similar trend, especially during the first several years of its independence. Tanganyika's *Three Year Development Plan, 1961-1964,* placed highest priority on secondary and higher education because of the "obvious economic benefits" that would accrue. Because it was assumed that "no direct economic benefits" flowed from primary school development, the plan stated that there would "not be an increase in the number of places available for children entering standard I". The commitment to the production of high level manpower was reinforced by a number of developments. First, the government decided to adopt the manpower planning techniques pioneered by American economists, notably Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers in their book entitled, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resource Development* (New York McGraw-Hill 1964), which were found to be pertinent to the country's planning; second, through the request by the