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African Empowerment:
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Issue editor: Henning Melber

Editorial ........................................ 5

Artikel ........................................ 9

Stein Sundstol Eriksen
Councils, Capacity Building and the State: The Context of Local Government Reform in Tanzania

Thandika Mkandawire
African Intellectuals, Political Culture and Development

Ebrima Sall
Social Sciences in Africa

Lennart Wohlgemuth
Universities in Sub-Saharan Africa

Bawa Yamba
In This Time of AIDS: Capacity Building in Africa - An Anthropological Perspective

Rezension .................................. 81

Über Autoren und Autorinnen ........... 89

Informationen für Autoren und Autorinnen 92
Lennart Wohlgemuth
Universities in Sub-Saharan Africa

For almost thirty years I have been engaged in the question on how institutional development – a major input in the development process – is supposed to take place in developing countries in severe crisis. For decades, the development literature has been emphasizing the importance of creating local capacities, or as it is said today “knowledge development”, forming the basis for planning and implementing efforts required on micro as well as macro levels (Wohlgemuth 1998).

Experience has time and again shown that no university or other institution building is possible if technical assistance, support to capital costs and equipment are not matched by funds to meet reasonable demands for recurrent costs for proper maintenance, library books and periodicals, minor equipment and consumables, funds to make it possible for students to concentrate on their studies and teachers on teaching. Individuals within an institution are the ones supposed to make institution building possible and sustainable and without proper incentives and appropriate working environments all other efforts could easily be in vain.

In order to come to a deeper understanding of the problem, and taking account of the discussions within the donor community and between donors and African educationalists in the joint working group of Donors for African Education (DAE), an in depth study on three universities in Eastern and Southern Africa (Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia) was undertaken (Wohlgemuth 1990). The study confirmed that the institutions were severely under financed; salaries and other basic requirements for teachers and other personnel were insufficient to run any sane activity; and almost no external financiers took such questions into account but merely concentrated their efforts on capital costs or “technical assistance” directed to specific programmes. Neither local nor external funds supported such core activities of the university as running costs. As a result of this very few initiatives were left to the university management to set priorities or direct funds. Finally, the basic requirements to run the university were calculated as rather small compared to other resources put into universities. The recommendations were that all funders, internal as well as external, should either take a holistic view on institutional development and also take the running of the university into account, or stop their support altogether.

In Mozambique, the Minister of Finance as well as the university management seriously considered these recommendations and tried to take on a holistic view of the university by including the donors in the process. The initiative was slow and cumbersome, was supported by only a few external funders (in fact most
external funders worked against the initiative (Welds 1994) and basically failed. Five years later the study was repeated and basically confirmed the same sad state of affairs in spite of the serious attempts made by the university (Wohlgemuth 1995). The new report was presented to the major donors and at a meeting of the Working Group on Higher Education of the Association for the Development of African Education (ADEA previously the DEA), which includes major actors both from the African and donor community. It was stressed that the support for institutional development, also including the building of research environments, is only meaningful if it at the same time is assured that the environment is sustainable over time and ownership is left to the university management. If trained staff leaves the institutions immediately after they have received their training or if those who stay have to do everything in order to survive (Blair 1993), and if the running costs of the institution only meet salary costs, to talk about knowledge development would be futile. This is true for universities as well as all other institutional development.

All of these are well known facts and very seldom questioned, but few come up with solutions. For economists the solution is "civil service reform", which has also been one of the basic building blocks of the "structural adjustment programmes". However, no one really knows what such reforms should look like — a factor, which has been, confirmed in recent evaluations of the civil service reforms of the 80's and 90's. Also it is within this area that the SAPS have had their worst implementation rate. On the micro and project level, recurrent costs and, in particular, salaries have been taboo when it comes to aid financing. Most actors avoid the question altogether or refer to others when they meet this problem. In practice, however, the question of salaries is solved within individual projects ad hoc and with specific solutions in each case. Several commissions overseeing the salary structure in African countries (such as the Nsekela commission of Tanzania) have confirmed the difficulties these ad hoc practices create for these countries.

Here follows a new attempt to describe the background to and importance of a holistic view to the solution of university institutional development. The presentation will concentrate on the question of financing, not, however, underestimating other problems such as the question of access, quality of training as well as research, academic freedom and the management of such a complex institution as a large university.

1. The situation of universities in Africa

Universities in Africa have a very short history. The development has however been rapid, from six universities in 1960 to 174 today (Szanton/Manyika 2001: 4). The number of university graduates has according to the same source increased from around 1,200 to more than 1,700,000 (which is a serious understatement of the real figure) during the same period. In spite of the expansion there is still a glaring inequality in the resources for higher education and research between the developed and the developing countries. African countries have less than 1% of the world's research and development-oriented academies and engineers and account for some 0.2% of the world's expenditures on such activities. At the same time, the developing countries have considerably fewer possibilities for higher education — 5,000 students per 100,000 inhabitants in the developed countries as opposed to 25 in the poorest countries in Africa (World Bank 1998 and AAU 1991).

Today it is generally accepted that the situation of most African universities is extraordinarily difficult. At the bottom of this lies a resource crisis, but this in turn has led to both a crisis of quality and management. The students' dissatisfaction with the situation has, in several cases, led to conflicts between the universities and the political leadership in the countries involved and the question of the universities' position in society has been brought to a head. The problems are developed further below.

Firstly, the universities have been allowed, or rather forced, to increase their student numbers with no relation to either the needs of the labour market or available resources for education at the university in question. The supply of higher education was in several countries allowed to increase at the same rate as the development of secondary education. The earlier ambition to educate for society's needs was replaced with the ambition to provide higher education as a right for all who had obtained the correct qualifications. At the same time, employment opportunities within the public sector have decreased and in several countries rising unemployment among academics has emerged. A university degree is still, however, seen as a much-desired ticket to a well-paid job and the growing middle class expects higher education to be provided for their children.

Secondly, the lack of financial resources at the majority of universities has led to a virtually untenable situation: lack of textbooks as well as library and educational materials, run-down premises and laboratories, overcrowded lecture rooms and student accommodation, and poor material conditions for students, low salaries and insufficient benefits for teachers and administrative staff—all proof of the universities' insufficient funding.

The all-dominating reason behind this lack of resources is the economic crisis. Most countries have succeeded in allocating a relatively constant proportion of the state's budget to the education sector and higher education has received a relatively large proportion. The real value of the funding has, however, been reduced over the years, which has meant a considerable reduction of state funding to the universities in real terms while the value of foreign aid to higher education has at best remained constant.

The most serious effect has been on salaries and incentives of university teachers and other well-educated staff. Salaries are in many cases not enough to live on. Those who can move do so to: 1) Europe and the USA where it is estimated that there are around 100,000 well educated Africans today (Berg 1993: 2) other better off countries in different regions, especially to Botswana
and South Africa in the Southern Africa region or 3) the private sector in the home country. To survive, those who remain must supplement their salaries with all kinds of other work. HIV/AIDS is an additional burden on availability of highly educated staff and has to be taken into account in the planning of higher education in Africa.

Thirdly, the quality of education and the conditions for research have considerably deteriorated during the past 25 years or so. The increasing intake of students combined with the lack of resources for virtually everything has meant that funds for running costs and research per student have been reduced to a minimum. Lack of resources has also made the possibilities to promote equality in the recruitment to the universities more difficult, with implications particularly for recruitment from the rural areas and of women. The areas most affected are science and technology, which are particularly demanding on funding if they are to be run in a meaningful way.

The development of research has been strongly affected by the university crisis. Research is undermined by lack of time and resources. Potential researchers devote themselves to tasks, which only as an exception contribute to the development of the academic environment. Frequently, there is not even time for proper supervision of degree and examination work and the re-growth of researchers is restricted. Even research institutes affiliated to major universities are affected by this lack of a conducive academic environment and poor quality in education. These are the institutes to close down first when lack of resources becomes too severe (cf. the University of Zambia, which closed four of its five research institutes in the 1990’s).

Fourthly, the relevance of university education is being questioned by both the state and the general public. Growing unemployment rates among graduate academics and the poor quality of instruction which has led to new graduates being considered unsatisfactory for available jobs, at the same time as the scope, quality and relevance of research are being reduced, have led to an increasing questioning of the relevance of the output of the universities.

Fifthly, the relationship between the state and the universities has deteriorated in many African countries, with the question of the universities’ autonomy reappearing on the agenda. The reasons for this can be traced back to the factors mentioned above. The lack of resources and deterioration in quality create concern among students and teachers. This in turn worries politicians who see the university as a centre for criticism and political opposition. While the universities are demanding increased autonomy to be able to find solutions to their problems, the state prefers to see the solution in increased public involvement in the day-to-day running of the universities. However, at the same time as the state increases its involvement, its possibilities to act become more restricted through a lack of means to finance the necessary reforms.

Botswana and Mauritius are major exceptions to the general picture of development in Africa. It is still too early to predict what the developments in South Africa will be. Hitherto, the large and rapidly expanding university sector in South Africa (21 universities had in 2001 a total of more than 500,000 students) has for the most part served as an example for Africa as a whole and Southern Africa in particular (Nyamnjoh 2002). Its attraction and higher salaries have, however, led to a severe brain drain from, first and foremost, neighbouring countries. This has made it even more difficult for these countries to maintain activities at their universities and other areas requiring a well-educated labour force.

The number of students has in recent years increased considerably in South Africa. This has happened in a situation where there is a growing lack of state resources and enormous expectations within all areas of the society. As a result, problems have arisen at several universities. There is reason to be on guard to avoid the situation deteriorating further. Tendencies already exist towards too high a demand for higher education at the same time as resources are being spread out more and more thinly. Great political courage is needed to resist this demand.

If the universities and higher education institutions are to take their rightful place in the development of countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, the problems discussed above must be taken seriously and a sustainable solution found. Once again, difficult political decisions are needed a) on the dimensioning of education, which could involve closing down certain parts; b) the allocation of sufficient resources; c) the introduction of fees and acceptance of alternative forms of funding and ownership; d) the issues of autonomy; and e) the problem of relevant curricula and increased internal efficiency. If these problems are not solved, higher education cannot become the engine of development it has been in so many other places in the world.

2. A holistic view of university development

Experience indicates that in order to secure a long-term sustainable result from development input, a holistic view on institutional development is necessary. If any part of the whole is ignored, such as running costs, other inputs will only be effective to a limited extent.

In 1991 the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) received only 4.5 million US$ from the state budget to carry out education and research. UEM had 5,200 students and around 2,000 employees (of whom 700 were teachers). Aid only marginally covered the running costs and went mostly to cover capital costs, technical assistance, linkages and heavier equipment. The lack of funds for running costs resulted in salaries and scholarships being so low that teachers and students were forced to take on other jobs as well in order to survive. There was a shortfall of all kinds of study material, buildings were not repaired and there was a lack of everything needed for daily operations. According to calculations made in the study (Wohlgemuth 1990), the funds for running costs would have had to be raised to 16 million US$ to make the situation more or less
acceptable. In the repeat-study (Wohlgemuth 1995) the results were summarised as below:

“The calculations above establish the basic needs for the efficient operation of the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo at 16.1 million US$ or somewhat more than three times the funds allocated at present by the Government. The major increases in absolute terms are envisaged for salaries and students’ direct costs, while the provisions for textbooks, research and equipment and consumables to run the teaching operations increase most in relative terms. When external assistance already committed is added, the increase is more modest, from 21.3 million US$ to 32.9 million US$ or by some 50 per cent. The estimates are converted into US$ to make the point that they are calculated in real and not in nominal terms.”

As a rule the financiers presume that the government of the recipient country will provide funds for running costs through the state budget. Conditions to this effect are often made, but despite the fact that the necessary funds do not materialise, aid donors continue to give support. This is an untenable position, which is made even worse by a number of donors temporarily topping up salaries to staff in “their” projects.

Nevertheless for a foreseeable future, Mozambique will be unable to provide the necessary minimum funding for the efficient running of UEM and other similar institutions or state activities i.e. the country will be aid dependent for a considerable period ahead. If long-term institutional co-operation is to take place, a holistic view of the institutions is necessary, in which the costs required for their running are included. Previously, there was much discussion on the running cost consequences of capital investments. It is perhaps even more justified to discuss these consequences in university development.

This reasoning is generally applicable to all institutional development, whether aid is involved or not. The situation in Mozambique can be seen as extreme and the university as a special case. However, even in such relatively well-off countries as Namibia a building up of a great number of institutions of which almost all have proved to be under-financed from the point of view of running costs can be observed (Wohlgemuth 1996).

The holistic view in institutional development is also relevant in a country as well off as South Africa. As a result of strong political pressure on the government and administration, decisions are easily taken to create new or expand existing institutions without sufficient attention as to whether the resources are available to run them effectively in the future. In South Africa the question of running costs will perhaps be even more important than in other countries. Whereas there are special reasons for financing running costs with aid funds in a poor country such as Mozambique, outside financing in a country as rich as South Africa will always be questioned.

3. Different forms of financing university education

The response to the economic and financial crises and the resulting deterioration of Higher Education was, as in most other sectors, very slow. For a long time, governments with external support were expected to come to rescue and bail out the institutions. In reality the opposite occurred. As a consequence of the crises and the non-availability of resources higher education received less priority particularly in the allocation of local resources but also in the allocation of funds from the donor community. With fewer funds available for education basic education was given the major emphasis. This reorientation was carried out by most actors but most well articulated by the World Bank (World Bank 1994). In the past few years there has been a major change in priority which is again now towards Higher Education, discussed in the literature under the headings of privatisation, cost recovery, strategic planning and new donor interest (Sawyer 2001, Nyamnjoh 2002, Sanyal 1998 and World Bank 2002). The discourse under each of these headings is very intense. I will just touch on some of the challenges and pitfalls in each of the areas mentioned.

3.1 Privatisation

Private institutions for Higher Education have mushroomed in the 90’s all over Africa. The new institutions are often small and run by a voluntary organisation frequently with church affiliation. In most cases, access is restricted through high fees allowing access mainly to the privileged few from well-to-do families. Quality has been reported to be mixed and very dependent on finding qualified staff. Generally, however, quality in the teaching of students is reported to be better than in the public institutions. Due to the small scale of the new institutions, they implement very little research. In addition to private conventional universities a whole range of new ideas based on modern technology is mushrooming. Most of these ideas are still at a pilot stage and to be proven sustainable but might take root within a not too distant future.

These private institutions could very well be an important addition to the Higher Education sector in each country. Although they offer scholarships in some cases they will, however, never be able to cater for the overall national demand for equal access to higher education based on class, region and gender. They might also add to the problem of maintaining the quality in the public institutions by diverting the best students and teachers away from these.

3.2 Cost recovery

Having managed to cover only a small part of total costs from public resources in the past decades managers of Higher Education institutions have had to use
all their imagination and skills to find the remaining funds required. Every existing donor fund has been tapped and all imaginable ingenuity has been used. As shown above, this has only been successful to a limited extent and support has been ad hoc and very specified both to object and time.

Universities have been very good and very creative in their ways of dealing with the restrictions on funding. There is a wide range of schemes; these include setting up satellite campuses (e.g. universities in Northern Nigeria opening campuses in Lagos) to attract higher fee paying students, offering correspondence degrees, distance learning schemes, etc. Some universities have started business ventures of different kinds such as agriculture and trade to supplement their income. Others have introduced separate training taking commercial fees for evening classes etc and no fees for the regular training. Within the campuses themselves, teachers have found ways of making money from selling handouts (collections of photocopied articles, printed notes, etc), from teaching extra hours etc. The most discussed case is Makerere University of Uganda (Kwesiga 2000). Finally, most institutions have also introduced fees for regular students. This proliferation of new mechanisms is a consequence of the financial strains.

All this has become necessary and is in most cases also accepted in order to allow the institutions to fulfil their mandates in the present circumstances. The problems are, however, serious both as regards management of the new ventures and schemes and the repercussions on equality in access to higher education. The management issues just add to the overall problems of running complex and large institutions such as a university. To add the business dimension to this is a delicate issue, which requires considerable thinking both as regards special skills required and necessary control mechanisms to be created. The question of fees and equality of access brings up the necessity of introducing sophisticated scholarship programmes and loan schemes. There is ample literature available for this discussion, summarised very well by IIEP (Sanyal 1995).

3.3 Strategic Planning

To meet the challenges imposed on the managers of higher learning institutions in this period of crisis, different methods of planning have been introduced and tried. Keeping in mind the above problems, ADEA, in the meetings of its Working Group on Higher Education (WGHE), has reached consensus on the following points with respect to proper administration and leadership of a university.

1) Universities must seize the initiative in confronting the current crisis; they are best placed to provide creative leadership.
2) They should update their mission statements to reflect changes in the outside environment.
3) They should be encouraged to develop strategic institutional plans to implement their mission statements.

4) Strategic planning should be a participatory process involving the university administration, academic staff, students, the government and other stakeholders.
5) The completed strategic plan should be used as a frame of reference to guide funding negotiations with the government and donor community.

Several universities in different countries (among others Tanzania, Zambia, South Africa and Mozambique) have prepared strategic plans although their implementation has not always met with success (Wohlgemuth 1998).

3.4 Increased donor interest in higher education

There is no doubt that a great deal can be improved when it comes to management of higher education institutions, even with the scarce resources that are available. Considering the conditions, it is impressive that so many universities in Africa today manage to keep going and that the standard of education is as high as it is. In order to really be able to utilise the management ideas the institutions of higher learning require increased resources. Of late, a change in attitude towards higher education can be seen in increased allocation of resources by the major American foundations and some bilaterals and multilateral and also documented in a number of policy papers (World Bank 2002). This has led to a proliferation of meetings mainly under the umbrella of the Association of African Universities and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. If this renewed interest is to lead to better results than in the past it has to take into account the experiences from the past thus embracing the “holistic approach” discussed above, and not only be directed towards very specific projects within the universities. Perhaps the new methods introduced will push strategic planning to calculate the “unit cost” for each trained student allowing for new ways of funding. This would allow a funder to pay for a certain number of students – all costs included – thereby avoiding having to take a stand on funding running costs or not.

4. Conclusions

The different forms of financing that are reviewed above all reflect different ways of conceptualising and organising higher education, and they have implications that go far beyond the financial aspects. What this means is that there is a pluralisation of knowledge producing institutions generally speaking, and of higher education and research institutions more specifically. However, public universities are likely to remain, for the foreseeable future, the main institutions of higher learning and research in Africa. One of the challenges of the present period is that of moving from a reactive and ad hoc way of going about funding, to a more thought-through, conscious, deliberate and organised way of linking
alternative funding mechanisms with the primary state responsibility for a well-designed public university system and a broader "knowledge system" that would include private, semi-private and other legal arrangements and financing mechanisms.

Looking at the role of donor support; historically, this has had its ambivalences, but one thing it did was to help in sustaining research when and where the African governments had turned their backs on higher education; this was done through funding regional councils such as CODESRIA. Today, after having played such an important role, it would be rather unfortunate for donors to shy away from accompanying the universities in meeting their core costs, as part of a long regeneration and rejuvenation process. Therefore, if there has to be a 'condition' to aid for higher education, it should be that part of that aid be used in very clear, convincing and accountable ways to make sure that the very foundations of everything else, i.e. the core costs, are well covered, so that the key mission and functions of the university can be carried out.

Abstracts

Great hopes were attached during the process of decolonisation in Africa to potential of higher learning in the newly independent countries as a contribution towards social development. Nowadays it is generally accepted that the situation especially at universities is far from the originally optimistic expectations. Though there are many reasons for the decay, this article concentrates on the issue of financing considered to be a crucial aspect, which had not been attended in a proper manner. It is argued that a holistic view on financing of universities is required. This fact has been severely neglected by African governments and foreign donors alike. If such a need is ignored in the future too, no other efforts or medicine will help to develop the universities into the important institutions they were and are supposed to be.

Literature

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