Edited By

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The Editorial Board of the African Research Journal of Education and Social Sciences (ARJESS) is pleased to present **Volume 7, Issue 3**. This issue continues the journal's commitment to providing a scholarly platform for researchers, academicians, policy makers, and practitioners to disseminate high-quality research that advances knowledge in the fields of education and the social sciences. The articles featured in this issue address a diverse range of contemporary themes relevant to both regional and global contexts. The contributions explore critical issues such as educational development, institutional effectiveness, social transformation, community development, governance, and emerging challenges affecting education systems and societies. Through empirical investigations, theoretical reflections, and policy-oriented analyses, the authors provide insights that are valuable for informing academic discourse, guiding policy formulation, and supporting evidence-based practice.

In an era characterized by rapid socio-economic and technological changes, the role of research in shaping sustainable and inclusive development cannot be overstated. The studies presented in this issue unveils the importance of interdisciplinary perspectives in understanding complex educational and social dynamics, particularly within the African context where education continues to play a central role in human capital development and societal progress.

The Editorial Board extends its sincere appreciation to the authors who submitted their scholarly work for consideration in this issue. We also acknowledge the invaluable contributions of the reviewers whose expertise and commitment to rigorous peer review ensure the academic quality and integrity of the journal. Their efforts uphold the standards that make ARJESS a credible outlet for scholarly communication. We further thank our readers, researchers, and institutional partners for their continued support of the journal. It is our hope that the research presented in this issue will stimulate further scholarly engagement, inspire new research directions, and contribute meaningfully to the advancement of education and social sciences.

The Editorial Board welcomes future submissions from scholars and practitioners around the world who are committed to advancing research and knowledge in education and the social sciences.

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Impact of Development of Tea Plantation Economy from 1927 to 1963 on Social and Economic Status of Nandi East Sub County, Kenya

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Abstract

The paper examined the impact of development of tea plantation economy from 1927 to 1963 on social and economic status of Nandi East Sub County, Kenya. *This paper reviews land alienation policies on development of tea plantation economy, the colonial labour and taxation policies on development of tea plantation economy. The review showed that tea was introduced by the British through various policies. Growing of tea was introduced by British through policies like land alienation, forced labour, taxation and missionary education. Nandi East Sub-County was fundamentally impacted by introduction of tea and this was more the case with communities closer to the tea estates. Due to the colonial establishment, Africans were driven to reserves. African land was taken away; many Africans died, some migrated out of their homes hence family separation and integrated Africans into cash crop economy.*

Keywords: *Tea plantation, land alienation, tea labour policies, tea taxation policies, tea plantation development social impact, tea plantation development economic impact*

Introduction

The production and consumption of tea began in China and then spread to the rest of the world. A Buddhist priest brought tea plant to Japan in the year 1200 and in around 1610 tea was brought to Europe by the Dutch. 50 years later the Europeans developed its taste. China supplied tea to the West until the mid-19th century. Due to tension caused by Opium Wars, Britain began to grow tea in India. Tea farming began to spread through the British Empire, to its colonies and other places (Chepkemoi, 2017).

Tea (Camellia sinensis), is an important cash crop that was brought to Kenya by GWL Caine in 1903 and its commercialization began in 1924.Tea Act 1950, gives the definition of tea as plant Camellia Sinensis. Throughout the colonial period, tea was only restricted to settlers which impeded Africans from tea growing, because they wanted to maintain high quality. In 1963, when Kenya attained its independence, growing of tea was integrated to African farmers. Since then Kenya has become a great producer of tea. Kenya is ranked third after china and India in production of tea (GoK, 2016).

Growing of tea was introduced by British through policies like; land alienation, forced labour, taxation and missionary education. The white settlers were given the rights to grow tea. When Kenya gained its independence from the British in 1963, African farmers who purchased land from white settlers were allowed to grow tea. Various studies such as Buell, 1965, Amin, 1974, Winston

et al. 1972, share the idea that: The Kenyan tea sector was outcome of colonial policies which favored the development of tea plantations (GoK, 2016).

Agriculture is the backbone of the Kenyan economy and is important to many farmers, (Kabukuru 2013; Kibere et al. 2013). Tea is an important component of the Kenyan agricultural sector. This is because it provides employment opportunities to many people both directly and indirectly. It also contributes to export earnings (World Bank, 2017).

Tea growing is the main economy of many residents in Nandi East Sub-County and it employs many of its population. Growing of tea has improved the living standards of the community. The first tea plant to be grown in Nandi East sub-county was in 1927 at Septon. By 1933, the Colonial government exported tea to earn foreign exchange to London (Chepkemoi, 2017).

The reasons to colonize Africa was because, the Europeans needed to support the industries with undisrupted flows in large quantities of raw materials, cheap labour, the new markets for their industrial goods and strategic competition among European nations, both politically and militarily, and adventurers that sought to achieve fame (GoK, 2016).

This paper examined the development of tea plantation economy, assessed its impact on social and economic status of Nandi East Sub-county. The paper analyzed the land alienation policies on development of tea plantation economy, the colonial labour and taxation policies on development of tea plantation economy.

The Development of Tea Plantation Economy and its Impact on Social and Economic Status of Nandi East Sub County

This section covers the following: the development of tea plantation economy from 1927-1963 with reference to the land alienation policies on development of tea plantation economy and the colonial labour and taxation policies on development of tea plantation economy; and the tea economy impact on social and economic of Nandi East Sub County

Development of Tea Plantation Economy from 1927-1963

The land alienation policies on development of tea plantation economy

Through enactments of ordinances, the colonial administration took millions of acres of the arable land from the natives (Nyawira, 2020). The fertile land of Nandi East Sub-County, included. It formed the foundation of what came to be called the white highlands, which was reserved for only the white settlers by 1932, making many African communities landless. The Maasai and Kikuyu for example lost large tracts of arable land considered "empty" by the colonial government while the Nandi, Kipsigis, Luhya and the Bukusu were taken to the African reserved areas to give room for white settlers to farm (Chelimo & Chelego, 2016).

In 1905, Koitalel Arap Samoei was executed by Meinertzhagen in a "peace" deal. The natives were defeated by Meinertzhagen, since they were motivated by the Orkoiyot. After his death, the natives became demoralized. Meinertzhagen then went Northwards with his boundless coerce, killing and driving away livestock from the Afircan community. It led to the end of resistance by the Nandi to

the colonials. When the Nandi community had been defeated and surrendered, Meinertzhagen drafted peace deal terms with the community in Nandi Hills, which is now the headquarters of Nandi East sub-county, he started displacing the Nandi community from the bororiosiek of Kamelilo and Kapchepkendi, who had settled near to the rail and the community was taken to the Northern of Nandi in Kabiyet region. In January 1906, Meinertzhagen managed to displace the Nandi to the Northern part of Nandi from South Eastern of Nandi Hills towards. Many food stores and native houses that stored harvests were burnt. The Nandi were also arrested and detained. The fighting between the Nandi and the British came to end on 26th February 1906 when the Africans were driven out from their arable territory to the demarcated reserves (Chepkemoi, 2017).

The Nandi did not have the idea of permanent and individual land ownership. Since the land owned by the natives during the pre-colonial time was so abundant and available. Land was subdivided into two in each kokwet (village), the section for farming (Oret) and that which were meant for livestock grazing. The parts of the village (kokwet), which was to be farm according to their perception of fertility was decided by the village (kokwet) elders (boisiekab kok). The presence of particular indigenous plants e.g. Tebeng'wet (sabucus Africana), determined Land fertility in the Nandi community which is to be farmed. The fields to be cultivated were set on one side of the village (kokwet). It made easy to fence a section and protect grown crops from being destroyed by livestock, wild animals and birds. Individual plots were separated by narrow paths (Tanui, 2017). The allocation of land in the community was sole responsibility of Village (Kokwet) elders to the various household. Marriage marked the point in which a man and woman could own a cultivated field (Nyawira, 2020). For polygamous men, the allocation of the cultivated land by the village (kokwet) elders was according to the number of wives on had married. It is, however, safe to say that each married woman had her farm, which she grew food crops. The size of the farm one cultivated largely depended on the capability of the person to mobilize labour from the community (Tanui, 2017). One was, therefore, not denied to choose the size of land to cultivate. The cultivated land was allocated every year. Nevertheless, the old farms could be farmed for up to three years, depending on their fertility, the left to regain fertility (Chelimo & Chelego, 2016).

A 1901 Order-in-Council ordinance changed all the native land in the protectorate to be "Crown Land" and another Order-in-Council of 1902 bestowed the Commissioner with absolute Powers to give leaseholds for up to 99 years for ownership of land of less than 1000 acres of land. This move was made to get free land from the natives for which the whites needed all the land to be freehold. The discrimination of native from this move and their property rights fell under "African Land Reserves." The settlers required input, manpower and capital to farm the land. Except for land, capital and manpower were hard to come by in Nandi community. Regarding labour, the white settlers got labour from the importation from India for labour. This plan did not attain its target, since Indian workers were few and became difficult for the Indians to adapt to climate Kenya and in Nandi land. Mistrust and animosity were created officially between the white settlers and the natives. Therefore, this mistrust and animosity led the settlers not to depend on natives to give them adequate labour. The remaining solution for the problem left for the white settlers was to move the natives by use of force to their farms (Nyawira, 2020).

On 15th January 1906, the Nandi were forced into reserve, the area bounded on the South of the Nandi Escarpment, on the West by the Nyangori and the Elburgoloti Escarpment on the North by the Nollo Segelli and Guaso Mara River and on the East by a line drawn from where the NandiMuhoroni road cuts the crest of the Escarpment to kipchomba. In 1926, African reserves were legalized, this followed by many other enacted ordinances that moved Africans permanently to the reserved areas of the Nandi community land. Owing to the 1930, Native Land Trust Ordinance, it legalized the African reserves and pronounced to belong to Africans permanently. The Kenya Land Commission of 1932 followed, it also saw fixation the land boundaries of the "highlands, so called the white settlers highland','" and all Africans being removed from the "white settlers highlands," to the African demarcated reserved areas (Chelimo & Chelego, 2016). The British government started policies of moving the African communities to peripheral areas that had been demarcated as "African reserve land,'' to give the way for other white settlers developments. In Nandi Hills and the surrounding areas, the British were keen in settling in in areas where they were suitable for large-scale farming.

The colonial labour and taxation policies on development of tea plantation economy

Forced labour was important tool used and was institutionalized in the initial years of British rule in Kenya. This was a time when labour was needed to put in motion the European economy: Rail-lines, dams and roads were constructed and bushes cleared for white settler's farms. Forced labour unavoidably turned into the most suitable method for getting African labour for European farms. Few colonial officers or whites were not keen on the job requirement for any type of work. For some, it was even seen as a demonstration of generosity. Through forced labour, the colonial government together with the white settlers used various ordinances that called for the African chiefs to sought physically able natives in the African community to provide manpower for the white settlers on their farms for three months as causal laborers, but it was ineffective way. The more effective way was to enact a law that could force the natives to need cash in order to look for wage labour. The Africans was not acquainted with wage labour and an architect was created to create cheap wage (Nyawira, 2020).

The role played by the pre-colonial African council of elders changed according to the powers and dictates of the colonial government on recruitment of labour. The colonial administration created a various of measures to get and maintain labour supply through ordinances like, hut and poll taxes in 1902 and 1903; the Masters and Servants Ordinance 1910, the Resident Native Labour Ordinance (RNLO) and the kipande system in 1918, stated both the legal status and the labour roles of the African squatter (GoK, 2016).

Getting revenue was one of the significant hindrances that faced the British East Africa Protectorate when it established in 1895. It was vital because the colonial government needed money to run up formal administration, create the occupation of Europeans in the whole country and to give necessary needed services such as the development of infrastructure and the maintenance of law and order. Initially, there was financial support from the British mother land such as grants-in-aid. But like other British colonies, the protectorate had ultimately to rely upon Africans to raise most of its needed revenue. Many ways were created to get needed revenue,

mainly through direct and indirect taxation. Other ways used to raise revenues were obtained through licenses and railway tariffs. It was within, that the financing budget that the saw the need to introduce direct tax for Africans by the colonial government (Nyawira, 2020).

To get the Africans into the wage labour market, the colonial government introduced hut and poll taxes that were paid in actual used money. To meet tax obligations or for their own needs, many natives were brought into the wage economy. The development of tea estate by white settlers animated the need for African to provide labour in the farms (Chepkemoi, 2017).

Taxes collected from the Africans were used for daily expenditures, transportation and extension services provided in European farms. In 1937, Resident workers ordinance was enacted, it gave powers colonial government to take away squatters' livestock' and also the squatters themselves from their land over the coming decades (Musalia, 2014).

The implementation of these taxes created the wage economy. The "hut ordinances" (East Africa Hut Tax law 1903) and the later Poll ordinance (Native Hut and Poll Tax law 1910) were enacted, it gave power colonial administration to force Africans, who could not look for wage labour. Natives were forced to provide labour in white settlers' estates or in urban areas with an aim of paying their own expenses (Nyawira, 2020).

Implementation of taxes on Africans was a significant way to make native require money and hence, native looked for wage employment to get cash. The use of money among the natives was still a strange idea to the Africans and there was a need to get them into cash related economy. The use of money as a medium of exchange in trade by the settlers and the colonial government led to the establishment of money economy in the colony. The Africans needed money in order to sought out taxes. If Africans were required to pay their taxes, then they had to look for work from either the British administration or white settlers. This was means in which tax collection was established in Kenya (Musalia, 2014).

The Native Hut Tax ordinance was enacted in 1901 through the Hut Tax Regulations of 1901. The taxes were imposed on all huts, which were abodes and paid in terms of rupees (2 Rupees) annually. The African owners of the hut were taxed for every hut. If a man had many huts, he was required to labour for quite a long time to get the money for each of the cottages or he supposed to labour with some of his wives and children to get the needed tax. The establishment of universal poll tax for all African adults, it became the alternative of the Hut tax which had begun as a family tax, slowly developing into an individual tax, like Poll tax which was a charged on African individual. The payment of Hut tax and Poll taxes was a double taxation on an African individual (Chepkemoi, 2017).

But the greatest loss for the African people was that taxation encroached on their liberty and their freedom. Africans became insecure since they were always on the lookout for the tax collector and ready to run as fast as they could when the collector's presence was announced. One of the main refusals to the hut and poll tax in colony was the manner in which the taxes were administered. Those who were not able to pay the taxes were arrested and detained by the administration. The house-to-house collection was done mostly by African chiefs and headmen; they found many

Africans were not at home. This was because Africans did not have ready money available, hence they had to run away as faster as they could at the sight of the tax collectors. These taxes were imposed on individuals without considering their ability to pay or any benefits to be derived from. The flat-rate payment on property and a 'head tax' was certainly at the expense of the poor (Chelimo & Chelego, 2016).

It led to establishment of monetization and commoditization of the economy. Since, many transactions were now made in terms of money, more land was put under cultivation to grow and produce more commodities to be sold at the market; livestock now appreciated in its value and therefore instead of being used in the community for purposes of dowry payment alone, it could now be taken to the market to be sold in order get cash (Chelimo & Chelego, 2016).

Africans small scale manufacturing and those working in local industries, were fundamentally impacted colonialism. They included the likes of craftsmen, the blacksmiths, building and experts on woodwork. Colonialism flooded the local market with cheap imports, which had implications the survival of local industry and thus, destroyed the foundation of an independent local industrial base (Moindi, 2014).

Impact of tea economy on social and economic status of Nandi East Sub County

The development of tea plantation economy and its impacts on the social and economic of Nandi East Sub-County from 1927-1963, tea plantation cannot be delinking with colonialism in Nandi. The colonial government brought policies which favored the development of tea plantation economy. Colonial land alienation policies led to the development of tea plantation. The British government laid down land policies that enable them to take away African land and enable them to settled white settlers who started growing tea. Through land policies, tea was able to be introduced in Nandi East Sub-county. In the years 1945 to 1963, there was colonial modernization of the economy, this was after the end of the Second World War and Britain was experiencing economic depression. They decided to modernize the economy of the colonies to contribute to profit which could help build Britain's economy they did by imposing Multinationals Cooperation (MNCs) like Eastern Produce Kenya (E.P.K). The MNCs could now facilitate the repatriation of profit to Britain. The MNCs also mechanized the agriculture sector in which Africans were trained on the new skills like driving tractor and use of it in cultivation (GoK, 2016).

African communities were significantly impacted by the land alienation policies, labour system. It impacted more on the case of African communities who were near to the colonial economy. Generally speaking, the wage-labour system affected on African community in various ways: led to monetization and commoditization of the Nandi economy. Most transactions were now done in terms of money; more land was put under cultivation to grow and produce more produce for the market; livestock now appreciated in its value and therefore instead of being used for purposes of dowry payment alone, they could now be sold in the market to get an income. This new class of individuals occupied a unique class within the community. This class was often seen as the gateway to the establishment of European culture in the rural areas (Amutabi and Nyanchoga, 2014).

Conclusion

Agriculture tends to dominate the economy of most underdeveloped countries in the world. The major contributions to the economy of Nandi East Sub-County were contributed by British and settlers who cultivated tea. Economic growth has also been stimulated by increased export opportunities available for Nandi East Sub-County. Although the volume of export per capita in Nandi East Sub County is still low as compared with other tea growing areas in Kenya, it has increased considerably during the past twenty years as new markets and factories have been found for tea. The sub-County heavily depends on the export of tea and is vulnerable to fluctuation in world prices. The heavy dependence on tea for export is because of limitations like environmental that is rainfall limits the expansion or diversification of crop production.

The attractiveness of Nandi East sub-county as an investment location for tea is strengthened by the presence of multinationals operating in the tea sector. There has been little systematic discussion on the development of tea plantation economy. Generally, there are few historical studies done on the subject although tea production is a vital economic activity for the communities in Nandi East Sub county and Kenya.

Government is recommended to develop an economic research unit to lead in research in tea production. Intensive breeding and selection of clones should be established so as to see production of high yields and superior quality crops. The general motive of the findings of the study is, therefore, to offer adequate records. Also, further studies can still be done on the same topic.

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Causes of Rebel Groups Engagement in Governance Activities:

A Comparative Analysis of LTTE and LRA Governance Regimes in Africa

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Abstract

Rebel governance has existed in the saga of internal conflict, but it has not received the same attention as other aspects of civil wars. Rebel groups have been depicted as violent warlords, especially those in developing countries. Although some rebel groups suit this categorisation, the assumption is deceitful to several modern-day insurrections. This paper examines why some rebel groups participate in governance practises such as taxation, local administration, health care and education, while others do not through the lens of two insurgent groups that show clear differences, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the Lord's Resistance Army. This research is based on an analysis of published studies in the form of journal papers and books on civil war studies; therefore, it is primarily a literature review. This paper argues that the participation of a rebel group in governance is contingent on various aspects such as the ideological foundation, territorial control, funding sources, objectives, peacekeepers presence, and external military support. Order and stability benefit rebel groups by ensuring reliable access to food, recruits, military intelligence, and humanitarian aid. This paper contributes to the rebel governance body of knowledge by exploring aspects that determine the participation of rebel groups in governance activities.

Key words: Rebel governance, rebel groups, LTTE, LRA, civil war

1   Introduction

This paper examines why some rebel groups engage in governance activities such as taxation, local administration, healthcare, and education while others do not? Or why do some rebel groups create order in territories under their control, while others exploit and prey upon the civilian population? Rebel groups are politically motivated organisations using force to challenge the authority of an incumbent government, control territory to extract resources to finance insurrection and enhance bargaining power vis a vis the state (Rubin, 2018). Rebel governance entails the regularised taxation or extraction, enforcement of rule within a specific area, and provision of order and public goods by an insurgent group to civilians (Arjona, 2010). Rebel groups may govern by either using coercion or softer measures through persuading civilians to comply with their policies (Stevenson, 2010).

Rebel governance or rebelocracy involves the conduct of rebel and civilian ties, irrespective of good or bad treatment (Kasfir, 2002). Rebel governance occurs in places where rebel groups have some territorial control either total or partial influence and requires the formation of institutions and rules to govern civilians. There are a number of appropriate conditions that must apply before rebel governance is observed. The initial scope of these conditions is that rebels must control territory even when that control is disputable (Kasfir, 2015). The second scope is that civilians should reside in that territory controlled by rebels, and insurgent groups must have behaved brutally or at least vowed to act as such in the territory under their control.

Besides, prior conflict relationship amid civilians and the incumbent government plays a momentous role in the development of rebel governance, as this may influence rebels to take part in the provision of public goods and services on demand (Mampilly, 2011). This is displayed by the LTTE governance projects in Jaffna from 1990 to 1995 and in Vanni from 1995 to 2009 up until the end of the war (Klem and Maunaguru, 2017). The LTTE was involved in the provision of several public services such as district courts, appeal courts and police stations (Mampilly, 2011). Arjona (2016) maintains that protracted conflicts marked by deadlocks pave way for rebel groups to concentrate resources in building civil administrations hence the formation of rebel governance institutions.

This study was based on the theory of Wartime and Social Order advanced by Arjona to understand the formation and occurrence of rebel governance. Arjona (2016) proclaim that civil wars or wartime zones are sometimes orderly and detached from mayhem, rather than disorderly and disruptive all the time. Governance helps rebels to maintain authority hence they favour order than instability in order to access resources and support. According to the theory, most rebels are anxious about the imminent results of insurrection. Therefore, they are bound to control the public and private lives of civilians so as to persuade them to collaborate in territories under their authority. For instance, rebels may arbitrate conflicts through promulgating courts to administer justice so as to consolidate power and garner legitimacy (Kalyvas, 2006). Likewise, where formerly established institutions encourage civilians to resist rebel control, insurgents divert their attention and concentrate on general aspects such as taxation (Weiss, 2011). When rebels face continuous resistance, they apparently concentrate on short-term goals which may lead to the victimisation of civilian (Arjona, 2016; Bavinck, 2014).

After the cold war, intrastate conflicts became commonplace virtually in every part of the world, with Africa dominating as compared to other regions (Pearlman, 2011). While the concept of violence in civil wars is widely recognised, the concept of rebel governance is still underestimated. Rebel groups are known for prompting violence and disorder whereas many rebel organisations have been involved in governance activities in territories under their monopoly. This paper examines why some rebel groups participate in governance activities in territories they control

while others do not through the prism of two insurgent groups that portray clear variations in governance, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda. The LTTE established governance mechanisms which provided a wide range of public services to civilians whereas these features have not existed in the LRA.

2. Causes of Rebel Groups Engagement in Governance Activities

This section presents the causes of rebel groups engagement in governance activities. Some of the causes covered include the following; ideological foundation, funding sources of rebel groups, territorial control, peacekeepers presence, organisational characteristics and external military support.

2.1 Ideological foundation

The organisation's ideological foundation of the insurgent group affects the extent to which it engages in rebelocracy (Mampilly, 2011). Marxist orientated rebel groups are more likely to embrace civilian mobilisation and inclusivity whereas radical insurgencies may incite violence to gain support. Rebel groups following the Maoist philosophical ideals which stresses the involvement of rural civilians are likely to refrain from civilian oppression and resort to comprehensive service provision activities (Mampilly, 2011; Arjona, 2016). While rebels founded on radical philosophies like Islamic fundamentalism are more likely to induce violence to compel resistant civilians to support them (Strachota, 2015). Turning to our case studies of the LRA and LTTE. The LRA exhibited radical characteristics towards civilians because of its ideological foundation that was hinged upon the holy spirit of the lord. They believed that they were directed by God to overthrow the Ugandan government, hence everyone resisting their rule was liable to torture or extermination.

This is completely a different scenario for the LTTE in Sri Lanka. The LTTE emerged as a result of the rebel's attempt to protect marginalised civilians. Stewart (2018) posit that secessionist insurgent groups presumably deliver public services and goods to the civilians based on their need to prove their capability for governance both to the locals and the international community. Their (rebel) involvement in rebelocracy shows locals that they do not just care but also can deliver for them, whereas to the international community proves the capability to form an effective government (Staniland, 2014; Stewart, 2018). The LTTE leadership travelled around the world explaining their political philosophy and justifying that their struggle was worth doing. Their actions signalled a somewhat democratic machinery ostensibly engrossed in rebel governance, driven by ideology as they wanted to achieve longterm goals meaning international and domestic support was indispensable for their success.

2.2 Funding sources of rebel groups

The degree to which rebel groups depend on natural resources as their funding source determines their decision regarding the establishment of a social contract with the civilian population. An insurgent's funding source denotes the financial means of the rebel organisation to carry out its war initiatives. The literature on civil war presents two main sources of funding that is natural resources strategies and non-natural resources strategies (Piazza, 2018). Natural resources funding include revenue from natural deposits profits such as gold, diamonds, timber, cocaine, and opium. While non-natural resources avenues entail international aid, diaspora community funding, sponsorships, extortion and trafficking of people or body part. The extent to which civilian manpower and collaboration is vital determines whether rebel organisations engage in rebelocracy or not (Kasfir, 2002). The exploitation of natural resources requires more human resource for labour. Therefore, rebels tend to cooperate with civilians so that they can gain cheap labour to use in mines or cocoa plantations. For example, the LTTE of Sri Lanka during its elementary phase relied on community support for food, information, and shelter. This explains why the rebel group was serious about meeting civilian expectations. In return, civilians supported the rebel group through providing food and shelter and some civilians even voluntarily joined the insurgent.

However, rebel groups which rely on non-natural resources for funding are most likely to victimise civilians as there is slight need for establishing close ties between them (rebels) and the people. The LRA in Uganda is a good example, the group ill-treated civilians as it relied on criminal activities for funding such as elephant poaching and child trafficking (Hennigan, 2019). On the same note, funding sources affect the duration of civil wars. Civil wars fought by rebel groups that rely on natural resources last longer than where non-natural resources are sources of funding. The reason being that revenue from the exploitation of resources such as gold and diamonds may compromise ceasefire negations as rebels might prefer to continue with the war to benefit from looting. Charles Taylor of Liberia is a typical illustration. He earned 10 million United States dollars per month from the Liberian Mineral Company for iron ore deals with corporations operating in the territory under his control (Reno, 1999). Therefore, rebel groups that rely on natural resources engage in governance to have access to labour whereas rebel groups getting funding from international aid or the diaspora are less concerned about the local population. For example, the LTTE which sought help from civilians engaged in governance activities as opposed to the LRA which was on record of violating civilians as its funding came largely from criminal activities.

2.3 Territorial control

Territorial control which denotes the area under the monopoly of a rebel group is another important component that explains why some rebel groups engage in rebelocracy and other not. Civil war theories of territorial control allude that if rebel organisations depend on civilians for survival, they are inclined to establish some form of institutions to ensure the provision of public services and goods (Mampilly, 2011). Arguing for this case, Stewart (2018) postulates that insurgent groups apply the logic of territorial control to garner support and the hearts of the general populace. Arjona (2016) expanded the claim by adding that, territorial control is strengthened through the setting up of rebel administrations and ensuring civilians participation in those organisations. Evidence also highlights that territorial control by rebel groups is a clear way of an insurgent's ability to challenge the incumbent government and increase the insurgent's institutional capability, increasing its endowments and constructing its likely conscription base (Kasfir, 2002).

Territorial control facilitates the rebel's ability to gain from pay-offs such as natural resources and non-natural resources, information, infrastructure, ideological and political support (Arjona, 2016). Drawing evidence from the LTTE in Sri Lanka, it is apparent that the rebel organisation managed to set up judiciary systems, courts, and police stations in areas under its control such as Vanni and Jaffna. Through these institutions, the LTTE provided a variety of public service ranging from dispute resolution mechanisms and justice systems to civilians. However, with the case of the LRA, the rebel group did not manage to set up such institutions to address the needs of the civilian population. This explains why the LRA was unable to overthrow the Uganda government because of the lack of civilian participation, supporting the claim made by Mao (1978) that the success and survival of insurgent groups are contingent on the level of support it secures from civilians.

1.1   2.4 Peacekeepers presence

Despite the fact that peacekeepers contain conflict and ensure truce, their presence can lead rebel groups to exercise control over the territories they occupy (Fortna *et al.,* 2018). Peacekeepers, such as the United Nations Peacekeeping Task Forces, maintain peace in the territories manned by rebels to pacify violence between incumbent governments and insurgent groups. Explaining the effect of peacekeeping missions on rebelocracy, Beardsley *et al.* (2015) posit that peacekeepers may allow insurgent groups to garner legitimacy and power which can be a big threat to the incumbent government in the future. Temporary termination of the war between rebels and incumbent governments or rather the stalemate period when warring parties are at ease, facilitate rebels to divert attention and resources to the provision of public services and goods. As the incumbent government will be unable to gain access to the territory insulated by peacekeepers to prevent conflict, rebels may also be given the opportunity to remobilise and gather resources

needed to continue the war (Weinstein, 2007). Mampilly (2011) argues that the presents of peacekeepers especially when insurgent groups fail to reach an agreement with the incumbent government, increases the likelihood of prolonged conflict as rebels would have gained more power and resources during the break. Between 1987 and 1990 the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping force in Sri Lanka to end the war amid the LTTE and the Sri Lanka military reflect the consequences of the presence of peacekeepers. The accord did little to maintain peace instead it leveraged the legitimacy of the LTTE rebel group which subsequently expanded its monopoly.

2.5 Organisational characteristics

The internal characteristics of the insurgency, that is whether the group is fragmented or unified, can influence engagement in governance activities. Empirical evidence from civil conflict and non-state actors' studies has shown that unified rebel groups presumably have a tendency of engaging in rebelocracy as compared to fragmented insurgent groups. Fragmented rebel organisations lack institutions, leadership, and collective purpose to organise the provision of public services (Pearlman, 2011). Due to incessant rivalries, the likelihood of divided insurgent groups to abandon civilian expectations and focus on their immediate goals of acquiring power is high, hence such rebels' groups are more violent than unified rebel organisation facing less if no internal competition. A typical fragmented rebel group is the LRA in Uganda. The rebel group coerced civilians to maintain its hegemony against the Uganda government.

The LRA faced internal competition equally from the government of Uganda and sister rebel groups. For instance, the group had to fight against troops deployed by the DRC to support the Uganda military to control the northern part of Uganda. Constant infights could explain why the rebel organisation was unable to focus on governance as it was concentrating on power politics. When there is less tension among rebels and existing governments, insurgent groups may consider establishing governance institutions and participate in providing services to the local population. Mampilly (2011) second this notion by stressing that fragmentation adversely impacts rebelocracy as rebels cannot set up well-organised institutions of governance. Thus, the makeup of rebel organisations plays a crucial role in how insurgency aspire to venture into rebelocracy in areas under their domain.

2.6 External military support

Military support is an essential variable when it comes to rebel groups' governance. External military assistance also influences the time horizon that is, the extent to which rebels weigh future outcomes more heavily than present ones of the civil conflict (Florea, 2019). Military support can be unveiled in numerous forms like small arms, military personnel, experienced trainers,

communication technologies, military hardware, and logistics (Byman, 2005). Therefore, military assistance provided to insurgents by foreign sponsors may go a long way in necessitating the rebel groups to establish institutions for governance to uphold a lucrative reputation to funders that it is capability to care for civilians (Klem and Maunaguru, 2017). At the same time, external support may be a double-edged sword in that it can curb the need for insurgents to provide governance.

In addition, the accessibility of foreign resources can condense insurgent's time horizons thereby reducing incentives for governance (Beardsley and McQuinn, 2009). This is similar to a scenario when rebel groups have access to natural resources that are lootable such as gold and diamonds, they tend to focus on immediate goals (looting) than long term goals (overturning the incumbent government), hence ignoring the grievances of civilians (Florea, 2019). The connection between foreign military support and rebel governance can be deduced from the case of the LTTE around the 1980s when the insurgent secured arms and military training from India (Hashim, 2013). External funding enabled the insurgent to consolidate power, nonetheless it also prevented the group to engage in governance activities during that period. This highlights that external assistance may propel rebels to subjugate civilians and focus only on their immediate goals as civilian collaboration will be of less significance.

3. Conclusion

Rebel groups are organisations motivated by the intention to establish political control. To achieve their goals rebel groups can be involved in various governance activities to gain civilian support and legitimacy both domestically and internationally. Rebel organisations with long-term objectives tend to address the expectations of civilians than rebel groups focusing on immediate goals. Rebel groups relying on natural resources for funding are most likely to concentrate on immediate goals (such as looting) than providing governance services. Whereas rebel groups which depend on non-natural resources such as diaspora support are more likely to participate in rebelocracy as a way of proving that they do not just care for the people but can also provide for them. For instance, the LRA did not engage in governance activities while the LTTE provided services and goods to the civilians as it had long-term objectives of overturning the incumbent government. Fragmented insurgent groups may resort to violence due to internal competition whereas unitary rebel organisations may focus less on infighting hence diverting resources to governance activities. From being seen as complete agents of violence, this paper has shown that rebel groups can bring order as a way to achieve their long-term objectives through securing support and resources from civilians. Finally, the variation in rebel governance, that is why other rebel groups engage in rebelocracy and others not, is a broad question that is answered by numerous aspects which include funding sources, organisational traits, ideology, external military support and the presence of peacekeepers. The LTTE and LRA, two rebel groups with different goals and organisational characteristics highlight the dynamics associated with the variance in rebel governance. The LTTE was strongly involved in civilian affairs while the LRA did not

engage in rebel governance demonstrating that undeniably variables like ideology, organisational attributes influence rebel governance.

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Arguing for the Possibility of African Philosophical Agency:
A Response to Hegelian Contempt

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Abstract

Any expectation of Africans' active participation in philosophical learning, teaching and research is strongly opposed to Hegel's understanding of Africans. The German philosopher, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel is namely the architect of what I call the Hegelian contempt. That refers to the Eurocentric denial of Africans' ability to philosophise. Reasonably, therefore, as a response to Hegel, arguing for (rational defence of) the possibility of African philosophical agency should be integral to any rigorous attempt to advocate philosophy in Africa. This article examined a view that a reasonable advancement of the response to the Hegelian contempt should initially work towards the exposition of necessary conditions for Africans to acknowledge the unique role of philosophy in human self-realisation. Accordingly, four sections constitute the article's argumentation. The introduction is a consideration of the Hegelian contempt as a real problem. The second section discloses contempt's substance. The third section attempts to propose a desirable beginning of the advancement of the response to
Hegelian contempt. Central to article's conclusion is that the future of African philosophical agency continually presupposes Africans' receptiveness to philosophy. And foundationally that is excellently achievable by identification of Africans' philosophical neediness, and advocacy of philosophical education in Africa.

Keywords: *Philosophical education, Philosophical agency, African philosophy, Introduction to philosophy*

1. Introduction
In the preface of his book *Interpreting Philosophy: The Elements of Philosophical Hermeneutics*, the American philosopher, Nicholas Rescher writes:

> Metaphilosophy is philosophy's poor and neglected cousin. Philosophers are on the whole too busy doing philosophy to take time to stand back and consider reflectively how the project itself actually works. And they tend to produce texts without too much

consideration of how this looks from the standpoint of the consumer (Rescher, 2007, p. vii).

Furthermore, the Kenyan philosopher, Maurice M. Makumba, declares:

> The relevance of philosophy is not always obvious to everyone. The role of philosophy in the development of human civilisation in general and for the realisation of the human individual in particular has on many occasions been questioned, ridiculed and sometimes even met with outright rejection altogether (Makumba, 2005, p. 14-15).

The above statements suggest that any rigorous attempt to advocate philosophy in whichever human society should start with an enquiry into the addressees' openness to the philosophical mode of enquiry. *Mlingano Philosophical Advocacy Attempts* (MPAA) is a proposed advocacy programme which attends to the problem of addressees' receptiveness to philosophy within Tanzanian intellectual context. To be sure, the programme rests on the assumption that Africans are capable of philosophical thinking. However, that is a controversial assumption which necessarily demands the attention of the programme itself. Yes, a rational defence of the possibility of African philosophical agency must be integral to the efforts to unfold MPAA.

The history of humanity accommodates a fatal disregard of the African identity in varied aspects. The slave trade and the European colonialism in Africa are epitomes of the mega embodiment of the disrespect of Africans' social, economic, religious, political, cultural and intellectual identities. In truth, the slave trade and the European colonialism express a high degree of disrespect of Africans' human dignity. The striving for a further unfolding of MPAA occasions a look at an instance of explicit *scholarly adherence* to the disrespect of African intellectual identity. I have chosen to name that adherence *the Hegelian contempt*. Named after its founder, a German philosopher George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *the contempt* refers to the Eurocentric tradition which holds that Africans, especially the SubSaharan Africans, are incapable of the philosophical thinking. As a result, ―until recently, in the history of philosophy and civilisation, the West regarded Africans as a people who were not capable of a philosophical mode of inquiry and (as a result) lacked civilisation‖

(Ochieng'-Odhiambo, 2009, p. 1)

Indeed, *the Hegelian contempt* is radically opposed to any attempt to advocate philosophy in Sub-Saharan Africa, to which Tanzania belongs. Hence, rigorous advocacy of philosophy within an African intellectual context should entail resistance to *the Hegelian contempt*. That underlines why a rational defence of (arguing for) the possibility of African philosophical agency should be integral to the endeavours to unfold MPAA. Here, it deserves note that there exist already considerable scholarly opposition to *the Hegelian contempt*. Accordingly, Placide Tempels through his book *Bantu Philosophy*, Martin Bernal through his work *Black Athena* (in four

volumes), Henry Olela through his book *From Ancient Africa to Ancient Greece,* and George James through his work *Stolen Legacy* typify the available scholarly opposition to *the Hegelian contempt*.

Therefore, *Arguing for the possibility of African philosophical agency: a response to Hegelian contempt* is an effort to show how functional is MPAA to the rational defence of the African philosophical agency. Precisely, this article aims to underscore the exposition of *philosophical neediness* and *philosophical education* in MPAA's inaugural study, namely, *Constructing a foundational introduction to philosophy: an investigation into elements,* as constituting a good beginning of the efforts to advance the resistance to *the Hegelian contempt*.

Structurally, four main sections constitute this article. So, three sections follow this introduction as the first section. The exposition of the thoughts which define the nucleus of *the Hegelian contempt* is the second section. The third section attempts to show how best one can inaugurate the advancement of the response to such contempt. The last section is the conclusion. That is an emphasis on the necessary conditions for the rewarding future of African philosophical agency.

2. The Hegelian Contempt

A German philosopher and theologian Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel was born on August 27, 1770, in Stuttgart, Germany. At the University of Tübingen, Germany he studied philosophy, and then theology. His career as University professor began at the University of Jena, Germany, in 1801. Hegel died on November 14, 1831, in Berlin, Germany.

The Philosophy of History is one among the Hegel's works. That work, as Hegel puts it, is the thoughtful consideration of history (Hegel, 2001). Therein he enquires into whether history is merely the recording of past events which happen by chance or is there principle which underlies those events. For Hegel, there is the force behind events and activities, namely *reason*. He writes: ―The only Thought which Philosophy brings with it to the contemplation of History, is the simple conception of Reason; that Reason is the Sovereign of the World; that the history of the world, therefore, presents us with a rational process‖ (Hegel, 2001, p. 22). Hegel (2001) understands reason as being both the substance and form of every aspect of human life, be it natural or spiritual. Hence, *the being* and *subsistence* of the Universe presuppose in every way the presence of reason.

It is in *The Philosophy of History*, published posthumously; where Hegel expresses the denial of the possibility of African philosophical agency. Specifically, he (2001) expresses the rejection of the possibility of philosophical thinking in sub-Saharan Africa; the African region which he calls Africa proper, to distinguish it from what he calls European Africa, namely, the north of the Sahara, and Asiatic Africa, referring to the river region of the Nile. For him (2001), Africa proper

is as completely different from European Africa and Asiatic Africa as it is from the rest of the world. In his view, the defining feature of Africa proper is that it has no reason, and consequently, it has no history, development, and culture. He remarks: ―The peculiarly African character is difficult to comprehend, for the very reason that about it, we must quite give up the principle which naturally accompanies all our ideas — the category of Universality‖ (Hegel, 2001, p. 110). Consequently, Hegel cancels any attention to Africa proper, as far as the thoughtful consideration of global history is concerned. He declares:

> [...] we leave Africa, not to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the world; it has no movement or development to exhibit. Historical movements in it — that is in its northern part — belong to the Asiatic or European World (Hegel, 2001, p. 110).

At this point, it should suffice to note that in the debate and the discourse on African philosophy, Hegel's views and supposition regarding Africa are considered to underlie the beginning of the formalised and institutionalised school that denies philosophy to Africa. (Ochieng'-Odhiambo, 2009). To be sure, the history of philosophy houses considerable adherence to *the Hegelian contempt*. The contempt's followers include the French philosopher Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (born April 1857, Paris – France, died March 13, 1939, Paris). His observance of the Hegelian contempt is accommodated in his famous study of *primitive mentality*. The second adherent to *the contempt* is German missionary, Africanist and linguist Diedrich Hermann Westermann (born June 24, 1875, Baden, Achim, Germany – died May 31, 1956, Baden, Achim). In his book *The African Today,* which appeared in 1934, Westermann, like Hegel and Lévy-Bruhl, defends the view that African mentality differs significantly from European mentality. Precisely, for Westermann (1934), African mentality is, incapable of logical thinking. Apparently, for Hegel, Lévy-Bruhl and Westermann, any desire or attempt to attribute philosophical creativity to Africans is absurd. For them, Africans should be left to enjoy their swimming in the ocean of emotions, unconsciousness and contradictions.

This concept is   brought out through the following: Defence of the possibility of African philosophical agency: a twofold start out, philosophical neediness and advocacy of philosophical education

2.2 Defence of the Possibility of African Philosophical Agency: A Twofold Start out
Today, the advocacy of the philosophical enterprise in Africa should entail efforts to advance the defence of the possibility of African philosophical agency. But how adequately is that accomplishable? In the foreword of Ochieng'-Odhiambo's book *African philosophy: An Introduction*, Owakah writes:

> The dynamism and spirit of the moment is that African scholars and commentators on African philosophy ought to discuss issues, forget the controversies of the Eurocentric

tradition and try to generate a —*locus*‖ upon which to found an African epistemology through which African realities will be interpreted. For example, what categories and concepts of operation should be used in African philosophy and what reality does it reflect? How should meaning and interpretation be harnessed within an African philosophy? (Ochieng'-Odhiambo, 2009, p. viii).

From Owakah's remarks, I can assert that for one to adequately respond to the Eurocentric denial of Africans' ability to philosophise, should strive more for conditions required for African production of philosophical deliberations than lingering on the Eurocentric arguments against Africans' ability to think philosophically. Owakah's approach is, so to say, an effectbased approach. Buying that thought or approach, I find one question worth tackling: What could be a good beginning of executing Owakah's thought?

The careful creation of philosophical deliberations presupposes the acknowledgement of the irreplaceable role of philosophy in human development and the resultant readiness to participate in philosophical undertakings. Indeed, consideration of resistance to *the Hegelian contempt* must begin with a reflection on the problem of receptiveness to philosophy. Regarding that, it deserves note that *the Hegelian contempt* is mostly founded on life facts which appear to point to *philosophical neediness* or *philosophical empty-handedness* within African human societies. To justify that, it suffices to refer readers to some information which underlies Hegel's exclusion of Africans from the agency of philosophical mode of thinking. Hegel writes:

> The peculiarly African character is difficult to comprehend, for the very reason that in reference to it, we must entirely give up the principle which naturally accompanies all our ideas — the category of Universality. In Negro life the characteristic point is the fact that consciousness has not yet attained to the realisation of any substantial objective existence — as for example, God, or Law — in which the interest of man's volition is involved and in which he realises his own being (Hegel, 2001, pp. 110111).

> Turning our attention in the next place to the category of *political constitution*, we shall see that the entire nature of this race is such as to preclude the existence of any such arrangement. The standpoint of humanity at this grade is mere sensuous volition with energy of will; since universal spiritual laws (for example, that of the morality of the Family) cannot be recognised here. Universality exists only as arbitrary subjective choice. The political bond can therefore not possess such a character as that free laws should unite the community (Hegel, 2001, p. 114).

Therefore, a guiding thought here is that the quickly ascertainable *symptoms or signs of philosophical neediness* in Africa, which constitute the primary basis for *the Hegelian contempt*, should continually be a *wake-up call* for the Africans and their allies to act accordingly. That

brings us to what I call *a twofold effective start out of participation* in the rational defence against *the Hegelian contempt*, namely, *the striving for the acknowledgement of philosophical neediness* and *the need for advocacy of philosophical education in Africa*. Indeed, for an African production of philosophical thoughts, Africans should first be lead to understand their neediness of philosophical mode enquiry, and consequently, be habituated to philosophical thinking. A brief flicking through the inaugural contribution to the MPAA publication series should help to clarify that assertion.

2.3 Concerning Philosophical Neediness

MPAA's inaugural study (Masangu, 2020) is an attempt to uncover *elements* which should constitute *a foundational introduction to philosophy*. The work identifies four elements, namely, a foundational meaning of philosophy, addressees' outlook on philosophical thinking, perennial meaningfulness of philosophy and facts of philosophical education. Of these elements, the assertion of philosophical neediness in Tanzanian intellectual context is placed under the exposition of perennial meaningfulness of philosophy. The affirmed guiding thought there is that philosophical condition within people's intellectual context presupposes liberation from the rule of stupefying forces which include mental laziness, belief in superstition and arbitrary powers of religions, traditions and the state. On that, the degree of *philosophical neediness* corresponds to the degree of liberation. The level of liberation is at best ascertainable by a critical enquiring into rational conditions of social orders, including the religious, political and cultural settings (Masangu, 2020).

As a nutritional deficiency is recognisable at a specific symptom(s) or disease(s), so is a philosophical deficiency. Admittedly, philosophical thinking is one of the factors which define the sound health of the human being as a rational being (*Homo sapiens*). On this, Rescher writes the following:

> The old saying is perfectly true: philosophy bakes no bread. But it is also no less true that man does not live by bread alone. The physical side of our nature that impels us to eat, drink, and be merry is just one of its sides. *Homo sapiens* requires nourishment for the mind as urgently as nourishment for the body. We seek knowledge not only because we wish, but because we must. For us, humans, the need for information, for knowledge to nourish the mind, is every bit as critical as the need for food to nourish the body. Cognitive vacuity or dissonance is as distressing to us as hunger and pain. We want and need our cognitive commitments to comprise an intelligible story, to give a comprehensive and coherent account of things. And this is where philosophy comes in, in its attempt to grapple with our basic cognitive concerns (Rescher, 2012, p. 18).

To be sure, there are specific symptoms and diseases at which a philosophical deficiency (neediness) is identifiable. For example, *mental laziness* could be seen as a symptom and *rule of absurdity* as a serious disease (Masangu, 2020). Concerning Tanzanian intellectual context, it must be mentioned that Julius Nyerere, the first president of Tanganyika and later of Tanzania, and a devoted advocate of the rational architecture of social arrangements in Tanzania's political history, most often expressed worry about the possibility of *mental laziness* and *rule of absurdity*. For example, he once asserted:

> A society like everything else, must either move or stagnate – and in stagnation lies death. A mind unused atrophies and man without mind is nothing (Nyerere, 1966, p. 120).

Nyerere's worry was not illusory. In truth, *mental laziness* is attestable in different levels of today's Tanzanian social arrangements. As a simple example, it is not rare to see Tanzanian families and other social circles surrendering uncritically to the principle that *an elder does not err* (Masangu, 2020). So, the younger one is, the lesser chance to participate in the decision-making. Moreover, as an easily attestable *rule of absurdity* in today's Tanzanian societies, one should see, for example, that even today the belief in magic powers is a vital refuge for many Tanzanians (Masangu, 2020). Undoubtedly, the *rule of absurdity* in Tanzania has fatal existential consequences. It underlies the denial of decent human existential modes powerfully (Masangu, 2020). For instance, ―belief in magical powers is for some people a substitute for critical thinking, researches, results of scientific experiments and hardworking‖ (Masangu, 2020, p. 96). Elsewhere there is the following assertion:

> Yes, one thing has to be said. The escape to the magical powers, in which man thinks to find solutions, has led even to national tragedies: the killing of older women and the people with albinism. People are said to believe that an organ of living human being with albinism brings wealth. As a result, the Tanzanian societies repeatedly witnessed the killing of fellow human beings in the name of wealth. Moreover, there are societies which believe that red-eyed older women are sorceresses, and therefore, they deserve brutal death (Masangu, 2020, p. 94).

In 1961, following the independence, Tanganyika waged war against three great enemies: ignorance, poverty and diseases. There is still a lot to be done in Tanzania against ignorance. On this, Nyerere provides noteworthy guiding thoughts. He (1966, p. 179) says: ―We cannot hope to solve our problems by pretending they do not exist.‖ Doubtlessly, as a rewarding starting point of philosophical enterprise in Tanzania, the Tanzanians must first be led to acknowledge their philosophical neediness.

According to Nyerere (1966, p. 309), ―only careful thought about our own problems and the relentless application of scientific and objective thinking can enable us to achieve the betterment of our lives to which we are committed.‖ And further, he (1966, p. 310) says:

―Only when we are clear what we are trying to do can we begin to think about a way of doing it.‖ That brings us to the question of a joint agency of the advocacy of philosophy in Tanzania.

2.4 Concerning Advocacy of Philosophical Education

The assertion of *philosophical neediness* is the first important aspect of an effective start out of participation in the correction of *the Hegelian contempt*. The second essential aspect is the striving for advocacy of *philosophical education*. For sure, the reality of African philosophical creativity, for example, in Tanzanian human societies, presupposes Tanzanians‘ *philosophical ascent of mind*. Hence, besides the above-given reference to the perennial meaningfulness of philosophy, as the proposed third element of *a foundational introduction to philosophy*, the look at *the programmatic habituation* to philosophy, as the fourth element, should help extend the exposition. Indisputably, a philosophical rise of a human mind is not an overnight phenomenon. The acquisition of philosophical active-mindedness is a timetaking and goal-centred process. It requires well-defined practices of human mind‘s habituation to the philosophical mode of thinking (Masangu, 2020). Undoubtedly, ―the systematic locating of philosophy in academic and non-academic open spaces is a desirable or even essential condition for individual and collective mind‘s habituation to the philosophical mode of inquiry‖ (Masangu, 2020, p. 99). Consequently, the two last chapters of MPAA‘s opening study, namely, chapter four and chapter five, serve as a theoretical formulation of advocacy plan for philosophical education in Tanzania.

According to Nyerere (1966, p. 187), ―a nation which refuses to learn from a foreign culture is nothing but a nation of idiots and lunatics.‖ Accepting that thought, the facts of philosophical education across the globe deserve attention. The UNESCO‘s detailed study of the year 2007, which bears the title *Philosophy, a school of freedom: Teaching philosophy and learning to philosophise: Status and prospects,* appears to be the best tool to lead people to an encounter with the global witnesses of the implementation of the locating of philosophy in academia and outside academia. Concerning the nature of the 2007 UNESCO‘s study, it is remarked:

> This work is not simply an inventory of what is being done and not being done in the field of teaching philosophy today. By establishing a clearly understandable interpretative framework, by offering suggestions and new orientations, it goes well beyond that. In this way, it is intended to be a genuine, practical, future-oriented tool, well-documented and up to date, where each person will find food for thought (UNESCO, 2007, p. ix).

A good story about ‗philosophy at UNESCO‘ is that philosophy has always belonged to UNESCO. Yes, philosophy ―inspired its Constitution to a large extent, and as early as 1946,

UNESCO bestowed upon itself a philosophy program‖ (UNESCO, 2007, p. xii). That story is founded on UNESCO‗s acknowledgement of the irreplaceable role of philosophy in the uplifting of humanity. Here below is UNESCO‗s example assertion:

> What is the teaching of philosophy if not the teaching of freedom and critical reasoning? Philosophy actually implies exercising freedom in and through reflection because it is a matter of making rational judgements and not just expressing opinions, because it is a matter not just of knowing, but of understanding the meaning and the principles of knowing, because it is a matter of developing a critical mind, rampart par excellence against all forms of doctrinaire passion. These objectives require time, taking a serious look at oneself, at other cultures and languages (UNESCO, 2007, p. ix).

The 2007 UNESCO‗s study shows plainly that the locating of philosophy in all levels of academia – preschool, primary school, secondary school and university – is a global reality. That is attestable by looking at what is happening in the individual U.N. Member States. In that regard, chapter four of *Constructing a foundational introduction to philosophy* is dedicated to a survey of example countries. About the implementation of *philosophy for* or *with children*, example U.N. Member States include France, Norway, Austria and the United States of America, to mention but a few (UNESCO, 2007). Of those countries, part of the Austrian testimony reads as follows:

> P4C [Philosophy for Children], as an educational project, began in Austria in 1981. In 1982, the Council of Philosophy Teachers became involved and made the national educational authorities aware of the possibilities of introducing P4C programmes in schools. The first lessons were given in schools in 1983, which were also used as teacher-training workshops [...]. In 1984, the Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture authorised a pilot P4C programme in schools (20 classes and 600 children). The Austrian Centre of Philosophy for Children (ACPC) was founded in 1985, to promote philosophical enquiry as an important part of the primary and secondary school curriculum by organising international conferences, teacher-training seminars and workshops (UNESCO, 2007, pp. 30-31).

As for the locating of philosophy in secondary schools, the disclosed example States include the Republic of Korea, Canada, Argentina, Morocco, France, Switzerland, Portugal, Brazil and the Dominican Republic (UNESCO, 2007). Of those, a section of the testimony from Portugal reads as follows:

> The subject ‗Introduction to Philosophy‗ is included in the general education group in the tenth and eleventh years of schooling, with three hours per week of classes. All Portuguese secondary students take two years of philosophy. The Education Reform, which stipulates

that ‗Introduction to Philosophy' is the second-most important subject of the core curriculum, has given philosophy a level of dignity almost equal to that of Portuguese classes and accords irreplaceable educational and developmental power to it (UNESCO, 2007, p. 75).

Professor Alfredo Reis (Portugal)

Concerning the teaching of philosophy at the university level, Canada, France, India, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Algeria are example U.N. States (UNESCO, 2007).

Besides the facts of the locating of philosophy in academia, the 2007 UNESCO unveils witnesses of the locating of philosophy outside academia. UNESCO's study uncovers different kinds of philosophical practice in a non-academic context. Those practices include philosophy counselling, the philosophy café, philosophy workshops, publishing successes, philosophy with children outside school, philosophy at work and philosophy at difficult contexts. According to the study, the philosopher's role in the state is manifold: Working with marginalised youth, philosophy for those in precarious situations, philosophising in prisons, philosophising with retirees, promoting philosophical activity at work, the state's philosopher, philosophy Day(s), Internet Projects, Philosophy Olympiads, Debates following film screenings and philosophy house. As for the implementation of the locating philosophy outside academia, France, Norway, Belgium, Spain and Netherlands, to mention but a few, are example U.N. States. Of these countries, France reports on the philosophical debate in prisons and Netherlands on philosophy month and philosophy night (UNESCO, 2007).

It deserves note that the 2007 UNESCO's study stands firmly in opposition to *the Hegelian contempt*. The study does not make any distinction between the world's nations or regions, as regarding the possibility or ability of the philosophical agency. For UNESCO, the striving for philosophical creativity is an equally shared mission by all countries and regions of the world. In truth, if it is about the struggles for global advocacy of philosophical thinking, then what UNESCO expects, for example, from Argentina, Austria or Japan, it expects the same from Tanzania. As for that, it is asserted:

Each Member State of UNESCO, all NGOs, all philosophical associations, and all others concerned and interested are therefore asked to take up the challenge of appropriating the results of this study and of discovering constructive, useful orientations there. May, therefore, each draw upon a vast body of ideas, experiences, initiatives, and practices, brought together in an opportune manner so as better to face tomorrow's challenges (UNESCO, 2007, p. ix).

Accordingly, the 2007 UNESCO's study discloses the reality of the advocacy of philosophical education from the perspective of five world's regions: (i) Latin America and Caribbean (ii) Africa (iii) Asia and the Pacific (iv) Europe and North America (v) Arab World. Contrary to *the Hegelian contempt*, for UNESCO, Africa is integral to the global philosophical agency. Of course, for UNESCO, execution's situations or the time for the daybreak of philosophical education might differ from one country to another or from one region to another. That is attested by a statement of the 1995 UNESCO's Paris Declaration for philosophy: ―Philosophical teaching must be maintained or expanded where it exists, introduced where it does yet exist, and be explicitly called ‗philosophy‘‖ (UNESCO, 2007, p. xiii). Indeed, a selfconscious nation cannot plausibly encounter the issue of philosophical education negligently. The concern is even more pressing for nations which own a *philosophy-alien* education system, as it is the case with Tanzania (Masangu, 2020).

As regarding Tanzania's intellectual context, a pending question is about how best to lead Tanzania to philosophical education. Chapter five of *Constructing a foundational introduction to philosophy* is dedicated to the answering of that question. In the introduction of that chapter, it is asserted that ―sustainable plan for philosophical education in Tanzania should spring from united mental and physical efforts‖ (Masangu, 2020, p. 189). Hence, that chapter is a suggestion attempt of how best to create collective advocacy of philosophical education in Tanzania. Accordingly, five educational determinants are considered to be an adequate foundation for joint advocacy, namely, the parental role, the scholarly role, the general political role, the governmental (regulatory) and the religious role. Of these roles, the scholarly role should constitute the starting point (Masangu, 2020). Beginning with the author of *Constructing a foundational introduction to philosophy* who is likewise the architect of MPAA, the scholarly role should become a reality. Precisely, the founder of MPAA is expected to be the reason for academic philosophers in Tanzania to form the first of the three components of the joint scholarly advocacy of philosophical education. Other components are non-academic philosophers and other academicians. The scholarly efforts, which include philosophical publications, provision of philosophical seminars and establishment of philosophical information centres, should be a cause of cooperation of other four named determinants (Masangu, 2020).

Moreover, it should be clear to the readers that three acts define the collective agency: the acts of edifying, regulating and promoting. Of course, the degree of an embodiment of those acts differs from one agency to another. So, while all five educational determinants should share the act of promotion equally, the act of edifying belongs chiefly to the scholarly agency and the act of regulating belongs chiefly to the governmental agency (Masangu, 2020).

Parental agency refers to prenatal care and children's custodianship. Rational thinking expresses a personal maturity's process which, according to Aristotle, goes as back as to child's time in the womb of its mother. In Aristotle's view, the planning for children's excellent citizenship begins

with the care of marriage and prenatal care (Masangu, 2020). It deserves note that while the 2007 UNESCO's study starts with preschool level, Aristotle's concern embraces prenatal care. On that, he writes, for example, the following:

> Women who are with a child should take care of themselves; they should take exercise and have a nourishing diet. [...] they shall take a walk daily [...]. Their minds, however, unlike their bodies, they ought to keep quiet, for offspring derive their natures from their mothers as plants do from the earth (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1335b, 1319).

Let it here be said: ―Much as the scholarly agency could work out a lot of useful scientific approaches to care of pre-wonder age and philosophy for children, any withdrawal of children's custodians would mean an apparent setback‖ (Masangu, 2020, p. 199). Admittedly, ―the triumph of philosophical education, especially for children, requires in every way an active involvement of children's custodians‖ (Masangu, 2020, p. 199).

Concerning general political agency and governmental agency, it must be asserted that the reality of rigorous advocacy of philosophical education, requires, in the end, an adjustment or reform of the country's or province's education system. Yes, ―the custodian of the country's education system is namely the government: the chief regulating actor‖ (Masangu, 2020, p. 200). Note that the general political agency refers to all those activities executed by political organs apart from the government in power, and the governmental agency refers precisely to activities executed by the government in power. As for this, a study by UNESCO's (2007) uncovers example testimonies, including the following: a) in 2005, the Norwegian government took the initiative of commencing formal experimentation with P4C in schools. Trial classes have been organised in fifteen primary and secondary schools, for children from six to sixteen years, and have involved forty-three teachers. (UNESCO, 2007, p. 25) b) Moral education in the Republic of Korea is governed at the national level, as a fundamental part of the country's curriculum. It is one of the ten core subjects taught in primary and secondary schools (UNESCO, 2007, p. 56).

About religious advocacy agency, it should be said that ―by its unique unifying character, religion can quickly bring many differences to unity‖ (Masangu, 2020, p. 200). On this, the words of John Mbiti are worth embracing:

> Religion helps people to communicate in two directions. First, there is social communication. People meet together for a common purpose, for example, to pray together, to perform a ritual together, to sacrifice together, and so on. They also meet indirectly through having common myths, legends, values, traditions, morals and views of the world. Because of religion, they are able to understand one another, to communicate

ideas and feelings and to act more or less as a social unit, even if there may be other differences (Mbiti, 1991, pp. 199-200).

It suffices to remark that philosophical education should one day become an apparent reality in the Tanzanian intellectual context. That cannot, however, happen arbitrarily; it requires thought-out planning for joint advocacy undertaking.

3. Conclusion

One of the rational expressions of a firm belief in the irreplaceable role of philosophy in human development is philosophical advocacy attempts. Such attempts refer simply to a striving for people's active participation in the philosophical mode of enquiry which is excellently manifested by well-planned philosophical learning, teaching and research. Regarding that, consideration of two facts should constitute the beginning of any rigorous advocacy of philosophical thinking, namely, addressees' ability to philosophise and their receptiveness to philosophy. Indeed, unless the two facts are achieved, there is reasonably no philosophical creativity or agency.

So, while in striving for Africans' active partaking in philosophical thinking, one might assume the fact of their ability to philosophise, *the Hegelian contempt* articulates a radical Eurocentric denial of such ability. Hence, an explicit rational defence of (arguing for) the possibility of African philosophical agency should be integral to rigorous efforts to enforce philosophy in Africa. But how is that excellently accomplishable? As asserted above, a significant advancement of the response to Hegelian contempt seems to dwell in the creation of conditions required for African production of philosophical deliberations than lingering on the Eurocentric arguments against Africans' ability to philosophise. That is to say, what is required is the striving for the Africans' effect-based reaction to the contempt. A rising question where should that be started? That question takes us to the assertions of MPAA's inaugural study. Doubtlessly, the Africans' effect-based response presupposes Africans' receptiveness to philosophy. The very first starting point is the creation of necessary conditions for Africans' acknowledgement of the unique role of philosophy in human selfrealisation. With that, it should finally be said that the future of African philosophical agency continually presupposes Africans' receptiveness to philosophy. And foundationally that is excellently achievable by *identification of Africans' philosophical neediness,* and *advocacy of philosophical education* in Africa.

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Challenges Faced by teachers in Teaching Mentally Challenged and Communication Deficient learners in Mbagathi Special Unit, Kenya

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine challenges faced by teachers in teaching mentally challenged and communication deficient learners in Mbagathi special unit in Kenya. The study employed case study design that aimed at providing in depth understanding of the challenges experienced by teachers in teaching mentally challenged and communication deficient learners. The study targeted teachers and the school head teacher associated with learners with mental and communication deficit. Purposive sampling was used to obtain a sample of 5 key informants who took part in the study. For data collection, the study employed interview guides, participant observation guide and document analysis as data collection instruments. Data collected through interview, analysis of documents and observation was analyzed qualitatively. The collected data was first transcribed before coding into themes. The study findings revealed that lack of adequate fellow teacher support to the challenged learners, lack of adequate parental support to the challenged learners and inadequate physical and financial resources were the major challenges faced by teachers in teaching mentally challenged and communication deficient learners in Mbagathi special unit. Based on the finding, it was recommended that parents should be more intensive in assisting, accompanying, and guiding their children, especially to the children who have special needs so that their motivation and academic achievement can be enhanced. It is also recommended that teachers and school should give more fruitful collaboration between schools to facilitate their needs and potentials. Just like other students, the government should provide adequate physical and financial opportunities to the mentally challenged and communication deficient learners. This will motivate their teachers and boost the academic performance of the students.

Keywords: *mentally challenged education, communication deficient learners' education, special needs teachers' challenges*

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1. Introduction

To help overcome day to day challenges of life across the continents, education for all children has been made mandatory both for those with and without disabilities. Since the early 1990s the movement to have education for all was launched at the World Conference that involved various

international organizations such as UNESCO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF and the World Bank (Oduba, 2014). The main agenda for this conference was Education for All in the entire world.

According to Roy (2020), education is the right of every child because it equips him to meet the challenges of life. To supplement their differential talents so that they can prepare themselves for a happy productive and useful life, children with disabilities need education and training just like the normal children. Efforts to educate children with disabilities began. Example of efforts put across included inclusive education.

Inclusive education is a new approach towards educating the children with disability and learning difficulties with that of normal ones within the same roof. It brings all students together in one classroom and community, regardless of their strengths or weaknesses in any area, and seeks to maximize the potential of all students (Singh, 2016). This was done to improve the working environment of teachers, and reduce general disparities of the children with disabilities,. However, despite all measures being put across to support special needs teachers in educating the disabled, their effective services is hindered by several challenges. For instance, education should enhance teachers who teach children with developmental disability and also create awareness in the society to accept children with special educational needs. However, children with developmental disability need extra attention in terms of curriculum adaptation, teaching methods, and availability of teaching and learning materials, assistive technology, assessment systems, as well as resources and funds for more assistance in adapting the school environment.

The challenges covered by this article includes: Inadequate physical and financial resources, inadequate skills and knowledge/experience to handle serious challenges, improper implementation of inclusive education, Lack of incentives after training as a special education teacher, Lack of adequate support from both parents and fellow teachers to the challenged learners.

With reference to Inadequate physical infrastructure, *i*n India the number of the disabled people is so large, their problems so complex, available resources so scarce and social attitudes so damaging.

In Nigeria, Inadequate physical infrastructure Lack of facilities and materials has been one of the barriers to special needs education in Nigeria. The lack of support services pose barrier to enrolment and education of persons with special needs. Evidence suggests clearly that most students with special needs are unable to enroll into special or regular schools in the country, as they may not receive support services to assist them in the schools (Anumonye, 1991; Eleweke, 1997) The massive recruitment of professionals in the education of learners with special needs would make great impact in the identification, referral, diagnosis, treatment, and provision of appropriate educational and related services. Obviously, an adequately number of trained professionals is required in the provision of meaningful educational services to students with special needs.

Evidence, however, indicates that Nigerian schools are faced with serious shortage of qualified teachers and support personnel (Eleweke, 1999), and where it exists, professionals leave the job for other „greener pasture‟, as a result of lack of better treatment on the parts of the employers.

Data also shows that at the tertiary institutions, there is a serious lack of enough instructors. For example, the World Bank (1999, 2005) reports that there is a staffing deficit in Nigerian colleges and universities. It equally found out that the position of special school in Nigeria indicated that, the number of special education teachers is grossly inadequate. The irony of it is that Universities and colleges in Nigeria, notably Universities at Ibadan, Jos, Kano, Calabar, and Nsukka, as well as the Kaduna Polytechnic and the Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo training and trained thousand of teachers of students with special needs to provide education and other related services in the schools and communities. With this effort it remains the case that most of the schools in the country do not have adequate number of qualified teachers. The programmes for the training of support personnel such as educational audiologists, psychologists, speech and language pathologists and communication support workers such as interpreters are not offered in most of the institutions of higher education in Nigeria (Adebisi, Jerry, Rasaki, & Igwe, 2014).

The study found that most schools did not have adequate physical facilities thus disadvantaging a number of children with special needs in the society (Mutugi, 2018). The study also found that there were inadequate instructional materials for SNE learning. The findings also found out that schools lacked essential facilities that aid learning of SNE pupils, for example ramps for learners who are physically challenged, hearing aids among others. Khoaeane (2012) observed that there are two most profound challenges affecting special needs teachers in different schools of Lesotho. The challenges included inadequate skills and knowledge/experience to handle serious challenges and the challenge of physical infrastructure. Khoaeane further observed that inclusive education is not properly implemented because the most Lesotho school buildings do not accommodate children with physical disabilities (Khoaeane, 2012).

Udoba (2014) also observed local teachers in most of the primary schools in Tanzania lacked training in special needs education for children with developmental disability. Despite the "Primary Education Development Plan" (PEDP), that ensure education for all, the overall quality of primary education in Tanzania remains generally poor for children with developmental disability. The shortages of teachers trained on special- educational needs professionals, as well as the lack of teaching facilities, have a negative effect on the delivery of quality education to children with developmental disability. In many schools, class sizes are too big for teachers to facilitate quality learning. After training, specialist teachers for pupils with learning difficulties actually find their promotion prospects become worse. Lack of support from fellow teachers has made life hard for specialist teachers for learners with difficulties. The regular teachers refuse to assist children with learning disabilities on the pretext that they do not have expertise on how to handle children with disabilities (Udoba, 2014).

Another study by Johnsen (2004) on the challenges teachers face in teaching children with special needs in regular class: a case study of teachers in regular second cycle primary school in Bale zone, Robe town, South Ethiopia. The results of the study showed that teachers teaching this regular second cycle primary school faced challenges concerning knowledge, skills and experience on how to teach learners who have special needs together with the regular learners in the same class. None of the six interviewed teachers was trained in special needs education. Other challenges that were

revealed in the study were: lacking in-service training, rigidity of the curriculum, shortage of teaching materials, lacking collaboration among teachers and between the parents and school, inadequate fund and lack of clear guidelines for inclusion. However, all the teachers who participated in this study were willing to teach children with special needs in their classroom and seemed to support the idea of integration or inclusion. Results from Roy (2020) also tend to take the same coarse. The results reveal that teachers lack of knowledge of the types of learners, indiscipline cases and heavy workload demanding more time, teachers" negative attitude towards disabled, no facilities for teachers and learners, disabled have low selfesteem.

Regarding Lack of adequate parental support to the challenged learners, scholars also have different view. Parents are known to provide a variety of support in the education of their children like supervising children doing home work, providing food, clothing. However this kind of support observes Mcheka 2008, is denied to most of the children with disabilities for several reasons, such as negative attitudes.

Special disability teachers also suffer from long travelling distances: Due the long distances from one school to the other specialist teachers have to use public transport at times over 5 kilometres to meet their students put in different schools. Travelling becomes even more challenging to those teaching learners with difficulties in schools situated in villages where roads become bad during rainy season (Johnsen et al, 2015).

Challenges have been faced by special needs teachers, interpreters and psychologists not only in Kenya, but also across the globe. One of the most likely challenge teachers encounter is to change from the previous setting, where learners have been for a long time placed in special schools designated for certain specific disabilities, for instance special schools for the deaf, blind or mentally challenged. It may be both a challenge to parents and even the members of the society. This challenge has been so due to the fact that education for learners experiencing disabilities is undergoing a revolutionary change (Osero, 2015). Despite the government system putting up strategies to curb some of the challenges, there are still some underlying challenges that still affect both teachers and learners with disabilities and the normal ones. Therefore, this paper examined challenges faced by teachers in teaching mentally challenged and communication deficient learners in Mbagathi Special Unit, Kenya.

2. Methodology

This study employed a case study design. Case study consists of intensive observation in a particular setting (Ogula 1996). Thus, this design was found appropriate since it allows the participant to describe what is meaningful to them rather than being restricted to predetermined categories, provides high credibility and face validity and allowed the researcher to probe for more details and ensured that participants were interpreting questions the way they were intended. It also gave a deep understanding of the issues, and allowed data collection using indepth interviews, and document analysis (Trochim and William 2006).

The targeted population in this study consisted of teachers, head teacher, associated with learners with mental and communication deficit from Mbagathi Primary school in Langa''ta Division, Nairobi District. This population was particularly targeted since it provided key information on the challenges faced by teachers in teaching mentally challenged and communication deficient learners.

The sample in the study consisted of four teachers (n=4) and one head teacher (n=1). In total there was a sample of 5 respondents. Purposive sampling design was used to select the head teacher and all the 4 teachers in the unit since they are the key informants whose opinions and ideas are of specific interest to this study (Luborsky and Rubinstein, 1995).

In data collection, this study employed observation method, interview guides, and document analysis. Interview method was used since it generally yield the highest cooperation and lowest refusal rates, offers high response quality, takes advantage of interviewer presence and it's multi-method data collection (Owens, 2002). An in-depth interview with the head teacher and teachers was used to solicit a lot of information that was useful in providing information on the challenges faced by teachers in teaching mentally challenged and communication deficient learners.

The researcher was able to observe how the mentally challenged learners and those with communication deficit were taught, participate and respond in the teaching and learning process. The guide also consisted of the main areas of the study which was the kind of difficulties both teachers and learners face in teaching and learning process.

In analysis of document, the researcher brought out the document type (e.g., report, records etc), the kind of document it was (government or institution document), its dates, were written, author and title. The aim of the document, the factual information contained, why the document is a valuable source of information, how the document can be used, what the document does not answer and could be answered by the author were all brought out (Marshall, and Rossman, 1998). In this study, the researcher dealt with the records of the learners with disabilities of special unit in Mbagathi primary school. These records were analyzed with the aim of retrieving key information about the mentally challenged and communication deficient learners. For instance the details about the academic progress of particular learners and the difficulties they experienced in the learning process. Where the document fails to answer some questions, the author (secretary) was called upon. In this study, the guide was used to gather background information of the mentally challenged and communication deficient learners, records of instructional materials used by special unit teachers and issued that these learners are facing in learning process.

Data collected through interview, analysis of documents and observation was analyzed qualitatively. The collected data was first transcribed before coding into themes. This involved breaking down the data into manageable pieces, sorting and sifting while searching for types, classes, sequences, processes, patterns or themes. The aim of this process was to assemble or reconstruct the data in a meaningful or comprehensible fashion (Jorgensen, 1989). The categorizing typically based on the major research questions guiding the study. Data is presented

in form of narratives. Generalization from the themes about the phenomena in question and discussion in the light of the available literature was made.

3. Results

3.1 Background Information

The study considered background characteristics of all those who participated in the study. These included the teachers and the head teacher of Mbagathi special unit. These characteristics were sort out mainly to provide the demographic characteristics of the target population, which form the foundation of any study (Gall et al, 2003).

The background characteristics of teachers that were considered included: Gender, Age, how long they have been in the teaching profession. All the special education teachers who participated in the study were female. It is also noted that 3 out of 4 of them were in the 41-45 age bracket while only one (1) was in the 35-40 years age bracket. Two of the respondents were assistant teachers and the other (2) were special needs teachers in Mbagathi Primary School.

Only one head teacher participated in the study. He was a diploma holder in Education and had a working experience of two years in the current school.

3.2 The challenges faced by teachers when teaching mentally challenged and communication deficient learners

The researcher was interested in finding out the main challenges faced by teachers when teaching mentally challenged and communication deficient learners in Mbagathi Primary School. Some of the challenges that came out included lack of adequate fellow teacher support to the challenged learners, lack of adequate parental support to the challenged learners and inadequate financial funding resources.

3.2.1 Lack of adequate fellow teacher support to the challenged learners

In order to solicit information, the special education teachers were asked to indicate whether all teachers in the school support and get involved in the teaching and learning process of the learners with disabilities.

All teachers who took part in the study indicated that the teachers teaching in the regular classes in the school do not support and get involved in the teaching and learning process of the learners with disabilities.

They were further asked to explain the reasons as to why they thought that the teachers are not supportive. Most of them explained that their reasons as to why the teachers teaching in the normal classes were not being supportive were: lack of understanding and awareness; lack of motivation and wrong attitude towards learners with disabilities. One of the teachers bitterly said that:

> *The teachers in the normal classes rarely accept integrated children due to their slow pace of understanding. They always think that the slow pace could affect the syllabus coverage* (Mbagathi Primary School teacher 1, 13th August 2009).

3.2.2 Lack of adequate parental support to the challenged learners

The teachers were asked to indicate whether the parents are supportive enough in the teaching and learning process of the learners with disabilities.

All of them gave a negative answer that the parents do not get involved in supporting the learners with disabilities.

On being asked to explain how they thought the parents were not supportive enough, most of the teachers explained that: the parents fail to provide basic necessities like food and clothing to the children; the parents are not committed to problems arising in the learning process to a point where they rarely attend meetings in the school when called upon and that they fail to assist children at home so that they can improve their skills. One of the teachers said that:

> *One of the major challenges that we face is that parents expect too much from us in terms of improving the skills and capabilities of the children. By doing so they fail to understand that they too have a part to play in the learning process* (Mbagathi Primary School teacher 4, 10th August 2009).

3.2.3 Inadequate physical and financial resources

Teachers were further asked whether the government has been keen in funding programs for the mentally challenged and communication deficient learners.

All of them indicated that the government has not been fully committed in funding programs for the learners in terms of allocations. This money would be useful for purchasing more furniture and buying materials like candles, ropes and musical instruments. In fact, one teacher said that:

> *Since the introduction of the Free Primary education, the special unit has only received two allocations, between 2004 and 2009 which is allocated to about half of the pupils we have. This is not good enough* (Mbagathi Primary School teacher 2, 16th August 2009).

The head teacher on the other hand was asked to indicate the reports that he receives from the teachers concerning their experiences with the mentally challenged and communication deficient

learners. The reports that the teachers gave according to the head teacher included: absenteeism that was not seen in regular classes, negligence of parents and frustrations in controlling the classes.

4. Discussion

On whether the teachers were asked to indicate whether other teachers provided adequate support, most teachers thought that the teachers are not supportive. Most of them explained that their reasons as to why the teachers teaching in the normal classes were not being supportive were: lack of understanding and awareness; lack of motivation and wrong attitude towards learners with disabilities. This can show that the teachers teaching in the normal classes are yet to accept and accommodate the learners with disabilities in the normal classes because this wrong attitude greatly discourages the learners. By having a positive attitude towards the learners, they tend to create a conducive and comfortable environment that can lead to improved performance. This is in agreement with Monsen et al (2004) who conducted a study in New Zealand concerning teachers" attitudes towards mainstreaming of the disabled in regular schools, as well as their pupils" perceptions of their classroom-learning environment. The study revealed that children taught by teachers who exuded highly positive attitudes towards mainstreaming were found to have significantly higher levels of classroom satisfaction than children taught by teachers with less positive attitudes.

When asked to explain how they thought the parents were not supportive enough, most of the teachers explained that: the parents fail to provide basic necessities like food and clothing to the children; the parents are not committed to problems arising in the learning process to a point where they rarely attend meetings in the school when called upon and that they fail to assist children at home so that they can improve their skills. This can mean that the parents have not yet understood that it"s not only the role of the teachers to get actively involved in the learning process by encouraging them and buying supplementary materials like books and uniforms. The parents too need to monitor their children progress at home. Parental involvement plays a critical role in the performance of their children. These results appear to be in line with the study conducted by Bariroh (2018) on the influence of parents' involvement on children with special needs' motivation and learning achievement. The study conducted a T-test that showed tcalculate value for variables of parents" involvement (X) was 3,813. The results showed that tcalculate>t-table or 3,813> 2,093 or t value is higher than t table. It means that parents" involvement significantly influences children"s motivation. The result of the t-test also indicated that t-calculate value for parents" involvement (X) was 3,601. If compared to t-table, then, tcalculate>t-table or 3,601> 2,093. It meant that there was an influence of parents" involvement on children"s achievement as well.

On whether the government provided adequate financial and physical support to the learners, all of them indicated that the government has not been fully committed in funding programs for the learners in terms of allocations. This money would be useful for purchasing more furniture and buying materials like candles, ropes and musical instruments. This can imply that although the government has shown some commitment to the plight of the mentally challenged and

communication deficient learners, a lot is yet to be done in order to guarantee these learners quality education.

5. Conclusion

From the findings, it can be noted that there are a number of challenges that the teachers face in teaching the mentally challenged and communication deficient. These challenges range from their fellow teachers who have a negative attitude towards disabled children because of their inability to perform expected tasks at school, to the parents who expect the teachers to single handedly handle the learning of the children and also lack of enough funding from the government.

Teachers should plan to have more time to remedy the children such as slow learners and they should maintain class control by involving all learners within each learning experience; Teachers should also provide adequate support to the teachers dealing with disability cases in all schools; Based on the finding, it can be recommended that parents should be more intensive in assisting, accompanying, and guiding their children, especially to the children who have special needs so that their motivation and academic achievement can be enhanced. It is also recommended that teachers and school should give more fruitful collaboration between schools to facilitate their needs and potentials. Just like other students, the government should provide adequate physical and financial opportunities to the mentally challenged and communication deficient learners. This will motivate their teachers and boost the academic performance of the students

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External States in the African Conflicts: A Historization of the Role of European Powers from 1967 to 1970 in the Nigerian Civil War

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Abstract

This article argues that external states – in this case the European powers – are responsible for the exacerbation of the conflicts in Africa. The article uses the Nigerian conflict between 1967 and 1970 as a case study. The conflict got complex, protracted, deadlier and intractable because of the interventions of France, Britain and Russia. The European powers had economic interests in Nigeria and West Africa; they needed oil among other products like cocoa. However, the means that these states used to pursue these interests were detrimental to the conflict. Each of the aforementioned states provided financial and military support to the conflict parties. France supported Biafra while Russia and Britain assisted the Nigerian Federal Government. Additionally, the article finds that the interventions of the three European powers fanned the conflict in Nigerian. This is because the three European states only cared about their interests and not those the Nigerian citizens. This article concluded that unless the role of states is properly understood and addressed, the conflicts in the African continent will continue to prevail. This article recommended that actors in conflict management should deploy diplomatic efforts as a strategy to manage conflicts that involve external states.

Keywords: External states conflicts, Nigerian civil war, European powers, African conflicts

1. Introduction

The role of states in the conflicts of other countries cannot be overstated. Nevertheless, the mode of intervention and the intentions of the external states determine how the conflict is manifested. While other states intervene through mediation and peacekeeping, others offer military and financial support to the warring parties. As realists argue, more often than not, states intervene in the conflicts of other states because of their own interest in the outcome of the conflict (Morgenthau, 1962).

The Nigerian civil war lasted for about thirty months between 1967 and 1970. The conflict was a secessionist attempt which could have created the republic of Biafra if it had succeeded. The civil war attracted states from other parts of the world that intervened differently. Several states intervened in Nigeria but the involvement of Britain, France, and Russia featured prominently during the pre and post conflict.

Driven by power politics different states maneuvered to acquire and guard their interests while at the same time thwarting others from realizing theirs. The European powers pursued interests that mainly were of economic in nature. Russia, Britain and France gave support to the warring parties in Nigeria. The support that manifested from the three states included financial and supply of weapons. This article tries to illuminate how the interaction of these states influenced the Nigerian civil war.

2. External States in the African Conflicts

This section presents the general information with reference to Historization of the role of European powers in the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970). The information covered include the following: overview of the state intervention and conflict management in Africa and the role of European powers in the Nigerian conflict

2.1 Overview of the State Intervention and Conflict Management in Africa

State involvement in the conflicts of other states is not a new phenomenon. The incursion of the external states in Korea, Syria, Vietnam, Iraq, as well as several other countries in Africa has been going on in the pre and post-cold war periods. With interests ranging from ideological, economic, strategic and security, states have continued to blatantly pursue them. As Makinda (1982) puts, the Horn of African conflicts during the cold war era was transformed into a platform of East-West competition involving the Soviets Union and the United States (US).

More recently, the involvement of the extra-regional states in the conflicts of Africa continue to be witnessed. The involvement of France in Ivory Coast also provides another evident of involvement of external states in the conflicts of Africa (Sciolino, 2002). It is also pointed that the US was behind the Ethiopian military incursion to Somalia in the year 2006 (Samatar, 2013). This is just to mention a few examples.

State intervention in the affairs of others is motivated by interests. The most basic worry of states is to preserve their core interests, which among others include territorial and political integrity (Krasner, 1978). When states outline their foreign policy, they define it in terms of interest and support it with adequate power (Morgenthau, 1948). In a nut shell, states must always pursue policies that are aligned to their interests (Morgenthau, 1962). Therefore, whatever interest that foreign states may have in host countries, they will strive to intervene to acquire and protect them. The most prevalent interests pursued in the contemporary times apart from territorial integrity, are security, economic and strategic. This is because they all contribute to state wellness and survival.

Paradoxically, despite the existing international legal framework barring states from involving themselves in the affairs of others, nations continue to pursue their interest. This demonstrates that states would contravene international laws and regulations as long as their own interests are unsecured. For example, UN General Assembly (UNGA) declared that, "every state has the duty to refrain from organizing and encouraging the organization of irregular forces or armed bandits, including mercenaries, for incursion into the territory of another state" (UN General Assembly, Declaration of Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, 24th October 1970, the resolution 2625 (XXV)

Interestingly, most of the states' interventions in other countries have been carried out indirectly. External states use of proxies who are mainly the Non State Armed Groups (NSAGs) to instigate violence in the host countries is widely witnessed all over the world. Salehyan (2007) presents that globally, since 1945, 55% of NSAGs instigating conflicts in host states are supported by the external states. This brings the question, are the so-called civil wars really internal? Karlen (2017a) concedes that most of these civil wars are hardly internal; they are a reflection of a wider international tension. Additionally, although civil wars would seem to imply a domestic issue, they largely have a significant external dimension. (Salehyan et al, 2011).

There are several reasons that make states to carry out indirect interventions in other countries. Indirect intervention in this context is where an external state supports at least one of the warring parties (NSAG or governments) to pursue an agenda. One of the main reasons why states opt for indirect intervention is to avoid legal issues in regards to international laws. When the external state overtly contravenes international laws, they are likely to attract scrutiny and condemnation from the international community (Salehyan, et al, 2011). To avoid legal exposure, external states covertly engage proxies because it is far difficult to be linked with.

Secondly, states prefer the use of covert and indirect interventions because it is less costly in terms of resources, time and troop casualties. The Rwandan and Israeli direct military incursion to Eastern Congo and Lebanon respectfully costed the two states huge amounts of money, casualties and lasted for more than two decades (Salehyan, 2007). This is a venture that Rwanda and Israel would not attempt if they were given the same opportunity again.

The impact of foreign states interventions on the conflict dynamics in the host country is far reaching. When states pursue their own interests in another country, the peacemaking processes are jeopardized. For instance, civil wars where warring parties are supported by the foreign states are more likely to recur than those that do not receive support from outside countries (Karlen, 2017b). Similarly, conflicts whose NSAGs are supported and directed by the foreign states are

more difficult to manage and often last longer (Regan, 2002). Moreover, conflicts that get support from foreign states are severe and leads to more fatalities than civil wars that warring parties do not get support from foreign governments (Heger and Salehyan, 2007).

Literature postulates many reasons to justify why the foreign states' intervention exacerbates conflicts and thwarts conflict management in the host countries. When foreign states support the warring parties, in terms of weaponry, finance, among other things, they increase the fighters' willingness and the ability to instigate political violence (Regan and Meachum, 2014). Secondly, external states join a conflict with different agendas other than those of the warring parties (Karlen, 2017a). This complicates the bargaining environment because, in addition to the preferences of the warring parties, the new and different agendas must be settled as well (Cunningham, 2006).

2.2 The Role of European Powers in the Nigerian Conflict

The conduct of the European powers is critically analyzed in this part of the article. Britain which was the former colony of Nigeria had a lot of linkages and ties, in terms of culture and economy with, Lagos. Apart from the British government depending partly on the oil from Nigeria, the Nigerian military is largely trained by the British government. This is coupled by the fact that English is the official language in Nigeria and that most of the Nigerian students study in Britain.

That said and done, the interest of Britain in Nigeria remain prominent. Nigeria produced high quality oil with low sulphuric contents which was preferred by the British government (Audu et. al, 2013). The interest and investment of Britain in as far as oil was concerned was huge enough to determine the British attitudes toward the Nigerian conflict. The biggest oil exploration company in Nigeria, Shell-BP, belonged to Britain. Shell-BP was responsible for the production of 84% of oil in Nigeria (Uche, 2008). Additionally, apart from the British company being the largest producer of oil, Britain was also the biggest importer of the Nigerian oil, with over 40% consumption.

The British interest in as far as oil is concerned reached its apogee in June 1967 when there was a closure of Suez Canal due to the six day war in the Middle East. The closure led to disruption of oil supplies to Britain (Akinbi, 2015b). When the supply of oil from Middle East to Europe was disrupted, Britain solely depended on the Nigerian oil to curb its shortage. Britain was alive to the fact that the civil war could lead to a disrupted oil production and supply to its country. This formed one of the reasons why Britain intervened in Nigeria.

Britain also preferred Nigeria as a united country. This preference was strengthened by the fact that France was championing its split and was readily supplying weapons to the secessionist Biafra.

For Britain, the split would be detrimental to its economy. This is because Britain was not sure whether it will manage to do business the French-assisted Republic of Biafra in case there is a successful secession (Audu et. al, 2013). For this matter, Britain took a position and assisted the federal government to fight and crash Biafra.

Apart from the economic gains that Britain expected to benefit from a united Nigeria, it had other moral obligations to ensure that there was no secession. First, Nigeria being a former British colony and a member of commonwealth, Britain had the moral responsibility to ensure its stability (Akinbi, 2015b). Furthermore, Britain was concerned that sympathizing and recognizing of the secessionist as legitimate is likely to cause a ripple effect in the entire Africa (Ugochukwu, 2010). The British administration did not want to be associated with the secessionist demands that are likely to erupt in the entire African continent.

In view of the above developments, the British government had to put everything forward to defend the federal government of Nigeria from being toppled by Biafra. This saw Britain supply of arms and improve the Nigerian military capacity. In this endeavor, Britain did not only strive to meet its interests but also tried to thwart the efforts of France and Russia who were trying to access and benefit economically and strategically from Nigeria at the expense of the its administration (Audu et. al, 2013). This is all the strategist paradigm is about: states shall acquire and preserve their interests while thwarting others for pursuing theirs.

Apart from the role of Britain in the Nigerian civil war, the involvement of France in the conflict was significant. To start with, the relationship between France and Nigeria before the civil war in 1967 was hostile (Akinbi, 2015a). With the position of Nigeria, as the regional economic and military power, France felt threatened (Griffins, 2015). This created the need for France to use any available means to ensure that Nigeria is fragmented and weak. The French fears of the hegemonic potential of Nigeria in the West African region were further exacerbated by the Nigerian proximity to the francophone states. Nigeria had more potential to attract the poor and weak Francophone states because of its proximity as compared to France (Akinbi, 2015b).

To thwart the Nigerian hegemony in West Africa, France provided military and financial support to Biafra. By 1968, before the French intervention in support of Biafra, the rebel group was effectively finished (Akinbi, 2015b). Essentially, if France did not support Biafra, the civil war could have ended in 1968. The French support to Biafra enabled the rebel group to survive, stand and rejuvenate its fight. The support from the external state emboldened the rebel group to fight more fiercely and prolonged the conflict. This is agreement with the argument presented by literature that conflicts whose warring parties receive support from external states are fiercer (Heger and Salehyan, 2007); difficult to manage and often last longer (Regan, 2002)

Consequently, the Nigerian civil war got into the entanglement of the difference between France and Britain. France for a long time had been trying to settle its scores with Britain and when the British government offered support to the Nigerian government to combat Biafra, France found a formidable opportunity to embarrass it by backing the rebel group (Akinbi, 2015a). This situation resulted in a proxy war with each European state supporting a different faction of the conflict.

At the time of the Nigerian civil war, France had economic interest in the outcome of the conflict. By then the French state owned SAFRAN was sustaining 7% of oil business in Nigeria (Uche, 2008). It was in the understanding of the French government that with the successful secession and the establishment of the Republic of Biafra, its oil business is likely to flourish. France would probably lock out other pro-government competitors like England, US and Italy that had interest in the Nigerian oil business. These developments, in line with the strategist paradigm in conflict, sent France to aggressively support Biafra.

Russia on the other hand, saw an opportunity to soften its relationship with Nigeria. Before the civil war, Nigeria had not entertained Russia in any way; it had turned down all its loans despite being offered at more competitive rates than those from other European states. Russia saw Nigeria as being a strategic state that is important in the penetration of West Africa (Audu et. al, 2013). The importance of Nigeria became real after the overthrow of Kwame Nkuruma of Ghana who was Russia's special contact in West Africa. The overthrow of president Nkuruma led to the Russia's loss of cocoa. Russia's friendship with Nigeria was a great opportunity for the exchange of arms with cocoa (Akinbi, 2015b).

At some point, when Britain was reluctant to supply arms and offer military support to the Federal Government of Nigeria, Russia came in handy to fill the gap. This movement agitated Britain. The actions of Russia made Britain to respond with urgency by supplying arms among other military support (Akinbi, 2015b). Even after an arms embargo was declared against Nigeria, Britain and Russia continued to supply weapons. This development led to the intensification of civil war between the federal government and Biafra

3. Conclusion

The European powers intervened in Nigeria purely because of their own interest. They did not care about the stability of Nigeria or the condition of the civilian victims who bore the biggest brunt of the civil war. The European states did not care of the existing international laws; they violated them and pursued their interest. The main interest of the three European powers was to secure their economic interest through the acquisition of oil and cocoa.

The mode of pursuit of interest by the European powers influenced the dynamics of the conflict in Nigeria. The supply of weapons to the warring parties complicated and prolonged the conflict. As elaborated in the findings, before France offered support to Biafra, the rebel group had effectively weakened to fight the government. The French support gave them a lifeline and it was for this reason that the conflict became deadlier, complicated and protracted. The competition by the external states to thwart each other's pursuit of interest exacerbated the conflict.

The strategist paradigm of conflict clearly manifests itself in the conduct of states in as far as the Nigerian civil war was concerned. The states pursued their interest on the one hand while on the other hand thwarting other states' effort to pursue theirs.

In a nut shell, unless the role of external states in the African conflicts is understood and addressed, civil wars are likely to prevail in the continent. The role of external states requires enhanced policy and academic attention.

The article therefore, recommended that: The actors in conflict management should ensure that proper mapping out of conflict parties is carried out. This would be able to net-in all stakeholders including states that are involved in the perpetration of conflict either by supporting the government or the rebel group. From there conflict management strategies can be crafted; Diplomatic efforts should be embraced whenever external states are involved in the African conflicts. For the Nigerian case, diplomatic negotiations should have been carried out between Britain, Russia and France. This way, the adversity of the conflict could have been arrested.

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Political Parties Manifesto and its Contributions to Educational

Policy Development and Management in Kenya

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Abstract

Education of any country is an integral tool for the general developmental process of that particular nation. There are myriad factors that influence national systems of education. They inevitably range from social, economical, technological to political influences. This paper sought to investigate political parties manifesto and its contributions to educational policy development and management in Kenya. The target populations were County Directors of Education, Key Ministry of Education officials and members of County Education Boards in Uasin Gishu County, parliament and party leaders within the county. They were purposely sampled through non-probability sampling. The philosophical paradigm used was constructivism. It adopted qualitative research design where data was collected through interviews, document analysis of government policy documents, Parliamentary Hansards on educational development were transcribed, theme development observed and interpreted. Content and construct validity was observed. Data analysis was done through thematic coding; content, narrative, discourse and framework analysis. It was established that the challenges bedeviling educational sector would be effectively addressed through collaboration and involvement of the key stakeholders as espoused by stakeholder theory embraced in the enquiry. The study recommends that government should prioritize provision of education through   sound policy frameworks as espoused in their political manifestos and key policy documents. The government and key stakeholders should plan; manage implementation and evaluation of educational programmes to achieve equity, access and quality. The finding are significant to the government in coming up with progressive policies, stakeholders in engagement and researchers. It foregrounds and interrogates the stakeholder theory as applied in educational provision.

Keywords: *manifesto and education, political parties manifesto, education and politics and educational policy development.*

Introduction

Education is ubiquitous as witnessed in national and international politics; it is explicit how often education is a pertinent discourse in political debates all over the world. Education today makes regular appearances in many election campaigns, political speeches, rallies and government strategies: inherently linked to the social-democratic policy of the "Third Way," education had been observed as cornerstone component of European social democratic politics, conceived as an

important element to qualify for continuous employment and to update skills linked to all types of jobs in the economy. By emphasizing the knowledge society, the European Lisbon, strategy ideally relied on education and training. The Bologna and Copenhagen processes as well as the 2007 European Lifelong Learning Program endeavored to establish education as an important cornerstone in European civil and economic development (World Bank, 2018; Benavot & Köseleci, 2015).

The ultimate objectives of all societies are inextricably similar and have a universal character suggesting that educational development by respective governments would promote its achievements. These objectives typically include (i) political equality; (ii) social justice; (iii) human dignity including freedom of conscience; (iv) freedom from want, disease, and exploitations;(v) equal opportunities; and(vi) high and growing per capita incomes, equitably distributed (Government of Kenya [GOK] 1965;World Bank, 2018).Thus it has been incumbent upon the governments to foreground them in their respective political manifestos and implement the policies espoused therein with due considerations to national and international policies.

Party manifestos play an integral role in education in USA, Africa and the world over (Eshiwani, 1990). Empirical studies have revealed that educational development would concomitantly lead to accelerated economic growth, more wealth and income distribution to all and sundry, greater equality of opportunity, availability of skilled human power, a decline in population growth, long life span, better health outcomes, low crime rates, national unity and political stability. This belief has made many individuals and nations to invest immensely in education (Eshiwani, 1990; Murunga &Nasong"o, 2007).

Political responsibility through party manifestos has been witnessed in Kenya through commitment to education as witnessed after 1963 elections, when the Kenya African National Union (KANU) became the ruling party. The party published a manifesto that committed the party to offering a minimum of seven years of free primary education. In the 1969 election manifesto the party again re-echoed its commitment to the same and pledged to extend its educational programmes to sparsely populated areas and those which were neglected during the colonial rule so that every Kenyan could participate fully in nation building. In 1971, a presidential decree abolished tuition fees for the districts within unfavorable geographical location such as Arid and semi Arid Lands (ASAL) (Ojiambo, 2009; Bogonko, 1992).2002 general elections, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) made the provision of free primary education (FPE) part of its election manifesto again. Fees and levies for tuition were abolished as the government and development partners pledged to meet the cost of basic educational materials as well as salaries for non-academic faculty and co-curricular activities (Sifuna, 2005; World Bank, 2018).It is evident that respective political parties have fore grounded educational development in their elections manifestos which make them committed to achieve for the betterment of their electorates and citizens.

It is apparent that parties which form government through their manifestos provide education as an obligation due to the following reasons: improved economic growth; social mobility of the poor;

political socialization and cultural homogenization; manpower considerations and as a basic human right as enshrined in the international treaties.Murunga&Nasong"o (2007) contends that democracy entails myriad characteristics the most prominence being democracy in which people have some real decisions making power over and above formal consent of the electorate choice. This entails among other things a powerful legislature, decentralization of power to local democratic formations, and considerable emphasis on development of institutions for articulation of interests. It has to be social democracy that invests heavily in improvement of people"s health, education and capacity so that they participate effectively in the nation building (Bogonko, 1992; Amutabi, 2003; Ojiambo, 2009; World Bank, 2018).

Previous studies reveal that Kenyan governments have continued over time to invest heavily informal education. In the last three decades, for instance, public spending in education in Kenya as appropriation of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has increased from 5.1% in 1980/1981to15%in 2008/2009; 2018/2019. Expenditure on Education: Total: % of GDP data is updated yearly, averaging 5.509 % from   December 1971 to 2015, with 34 observations (World Bank, 2018). Ojiambo (2009) contends that: - compared to other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with similar GDP per capita, Kenya spends considerably more funds on education in relation to its total Government expenditure and Gross National Product (GNP).This is in the realization to the fact that education acts as a catalyst for socio - economic development of a nation.

From these studies, it is evident there is a significant research gap on role of political parties in education policy implementation in African countries. While whole works have examined the role of the public bureaucracy in provision of education (Murunga &Nasong"o, 2007; Sifuna,

2005; KIPPRA, 2018) these studies do not deal with political part manifestos" role in the education sector, and their contribution to a wider systems level that goes beyond institutional bureaucracy. This study therefore focused on political parties manifesto and its contributions to educational policy development and management in Kenya

2. Methodology

The study employed constructivism philosophical paradigm thus delineates the advocacy of policies espoused by political parties through their respective party manifestos in this study. Bryman (2006) propounds that a paradigm as a cluster of beliefs and dictates which, for scientists in a particular discipline, influence what should be studied, how research should be done [and] interpreted. Paradigms are opposing worldviews or belief systems that are a reflection of and guide the decisions that researchers make (Creswell & Clark, 2012).Qualitative research design was employed in the study since the study sought to provide more insight.

The target populations were County Directors of Education, Key ministry of education officials and members of County Education Boards in Uasin Gishu, parliamentary and Senate party leaders. Data was collected through interviews of County Directors of Education, Teachers Service Commission and Ministry of Education, document analysis of government policy documents like

commission reports; Acts of parliament like Children Act, 2001, Education Act, 1968; presidential pronouncements and ministerial circulars. Parliamentary Hansard on educational development was coded, transcribed, theme development observed including written messages from interview of which were interpreted. KANU, NARC and Jubilee parties" manifestos on education policy on access, equity and quality were coded thematically. They were purposively selected since they have ruled the country. Content and construct validity was observed.

Data analysis was done through thematic coding; content, narrative, discourse and framework analysis of key policy documents. Validity is seen as evaluative judgments" that are made on the inferences of assessment results that is whether correct interpretations are made and actions are taken based on the inferences from interviews with key informants, documents and audio- visual materials of policy deliberations by the government.

3. Results
The results were based on the following aspects:

3.1 Government commitment to Provision of Education
Document review of key policy documents and interview results from County Directors of Education and politicians revealed that the Kenyan government commitment to education improvement is evidenced by several post independence commissions. The Kenya Education

Commission-Ominde Commission (GOK,1964,GOK ,1965), The National Committee on

Educational Objectives and Policy-Gacathi Report(GOK,1978), The Presidential Working Party on the Second University-Mackay Report (GOK,1981),The Presidential Working Party on Education and Man-power- Kamunge Report(GOK,1988) and Commission of Inquiry into the Education system of Kenya-Koech Commission (GOK, 1999).The commissions heralded sessional policy and strategy papers such as GOK,1965, Sessional paper No.10 of 1965: "African Socialism and its Application to planning in Kenya" and sessional Paper No.14 of 2012 among others.

The educational framework in use was built on and reformed or modified to reflect the needs and aspirations of national development. The legislations, commissions, acts of parliaments, presidential pronouncements and policies constitute the legal policy framework of the country"s education system. After independence in 1963, the government laid emphasis on education as a medium for human resource and national development. Actually, education plays an integral role in the development of human capital that is important factor of production (GOK,2005; GOK, 2007; Sifuna, 2005)

It is instructive to note that political pronouncement has over time changed the educational environment. President Moi's programme in Kenya, which was popularly known as „Nyayo free milk", was meant to improve health of pupils and encourage school attendance in early 1980s.

NARC government under in Kenya in 2003 focused on Free Primary (FPE) and Free Day Secondary Education programmes (FDSE).The subsequent Jubilee government focused on Free laptop programme, Competency Based Curriculum (CBC),enrolment in Vocational and Technical education programmes by the youths who do not qualify to join universities in order to acquire skills to achieve big four agenda which focuses on attainment of manufacturing; affordable housing; universal healthcare; and food security in Kenya(GOK,2005; KIPPRA,

2018)

3.2 The Right to Education
A Senate member and County Director of Education interviewed reiterated the right to education:

> *Every child has a right to access, equity and quality education as per our Basic Education Act no.14 of 2013.*

The above results are supported by empirical findings which reiterate that the right to education is enshrined in key international documents (GOK, 2007; Mwenje&Kessio, 2015). It is evident that while the Free Primary Education (FPE) program has increased access to primary education especially among poorer households, ancillary costs of primary education such as school uniform, school infrastructure development and refurbishments costs, among other expenses shouldered by parents and guardians, continue to hinder the educational attainment of many children. In addition, the provision of quality education remains a challenge (Eshiwani, 1990; World Bank, 2018).

3.3 Policy challenges in implementation of education

County Director Interviewed reported that

Several research reports in Kenya have brought to the fore glaring discrepancies of the basic education system in Kenya and its inability to deliver quality education

It is supported by the Koech commission (GOK, 1999: World Bank, 2018) which evolved the concept of Totally Integrated Quality Education and Training (TIQUET) to reflect the vision of Kenyan education. TIQUET, as a concept embraced the values and substance that was to characterize the education system. It was to be total because it was expected to be inclusive, accommodative and life-long. It was to be integrated in its view of the purpose of learning. It focused on of delivery and outcome of the education and training process (Amutabi, 2003; Sifuna, 2005; GOK, 1999).It was anticipated that it would enhance access; equity and quality in education in Kenya thus spur economic development through multi sectoral approach (GOK, 1981; GOK, 1999).

TIQET had inherent innovations, namely: the expansion of access to basic education; elimination of disparities in education based on geographical, social and gender factors; introduction of manageable curriculum content; introduction of modular learning approach and credit accumulation in post- secondary education; increased access to education through expanded alternative and continuing education; flexibility in university admission; introduction of early

childhood, special and technical education and; continuous assessment. The purpose of this was to make education demand-driven and to tie it to the labor market thus reduce unemployment (GOK, 1999; Amutabi, 2003; Sifuna, 2000; Kessio et.al., 2014)

Content analysis and interview with key informants revealed that the following challenges impede realization of access, quality and equity in education:

> *inadequate teachers, some schools at the ratio of 1:72; limited infrastructure in terms of teaching and learning materials; delay in disbursement of funds by the Ministry of education; misappropriation of funds at some levels; retrogressive cultural practices like early marriages, child labor; mismatch between what is learnt and labor market required skills; banditry and cattle rustling in some areas due to insecurity which hinders learners from participation in schools.*

County Director of Education reiterated that Sexual abuse, early pregnancies and gender stereotypes continue to affect girls" education. Although Kenya made free primary and day secondary education, there are still some indirect fees. Other issues are: high ratio of teacher to pupils, poor teacher remuneration thus regular unions unrests, poor quality of education in public school, high drop-outs and repetition rates thus wastages, inadequate and uncoordinated funding with weak governance and financial management, geographical disparities, limited availability to teaching and learning material and apathy in community participation.

It is instructive to note that free primary education was introduced in 2003 and concomitantly free secondary education in 2008. The objective of this programme is to increase access to secondary education by providing additional resources in line with the policy of providing twelve (12) years of basic education as well as meeting the constitutional requirements to provide education to all her citizens. In addition, the State Party introduced mobile schools in arid and semi-arid areas in Kenya. The State Party banned extra coaching by teachers to reduce indirect and imposed fraudulent costs by some schools to parents. There was need for the government and key stakeholders to address the concerns (Chepsiror & Kessio 2015; Sifuna, 2005).

3.4 Pre-requisite conditions for effective implementation of educational Policies

Empirical literature reveals that top-down" theorists devised a list of six necessary and sufficient conditions for effective policy implementation (Sabatier &Mazmanian, 1979; KIPPRA, 2018), indicating that if these conditions were realized; policy should be implemented as intended:

i.   clear and logically consistent objectives
ii.   adequate causal theory (i.e. a valid theory as to how particular actions would lead to the desired outcomes)
iii. an implementation process structured to enhance compliance by implementers (e.g. appropriate incentives and sanctions to influence subordinates in the required way)
iv.   committed, skilful, implementing officials
v.   support from interest groups and legislature

vi.   no changes in socio-economic conditions that undermine political support or the causal theory underlying the theory

Overtly, conditions necessary for effective implementation of educational Policies by political parties through the ruling government are clear and concise goals and objectives, structured systems and necessary compliance, commitment by political elites and technocrats including implementers. There is need for continuous support by all and sundry. Content analysis and key informants like County Directors of education and head teachers corroborated the aforementioned necessary conditions and was supported by findings from World Bank. (2018).

Table 1

Strategy for planning and managing the implementation of reforms in education

Macro-analysis of the ease with which policy change can be implemented	Analyse conditions for facilitating change and, where possible, make adjustments to simplify, i.e. one agency, clear goals, single objective, simple technical features, marginal change, short duration, visible benefits, clear costs
Making values underlying the policy explicit	Identify values underlying policy decisions. If values of key interests conflict with policy, support will have to be mobilized and costs minimized
Stakeholder analysis	Review interest groups (and individuals) likely to resist or promote change in policy at national and institutional levels; plan how to mobilize support by consensus building or rallying coalitions of support
Analysis of financial, technical and managerial resources available and required	Consider costs and benefits of overseas funds (if relevant);assess likely selfinterested behavior within the system; review incentives and sanctions to change behaviour; review need for training, new information systems or other supports to policy change

Building strategic implementation process	Involve planners and managers in analysis of how to execute policy; identify networks of supporters of policy change including „champions‟; manage uncertainty; promote public awareness ; in stitute mechanisms for consultation, monitoring and „fine tuning‟ of policy

Source: Adapted from Walt (1998)

It is evident from table 1; that prudent policy makers who are technocrats and legislative politicians should consider use of several approaches to analyse their context and stakeholders simultaneously, both, „bottom-up‟ and „top-down‟. A crucial skill would entail being able to map the key stakeholders, their situations, their worldview , their value system and culture , their strategies, their desired outcomes and their ability to delay, obstruct, overturn or help policy implementation and educational development. It entails Building strategic implementation process, stakeholders analysis and resources and financial analysis within a given context. It is political and involves tradeoffs.

4. Conclusions

It is evident from the study findings that political parties and government at large will continue to play an integral role in the policy development of education due to pecuniary and non-pecuniary benefits it offers to its citizens. The structural and operational challenges bedeviling educational sector would be effectively addressed through collaboration and involvement of the key stakeholders as espoused by stakeholder theory. Monitoring of educational programs implementation should be ongoing to enhance effectiveness and efficiency which is inherently elusive to perfectly achieve.

Based on these findings, the study recommends that the government should continue to prioritize education through provision of both human and physical resources including sound policy frameworks as espoused in their political manifestos and key policy documents. This should be done through increased funding and timely disbursement of funds by the treasury. Further, the government and key stakeholders should also plan and manage implementation and evaluation of educational programmes. This should be done through involvement of all and sundry including the teachers unions and other players in education. Finally, there is also a need for the government and stakeholders to improve education access, equity and quality for improved economic development. Access should be done through progressive implementation of one hundred percent transition and other related policies and improvement of quality

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Significance of Authenticity in Developing a Successful Leadership Practice

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Abstract

Many organizations in different sectors have experienced challenging moments related to changing business environment due to competition, new disruptive technologies, and tough economic times. The presence of leaders who may not easily pass the test of credibility make the situation worse and this perhaps is what has resulted in compounded problems of leadership in Africa today. This paper therefore explores the relevance of authenticity in regards to leadership by looking at how authentic leadership is developed, common characteristics as well as qualities of authentic leaders. The scholarly views are then married with biblical perspectives in a way that brings out the relevance of credibility based on character and values of leaders with examples from scripture. Authentic leadership being a process takes intentional effort, dedication and commitment oiled by emotional intelligence through self-regulation and self-awareness. To become a successful leader in practice, the ability to inspire others, leading by example and consistently observing moral principles in word and deed are some of the suggested ways towards achieving authenticity. Recommendation for authentic leadership qualities including high regard for values such as honesty, integrity, trustworthiness and care for others as they influence the followers towards easily believing in their leaders

Key Words: *Leadership, authenticity, emotional intelligence, scripture, values, behaviour*

1. Introduction

Leadership according to Silva (2016) is the process of interactive influence that occurs when, people accept a person as their leader in order to achieve common goals. In order for this to happen, Kretzschmar (2002) indicate that effective leaders should exercise authority and influence over others while having an impact on their follower's lives, situations, systems and structures. Authentic leadership is not the same thing as general leadership even though the two have some things in common. According to Hughes and Beatty (2005), strategic leadership can be described as a situation where leaders think, act and influence others in ways that promote sustainable competitive advantage for the organization.

However, authentic leadership development is according to Avolio and Luthans (2006), a process that involves situations, events and experiences in life that have effects on how leaders perceive

who they really are. These moments could be from childhood experiences, in the work place, at social events and even while going about leisure activities. It is no wonder that Quist (2009) note that two of the qualities of an authentic leader are the ability to demonstrate competency and honourable intent. Oginde (2011) also suggest that followers expect their leaders to have some qualities like listening and communicating ability, high integrity and character. These in the end, positively affect the relation between the leader and followers.

The purpose of this paper therefore is to explore the existing literature on authentic leadership from both scholarly and biblical context with a view to demonstrating how to achieve successful leadership practice. Based on the review, a conclusion is drawn and recommendations made in order to serve a reference point for leaders, more so in an era where credibility appear to be on trial.

2. Significance of Authenticity in developing a Successful Leadership Practice

In seeking to demonstrate the significance of authenticity for a successful leadership practice development, various dimensions have been factored and related literature reviewed. Leadership effectiveness is founded on the basis of authenticity and scholars have articulated how that can be developed over time. In the same measure, exploring the characteristics of authentic leaders helps in offering a glimpse of expected behaviour with the aim of serving as a yardstick for others. Moreover, behaviour is linked to qualities that could be either inborn or acquired over time through learning and practice and a section on this has been set aside in order to offer sufficient clarity to both leaders and followers. Given that the bible is considered a rich source of content on matters values, leadership and followership, scripture on relevant examples has been considered and backed up with scholarly context.

2.1 Authentic Leadership Development
According to Avolio and Gardner (2005) leadership has always been difficult in challenging times and that alone call for renewed focus on what genuine leadership really is. However, in turbulent and challenging times, scholars agree that relevant strategies on how to develop authentic leadership for desired outcomes are required. According to Quist (2009), being in a new situation or role with bigger responsibilities and more so during a time of crisis, may cause a leader not to know what to expect. In this regard, authentic leadership development according to Avolio and Gardner (2005) happens through increased self-awareness, selfregulation and positive modelling that leaders demonstrate to their followers.

Authentic leadership can be looked at from a point of being true to self and Novicevic, Harvey, Buckley, Radford, and Evans (2006) attest to this by noting that it's the idea of being oneself or true to oneself and is often associated with taking responsibility for personal freedom and organizational obligations. Agreeing with this view, Haskins and Smith (2004) but from a strategic

leadership point of view, suggest that it is about those with the overall responsibilities in an organization which includes their character and what they do. According to Tracy (2014), leadership in general may refer to the ability to elicit extraordinary performance from ordinary people but is also about the ability to get and influence followers.

To add to the above, Winston and Patterson (2006) define a leader as a person who identifies, trains and influences other people with diverse competencies and gifts towards achieving the organizations mission both willingly and enthusiastically. This is the point at which credible leadership start to separate with general leadership since for a leader to be able to influence and identify talents in others, more so followers, they need to have certain qualities. One of the major components of emotional intelligence according to Goleman (2000) is selfawareness which he describes as the ability to identify strengths and weaknesses and having the confidence to talk about them. Indeed as Klenke (2005) notes one of the contexts in which authentic leadership and followership are embedded is the complex organization, which is often characterized by chaos, complexity and uncertainty.

2.2 Characteristics of Authentic Leaders

Emotional intelligence is argued to be one of the most important elements of authentic leadership. This perspective is supported by Avolio and Luthans (2006) who observe that a fundamental starting point for authentic leadership development is self-awareness. According to Ilies, Morgeson, and Nahrgand (2005), awareness as a component of authenticity refers to one's awareness and trust in own personal characteristics, values, motives and feelings. Additionally, contradictory self-aspects do influence ones behavior, thoughts, feelings and actions and it is this knowledge that eventually become essential qualities of authentic leadership.

Contrasting the above observations against how Paul and Peter in the book of Galatians 2:11 (NIV) bring out the aspects of values, beliefs, genuineness, reliability and trustworthiness. The bible offer that, when Peter had arrived in Antioch, Paul stood against him to his face because he was blameworthy; he was not consistent in his behavior and would vary his stand based on the company he was in. According to Engelbrecht, Heine, and Mahembe (2014), an employee tends to trust a leader if he or she is trustworthy in the first place and if he or she displays characteristics like honesty, generosity, kindness and acceptance.

According to Mare, Meyer, Coetzee, and Roux (2015), an openness to learn continuously enables one to adapt to changing situations and this learning is based on the credible leadership development. To support this view, Avolio and Luthans (2006) suggests that in a time when change is the only constant, a leader's self-concept cant remain fixed and authentic leadership development is also about changing one's cycle of life development. According to Avolio and Gardner (2005), when leaders foster the authenticity of their followers, they in turn achieve some level of authenticity that contributes to their well-being and as a result, attainment of sustainable

performance. The benefits of such actions on the part of a leader is according to Quist (2009) experienced during times of turbulence when leaders are expected to build their trust on integrity. It is such times when trust with colleagues and followers rise and fall on the perceived integrity of a leader.

Additionally, Datta (2015) agree with the notion that authentic leadership development leads to trust and positively affects group performance. Avolio and Luthans (2006) support this argument by suggesting that authentic leadership is also about focussing on positive moments and not spending too much energy and attention on negative moments. According to Ilies et al. (2005), authentic leaders are concerned with building their followers strengths, increasing their thinking while remaining aware of the values and beliefs that drive them.

Additionally, such leaders are self-confident, genuine, reliable and trustworthy. The importance of trust as a quality for authentic leaders has also been supported by Simons (1999) who confirms that trust is necessary for risk taking. Strategic leaders have a high degree of trust with those around them a relationship that is useful both in good times and when there is turbulence. In terms of values, integrity goes well with trustworthiness and according to Quist (2009) the value comes in handy during times of turbulence.

As suggested by Sharma and Sehrawat (2014), emotional intelligence is more important than intellect and other managerial competencies while Goleman (2013) suggests that it is an increasingly indicative reason for stellar performance. This happens especially when one rises up the ranks as opposed to cognitive and technical capabilities. According to Walumbwa, Avolio, Gardner, Wernsing, and Peterson (2008), an advanced level of moral development is a requirement for achievement of leader authenticity. This development includes being consistent in both word and deed and as Goffee and Jones (2005) suggest, everyone understands the need for consistency when establishing authenticity and leaders must go beyond paying lip service.

These views are supported by Klenke (2007) who posit that a key factor contributing towards becoming an authentic leader is self-awareness which includes values, emotions, identity and goals. In addition, self-efficacy is another important aspect of credible leadership as it represents a leader's self-perceived capabilities to perform cognitive and behavioural functions. In agreeing with this perspective, Avolio and Gardner (2005) note that authentic leadership development encompasses an inherent moral component.

2.3 Qualities of Authentic Leaders
According to Northouse (2016), one of the primary functions of a leader is to produce change and this is directly tied to improved and sustainable performance. Datta (2015) agree with this theory by noting that employee's perception of their leaders authentic behaviour serves as the strongest single predictor of their job satisfaction. In this regard, Avolio and Luthans (2006) suggest that

self-awareness can be reinforced through self-reflection and taking advantage of trigger moments that are both planned and unplanned. Mare et al. (2015) argue that authentic leadership is about both competence and character on the part of the leader and some of the required skills are business, interpersonal and communication skills. On character, they suggest that aspects like respect, trust and behaviour driven by values are necessary.

According to Quist (2009) organizations in times of challenges require leaders who are credible and this includes ability to act with honourable intent and commit self and others to continuous learning. To support the argument of trust as a necessary skill in authentic leadership, Mineo (2014) argue that the trust that leaders place in those they lead, enables both the leader and follower to excel. In addition, the foundation of a great workplace is created by organizational credibility, respect and fairness all of which lead to trust.

Suggestions by Goleman (2013) indicate that people with high levels of emotional intelligence have qualities that are similar to those of effective leaders. Such qualities also help leaders to establish what gaps their followers have and how to build or close them up. In support of this perspective, Avolio and Luthans (2006) suggests that part of being a great coach implies an ability to translate events into meaningful learning to those who have not yet experienced the same. In addition, Gardner, Avolio, Luthans, May, and Walumbwa (2005) suggest that through increased self-awareness, self-regulation and positive modelling, authentic leaders foster the development of authenticity in their followers.

2.4 Biblical Perspectives of Credible Leadership

There is an interesting perspective by Quist (2009) that two of the qualities of an authentic leader are the ability to demonstrate competency and honourable intent and in this regard, the bible notes that Paul when writing to Galatians introduces himself to them as a credible preacher of the gospel. In Galatians 1:1 (NIV) it is stated that "Paul, an Apostle, not from men and not through man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead". This speaks of someone who has been transformed through a process and a series of events as suggested by Avolio and Luthans (2006) and as such, whatever he would then preach to the Galatians, would be authentic. Indeed in verse 12 Paul add "And I did not receive it from man, nor did I learn it, except through the revelation of Jesus Christ" a point that underscores the importance of his earlier message in the introduction.

To support the argument of trust as a necessary skill in authentic leadership, Mineo (2014) argue that the trust that leaders place in those they lead, enables both the leader and follower to excel. Oginde (2011) note that followers expect their leaders to have some qualities like listening and communicating ability alongside high integrity and character. According to Ilies et al. (2005), authentic leaders are aware of their values and beliefs, are self-confident and genuine. However, that is not the impression we get from Galatians 2: 12 (NIV) where Paul note that the cause of his

confrontation with Peter was indeed the fact the Peter would eat with the Gentiles but as soon as Jews arrive, he would withdraw and separate himself from them in fear of the circumcised.

The inconsistent behaviors of Peter does not therefore reflect the perspectives shared by Ilies et al. (2005) in that those close to him indeed got influenced by his pretense as seen in Galatians 2:13 (NIV) where it is noted that "the other Jews consented to his pretenses, so that even Barnabas was led by them into that falseness". Mineo (2014) suggest that organizational credibility, respect and fairness all work together to strengthen the foundation of trust. Additionally, certain elements allow people to trust others and they include the leader's willingness to take risks and the ability to express thoughts and feelings. It can then be argued that Paul was confronting Peter for failing in character by being fearful of reprisals by Jews.

Paul's motive to confront Peter in front of everyone as per scriptures in Galatians 2:14, was meant to correct a wrong after having realized that Peter and company were not walking correctly by the truth of the Gospel. It is worth noting that Bass, Avolio, Jung, and Berson (2003) support this argument but from a transformational leadership point of view where they suggest that authentic leaders exhibit charismatic behaviours, arouse inspirational motivation, provide intellectual stimulation and treat staff with individualized consideration. According to Northouse (2016), one of the primary functions of a leader is to produce change and this is directly tied to improved and sustainable performance.. In this regard, Avolio and Luthans (2006) suggest that self-awareness can be reinforced through self-reflection and taking advantage of trigger moments that could be either planned or unplanned.

Research by Brackett, Rivers, and Salovey (2011) indicates that emotional intelligence includes an ability to identify emotions accurately and to use it for cognitive processes like reasoning, problem solving and interpersonal communication. Oginde (2011) also note that leaders must have the ability to listen intelligently to those with whom they work with, a skill that leads to positive impact on individuals and teams.

Such behaviours according to Oginde (2011) includes having room for opinions of others, providing space for innovation and encouraging positive feedback. This is further supported by Riggio and Reichard (2008) who noted that through training, accurate assessment of information and constructive feedback, emotional and social skills of leaders can be improved. Making reference to research, Kumar (2014) note that when two groups with identical IQ are compared, the one with higher levels of EQ tends to outperform the one with low levels. This goes to show that emotional intelligence does have an impact on the life of a leader especially when issues of performance and effectiveness are concerned.

2.5 The Journey towards Becoming an Authentic Leader

Credible leadership is an issue that is attracting attention in many organizations and according to Goffee and Jones (2005), people want to be led by someone real, and will hardly follow a leader who does not invest in himself on matters leadership behaviour. However, much as credibility is an important aspect of great leadership, it is mostly misunderstood by many including the leaders themselves and in support of this view, Hemby (2017), note that credibility is critical in creating a climate of trust between leaders and followers. One may therefore argue that there is no point having continuous improvement on systems and not doing enough to improve interpersonal relationships.

Credibility for a leader is not something that happens accidentally, it is planned and one has to make deliberate efforts to grow and develop the skills and characteristics necessary for credible leadership. In agreeing with this view, Walumbwa et al. (2008) note that authentic leadership development is also about internalizing moral perspectives. Another emphasis is related to what Avolio and Luthans (2006) suggest that authentic leaders are deeply aware of how they think and behave, and that other people perceive them as being aware of their moral perspective, knowledge and strength. In addition, Klenke (2007) offers that spirituality, selfsacrifice which relate to sense of meaning and purpose, do actually act as precursors of authentic leadership. As indicated by Avolio and Gardner (2005), the moral perspective as part of authentic leadership involves ethical and transparent decision making where leaders drawn upon their moral capacity, courage, efficacy, and resilience to address ethical issues and sustain moral actions.

3. Conclusion

Based on the literature reviewed, this paper concludes that authentic leadership can be developed through increased self-awareness, self-regulation and a genuine care for others. Through certain qualities like trustworthiness, honesty, and consistency in following values, leaders become more effective in rallying behind followers while convincingly driving them towards goal attainment. Faithfulness and an ability to conduct oneself in a prudent manner equally earn a leader credibility and acceptance among followers and this is demonstrated in the scriptures. Additionally, being respectful to others and treating people fairly helps them to relate well with you as a leader while increasing cooperation and commitment. Being able to inspire others, leading by example, and ability to control one's emotions and impulses helps the followers to look up to the leader for support and direction which in the end enhances leadership effectiveness through influence. Credibility does not happen automatically just because one has leadership responsibilities; it is developed, nurtured, and matured like all other skills. The paper therefore recommends that leaders should enhance their ability to succeed by developing certain qualities and competencies like emotional intelligence, and a strong desire to grow other people genuinely. In addition, developing a successful leadership practice requires credibility on the part of leaders. To achieve this, the paper recommends that leaders should create an environment for mutual trust, which then allows followers to feel confident about their leader. In this regard, leaders are encouraged to

behave in ways that demonstrate moral uprightness, caring attitude, consistency in word and deed and regard for values like honesty, integrity, trustworthiness and humility.

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The Impact of Eurocentrism towards the Language Problem in Africa

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Abstract
The contact between Africa and the Western world has had monumental influences in Africa's self-definition and assertion. The linguistic problem in Africa manifests itself as an inherent incapacity of Africans to propose and promulgate linguistic policies that allow the use and development of African languages in the continent and beyond. The incompetent policies that have long been a factor of marginalising African languages are highly influenced by Eurocentric ideologies and politics through which without a conscious leap from such ideologies Africa shall always be subject to hegemonic aids and ideologies. This purpose of this paper is to expose the Eurocentric influences behind Africa's supposed multilingual knots. We shall explain in detail what euro centrism is and demonstrate, thereby, how Euro centrism perpetrates the negativity ascribed to African languages. This paper shall make an exposition on the relationship between euro centrism and the language problem in Africa. We shall discuss how euro centrism guises itself in the African language problematic, and shall also develop arguments on how globalization is playing a key role in marginalising African languages.

Key Words: Euro centrism, African Languages, Self-definition, Globalization

1. Introduction

Africa has encountered several social ills that are as a result of euro centrism, this claim is justified through the slave trade, colonisation and post-colonial history that has one common denominator, Europe. Euro-centrism is: A cultural phenomenon that views the histories and cultures of non-Western societies from a European or Western perspective. Europe, more specifically Western Europe or ―the West,‖ functions as a universal signifier in that it assumes the superiority of European cultural values over those of non-European societies. Although Euro centrism is anti-universalist in nature, it presents itself as a universalist phenomenon and advocates for the imitation of a Western model based on ―Western values‖ – individuality, human rights, equality, democracy, free markets, secularism, and social justice – as a cure to all kinds of problems, no matter how different various societies are socially, culturally, and historically (Pokhrel,2011).

This phenomenon has been entrenched in European and African minds through ages of constant stereotyped ideologies in education and in media throughout the Western and African world: It is an ideology that sets the Western world and its cultures as the superior and only model of society worth imitating; most Westerners have internalised the idea of European exceptionalism and allow it to merge with the universal phenomenon of *ethnocentrism* to breed what we call *Euro centrism* (Wolff, 2017). The following example demonstrates how euro centrism was expressed:

When French colonizers in the nineteenth century spoke of *la mission civilisatrice*, they meant that, by means of colonial conquest, France—or more generally Europe—would impose upon non-

European peoples the values and norms that were encompassed by these definitions of civilization. When, in the 1990's, various groups in Western countries spoke of the ‚right to interfere' in political situations in various parts of the world, but almost always in non-Western parts of the world, it is in the name of such values of civilization that they were asserting such a right (Wallerstein,2019). From the above example, it is evident that Eurocentrism bases itself on stereotyped ideologies that allow its ‚justified' expression of superiority in our present society from the moment of its inception: It firstly treats European society and history as a point of reference in imposing external definitions of other societies, so that they are considered 'backward' or 'stagnant' if their history doesn't contain specifically European features, like feudalism. Secondly, it obstinately deals with political economy as though the most important processes are those within or among the industrialised nations, instead of between them and the oppressed nations. It neglects the role played by colonialism and the slave trade and still today played by factors like unequal exchange as an essential and fundamental fact of the capitalist mode of production. Thirdly, this negative trend peripheralizes the oppressed nations politically, treating them as so-called ‚reserves' of the revolution and subordinating their struggles to the supposed interests of the proletariat in the 'advanced' countries (Richard& Saba, 1985).

According to Wolff (2017) It is from these fundamental tenets that opinion leaders in the Western world, i.e. academics, public intellectuals and politicians, have settled cosily in their convictions about European exceptionalism and thus have developed and maintain a ‚Eurocentric' perspective on the world around them‖(Wolff,2017). This paper shall therefore make an exposition on the relationship between eurocentrism and the language problem in Africa.

2. The Impact of Euro centrism Towards the Language Problem in Africa

The two major themes investigated by this paper include: euro centrism guises itself in the African language problematic and key role of globalisation in marginalising African languages

2.1 The Eurocentric Guise in African Languages Problematic

The supposed incompetent nature accorded to African languages in comparison to European languages is directly relatable to Eurocentric attitudes inherent in not only Europeans but also among African scholars who have accidentally suffered a European ideological mental conditioning that aggrandizes European ideals as the proper and only ideal of social life and civilisation, —these often subconscious attitudes influence current linguistic and political ideologies which, to no little extent, are shared by many members of the African post-colonial elite, and further by all kinds of stakeholders in mainstream discourse on development and, in particular, on formal (and including higher) education (Wolff,2007),‖ consequently, —this tendency has hindered the fruition of African liberation struggles, in fact the continued use of the —term ‚post-colonies' for the newly independent states in Africa recognises the continued existence of overt and covert dependencies from the former ‚colonial master' (Wolff, 2007).‖ Speaking about the problem of language which goes hand in hand with culture and identity of a people, we can easily assert that the identities of many African people are learned identities or imposed identities; it takes but the courage of a few to break away from the impositions of colonial

and post-colonial inferior complex ideals to attain their authentic selves. Westermann (1967) in his *The African today*, expresses how the educated of the Africans suffer most of the inferiority complex, by how they dress and how they communicate. He avers that: The Negroes' inferiority complex is particularly intensified among the most educated, who must struggle with it unceasingly. The wearing of European clothes, whether rags or the most up-to-date style; using European furniture and European forms of social intercourse; adorning the Native language with European expressions; using bombastic phrases in speaking or writing a European language; all these contribute to a feeling of equality with the European and his achievements. (Westermann, 1967).

The English-speaking Africans for example, are ―not only merely proud of their mastery of English, they also celebrate their ignorance of their mother tongue (Omachonu, 2008).‖ By adopting Western languages in our education systems, our social relations and communications, we are simply alienating ourselves from the African perspective. We make ourselves strangers to realities which would have best been conceptualized through our local African languages. Fanon, in his *Black Skin, White Masks*, addresses this issue during his time: ―the middle class in the Antilles never speak Creole except to their servants. In school the children of Martinique are taught to scorn the dialect… some families completely forbid the use of Creole, and mothers ridicule their children for speaking it (Fanon, 1967).‖ Strange as it may seem, ―a man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language (Fanon, 1967).‖

It is of importance at this juncture to mention the fact that most of the founding fathers of the African nations received their education in the West, meaning that they underwent Western tutelage through Western languages, however the most critical phenomenon is not their being educated through Western tongues but rather the fact that long after independence, citizens of African nations receive their education through Western languages. The net effect of the colonial legacy is that the dominance of imported languages which began in the colonial period has persisted till today. Proof of this is to be found in the statistics of official languages in Africa. Of 53 countries, indigenous African languages are recognized as official languages in only 10 countries, Arabic in 9, and all the remaining 46 countries have imported languages as official languages as follows: French in 21 countries, English in 19, Portuguese in 5 and Spanish in 1 (Bamgbose,1991).

Additional evidence of the continued dominance of imported languages is the medium of education which remains substantially in these languages, particularly at secondary and tertiary levels (Bambgose, 1991).‖ Whether this happened unconsciously or was planned shall not be discussed here; however, we shall focus in explaining how this phenomenon has contributed to the language problem in Africa; how does the dominance of European languages in African education systems constitute a problem? Every colonized people – in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality- finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the

mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle. (Fanon, 1991).

The dawn of independence brought a new feeling of freedom among many African countries that achieved their freedom from their colonial masters. Independence, however, was only a physical state of the larger colonial reality, there was much construction and deconstruction of social ideals to be done. Colonialism introduced new ideals in the African people which can be viewed to have both complimented and contradicted original African values of social cohesion; there was a need to restructure the African society, which was almost alienated from its core original values, as Wiredu states: If you learn philosophy in a given language, that is the language in which you naturally philosophize, not just the learning period but also, all things being equal, for life. But a language, most assuredly, is not conceptually neutral; syntax and vocabulary are apt to suggest definite modes of conceptualization. …the African who has learned philosophy in English, for example, has most likely become conceptually westernized to a large extent not by choice but by the force of historical circumstances. To that same extent he has become deAfricanized…. unless there was a conscious effort toward cross-cultural filtration. (Wiredu, 1998).

The colonialists came to Africa, gave us a language, they gave us a new culture and a new name. We accepted the new language, the new culture and the new name by convention and or by coercion and in the course of time we were removed from our traditional languages with neither a clear history nor future: Hitherto identical or related languages came to be divided and this has led to the incidence of cross-border languages of which Africa has a large number. The severity of the partition in some cases can be illustrated by the example of Cameroon, which shares as many as 70 cross-border languages with the neighbouring countries, one of which is Nigeria, with which it shares as many as 45 languages (Chumbow & Tamanji, 2000).

Kishani, (2001) noted that once a people undergo a linguistic alienation, the risk of their being uprooted from their modes of philosophical conceptualization, collection, conservation, and transmission becomes almost certain. Eurocentrism is a mind-set which, amidst the social problems in Africa that are as a result of European ideals, offers complementary arguments for further development of European ideals in African society. With regards to the marginalisation of African languages: The current Western mind-set would view the European *standard languages* of the former colonial powers as being ‚essentially superior' to the ‚essentially inferior' indigenous *vernaculars*, often belittled as ‚dialects', outside the Western world. Consequently, in this line of thinking, all ‚modernisation' and ‚development', in particular (higher) education, can only and must be conducted in these ‚superior' languages in order to meet the models provided by ‚Western civilisation'(Eegunlusi,2017).

The provenance of the linguistic problems in African states, therefore, can rightly be the Eurocentric mind-set which most African leaders, academicians, politicians and policy makers possess, especially when we consider the fact that most African elites have gone through European scholarship, this has profoundly influenced how Africans have come to define themselves: Historically, a lot of changes have happened as far as the linguistic, cultural and psychological leanings of African identity are concerned. For instance, considerations that were given to African

identity during the pre-colonial period are not the same as during colonial and post-colonial periods. Colonialism has greatly influenced this identity. As colonialism thrived, it eroded the important fibres of this identity (Eegunlusi, 2017).

The basis of self-definition for the contemporary African is to a great degree not related to the pre-slave trade and pre-colonial epochs but rather the colonial and post-colonial experience, an experience which is buttressed by Eurocentric stereotyped ideologies: Before colonialism, Africans' perception of themselves was based more on internal viewpoints. By this, they were able to form world views that directed the affairs of the continent. During and after colonialism, their perceptions became increasingly external in outlook. This latter status of Africans' perception of themselves is dominated by colonial influence (Eegunlusi, 2017).

Describing the unconscious damages that colonisation had towards the self-definition and selfunderstanding of Africans, Ojoniyi observes: From my personal experiences of the relics of colonisation as a young boy growing up in Western Nigeria, I can give first-hand information of the subtle and unconscious damages of colonisation on the way Africans have come to perceive and understand themselves in relation to the crucial issue of identity. Such damages, especially of race and self-perceptions, arise from the colonial masters' perceptions, creations and narrations of the natives which were uncritically accepted as the true representation of the black self. I remember that anytime there is a demanding task to perform, men will be assembled and one, giving a supposedly rousing command to motivate the men to a collective action will say in a loud voice: ―eees sobey‖. ―Eee sobey‖ is a corrupt form of ―apes obey‖! The colonial masters will yell at a group of blacks that have been assembled to carry out a task ―Apes obey‖! So, ―apes obey‖ is one of the several legacies of the colonial masters' ways of seeing the Africans and of dealing with them. They are as mammal as apes and gorillas, no more no less. (Ojoniyi, 2015).

Such an experience serves to offer a hint at just how much Eurocentrism has in a damaging way shaped the African mind towards the prejudicial African self-perception: Unfortunately, as a result of this form of perception and narration, a subtle and an unconscious damage has taken place in the collective psyche of the people that from primary schools to secondary schools, teachers and instructors motivating us to carry out any challenging or daunting task are fond of yelling out as the ―new educated masters‖, ―apes obey‖. Those of us who try to ―rebel‖ against being called ―apes‖ by the new masters are met with cane and other forms of corporal punishments. The new masters dress and attempt to copy all the ―noble‖ actions of their mentors including religion. The actions of our teachers, a carry-over of the colonial masters' superiority complex, can only complete the process of the progressive damages to the understanding and the perception of the black self of the students. The black self is also further damaged by the fact that the students are not allowed to communicate in their mother-tongue. The mother-tongue in the understanding of the new masters is a colloquial speech and, by implication, it is inferior, ignoble and totally unacceptable by any civilised mind! In front of every class during my primary and secondary school days till date one will always find it boldly written: ―Vernacular Speaking in this Class is prohibited‖! (Ojoniyi, 2015).

Consequently, the language problem we are investigating relates to the complex issue of African identity which as we have demonstrated has been adulterated by Eurocentric ideologies and mind-set, this experience has led to the fact that ―the execution of outdated language policies in education that are often misguided and do not reflect reality continually cost individual learners and their societies. (Muzoora, Terry & Asiimwe, 2014).‖ Undoubtedly the contact between Africa and the European world has had consequential repercussions to our self-esteem albeit the high status we accord to European standards: It seems that the colonizers colonization of our mentality has made us disadvantaged despite our learning. Many others who stay back in Africa see their lack of opportunity to travel and escape the shores of Africa as serious disadvantage and resolve to pursue their self-interests without giving serious thought to public interests and developmental necessities. At the same time, many are passive while only a handful is willing to do anything. But, sad to say, these few are ―lone rangers‖ and unwanted voices in the midst of the multitude (Eegunlusi, 2017).

It is unfortunate, therefore, that ―strictly speaking; Africans rate themselves so low in comparison to the whites because of colonial dominance (Eegunlusi, 2017).‖ Subsequent efforts to organise African societies have profoundly failed at moulding an authentic African way; the trajectory of African development has been an imitation of European ideals which give no room for African models of life, this is because: Colonially, the African is alienated. This alienation has several dimensions such as political, moral, economical, and so on. The systems of government, the moral behaviour we now imbibe, the economic policies we follow, and so on, are motivated and dominated by the west. The root of these is our mental alienation by colonial policies. This mental alienation was imposed on us through western education. Through this, Africans' colonizers imposed their cultural systems, values and ideals on the Africans. This was done through imposing their languages on the continent. Obviously, this is the most dominant approach to impose alien values on a people. … As at now, our thoughts are dominated by what their linguistic terminologies direct. We do things through their languages and communicate our ideas through them. This became our main medium of expressing our ideas. As such, languages as French, Portuguese and English dominate our daily affairs. This indicates that, epistemologically, Africans are alienated by colonialism. Initially, colonialism imposed these languages on us and we are forced to assimilate western cultures. However, by the time colonialism ended, the damage was done (Eegunlusi, 2017).

The Eurocentric mind-set is deeply entrenched in most Africans which is synonymous to mental slavery, this serves as a clue as to why the problem of language, among many other challenges, in most African nations has been given little to no concern on their use and development. Looking at the development of the world especially in terms of technology, economics and education, there seem to be meagre reasons for any African to put so much importance in the native African languages, ironically most African elites naively admit the irrelevance of knowing their own mother tongues: One reason may be that in their academic training they may themselves have come to internalize such accounts of African thought so thoroughly that they have become part of the furniture of their minds. Such minds are what may justly be called colonized. They are minds that

think about and expound their own cultures in terms of categories of a colonial origin without any qualms as to any possible conceptual incongruities. Such a mode of thinking may correctly be said to be unduly influenced by the historical accident of colonization (Wiredu, 1998).

Our academic training therefore, has played a fundamental role in alienating Africans from their own languages since the languages used in academic training are mostly European languages hence ―one cannot hope to disentangle the conceptual impositions that have historically been made upon African thought-formations [in academia] without a close understanding of the indigenous languages concerned (Wiredu,1998).‖

Recounting his time at school in Kenya, Ngugi states that: Any achievement in spoken or written English was highly rewarded; prizes, prestige, applause; the ticket to higher realms. English became the measure of intelligence and ability in the arts, the sciences, and all other branches of learning. English became the main determinant of a child's progress- up the ladder of formal education. (Ngugi, 1994).

And again, that nobody could pass the exam who failed the English language paper no matter how brilliantly he had done in the other subjects. I remember one boy in my class of 1954 who had distinctions in all subjects except English, which he had failed. He was made to fail the entire exam (Thiong'o, 1994). The language problem in Africa must be confronted in all areas of social life:If the African countries look to being positive contributors to this global age rather than victims of it, there needs to be change. There is a need for an ideological paradigm shift from language policies in education that emanate from colonial and neo colonial ideologies to those that target decolonisation and empowerment (Agbedo, Krisagbedo& Eze,2012).

The extreme punishments that used to be administered to learners that were found speaking in their mother tongues have been demolished in Kenya in recent years yet the problem lingers not only in Kenya but the whole African continent, a clear indication of how deeply eurocentrism is entrenched in Africa.

2.2 Key Role of Globalisation in Influencing African Language Ideologies

The current globalisation efforts in the world have perpetuated ideologies that attenuate the use and development of African languages in mainstream social avenues such as government institutions, schools, and private organisations. ―The term globalization comes from English, as base of the word ‗globalization' which refers to the emerging of an international network, belonging to an economic and social system (Online etymology dictionary, 2009)‖ similarly, ―One of the earliest uses of the term "globalization", as known, was in 1930 - in a publication entitled *Towards New Education* - to designate an overview of the human experience in education (Online etymology dictionary, 2009).‖ The sociologists Albrow and King (1990) defined globalization as all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society. An in-depth study of what pertains globalisation shall often offer varied definitions and concerns associated with globalisation: Globalization is the favourite trapconcept of journalists and politicians. The term has also become the key idea for the practice and theory of the business,

but also came in academic debates. Unfortunately, what people want to express or define by globalization is often confusing (Wolff, 2017).

The trite incorporation of the peoples of the world into a single world society as a key tenet of globalisation has misled most African nations into adopting European standards as the most favourable to accomplish the globalising goal. Every human society has its own in-group values, beliefs, language and heritage which serves the purpose of expressing a specific identity among many other social groups, however, ―the notorious ‚Eurocentric mind-set' is created by extending this arguably natural feature of all human societies to a shared value system of Western and Central European Christian cultures and societies (Wolff,2017).‖ During the colonial invasion of Africa by European nations ―the idea was to bring the light of both *Christian Revelation* and *European Enlightenment* to Africa with the aim of moulding the societies and cultures of the ‚primitive tribes of Africa' into copies of the ‚civilised nations of Europe. (Wolff, 2017).‖· This was accomplished simply through the Eurocentric supremacist ideology: Quite naturally, the Europeans started off from their own self-assured ideological position, which is based on the internalisation of *European exceptionalism*; it assumes both racial and cultural *cum* religious supremacy as given. Accordingly, they would turn the sociolinguistic and sociocultural situation back home into a model for export; this would be part of their self-declared *civilising mission* among the ‚pagan tribes of savage natives' in Africa. (Wolff, 2017).

Through continued Eurocentric ideologies in Africa, most Africans have fallen victims of some sort of inferiority towards European ideals, and with the rising concern of globalisation, most Africans believe that all that is ‚white' is the most capable of realising the globalising ideal, and ―because of the presumption that the language of globalisation should be a language such as English, the effect on African languages is that their roles are further circumscribed (Bambgose, 2011). The language problem we are facing in Africa is highly influenced by the European language policies which we believe are superior and more suitable for education, scientific research, globalisation and social cohesion. It should be considered, however, that: The ideology underlying the import of such policies is basically Social Darwinist by *a priori* accepting essential ‚evolutionary' differences to exist between human societies, with some being more ‚advanced' than others, and thus legitimises colonialism. In terms of language policy, this position favours exoglossic monolingualism, i.e. the imposition of one foreign ‚neutral' or ‚unifying' language. It disregards the historically grown sociocultural realities in Africa with roots in the continent's characteristic territorial multilingualism (Wolff, 2011).

The Eurocentric policies in Africa must be recognised as a threat to not only African languages but also to the authenticity of the African identity since ―the ideological presupposition is that modern statehood in Africa must be ‚de-Africanised' in order to match Western models (Wolff, 2011).‖ which is an expression of Eurocentric exceptionalism, and supremacy in the pretence of globalisation. African languages are being marginalised for the purpose of globalisation, in this sense European languages are regarded more effective for this endeavour: Possibly, this overestimating self-deception regarding European linguistic and cultural plurality and diversity accounts for the emergence of a Eurocentric attitude according to which any situation that would

quantitatively surpass the European one must be considered chaotic and unmanageable – such as would appear to be the case for Africa (Wolff,2011).

The arguments in support of continued use of European languages often have an ideal that is based on globalising efforts; these are arguments that are developed against multilingualism and or multiculturalism for the purpose of bringing the people of the world to a common heritage. It is often the case that the African multilingual condition is related to backwardness, ethnic conflict and underdevelopment, ―the presence of many languages is also equated with economic backwardness while the existence of one language for the whole nation is associated with economic prosperity and political stability (Ndhlovu, 2008), therefore, it is common that: Africa's language resources and their place in African development are unrecognised and little documented or researched in the context of African studies. Language study currently exists on the periphery of mainstream African Studies teaching and research activities (Ndhlovu, 2008).

3. Conclusion

Eurocentrism as we have demonstrated is an ideology or mind-set that has influenced both Europeans and Africans, that is, both the perpetrators and victims. Most Europeans acknowledge themselves as being exceptional and superior to other races and that their ideals are worth imposing on other races, the Africans on the other hand have inherited an inferior complex and have ended up being imitators of European ideals. Globalisation for the larger part has also served to alienate Africans from their social ideals in the sense that the ideals that serve towards the realisation of globalisation are European based. Africans are generally an inferior race that suffers from underdevelopment, ethnic conflicts and political instability. It remains a challenge for African leaders to institute language policies that shall cease the witnessed marginalisation of African languages while at the same time allowing for learning of foreign languages. It is highly commendable that African scholarship be practised through local African languages to curb further entrenchment of European languages into the African minds. The gradual disinterest in local languages must be met by positive action through education; African governments must accord this language phenomenon a crisis, which crisis must be resolved through policies that will allow for a renewed interest in local languages even in academia.

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