Security, Education and Development in Contemporary Africa

Edited by M. Raymond Izarali,
Oliver Masakure, Edward Shizha

This is a timely book that immediately and critically responds to the missing links between security, education and social development in sub-Saharan Africa. It effectively achieves important analytical and selectively pragmatizable perspectives on some of the most pressing issues affecting the subcontinent, including chronic conflict, human trafficking, gender-based violence and possibilities for peacebuilding. It will benefit students and specialized scholars, policymakers and the general public.

Dr Ali A. Abdi
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This chef d'oeuvre is a remarkable addition to the existing scholarship on the African continent inasmuch as it contemplates newer ways of coping with the traumatic conflicts and insecurities of the past and present times. The authors set up new blueprints for a better and safer Africa, and by extension a safer world. Students of African history and African decision-makers should appropriate the conclusions from this book.

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Security, Education and Development in Contemporary Africa

This volume delineates the critical link among security, education and development in Africa and provides a multidisciplinary framework of analyses and possible solutions. Africa has had a long history that embodies layers of mass scale criminality and exploitation not merely from neocolonial and apartheid policies but also from political greed. This history has impacted adversely on security, education and development in a way that deprivation of education and underdevelopment, in turn, re-creates security issues.

The volume aims, firstly, to help augment scholarly inquiry into the nexus among security, education and development; secondly, to provide policy makers and educators with tools and a framework to comprehend the complexity and magnitude of the issues to which they ought to be sensitive and respond; and, thirdly, to provide caregivers and childcare agencies of the state a comprehensible framework of underlying, multifaceted sources of trauma experienced by children in extraordinary circumstances. It is organized in four sections: theoretical conceptualization on security and development; country cases on security and development; security and educational development; and country cases on security and education.

Serving as a significant compass to understand and respond to the complex interplay and impact of security, education and development in Africa, it is of great use to students, graduates and scholars interested in Africa Politics, IPE, security studies, criminology, education and development studies.

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Acknowledgements

Introduction

Conceptualizing Africa's realities in the twenty-first century: The security–education–development nexus

M. Raymond Izarali, Oliver Masakure and Edward Shizha

Africa is a place that seems to elude us. It has had a long history, one that predates the European hegemonic presence in the region. The brutality inherent in the arrogant epistemology of the expansionist European psyche and Europeans' conquest of the region that characterize the period of human enslavement, the slave trade, and colonialism demarcates a traumatic chapter in the continent's history. It is one that embodies layers of mass criminality and exploitation, and a perversion of any rational concept of justice. The postcolonial period has likewise seen many incarnations of oppression, but these incarnations are not merely neocolonial elements and arrogant apartheid policies; sadly, they underscore political greed and spite by many Africans themselves, who in their zeal for power and control have imperilled the social landscape with moral hazards such as heavy-handed inequitable rule, rampant corruption, ethnocentrism and warfare, and misappropriation of resources. A 2005 United Nations report states that from 1956 to 2001 the region experienced 186 coups d'état, of which half are said to have taken place between the 1980s and 1990s (UN Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2005, p. 20). Thus significant trauma lingers on, impacting adversely on security, education, and development in the region in a way that deprivation of education and underdevelopment, in turn, recreates security issues. Yet no significant attention has been given to this nexus in the literature, save for Elisabeth King's (2014) analysis on Rwanda.

Security and insecurity: the challenges

Although Africa has made significant progress over the last 15–20 years, as evidenced by strong economic growth rates – driven in part by political reform and improvements in governance in some states, and a commercial revolution with mobile phones (McMillan, Rodrik, and Verduzco-Gallo, 2014) – the spectre of fragile and troubled states such as Somalia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo continues to pose security, humanitarian, and developmental challenges (Dagne, 2002; Gebrewold, 2009;

Gaibulloev and Sandler, 2011; Abrahamsen, 2013; Cheeseman, Anderson, and Scheibler, 2013). While there is no deterministic relationship between poverty and terrorism or homicide or crime for that matter, weak states can become vulnerable to security threats on account of poverty, weak institutions, and corruption. Certainly, evidence across Africa shows that the inability of formal state security to manage difficult social environments has contributed to a rise in informal or illegal private security and resulted in the development of terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders. This situation contributes to a tense social climate in which to live, interact, and conduct commerce and social affairs, and is reminiscent of Hobbes's notion that the absence of formal security can make the life of a person short, solitary, nasty, and brutish (Hobbes, 1991, p. 89; Hentz, 2014).

Regional conflicts arising from a variety of causes, including poor governance, external aggression, competing territorial claims, internal revolt, and ethnic and religious tensions, can in the aggregate all result in failed states, humanitarian disasters, and ungoverned areas that promote insecurity (Abrahamsen, 2013; Cheeseman *et al.*, 2013). Indeed, the potential for these poorly governed and fragile states to be exploited to provide facilitating environments, recruits, and eventual targets for terrorists and other non-state actors has long been recognized (Forest and Giroux, 2011).

Africa faces both 'old' and 'new' forms of security issues (Abrahamsen, 2013; Cheeseman *et al.*, 2013). These security issues range from the individual (human security), to the state (national/state security), to the regional (regional/transnational security) (Smith, 2010; Abrahamsen, 2013; Hentz, 2014). Ethnic clashes and civil wars in some parts of Africa are a major cause of displacement of people and refugees within Africa (Abrahamsen, 2013; Cheeseman *et al.*, 2013). Weak policing and law enforcement is also a source of insecurity. According to the UNODC (2005, p. 1), Africa has one of the most under-resourced criminal justice systems and suffers from ineffective implementation of international obligations and domestic laws and policies on human security (Abass, 2010). This predicament in part results in weak policing, a surge in gangs and violence, high domestic crime, and unsafe social environments (Abrahamsen and Williams, 2010; Hentz, 2014). In some countries, such as Nigeria, endemic police corruption fundamentally undermines all attempts to bring justice to the population. Countries such as South Africa, where rates of violent crime are high, tend to be major subscribers to private policing (Abrahamsen and Williams, 2010). Furthermore, while terrorism is certainly not new to Africa, the region has seen an increase in such incidents and insurgencies – as is evidenced by groups like al-Qaeda, al-Shabab in Somalia, and Boko Haram in Nigeria (Kagwanja, 2006; Elu, 2012; Dagne, 2002; Smith, 2010; Forest and Giroux, 2011; Gaibulloev and Sandler, 2011; Forest, 2012). In some respects, foreign terrorist groups appear to view Africa as a lucrative location to carry out attacks on Westerners in so-called 'soft target' zones because of heightened security implementation in Western countries (Forest, 2012). Other security threats to or in the region

include transnational drug trafficking from South America to Europe, different forms of piracy (as in Somali piracy), and other brigandage and trafficking in humans or materials. Of course, disease epidemics such as HIV/AIDS and Ebola have clearly shown their impact as security threats in myriad ways. Security issues arising from resources such as oil and diamonds, and from poaching, are also relevant.

Security, education and development

Such issues of life and death harm education and development, and the self-esteem and morale of the youth. In Africa, as of 2005, about 43 per cent of the population was under the age of 15; the urbanization rate was about double the global rate (UNODC, 2005, pp. 1 and 6). With 200 million people aged between 15 and 24 in 2013, Africa has the youngest population in the world, and the trend indicates that this figure will double by 2045 (Ighobor, 2013). Based on current trends, 59 per cent of 20 to 24-year-olds will have had secondary education in 2030, compared to 42 per cent today, which will translate into 137 million 20 to 24-year-olds with secondary education and 12 million with tertiary education in 2030 (World Bank, 2012). Lack of employment opportunities for this large population of young people is a recipe for insecurity resulting from high crime rates and civil disobedience against governments that do not create opportunities for this age group. With 10 to 12 million young people entering the African labour market every year, job growth needs to be much stronger to make a dent in the number of unemployed and discouraged youth (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2011). Over 140 international studies have concluded that most crime in the world is committed by those between the ages of 12 and 30, and that much of this crime is committed in urban areas (UNODC, 2005, p. 6). Surely, one cannot be oblivious to such findings.

Studies on civil wars and ethnic tensions (Deininger, 2003; Obura, 2003; Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Collier, 2009; Kumssa, Williams, and Jones, 2011), and on food, natural resources, and climate change (Redclift and Grasso, 2013), have given little attention to the link between education and security (Campante and Chor, 2012). Yet education is both a cause and an effect of security. In many conflicts and situations of human insecurity, education can be an inspiration as well as a target of destruction (Obura, 2003). Schools are seen as symbols not only of peace and progress, but also of political regimes and historical injustices (King, 2014). During conflict, violence undermines economic growth and productivity, resulting in prolonged contraction in output skills and investment in skills. Thus conflicts do not only impose social costs on states (because of increased military spending to stem insecurity), they also severely disrupt the state's capacity to provide basic social services. Lack of basic social services, including education, perpetuates insecurity, which undermines successful attainment of education for all (EFA) and millennium development goals (MDGs) related to education.

Education promotes security through a variety of channels. Knowledge empowers people to be aware of their rights and insecurities, and the means to counter the disadvantages they experience. With the right kind of knowledge citizens can become aware of their civil and political rights. Education contributes to the level of discourse and public debate about a nation's economic and political future. A country that tolerates differences of opinion and allows public debate empowers its citizens to make choices and exercise agency in situations where their rights are denied. In addition, individuals with a higher educational attainment tend to participate more in political activities, such as voting, discussing politics, and engaging in demonstrations, boycotts, and strikes (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Besley and Persson, 2011; Bruckner and Ciccone, 2011; Campante and Chor, 2012) to make their governments accountable. Education can therefore positively influence political development and democracy (Glaeser, Ponzetto, and Shleifer, 2007). The chances of being wage employed rather than in vulnerable employment are significantly higher for young people with more education. In addition, many young people in Africa experience high unemployment rates despite having higher educational qualifications. For example, in Egypt about 1.5 million young people were unemployed in 2011, while 3 million young South Africans were out of jobs during the same period (ILO, 2011). Unemployment is not confined to university graduates; it also strongly affects young people with secondary education. Given Africa's high population growth, it is expected that there will be 137 million 20 to 24-year-olds with secondary education and 12 million with tertiary education in 2030. However, the increase in the number of higher education graduates has often been at the expense of quality, as government expenditure per student has been decreasing throughout Africa (Africa Economic Outlook, 2012). Within ten years (1999 to 2009), the number of higher education graduates in low-income sub-Saharan African countries almost tripled (from 1.6 million to 4.9 million). It is expected that this figure will reach 9.6 million in 2020 (World Bank, 2012) and that more will need to be invested in employment creation to deter civil unrest from youth who will feel neglected by their governments.

While it need hardly be said that education has its virtues, social conditions characterized by insecurity or exposure to insecurity might affect investments in education and educational outcomes. First, insecurity affects the demand for education by destroying infrastructure. While conflicts and wars tend to be intense, prolonged, and concentrated in particular locations (Bellows and Miguel, 2009), other areas still suffer because they are in a country at war. In times of war, government services deteriorate, trade and relations with conflict areas are affected, and individuals may fear that violence will spread to their own areas and thus not invest in infrastructure, including education (Collier, 2009). Second, even in post-conflict situations, the effects of insecurity can be long-lasting. Such extended effects happen because war leads to a persistent contraction in output, and skills atrophy through neglect, as well as through the erosion of human capital as the skilled workforce leaves to more secure

countries. Conflict not only deskills the existing labour force; it also results in both short- and long-term disruptions to schooling. Education systems collapse (often completely), and children miss vital years of schooling (Obura, 2003; Collier, 2009). The lack of skills can have longer term consequences. If this is not addressed, generations will continue to be lost. This scenario slows the pace of recovery, which can also create conditions conducive to descent into civil war again and other forms of violence (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Collier and Hoeffler, 2008 ; Collier 2009).

In sum, the value of studies that will help understand the challenges posed by security and education in Africa cannot be overstated. While education will not be a panacea against insecurity (Obura, 2003) in an environment where ethnic violence is deeply rooted in a complex economic, social, and political context (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Collier, 2009; King, 2014), there is no reasonable prospect for the materialization of Africa's development potential if the security–education–development nexus is not addressed. That is the humble undertaking of this volume, the objective of which is to produce a literature that has epistemic value and serves as a significant compass to understand and respond to the complex interplay and impact of in/security, education, and development in Africa. The hope is threefold: first, that the volume will help augment scholarly inquiry into the nexus between security, education, and development through the multidisciplinary framework of analyses featured in the array of chapters and possible solutions herein; second, that it will provide policymakers and educators with tools and a framework to comprehend the complexity and magnitude of the issues to which they ought to be sensitive and respond; and third, that it will provide caregivers and childcare agencies of the state a comprehensible framework of underlying, multifaceted sources of trauma experienced by children in extraordinary circumstances and how these circumstances affect their psychosocial growth.

Organization of the volume

The volume is organized in four sections in an effort to properly segment the various studies: (1) theoretical conceptualization on security and development, (2) country cases on security and development, (3) security and educational development, and (4) country cases on security and education. Part I features theoretical conceptualizations on African security and development. In chapter 1, Ihekwoaba Declan Onwudiwe gives a broad criminological outline of the critical security issues that the continent faces, and uses Nigeria as a point of focus to highlight some measures that need to be taken to help Africa effectively move forward. He argues that despite the abundance of negative media portrayal, African nations are not faring too badly in the administration of their state affairs; most African governments still have a reasonable degree of control over their borders. This is not to say there are not problems. As a criminologist and expert scholar on the subjects of terrorism and policing, he has outlined high-risk areas for state attention

and counterterrorism measures, including urgent matters affecting the youth population, and reforms for effective community policing. African political leaders, in his view, need to be proactive in addressing matters that give rise to insecurity, otherwise state resources that could be usefully apportioned to education and other sectors will be perpetually diverted to dealing with security incidents.

In chapter 2, Kingsley Ejiogu has taken to task the urgency of insecurity among citizens and the indifference with which political leaders tend to govern, arguing essentially that such indifference produces a psychology of apathy and distrust by the populace towards government leaders. In an earnest effort to address the crisis of leadership and the plight of the African citizenry, he posits a theoretical outline of insecurity and leadership as an invitation to foster more scholarly attention to the issues he raises. In keeping with the theoretical inquiry while looking for ways to evolve practical grassroots level autonomy and empowerment, Joanne Benham Rennick and Timothy Donais advance the concept of social enterprise to bring about positive systemic change and to sustain peace. Their discussion, in chapter 3, delineates the ways in which change happens over time and the manner in which social entrepreneurs can shape a positive difference in society, particularly those in fragile African states. They outline some successes as well as limitations. Their approach is solution oriented, and fosters empowerment and hope in meaningful ways at the individual level and the level of aggregate social development.

Part II provides specific country cases that highlight insecurity and development. Maritza Felices-Luna, in chapter 4, addresses insecurity engendered by the state. She focuses on the criminality and exploitative aspects of the state of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) from a criminological standpoint. She concludes that neo-liberal development approaches impede the prospect of improvement for the local population in the DRC. In chapter 5, Afyare Elmi, Said Mohamed, and Ladan Affi argue that much of the literature on piracy discusses threats to security, trade, and the world economy but not the impact of piracy on Somalia. Thus they provide an account of the impact on Somalia in an effort to more roundly develop the scholarly literature on piracy in the Horn of Africa. In chapter 6, Ramola Ramtohul points out that despite the success of Mauritius in having a commendable literacy rate and the legal and social measures in place to ensure gender equality, there are serious problems of gendered insecurity that have still not been given adequate attention. She addresses what she considers a culture of ingrained patriarchy in Mauritius by focusing on domestic violence, street harassment, and backstreet abortions. She takes a rights approach in pointing out matters of violence against women and the lack of respect shown to women for their body integrity and sexual and reproductive rights. The rights of women and girls are central to her analysis.

Part III features aspects of security and educational development by presenting instances where insecurity, broadly conceived, have countervailing

effects on development at the social, educational, economic, and other levels, including psychosocial development. Edward Shizha, in chapter 7, addresses the impact of war and civil conflict on the rights of children to education in the African landscape. He argues that education and national security are vital to promoting national development and that the successful achievement of educational goals is integral to fostering national peace and preserving human rights. He claims that national insecurity impedes educational programmes and the achievement of educational goals when infrastructure is destroyed, when students and teachers are displaced by war, and when professionals migrate to other countries in search of security and opportunity. Thus he examines the consequences of war on education and the effects on socio-economic development and national cohesion. He concludes by urging policymakers and African states to promote peace education and human rights education to inculcate a public morality where individuals see and respect the humanity and person in each other.

Oliver Masakure, in chapter 8, examines the link between human trafficking and education in society, featuring regression analyses showing that human trafficking has a strong correlation in African countries with poor universal education indicators. He argues that the failure of governments to facilitate students to complete primary school contributes to making children more vulnerable to the lure of traffickers. This is so because such students will lack the requisite reading and numerical skills to enter the formal labour markets and to participate more substantively in social life. He advocates that students be provided at the very least with a quality primary school education and that states implement and enforce anti-trafficking policies to stem human trafficking.

Efiritha Chauraya and Oliver Masakure, in chapter 9, address some of the ways in which civil conflict and gender-based violence affect the education of women in Africa, by focusing on women in conflict situations. They examine mechanisms through which the education of women and girls is undermined by conflict. They also explore the ways in which policy interventions mitigate matters so that recovery of education systems along with the protection of women and girls in conflict areas can be achieved. They argue that gender-based cultural violence and economic insecurity are perpetuated by conflict.

In the final section of the volume, Country Cases on Security and Education, Abdullahi Hussein, in chapter 10, addresses the impact of the Somali civil war on the curricula and the various media of instructions in schools in Mogadishu. Having conducted qualitative research to gather data, he claims that curricula were imported from other countries after the civil war and collapse of the state government of Somalia in 1991, resulting in a number of curricula being used in the schools in which his study was carried out. In the same vein, he claims, the Somali language as the medium of instruction was replaced by English and Arabic.

Frank Gadiwele Lekaba and Palesa Sekhejane, in chapter 11, argue that development in South Africa, particularly in education, will continue to suffer

as long as there exist hidden forms of systemic exclusions. They claim there is need for a substantive dialogue on security and education, otherwise destructive acts of violence that characterize community protests, coupled with the lack of a transformative education system in South Africa, will prevent the country from achieving its development goals. In chapter 12, Grace Pai uses qualitative research data to survey the impressions of parents, local leaders, and out-of-school children in remote rural communities of Sierra Leone of the country's post-conflict educational reconstruction efforts. Her study indicates that despite the state's success in achieving peace and access to basic education for both boys and girls in rural settings, the technical and vocational education that many youth desire have been sidelined by the emphasis on improving the quality of academic education. Such remote rural communities also struggle with the remnants of foreign cultural influences such as alcohol abuse, smoking, and gambling introduced by soldiers during the war. She argues for an equitable balance between formal and informal education, and for the promotion of peace education to achieve social and economic inclusivity.

Naomi Moland, in chapter 13, examines the Nigerian version of the children's television programme *Sesame Street*, called *Sesame Square*, as a 'soft power counterterrorism' initiative. *Sesame Square* is funded by the US Agency for International Development (USAID). It uses muppets to introduce ideas of national unity, tolerance, and peace. It targets the Muslim population in northern Nigeria, which is characterized by significantly lower levels of education, and is where Boko Haram is waging a violent insurgency against the Nigerian state. Her analysis suggests that the colonial baggage and the social, political, and demographic contexts in Nigeria undermine such messages and could exacerbate divisions rather than promote and celebrate diversity. Thus she gives insights into the possible roles that education may or may not play in mitigating conflict, and how the international community may approach such situations. Chapter 14 concludes the volume with some reflections and insights offered by Raymond Izarali in looking ahead and moving forward in light of the security–education–development nexus. Overall, the volume addresses security and development on broad levels to allow for various perspectives on, and geography of, Africa to be featured.

It is our hope that the studies and arguments presented in this volume will encourage further scholarly research, provide deeper levels of knowledge and awareness, and, in some meaningful ways, contribute to equitable changes.

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