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Education and Zambia's Democratic Development: Reconstituting "Something" From the Predatory Project of Neoliberal Globalization

Zambia, a central African country of about 10 million people, is currently exposed to the nonsubjective forces of globalization, including institutional weaknesses such as high unemployment rates and chronic levels of poverty that ipso facto problematize its governance and social development priorities. The first part of the article focuses on an overview of the failure of the formal educational systems in the context of neoliberal globalization. The second part constitutes an examination of ideological orientations underlying neoliberal approaches to the management of the new global economic order. Here the influence of the World Bank in the educational sector is highlighted. The Bank's ideological orientation is contrasted with educational approaches that should privilege human rights as the standard by which to measure development programs, initiatives, and considerations of ecological integrity. The third section, education for informed action for change through organization, is an overview of the work of a particular activist Zambian civil society association, Women for Change, who work with remote rural communities, especially women. Among the goals of this association is the elimination of poverty through gender analysis, popular education, and advocacy on behalf of marginalized segments of the Zambian population.

La Zambie, un pays d'environ 10 millions de personnes en Afrique centrale, subit actuellement les forces objectives de la mondialisation, y compris des faiblesses institutionnelles telles que des taux de chômage élevés et de la pauvreté chronique qui, par le fait même, rendent problématiques la gouvernance et la gestion des priorités en matière de développement social. L'article débute par une vue d'ensemble de l'échec des systèmes d'éducation formelle dans le contexte de la mondialisation néo libérale. La deuxième partie de l'article porte sur les orientations idéologiques qui sous-tendent les approches néo libérales face à la gestion du nouvel ordre économique mondial, et met en évidence l'influence de la Banque mondiale dans le secteur éducatif. L'orientation idéologique de la Banque est comparée aux approches éducatives qui devraient privilégier les droits de la personne en tant que normes pour évaluer les programmes de développement, les initiatives et les facteurs à prendre en compte en matière d'intégrité écologique. La troisième section est un aperçu du travail d'une société civile activiste de la Zambie, Women for Change, qui œuvre auprès de communautés rurales isolées (surtout les femmes) et dont l'objectif est 'l'éducation pour l'action éclairée visant le changement par le biais de l'organisation'. Un des objectifs de l'association est l'élimination de la pauvreté par divers moyens, dont

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l'analyse comparative entre les sexes, l'éducation des masses et la défense des droits de groupes marginalisés de la population zambienne.

Introduction

In Zambia and elsewhere in the Sub-Saharan African context, the general indicators of good governance practices and democratic development should mean inclusive social development at both the policy and program levels. Public transparency and accountability should also be central components in the amelioration of the life situations of most of the people of Zambia. The best way forward for Zambia, and by extension for Africa, should still be, therefore, correcting the political situations (i.e., political arrangements, institutional relations, and public policy platforms) of these countries (Abdi, Ellis, & Shizha, 2005; Bratton, 1999; Sandbrook, 2000). The role of education in achieving these should be fundamental, with an important emphasis on responding to peoples' actual livelihoods. But to understand Zambia's current economic and, therefore, educational problems, one should not and cannot discount the direct effects of programs and policies (more precisely, via their fiscal, loan, and aid priorities) imposed on the country by such prominent Western institutions as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other international financial institutions (IFIs).

In the context of reclaiming popular and participatory control of the decision-making processes that determine the life chances of most of Zambia's people, we highlight one current project of popular democratization, in contrast to liberal free-market-oriented democratization (Saul, 2005). This project identifies education as a development tool where there is an explicit emphasis on the conscientious and conscientized governance possibilities that seem to be inclusive with respect to the rights and needs of the public. The analyses in this article are located in the framework of an overall view of the failure of the formal educational systems under the conditions of neoliberal globalization. In looking at these, we welcome the view that neoliberalism is now more than a set of policies: it is a form of United States-led global social rule, implanted or being implanted everywhere, which could only be changed by a dramatic rebellion from below (Canadian Dimension Collective, 2004). Some commentators make a distinction between neoliberal globalism and globalization. Although the terms are sometimes used interchangeably, globalization does not carry with it the more specific meanings of globalism or the political regime that governs a highly integrated, corporate-driven, world economy (Laxer, 2000). Attached to the ideologies of globalism and to an important extent globalization are such related categories and international characterizations as Structural Adjustment Programs, the Washington Consensus, the Wall Street-Treasury Complex, Liberal Productivism, and the New World Order. In the Province of Alberta (Canada) where we are located, one can also speak of what is termed the Alberta Advantage or the Calgary Consensus to describe some recent events. Regardless of the designation, the major prescription is to achieve huge flows of speculative capital across national boundaries, reduce public expenditure on social development programs such as education and health, aim for balanced budgets [at all costs], cut corporate taxes, deregulate

businesses, encourage foreign ownership and control, and establish private property monopolies under law (Laxer).

With respect to Sub-Saharan Africa, generally the elitist logic of postcolonial public education (Saul, 2005) has not met the expectation that it should be a vehicle for improving people's lives in the contemporary era. As Abdi (2003) has noted, "due to recurring and continuing political and economic pressures, educational programs have been, at best, limited in advancing reliable platforms of social development for many countries in the sub-continent" (p. 192). In this vein, Abdi continues, "education leading to relative notions and components of social advancement and institutional efficiency" (p. 192) has been the exception rather than the rule.

In addition, and directly related to these issues, the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) over the past 25 years in indebted states throughout the subcontinent is seen by many as a new form of colonialism. It has had a devastating effect with respect to "the reduction of expenditure on public education and other areas of social development" (Abdi, 1998, p. 71). At the 2004 meeting of the Africa Social Forum in Lusaka, Zambia (December 10-14), most delegates agreed that "recolonisation is worse than slavery" (Alexander & Mbali, 2004).

We should all know that the current neoliberal projects that could be seen as new schemes of recolonizing the (presumably) previously liberated citizens and their spaces (Leys, 1996; Saul, 2003) are not, as some otherwise intelligent people might say, "good intentions gone awry," an accident, but deliberate ideological systems that would Westernize the world. Williamson (1993), formerly of the World Bank, might characterize the phenomenon as the "essential mono-economization" of the globe, which has in fact resulted in the deterioration of socioeconomic conditions and life chances for most human beings living in Zambia and other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, recognition of the magnitude of the structural problems does not deny agency to those people who in the face of a quasi-permanent socioeconomic and selectively educational drought are surviving and actually achieving a number of organizational and livelihood successes. In the following, we focus on an overview of the failure of the formal educational system in the context of neoliberal globalization.

In recent years, the body of evidence that has been amassed to support the failure of the neoliberal paradigm as a social development forum is abundant and compelling. Even World Bank reports (see annual *World Development Reports*) consistently document the collapse of educational and social systems throughout the "developing world," and especially during the period of the Bank's increasing domination of national education systems. Indeed, actions of the World Bank and its affiliated regional development banks, the IMF and the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) contribute through their fiscal, loan, and aid policies to the decline of especially Zambia's socioeconomic development. Some of the instruments used to assert and maintain control of the economy include SAPs, Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) projects, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), and the New Partnership for

African Development (NEPAD, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa [CODESRIA]; Jubilee-Zambia; World Development Movement).

Overview of the Failure of the Formal Educational System in the Context of Neoliberal Globalization

Here we point out some of the ways that IFIs have effectively taken control of the economies of large numbers of nation states throughout the world. Programmatically attached to this is the evidence that is available to substantiate the claim that the formal educational system is failing to meet the needs of most Zambians, a reality that should not be unlinked from the globally dominant designs of corporate neoliberal globalization, supported by the policies of the IFIs (World Bank, 1999, 2004; and various IMF and OECD documents, 1980-2005. See also Abrahamsen, 2004; Amin, 1998, 2003; Bond, 2002; Cheru, 2000; KAIROS 2004, 2005; Mihevc, 1995; Panos Institute, 2002; Pilger, 1998, 2002, 2004; Saasa & Carlsson, 2002; SAPRIN 2004; Szeftel, 2000). Here it is not necessary to revisit a debate in which moral, though certainly not practical, victory has been conceded to those who argue for the enforcement of fundamental human rights.

Persistently unacceptable social conditions in Zambia include those described by Alexander and Mbali (2004), who when commenting on events at the 2004 Africa Social Forum in Lusaka, affirmed the widely held view in civil society circles that "the social consequences of structural adjustment programs have been evident in Africa for over two decades." To further emphasize the gravity of the situation, Alexander and Mbali report how in 2004 slightly under one third of Zambia's budget was going toward debt-servicing. Needless to note, debt-servicing generally comes at the expense of basic social development programs such as education and health care.

More recently, following a meeting of the G8 countries in 2005, approximately 95% of Zambia's US\$7 billion external debt is scheduled to be relieved by the end of 2006, and when the 100% write-offs are confirmed, the foreign debt will be \$500 million (IRIN News, 2006). A substantial portion of the national budget that has been freed from the burden of debt repayment is expected to be directed toward education and health. This will be welcome news to educators, as according to the Zambian Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, the July 2005 basic needs basket for a family of six in Lusaka cost 1,361,770 Kwachas per month, and a teacher's take-home salary ranged from between 407,000 and 913,000 Kwachas per month (*African Challenge*, March 1, 2006). For other Zambians, 65% of whom live on less than US\$1 per day (Oxfam, 2006) or less than 130,000 Kwachas per month, the shortfall is considerably larger. At this level, a family of six would have about half the income required to purchase the basic needs basket of goods.

One indication of the deliberate, intentional strategy of the IFIs to create and foster conditions of dependency is the recent first-hand account of an individual who identifies himself as a former "economic hit man" for the World Bank. In the prologue to his book *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, Perkins (2004) states that for most people throughout the world,

This is a war about the survival of their children and cultures, while for us it is about power, money, and natural resources. It is one part of the struggle for world domination and the dream of a few greedy men [for a] global empire. (p. xx)

He goes on to explain how his job was to ensure that countries in Africa, Asia, and Central and South America borrowed far more money than they could afford to repay. When the loans inevitably went into arrears, the IFIs simply and quite enthusiastically enforced the imposition of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) and other measures to advance the neoliberal agenda of globalization. The agenda, as Rikowski (2001) notes “seeks to demolish all barriers to trade and business and the turning of all forms of enterprise [including the public sector] into capitalist ones, with production for profit and sale of products within a competitive market environment” (p. 390). For more clarification in the case, we also reference the work of Chossudovsky (2003) who points out how, for all pragmatic considerations, the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO:

Remain *regulatory bodies* operating under an intergovernmental umbrella and acting on behalf of powerful economic and financial interests. Wall Street bankers and the heads of the world's largest business conglomerates are indelibly behind these global institutions. They interface regularly with IMF, World Bank and WTO officials in closed sessions, as well as in numerous international venues. Moreover, participating in these meetings and consultations are the representatives of powerful global business lobbies. (p. 5)

In the face of worldwide growing doubts about the legitimacy of the IFIs, therefore, the World Bank, in collaboration with some civil society groups and governments, established a five-year, 10-country review of SAPs, which it called Structural Adjustment Review International Network (SAPRIN). Completed in 2004, the SAPRIN Report “shows how poverty and inequality are now far more intense and pervasive than they were 20 years ago, how wealth is more highly concentrated, and how opportunities are far fewer for the many who been left behind by adjustment” (KAIRO, 2004, p. 12). Instead of dealing with the issues here, the Bank's response has been to put in place “new operational guidelines [that] provide the Bank with even more flexibility to entrench adjustment, increasing its ability to extend its reach further into the areas of privatization of public utilities and the liberalization of southern countries' agricultural markets” (p. 12).

Similar contradictions can be found in British policy regarding international engagement with socioeconomic concerns in Sub-Saharan Africa (Commission for Africa, 2005). Referring to this Report, Suri (2005) observes that on the one hand, the United Kingdom's policies of trade liberalization and privatization are presented as one component of the problem facing Africa, whereas reluctance to crack down on corporate corruption is highlighted as another key failing. At the same time, Suri adds,

The UK government continues to demand trade liberalization from developing countries for the sake of its own companies, both in the ongoing GATS negotiations at the WTO and through the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) currently being negotiated with African, Caribbean and Pacific states.

In the same article, War on Want (WoW) is quoted as saying that the British government has advanced the role of the private sector in undertaking infrastructure services in Africa. For example, through various mechanisms of private sector financing, UK armaments firms are enabled to export arms and arms components to some of the poorest countries in Africa.

The main point here is that in the struggle for domination in the new world order (or disorder), the more powerful actors, recognizing the importance of education as a developmental tool, are suppressing its emancipatory potential and diverting this potential toward an uncritical or acritical acceptance of what is becoming the status quo where, as Chossudovsky (2003) says, the IMF-World Bank reform package, as implemented in developing countries around the world, displays "a consistent and coherent pattern ... [of promoting] economic and social collapse" (pp. 59-60). The steps in the plan are by now well established: "The austerity measures lead to the disintegration of the state, the national economy is remolded, production for the domestic market is destroyed through the compression of real earnings and domestic production is redirected towards the world market" (pp. 59-60). Chossudovsky continues that this is not simply a case of eliminating the unwanted competition to the multinational corporations of national and local import-substituting industries. In the end, the conditionalities actually "destroy the entire fabric of the domestic economy."

It is this state of affairs that formal education and public educators are facing, indeed, a situation where the promise of inclusive social and ecological well-being would be constrained by the multiplicities of so much that is imposed on the local terrain. It is needless to add that although the focus here has been on the role of the IFIs in deliberately eviscerating domestic economies, clearly this cannot happen without the compliance and negligence of Zambian/African state elites. As Ihonvbere (2003) observes, the case of Zambia "demonstrates the classic sociopolitical and economic situation in Africa." Following independence, the new leadership elite, drawn from:

An urban-based petty-bourgeois class, "took control of" the state and its resources ... neglects the basic needs of the people and rural areas, becomes corrupt, wastes money on prestige foreign affairs and pet projects, and imposes a one-party state on society. Opposition is contained by judicial and extra-judicial means, eventually resulting in inefficiency, an overbloated bureaucracy, economic decay, and general deterioration. (p. 340)

On the other hand, we do not underestimate the potential of the state to act in the interests of the majority against "the depredations of the world economic and political system" (Leys, in Saul, 2005, p. 61). In trying to identify the various reasons for the pervasive neglect of this potential, in effect, abdication of public responsibility at the political level, we examine the ideological perspective of one major player in the field of education.

Education and Opposing Ideological Orientations

First we should note that with regard to education,

the World Bank's ideological purposes are important because the World Bank is the largest external financier of education in the world. Its actions are

undermining the power of the traditional nation-state, [as they are also] contributing to a uniform global consumer society. (Spring, 2004, p. 65)

The main purpose here, therefore, is to examine ideological orientations that predispose IFIs, especially the World Bank, to engage "client states" in ways that lead to a fiduciary trust being ignored and violated. It is an assessment of the effect of ideological orientations underlying the Bank's approach to education and the justification for specific policies that impinge on development possibilities, prospects, and potential in "subject" nation states. As well, at the organizational level at least, there is some consideration of the perspectives of many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) whose intention is to implement a moral and ethical global order that appeals to higher values than those of the "market" or the "bottom line." This is all the more difficult to the extent that these organizations are funded by government agencies whose directors fundamentally support the neoliberal globalizing agenda.

Essentially, therefore, we focus on the distinctions between the educational ideologies of the World Bank and the global vision espoused by increasing numbers of the members of (global) civil society and especially human rights educators. Here the ideology of the free market infuses World Bank thinking, in spite of the Bank's educational and developmental rhetoric that has been heavily laden with "rights-talk" in recent years. The overall thrust is clearly toward opening the markets of less powerful states to the products of more powerful ones (although the reverse is not necessarily the case), privatization of state enterprises and resources including land and water, deregulation of the operation of private enterprise, and the free flow of speculative capital. In this regard, it is instructive to consider that "manipulation of market forces by powerful actors constitutes a form of financial and economic warfare" (Chossudovsky, 2003, p. 320). Moreover, Chossudovsky continues, with the use these means, there is "no need to recolonize lost territory or send in invading armies.... the outright 'conquest of nations'—meaning the control over productive assets, labor, natural resources and institutions can be carried out in an impersonal fashion from the corporate boardroom" (p. 320).

From the other side, there are those who are attempting to neutralize the programs of the globally powerful. These are mainly CSOs using the language of human rights and environmental balance and integrity to engage in struggles that are not based on notions of limitless growth and endless accumulation. Here the focus is on global social justice and equity: the observation, implementation, and enforcement of human rights standards. Spring (2004) notes that "inherent in human rights doctrine is a collective responsibility to ensure the rights of all people" (p. ix). Human rights educators and activist global citizens replace the free market doctrine, which privileges individual economic rights above all else, with a socially responsible focus on guaranteeing that all people have the right to shelter, health care, education, and a living wage, as well as access to safe drinking water and adequate food supplies.

By contrast, the World Bank's global vision of education as a cornerstone in the fight against poverty focuses almost exclusively on select socialization and job-training aspects, where education plays an important role in preparing critically untrained, let alone educated, workers for new factory systems and

corporate farming. From any meaningful educational perspective, this may not be different from a deliberate program that attempts to socialize rural peasants to corporate workplaces. Indeed, as Spring (2004) points out, "it is the key to retraining workers whose jobs disappear as a company moves in search of cheaper labor. It is the key to preparing women to enter the workforce" (p. 41). In this respect, women are seen as "honest brokers" who are less easily corrupted than men and who are, therefore, essential to the global markets, which function most reliably in the absence of corrupt national officials (graft and corruption at the level of the transnational corporation may fall into another category). Again, the point is that from the perspective of the World Bank, "the best protection of multinational corporations from government extortion is a strong representative government and civil society." Education, particularly for women, "is considered important in promoting honest governments that should protect the free market, and promote free trade" (Spring, p. 41).

Another facet of this view of the function of education as training for employment in the free market is the notion of *entrepreneurship education*, also advocated by the World Bank, as well as the United Nations Development Program and the International Labor Organization. In this approach, instead of preparing youth and displaced workers for entry into the corporate workplace, be it factory or farm, the expectation is that the worker will be self-employed. The purpose of entrepreneurship education is "to shift the role of education toward preparing Africa's youth for self-employment, especially in the small enterprise sector" (Kanyi, 2003, p. 438). The important question remains, though, "can entrepreneurship education serve as a panacea to Africa's development crisis in the way that many international agencies would have us believe?" (p. 438). The short answer is that a number of other factors must be taken into account, beyond the provision of education and training. Kanyi points to the need to assess "the relevance of entrepreneurship education programs to the African context" and its likely capacity to improve "overall economic and technological capacity for sustainable development" (p. 446). There is the further need to make certain that opportunities are available for practical application of the new knowledge, skills, and attitudes, conditions that would be partly dependent on effective governance leadership that should permeate the national space.

In late 2003 the government of Zambia entered into an agreement with the Netherlands government to participate in the Netherlands Programme for Institutional Strengthening of Post-secondary Education and Training Capacity (NPT, 2003). In the general context of reducing shortages of skilled workers while building capacity for poverty reduction, the NPT focuses on the vocational training (VT) and higher education (HE) sub-sectors. In the area of VT, identification of priority areas was based on the Zambian Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training (TEVET) Policy and consultative meetings with relevant Ministry representatives, the Technical Education, Vocational and Entrepreneurship Training Authority (TEVETA), the Royal Netherlands Embassy, and high-ranking vocational training institutions. With respect to the HE sector, identification of needs and priorities was based on the National Policy on Education, the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Education, 2003-2007, the National Implementation Framework of the Ministry of Educa-

tion, and meetings with the Ministry of Education, universities, and teacher training institutions, focusing on upper primary and high school teacher training.

In the NPT program, monitoring and evaluation are carried out at the project level by project implementers (internal monitoring and evaluation), and Nuffic (the Netherlands organization for international cooperation in higher education) carries out external monitoring and organizes the evaluation of the projects. At the program level, Nuffic is responsible for the internal monitoring and for organizing the evaluation, whereas the Education and Research Department (DCO) of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for the external monitoring and evaluation of the NPT program. The basis for monitoring and evaluation is the set of program objectives established by the various parties to the agreement in keeping with the overall goal of training skilled workers and capacity-building to reduce poverty. How far these objectives coincide with Kanyi's (2003) cautionary observations has yet to be determined given the early stage of program development and implementation.

In contrast to, and by comparison with, the World Bank position regarding the functions and purposes of education, "human rights education is concerned with the transmission of knowledge about human rights doctrines and the development of attitudes that will protect, enforce and expand rights doctrines. The audience for human rights education is global" (Spring, 2004). The core of human rights education is that "rights educators are interested in creating a global culture of human rights. In this particular concept of a global culture, human rights doctrines establish standards for human conduct" (p. 66). In this context, educators who wish to advance the human rights and social justice agendas should prepare for the task of exposing the concentric circles that link local politicians with international organizations in the project of globalization, which as Hoogvelt (2001) has cogently pointed out, are fully collaborating with each other. Indeed, rights educators, who will be a new breed in Zambia's and African educational and social development terrains, have to work for significant changes that may be achieved by separating the market-shaped interests of IFIs and similar organizations from the work and needs of state institutions and programs that require direct government interventions and support. Here the job of both educators and responsible state institutions should aim, as Chossudovsky (2003) notes,

To democratize the economic system ... challenge the blatant concentration of ownership and private wealth, disarm financial markets, freeze speculative trade, arrest the laundering of dirty money, dismantle the system of off-shore banking, redistribute income and wealth, restore the rights of direct producers and rebuild the Welfare State. (p. 11)

Part of the struggle to challenge the power of actors who benefit from the continuation of these inequitable arrangements could be analyzed through the now available prism that represents the growing desire and demand by alternative globalization movements for cognitive justice. As Chan-Tiberghien (2004) explains, beyond mechanisms of global distributive justice, a generalized attitude of the global justice movement insists on cognitive justice, understood as "a fundamental questioning of the existing exclusive epistemologies

of globalization and revalorization of diverse knowledge systems” (p. 192). The relevance of this for educational researchers could be explicated by the pragmatism of “the alternative globalization movement [that] performs global citizenship education through critical pedagogy, cognitive justice, and decolonizing methodologies” (p. 192). In this regard, there is a need for a new research paradigm that, as Chan-Tiberghien notes, should transcend “the traditionally narrower boundaries of ‘educational cooperation’—literacy, educational assistance, development, financing girls’ schooling, and ‘education for all’” (p. 194). The new “global educational justice research program” would intentionally incorporate:

All issues of social, economic, political, and cognitive justice in global governance from access to food and basic medicines, development-induced displacement, biopiracy, violence against women, children’s rights, “global commons,” sustainable development, cultural diversity, bilateral, regional, and world trade agreements, etc. (p. 194)

In the Zambian context, one important social movement is Women for Change (WfC, 2004), which has its headquarters in the capital city, Lusaka. One of WfC’s main goals is to contribute to and hasten the eradication of all forms of poverty via inclusive gender analysis, popular education methodologies, and advocacy. The organization has chosen to act in ways designed to protect and extend the rights of the majority of the people in the country. The government of Zambia has not always welcomed these efforts and has at times thrown up barriers to the unhindered functioning of WfC, even to the extent of threatening imprisonment and deportation and the withdrawal of travel documents from some of the leading organizers. But WfC is only one among a number of groups that “are trying to create global standards of conduct that would change or eliminate many practices of local cultures and of nation-states” (Spring, 2004, p. 99). One of the reasons the activities of WfC are not welcomed by the political elite of Zambia would be mainly due to what government people see as a new threat to their power. Actions such as those taken by WfC and similar organizations and elsewhere in Africa could indeed be an important component of emerging global trends that are, to repeat a widely used line, “speaking truth to power.”

Decolonizing Education and the Push for Gender-Sensitive Development

The work of human rights educators and others who are trying to minimize the effect of the neoliberal onslaught, including such emerging civil society groups as WfC, should add to the continuing cognitive decolonization of Zambian and wider African learning spaces that are the sine qua non of any viable and expansive socioeconomic development. Indeed, as the late Nigerian economist Ake (1996) pointed out in his excellent book *Democracy and Development in Africa*, the way forward for the peoples of the continent is the critical reexamination of the ideologies (educational or otherwise) of social development that have been invented outside Africa and brought mainly in prepackaged boxes to the people. The level as well as the magnitude of imposition was so pervasive that as Ake notes, the important links were missed, and clearly both educational and social development could only be achieved by initially understanding and eventually incorporating indigenous histories, knowledge

systems, and the multidimensionality of actual needs and expectations. Ake's important notations could also be extrapolated to the current project of democratization, with education as a development tool for conscientious and conscientized governance arrangements that respect the needs and expectations of the people.

The issue of decolonizing learning and progress ontologies also involves challenging (at the policy and, where viable, global geopolitical levels) the presumed authority of the perforce internationalized neoliberal system to regulate and destroy the social cohesion of countries around the world. Possibly responding to this need, delegates to the Africa Social Forum in Lusaka, Zambia (December 10-14, 2004) asked, "How much further can the tired mechanisms of domination and exploitation be stretched?" In various guises, the structural adjustment programs and the poverty reduction strategy papers of the World Bank reappear in the NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) and in Economic Partnership Agreements. In any case, "the instruments of oppression remain just as blatant for those attempting to access basic services like water, land, education and healthcare—with increasing difficulty" (Alexander & Mbali, 2004).

Forum delegates further pointed out that "It is up to the South—and Africa in particular—to champion notions of democracy that are not intrinsically tied to the market economy." New forms of dissent and more comprehensive understanding of concepts of power that "facilitate, transform, and enhance" are needed (Alexander & Mbali, 2004). It is indeed encouraging to note, as Alexander and Mbali relay, that although African civil society is not uniformly strong across all regions; trade unionists, students, women, and young people are increasingly resisting neoliberalism on the continent—against the current behavior of their politicians. Similarly, Saul (2005), citing Riley and Parfitt's (1994) work on democratization in the context of economic adjustment, comments on the "impressive range of (primarily) urban actors—lawyers, students, copper miners, organizations of rural women, urban workers and the unemployed, journalists, clergymen and others—whose direct action has shaken numerous African governments in recent years" (p. 29).

The Africa Social Forum did not only take a generalist counter-hegemonic stance, but also engaged specialized responses that should be particular to women's issues and perspectives. As such, delegates to the "Feminist Dialogue Sessions" where the theme was "Finding our own Tools," judged that their underrepresentation at the Forum itself reflected the overrepresentation of men at the leadership level in their own organizations and movements. Despite the indispensable contributions of women to social movements and forms of resistance to injustices, delegates concluded, "We know that we will go back to our meetings and some women may not feel free to speak up. Essentially, we know that patriarchy and other forms of dominance are being re-inscribed within our movements for resistance" (Alexander & Mbali, 2004).

The place of Zambia and Africa's women has to be central to the achievement of any human rights and counterglobalist educational and development programs. The rationale for this should not be too complicated to harness. Zambia's women, who are a majority in the country, are also the most marginalized, and as general livelihood conditions deteriorate, they bear more

burdens and pressures not only to help their immediate households, but also to respond to the needs of extended families who could be victimized by the combined forces of poverty, the ravages of HIV/AIDS (Zambia is one of the most affected countries in the world), and chronic schemes of political and employment marginalization. In addition, there is the widely diffused understanding that the education of women, especially in relevant education, is fundamental to the development of all who aspire to advance their situations in their own societies. The expansively referenced wise points (about 55 years ago) of India's postcolonial Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, that if new nations that were formerly colonized had only enough resources to educate either their women or their men, they must educate their women for the benefits to all will far exceed those received by educating the men.

We, of course, know what happened in postcolonial Zambia/Africa. Women's education, which was greatly neglected during colonialism, was not as prioritized as it should have been in postindependence Zambia, a condition of which organizations such as WfC are entirely aware. Among WfC's (n.d.) organizational values are:

Gender analysis/sensitivity; non-partisan organisation; equal participation and opportunities for women and men in development; empowerment of vulnerable groups in societies; identifying, working and living with the people in remote rural communities; dynamism of society: change through use of popular education methodologies and advocacy; using women as entry points into the community; encouraging more women in decision making roles; non-membership organisation; and working as a team to achieve organizational objectives.

Moreover, and quite rightly, the approach used by WfC to address the issues of gender, human rights, income-generating activities, and children's issues stresses Popular Education Methodologies (PEM), which speak about and aim for empowerment. Empowerment in this context involves the freedom to discuss the community's pressing needs and problems and share ideas and information so as ultimately to gain control over one's life. Any meaningful empowerment must start with the participation of all, thereby highlighting commitment, mature understanding, and confidence-building in those whose lot has been pushed to the fringes of the society for so long. If WfC's empowerment through education project reminds us of Freire's (2000) conscientization platform, where a critical understanding of the situation is a precondition for the liberation of the disenfranchised, then the relationship may indeed be there. As multi-perspectively located critical realms and intersections of consciousness-raising (Darder, 2002) that can achieve counter-hegemonic possibilities in both its Zambian and global discourses and practices will enhance, not only would the popular learning trajectories that people like WfC could undertake disturb the conventional power structure, these could also achieve more of the elusive social well-being that so many people are seeking. In addition, the case should also reconstitute for our analytical dispositions, "the education-for-community" programs that Tanzania's late President Julius Nyerere spoke about in the early 1960s. Ironically, Nyerere's programs for inclusive educational and social development projects were mainly victimized, as McHenry (1994) noted, by the global neoliberal agenda. No wonder, then, that in early 21st century we

are still writing (along with WfC and others) against the continuing and almost colonizing schemes of Western IFIs and looking for new human rights and decolonizing learning and livelihood possibilities.

One important example of a specific initiative being undertaken by WfC is "Light-on-Africa: Empowering 50 Million Women in their Fight Against AIDS." The focus of this enterprise is on AIDS prevention rather than treatment and consists of five stages: proactive education; personal guarantee pledge; legislation regarding inimical behavior in the area of HIV/AIDS; public mass demonstration; an initial march of one million Zambian women and the lighting of candles, followed within one year by the lighting of candles by 50 million African women. This was followed by each national team (from the women's groups) focusing its energies on the implementation of the objectives, complemented by (a) helping monitor the implementation of all facets of the program; and (b) beginning to work on the next phase of light-on-Africa (*a continent-wide war-on-poverty*) by creating meaningful self-employment opportunities through the use of microcredit and microenterprise systems for people infected and affected by HIV/AIDS (WfC, 2004). Therefore, to achieve the human rights education projects we are discussing here, the center of power must shift from the corporate rooms of the IFIs and move to the locally recognized learning and social development needs advanced by the likes of WfC, who are already proving a formidable popular forum for the needs of Zambia's, indeed, Africa's perennially disenfranchised. It is indeed with this in mind that the new democratic or selectively human rights education in the current Zambia context should see constructive and inclusive social change (Shor, 1992) as one of its fundamental elements now and into the future.

Conclusion

Throughout this article we engage in open discussion of how the ideologies and actions of IFI, through the internationalized schemes of globalization and with the support of their Western governments, dominate the organization of world financial architecture, primarily to the detriment of the economically, and by extension educationally, peripheralized spaces such as Zambia and other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. With these realities in place, educational possibilities are not serving the needs of the public: a public that has been really pushed to a situation when daily survival has become the main existence quotidian for most people. To counterweigh these realities, we speak about the possibilities for human rights education, which instead of training people to serve the interests of globalization, would educate them to advance their lives and the lives of their communities. As an example of some civil society associations that undertake select projects of the people's rights education, we discuss the important work of Zambia's Women for Change, who continue to challenge the powers that be, and whose work has become an important social development example for the poor as well as the disenfranchised in Zambia and expectedly elsewhere in Africa.

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