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特集

**アフリカとアジアの高等教育ネットワークの
現状と課題**

アフリカ教育学会

Japan Society for Africa Educational Research

アフリカ教育研究

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巻頭言

アフリカ教育学会発足記念大会
「アフリカとアジアの高等教育ネットワークの現状と課題」によせて

馬場卓也

（広島大学）

　アフリカは文化的、地理的に遠い地域の代表であった。しかしだからこそロマンを感じる地でもあり、特にそこに惹かれる人々も一定数いたように思える。斯くいう、私も子どものころ憧れを持ち、訪れることができない（と思った）からこそ、余計にあこがれを募らせていった気がする。さて本学会は、その憧れの地「アフリカ」を対象に教育分野の研究に取り組んでいる。

　特定の地域に関わる研究は地域研究と呼ばれ、その地域を理解するために一つの分野だけではなく、包括的に理解することを目的としている。その意味で、アフリカ教育学会は地域としてのアフリカの理解とその中で教育分野としての研究の両方を兼ね備えた研究団体と言えるだろう。だからこそ、現地語や歴史・文化・政治・経済などもその探求において関連してくる。学校の中、教室の中にも文化はもちろんみられるが、学校の外に広がる文化や社会を十分に理解したうえで、教育活動をとらえることが求められているだろう。

　本学会は 2008 年に広島大学で開催されたのを始まりとするアフリカ教育研究フォーラムを前身としている。日本におけるアフリカ教育研究に興味を持つものが集まり、これまで多くの大学で開催してきた。

　多くの大学が関わっている以外にも、いくつかの重要な特徴がある。それが研究テーマの多様性であり、その発表会のあり方である。教育の中でも様々な焦点やアプローチがあり得るが、皆が一堂に会して、議論をする形式をとっている。それは「アフリカ」をキーワードにして色々な方向から理解する姿勢と言えるだろう。またアフリカには 55 か国がある。例えば、第 22 回（福井大学）では、特別セッションに加えて、21 件の発表があったが、マダガスカル、ブルキナファソ、ウガンダ、ルワンダ、ボツワナ、ガーナ、マラウイ、タンザニア、ケニア、ザンビアといった 10 カ国が対象となっている。サブサハラの国々が広範に対象とされていることが分かる。これらの特徴から本学会は、国内の多数の大学がかかわりながら、対象国、対象テーマ、研究方法などを広げつつ、発展を遂げてきた。

　ところが、このように着実な発展を遂げてきたように見える研究フォーラムであるが、活動の一つ、雑誌「アフリカ教育研究」の発行に関わって予算のことが問題として浮上してきた。それ以前は年会費も集めず、研究フォーラムとして実施してきたが、経費の問題が大きくクローズアップされた。2018 年 10 月には、フォーラムの存続について特別セッションで議論し、結果として学会化して、会費を集めることが決議された。そのような経緯を踏まえて 2019 年 4 月には学会になって記念すべき第一回が、国際基督教大学にて実施された。これまでにない多数の参加者、発表者があり、口頭での発表に加えて、ポスターセッションも行われた。そこで開催されたのが、今回のテーマ「アフリカとアジアの高等教育ネットワークの現状と課題」である。

開催年月		大　会	開　催　校
2019 年	10 月	第 24 回	宮崎大学・宮崎国際大学
	4 月	第 23 回	国際基督教大学
2018 年	10 月	第 22 回	福井大学
	4 月	第 21 回	関東学院大学（横浜市）
2017 年	10 月	第 20 回	広島大学
	4 月	第 19 回	大阪大学大学院人間科学研究科
2016 年	10 月	第 18 回	筑波大学
	4 月	第 17 回	名古屋大学大学院国際開発研究科
2015 年	10 月	第 16 回	東京大学（本郷）
	4 月	第 15 回	広島大学
2014 年	10 月	第 14 回	総合地球環境学研究所（京都）
	4 月	第 13 回	大阪大学（豊中）
2013 年	10 月	第 12 回	早稲田大学大学院アジア太平洋研究科
	4 月	第 11 回	京都女子大学発達教育学部
2012 年	10 月	第 10 回	神戸大学大学院国際協力研究科
	4 月	第 9 回	広島大学大学院国際協力研究科
2011 年	10 月	第 8 回	早稲田大学大学院アジア太平洋研究科
	4 月	第 7 回	神戸大学大学院国際協力研究科
2010 年	10 月	第 6 回	大阪大学大学院人間科学研究科
	4 月	第 5 回	名古屋大学大学院国際開発研究科
2009 年	10 月	第 4 回	鳴門教育大学（事務局：神戸大学）
	4 月	第 3 回	広島大学大学院国際協力研究科
2008 年	10 月	第 2 回	神戸大学大学院国際協力研究科
	4 月	第 1 回	広島大学教育開発国際協力研究センター

　前置きが長くなったが、マラウイ大学、ルワンダ大学と TV 会議システムをつないだ本特別セッションは画期的な一歩となった。帰国した留学生と連携する道が開かれた。そのことは発表のテーマに直接的に関係する。発表の中でも新しい形の研究や実践的な活動が提案された。21 世紀半ばにはアフリカの時代がやってくると言われる。将来、本学会はそれを半世紀近く先取りして取り組んできた学会と考えられるかもしれない。

　研究は現実を鋭く見る目と、暖かく将来に期待する目の両方が必要だと考える。研究を通してその将来を具体化する一助になればと切に願う次第である。

2019 年 9 月 30 日
アフリカ教育学会長

Foreword

Launching of Japan Society for Africa Educational Research: The Special Issue on the Current Trends and Issues in the Africa-Asia Higher Education Network

Takuya Baba

(Hiroshima University)

Africa is a representative of culturally and geographically distant areas from Japan. Many of us are fascinated by and attracted to this land because of these characteristics. Honestly speaking, I am one of those who could not imagine that it would ever be possible to visit Africa in my childhood and that is exactly the reason why I am even more fascinated by it. This academic Society aims at researching on this fascinating land "Africa" in the field of education.

The study which focuses on a specific area is called area studies, and aims at understanding the area not only in a specific field but rather comprehensively from various perspectives. In that sense, the Japan Society for Africa Educational Research is the research body, which aims both at understanding Africa as an area and deepening our insights of the education in the area. Therefore, the inquiry is related to local language, history, culture, politics, economics, and so on in that area. In fact, we can find culture within a school and a classroom. And also it is possible to see the educational activity in a larger context such as culture outside school and spread across the whole society.

The predecessor of this society, called Africa Educational Research Forum (AERF), was initiated by the first launching meeting at the Hiroshima University in 2008. Many researchers, who had interests in Africa education research, gathered and exchanged views. Since then, we have held the Forum twice a year as shown in the table below:

This Society uniquely has important features, besides involvement of many universities listed in the table. It has diversity in research themes and presentation modes. Firstly, there are various themes, which are prompted by area studies approach. Secondly, we are proud of the presentation mode in which all participants gather together and discuss in the same room. This represents our attitudes of understanding the education phenomenon from various angles with a key word of Africa. Additionally, there are 55 countries in the African Continent. For example, in the 22nd conference, there are 21 presentations and a special session. The ten countries were represented such as Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. They spread widely across the continent. Being supported by these features, it has marked rapid development by increasing and enriching the variety of countries, themes, and methodologies by incorporating many concerned universities and researchers.

Although the Forum seems to have developed smoothly to the Society, one critical problem has become apparent in continuing to publish the Journal for African Education Research, due to financial problem. The Forum had not collected annual fees by then and had to painstakingly

decide to take counter-measures against this problem. Thus in October 2018, the Forum held the special session on its future status. As a result of the discussion during this special session, the Forum unanimously decided to formalize itself and start collecting annual fees. In April 2019, the very first meeting as an academic society was held in the International Christian University. There was a record-breaking number of participants and presenters. And the conference introduced poster presentations alongside oral presentations. And the special session with the theme, *the Current Trend and Issues in the Africa-Asia Higher Education Network*, was held.

Africa Educational Research Forum between 2008 and 2019

Year		No.		Venue
2019	Oct.	24th		University of Miyazaki & Miyazaki International College
	Apr.	23rd		International Christian University
2018	Oct.	22nd		University of Fukui
	Apr.	21st		Kanto Gakuin University
2017	Oct.	20th		Hiroshima University
	Apr.	19th		Osaka University
2016	Oct.	18th		University of Tsukuba
	Apr.	17th		Nagoya University
2015	Oct.	16th		The University of Tokyo
	Apr.	15th		Hiroshima University
2014	Oct.	14th		Research Institute for Humanity and Nature
	Apr.	13th		Osaka University
2013	Oct.	12th		Waseda University
	Apr.	11th		Kyoto Women's University
2012	Oct.	10th		Kobe University
	Apr.	9th		Hiroshima University
2011	Oct.	8th		Waseda University
	Apr.	7th		Kobe University
2010	Oct.	6th		Osaka University
	Apr.	5th		Nagoya University
2009	Oct.	4th		Naruto University & Kobe University
	Apr.	3rd		Hiroshima University
2008	Oct.	2nd		Kobe University
	Apr.	1st		Hiroshima University

This special session has recorded an important step by connecting University of Malawi and University of Rwanda to the annual meeting in Japan via TV conference system. It opened the possibility of continuing the connection with those international students who have gone back home after their studies. Again, this is closely related to the theme of research. Even within the presentation sessions, new modes of presentation and research approaches were proposed. The era of Africa is said to come by the mid of 21st century. I dream that by that time, this Society will be regarded as an initiative with a far-sighted and future-oriented perspective.

I strongly believe that the research requires severe eyes to look through the reality and warm eyes to see the future with warm expectation. I earnestly hope that this society will be able to play a significant role toward tht realization of such future.

September 30th, 2019
President, Japan Society for Africa Educational Research

「アフリカとアジアの高等教育ネットワークの現状と課題」
特集にあたって

西村幹子
（国際基督教大学）

　SDGs 時代を迎え、世界は環境、平和、人権、貧困に関わる未曾有の深刻な課題を抱えている。2019 年 8 月に第 7 回東京アフリカ開発会議（TICAD）が横浜で開催され、アフリカの国家元首だけでなく、多くの大学関係者が来日し、大学間ネットワークについて様々な既存の取り組みが紹介された。アフリカと日本、あるいはアフリカ域内における経済格差は認識されながらも、アフリカ、そして世界が直面する「ニーズ」をアフリカの大学が発掘し、主体性を発揮して日本とともに課題を解決していくというダイナミックな姿勢が感じられ、パートナーシップの新たな展開がみられた。冷戦の終焉を迎え、アフリカの政治・経済の構造の問題を克服するための「活力ある開発協力」の姿を模索していた第 1 回 TICAD（1993 年）においては、おそらく想像もできなかった協力のあり方であろう。

　本特集は、アフリカ教育研究フォーラムがアフリカ教育学会となった節目の年に、過去 20 年余りの間に台頭したアフリカを取り巻く国際教育協力におけるパートナーシップ・パラダイムがどのように変遷し、現在どのような可能性と課題を抱えているのか、について議論を深めるために企画された。特に、2000 年代から活発化している高等教育のアフリカとアジアのネットワークとその協力のあり方に注目し、3 本の論文を通して現在のネットワークの新奇性や可能性を明らかにするとともに、残された課題についても議論することとした。特集を組むに当たり、この分野を牽引してこられた研究者・実務家の方々に、それぞれの研究・実践の経験から論じて頂くことができたことは大変幸いである。また、執筆者の構成が国際的である点も、この分野のアフリカと日本の共同研究が進展している表れであると言えよう。本学会の馬場会長の巻頭文にある通り、アフリカ教育学会が発展してきた経緯を踏まえると、アフリカ地域の教育協力を総合的に概観することは、本学会が持つ強みであると言える。

　まず、長尾・Kapfudzaruwa・工藤・Mutisya 論文は、アフリカの高等教育ネットワーク協力のあり方を歴史的に概観する極めて包括的な論考である。長年に亘り日本とアフリカの大学、国際機関において、同分野を牽引してきた第一著者の経験と洞察が見事にその俯瞰的な視野とともに描き出されている。同論文は、アフリカの高等教育支援に当たって、3 つの視点が提示されてきたと分析する。第一に、植民地およびポスト植民地との結びつきに根差した協力主義者の視点、第二に、共通した研究関心に基づく協働者としての視点、第三に研究課題の設定や研究プロセスにおいて現地化したアプローチをとるステークホルダー指向のパートナーの視点である。協力主義者の視点は、伝統的な技術移転を柱とした援助アプローチで、基本的には資源の乏しいアフリカに対して、先進国がそのニーズを特定して支援する枠組みを支えるものである。第二の協働者の視点は、技術移転から共同研究やパートナーシップのあり方を支持する視点で、南北の大学間においてはアフリカの研究者の頭脳流出に繋がったり、研究課題を北が決めてしまうという傾向はあったが、後にアフリカの大学間ネットワークを南南協力として促進することにも繋がった。第三のパー

トナーの視点は、高等教育研究の過程と成果を現地化し、共同研究をより各文脈に沿った形で行うことを重視する視点である。

　著者らは、この3つの異なる視点を踏まえた上で、日本のアフリカに対する高等教育支援がどのような歴史的変遷を辿ったのかを2つの時期に分けて論じている。まず、1998年から2008年までは、伝統的な協力主義のアプローチを改良しようと試みた時代として位置づけられている。この時期には、財源は日本であるとしても、アフリカとアジアの共同研究によってアフリカの研究者や研究機関のオーナーシップを高め、技術移転ではなく、経験共有として共同研究や共同発表の意義を見出した。2009年から現在までは、アフリカ・アジア大学間対話プロジェクトやアフリカにおける持続可能な開発のための教育（ESDA）プロジェクトに代表される取り組みを通して、アフリカの研究者たちが自ら課題を見出し、それに向けて日本とアフリカの研究者が平等なパートナーとして共同研究を行うという現地化、文脈化が進んだ時期として位置づけられている。

　今後の展望としては、これまでの共同研究が生んできた革新的な知識や方法論の創出だけでなく、現代における課題に対応するというニーズに支えられた、持続可能な開発のための現場での実習を通じた起業家訓練や実際の行動を伴う研究活動が、より強固なアフリカ域内とアフリカとアジアのパートナーシップに繋がるだろうと述べられている。また、課題としては、アフリカ域内の大学間協働の進展、新たな研究手法を含む、グローバルイシューに対応したアフリカとアジアの共同研究の発展、そして大学の（超）知識基盤型社会の中で、知の創出者、利用者、発信者になるという新たな役割を担うことができるか、という問いが掲げられている。

　次に、梅宮・十田・米澤論文は、国際協力機構が展開してきたネットワーク型の高等教育支援のあり方を振り返り、現在の汎アフリカ大学（Pan-Africa University: PAU）支援の一環として行っているアフリカ域内のネットワーク型高等教育支援について紹介している。国際協力機構が2014年より行っているジョモケニヤッタ農工大学を拠点とする汎アフリカ大学基礎科学技術革新研究所（PAU Institute of Basic Sciences, Technology, and Innovation、通称PAUSTI）への支援プロジェクトは、汎アフリカ大学がもっているテーマ別・アフリカ域内地域別の4つの研究拠点の一つで、アフリカ域内に向けて、アフリカの共通の課題を解決するための教育研究協力を充実化させる目的で実施されている。本論文では、新たに進行するアフリカ域内のネットワークの展望と課題を東南アジア地域での経験を基に整理している。

　東南アジアで2001年から行われているSEED-Netプロジェクトは、東南アジア諸国連合（ASEAN）によって設立され、東南アジア10カ国を対象に、工学分野の域内の研究教育協力ネットワークを強化するために国際協力機構が支援してきたプロジェクトである。2018年末までに、1400人に大学院の学位を出し、200以上のASEAN諸国と日本の研究者の共同研究プロジェクトを実施し、1000本以上の論文が出版されてきた。筆者らは、SEED-Netの促進要因として、①域内の共通課題の存在、②域内のメンバー大学の発展度合いに応じた役割分担、③多くの研究者間交流機会の提供、④段階的なアプローチを通した関係の育成、⑤質保証を挙げている。

　このSEED-Netプロジェクトの経験から汎アフリカ大学が主導する域内高等教育ネットワーク支援を展望すると、アフリカ地域はASEANよりも対象国が多く、財政的な課題も

大きいことに鑑み、挑戦は大きいが、いくつかの可能性が提示されている。第一に、アフリカ域内の共通の課題があること、第二にテーマに応じた役割分担を拠点校に対して調整していること、第三に ASEAN 諸国よりも高等教育に使用する言語の統一が図りやすいこと、第四に、段階的なアプローチを踏んでいること、第五に、外部の国々が関わることによって質保証に留意していること、である。

　課題としては、対象地域が広いため、かかる財源も膨大であることや、SEED-Net の開始時に比較すると、アフリカには既にいくつもの大学間ネットワークが存在するため、それらとの重複の回避や調整機能の効率化が挙げられる。

　工藤・Allasiw・松山・Hansen 論文は、アジア、アフリカのネットワークを用いた共同学習形態として、ある地域に入って共に学習するトランスローカルラーニングという方法論を提示している。トランスローカルラーニングとは、社会学習理論を発展させた方法論で、①対象となるフィールドワークの地域の特定、②学際的なチームの結成、③共同でのフィールドワークの実施、④リフレクションの 4 つの段階から成る。本研究は、筆者らが 2018 年 8 月に秋田県五条目町で、南アフリカ、ナイジェリア、フィリピン、タイ、中国、モンゴル、日本からの 12 名の研究者と地域の起業に関するトランスローカルラーニングを試験的に実施した結果の報告と、トランスローカルラーニングの実践の理論化を試みている。

　試験的実施の結果、テーマの発見としては、企業家の創造性や仲介者の存在の重要性が認められたが、トランスローカルラーニングの利点として 3 つの側面が挙げられている。第一に、フィールドワークの成果を議論する際に、多様な参加者が多様な参照点を持つことで、多様な地域性との往還が可能であるという点である。その結果、解釈をする際にも、農村の定義や起業家のあり方、仲介者の役割等、異なる地域の概念や実態との比較が可能となる。第二に、学際的な対話の実現である。学際的な対話には、認識学的なレベルでの機敏さが求められるが、トランスローカルラーニングにおいてはそうした能力が鍛えられるという。第三に、地域の人びととのつながりやネットワークを通じて、社会的に強力な知について議論することができ、地域の人びとも多様な背景の研究者との対話を通じて新たな考え方をするようになるという相互性と新たな知の創出が生まれるという特徴がある。

　3 本の論考はどれも具体的な経験を基に、アフリカとアジアの高等教育のネットワーク協力のあり方について議論を展開しているところに説得力がある。どの論文も国際的な高等教育の取り組みとして、従来型の技術移転から、より知識の共同創出を狙いとする共同研究に発展してきている現代の協力のあり方を示し、新たな工夫の方向性を示唆している。長尾・Kapfudzaruwa・工藤・Mutisya 論文は、研究課題の現地化、文脈化を通して、より現地のニーズに対して直接的に働きかけるような実証研究やアクションリサーチの方向性を提示し、梅宮・十田・米澤論文は現実的に段階を踏んで協力体制を強化していくための具体的なステップとその前提としての共通の課題設定が重要であることを指摘し、工藤・Allasiw・松山・Hansen 論文は、課題設定において比較認識論の観点から、参加者が共同で新たな見方や考え方を創出するプロセスをトランスローカルラーニングという概念を用いて提案している。

　3 つの論文ともに、コミュニティレベル、国レベル、地域レベル、国際的なレベルにお

けるアクターたちが共通して持つべき、認識的なレベルでの力の均衡をより意識した協力関係の重要性を示唆している。アフリカの課題を誰がどのように認識し、それに対してどのような介入が望ましいと判断し、その解決策をどのように模索していくのか。そこには、アジアの経験をアフリカへ、という一方的な関係ではなく、共に知恵を絞って未知な世界の課題への挑戦をするのだという共通認識と探索的で真摯な姿勢が求められる。複雑な課題に対する学際的、国際的なアプローチとは、自らの専門性や経験に安住するのではなく、自らの常識に対しても批判的な目を向けながら、異質な他者やさまざまな学問領域との対話を通して新しい視点を得ることに果敢に挑むものであろう。さまざまなネットワークが支えるこれからのアフリカにおける教育協力には、それに臨もうとする一人一人の姿勢だけでなく、協力関係を上手に築くコミュニケーション能力・人間力を含む、総合力がものをいう時代に入ったと言える。

　今後の研究課題としては、こうしたアジアとアフリカを繋ぐ研究協力が、より具体的にどのように各アクターたちに受け止められ、実際の研究成果につながったのか、について、更に分析の視点を相互的、文脈的に構築できると、より比較研究として深みが増すのではないだろうか。その意味でも、今後ますます増えるであろうアフリカとアジアの研究者による共同研究を行うに当たり、研究課題の設定、データ収集、結果の分析の全ての課題において、研究者がさまざまな視点を出し合い、単に一つの方法論を他国で適用するという一方向の研究ではなく、相互に新たな知を紡ぐという姿勢で実施される研究が増えることが期待される。

Evolving Asia-Africa cooperation in support of Africa's higher education development

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1. Introduction

The role of higher education for socio-economic development in Africa is gaining in critical importance. Due to Africa's growing sustainability concerns to meet the aspiration for accelerated industrial development while alleviating chronic poverty at the bottom of the pyramid, there is a new capacity-building demand for "home-grown innovations" by African universities (Assie-Lumumba, 2004). This new challenge may have a far-reaching impact not only for enhancing their relevance and utility to society but also for altering the structure and functioning of the universities. The rising capacity-building demand is for generation of professionals who are conversant in systemic and holistic thinking, familiar with field research methods, experienced in problem-solving approaches and endowed with leadership qualities for mediating among multiple groups of stakeholders (Mutisya & Nagao, 2014).

The challenge posed is indeed quite formidable. Under heavy pressure for coping with the massification of higher education, most African universities today lack resources, capacities and institutional base even to maintain their existing operation (UNESCO, 2010). The problems facing African higher education are many and diverse. Their manifestation differs from country to country reflecting the particular situation and circumstance in which this sector has evolved. Still Eshiwani (1999), Teffera & Altbach (2003), Samoff & Carrol (2004) and Assie-Lumumba (2006) concur that there are some common elements and challenges, such as the distorting impact of colonial legacy, inadequate financial resources in the face of rapidly growing demand for access, lack of integration with other levels of education, long-standing mismatch between the sector's output and the societal needs and its corollary impact in terms of massive creation of unemployed graduates and continued outflow of educated talents, and as a combined result of all these factors a decisively weak link with the society and public at large. Some of these problems are long-standing ones relating to the question of whether a nascent higher education sector can serve as an instrument for development or just as a status symbol (Van der Bor & Shute, 1991).

Underlying all these problems, however, there is an even more fundamental challenge of

how to build up the human and institutional capacity to constitute the higher education as a sector in the first place. Largely due to Africa's colonial past this development has been closely linked to the evolution of external support (Teferra, 2005). However, international cooperation they have sought with industrialized country donors and universities has not helped redress this unsatisfactory situation either, because the cooperation more often than not is one-sided to meet the requirements of the donors and skewed towards benefitting the partner universities in industrialized countries. The consequence has been the lack of ownership and continued external dependence of the sector for both ideas and resources hindering localization of Africa's higher education (Samoff & Carrol, 2004; Assie-Lumumba, 2006). The so-called 'brain drain' phenomenon may be seen as both a symptom and cause of the problems faced by the sector, characterizing Africa's position in the world's higher education as the source of out-migration of highly trained manpower. (Teferra & Altbach, 2004; Jowi, 2009). It negatively affects growth in all areas of development and has further weakened academic institutions of African countries.

However, given the global shift in development discourse and international cooperation, seriously-disposed universities in African countries are beginning to respond proactively by instituting internal reforms to promote intra-national and international collaboration with other universities for increasing their contribution to the development of their respective countries. This is because they realize that knowledge mobilization through sharing to solve practical problems is the order of the day in the Age of Sustainable Development (Sachs, 2016). Higher education institutions in fact have a key role to play as they are in a position to create knowledge through research, to distribute knowledge through education and training, to utilize knowledge through public outreach service, and, combining all these functions in an integrated manner, to assume leadership for the promotion of sustainable development (Mutisya & Nagao, 2014) .

During the last 20 years Asian countries, notably Japan, have emerged as cooperating partners of African higher education institutions. This paper traces the historical development of this cooperation, focusing mainly on the efforts to support the higher education development in Africa through research and education networking between Asian and African universities. The paper attempts to show how this cooperation compares with the preceding cooperation from the Western industrialized countries. It also demonstrates that Asia-Africa cooperation has led to some new innovative approaches to supporting the development of Africa's higher education, providing illustrative examples of concrete collaborative projects being carried out. But before turning to the discussion of the Asia-Africa cooperation, attempt is first made to construct a conceptual frame by examining the evolving views of external support mainly from the West for Africa's higher education development.

2. Evolving Views of External Support for the Development of Africa's Higher Education

External support for the development of Africa's higher education has been a hotly debated issue along its evolutionary path (King, 2008; Jowi, 2009; Singh, 2013). Samoff & Carrol (2004) provides a comprehensive account of the historical changes in the external support with a particular

focus on its nature and impact. Assie-Lumumba (2006) reviews the historical development in terms of the changing patterns of forces and their influences with the aim of identifying and analysing the challenges and opportunities for increased African ownership of the sector. Kenneth King has compiled a multitude of expert views on different aspects of higher education development, covering also Africa, for a number of years (NORRAG News, 1991, 1994, 2004 and 2008). The many and varied views expressed so far may be broadly categorised into (1) cooperationist views rooted in the colonial and post-colonial links, (2) collaborationist views based on joint research interest, and (3) stakeholder-oriented partner views emphasizing localization approaches. These views emerged at different times – respectively, during 1960s, 1980s and 2000s, and still co-exist today with varying influences.

2.1. Cooperationist views rooted in the colonial and post-colonial links

The term 'cooperationist view' is used here to refer to those conceptions of external support which are based on financial and technical assistance by donor governments. In this connection, the colonial and post-colonial links cannot be ignored since pioneer higher education institutions in many parts of Africa were established for creating skilled manpower to manage the concerns of the metropolitan institutions or to replace expatriate civil service employees. They mostly operated as affiliated institutions of counterpart universities in Europe (Jowi, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that the curriculum, organizational system, and physical structure were patterned after British, French and other European universities. Scholarship support was provided for enrolling students in higher education programs, and there was also a large number of academics and graduate faculty from Europe and North America who moved to Africa after independence to occupy teaching and research positions (King, 1990). Thus, early external assistance was a key to their existence.

The cooperationist views for external support of Africa's higher education sector experienced ups and downs in accordance with the donors' stance for aid to Africa in general, and for educational assistance in particular. Most notably, following initial optimism of the immediate post-Independence period, the support slowed down in the 1970s and dwindled during the 1980s against the backdrop of the structural adjustment policy pushed by the World Bank and donor governments and the donors' shifting priorities from the support of higher education to that of primary and secondary education (Assie-Lumumba, 2006). Even with financing difficulties, however, the demand for university education kept increasing with corresponding growth in enrolment, putting a huge pressure on maintaining the quality standard of individual universities and, at the same time, intensifying inter-university competition (Materu, 2007).

The inter-university competition occurred not only nationally but also, and perhaps even more critically, on an international scale, as the elite African universities sought financial and technical support from the same external sources. Higher education support via bilateral ODA obviously depended on the particular disposition of the donor countries concerning aid destination and priority fields. Support by the private foundations, which was quite significant especially relative to the dwindling official support, was also highly selective (King, 2009). The Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, a grouping of 7 American foundations which provided grants totalling US$ 440

million between 2000-2010 for higher education support, targeted just 9 African countries, although universities in the other countries were covered through 'Africa-wide' support (Lewis et. al., 2010).

The cooperationist view is a 'realist' view in the sense that the weak local resource base for higher education in most African countries left no other choice but external support for any major initiative to improve its situation. More recently there is a new wind blowing for this view against the background of globalization and associated emphasis on the need for science and technology capacity for international competitiveness, which has given rise to new demand for technical assistance such as strengthening of ICT in African universities (Juma, 2007). This view, however, has come under criticism because foreign aid tends to serve as disincentive to the pursuit of more self-reliant approach by the African higher education sector (Ellerman, 2004) with the result of extended external dependence and control (Samoff & Carrol, 2004; Sifuna, 2000) .

2.2. Collaborationist views based on research interest

Since around the beginning of the 1980s, there was observed a shift in emphasis in the international practice of external support for Africa's higher education – from technical assistance to research partnership or collaboration (Gaillard, 1994). The corresponding shift in international discourse saw mushrooming of collaborationist approaches based on genuine concern for capacity building in the South, but often misconceived and misguided with not so 'desirable' consequences, such as encouragement of participation of young African researchers in joint research projects leading to their out-migration to the partner universities in the North. In addition, research collaboration often focused on satisfying the research interests of the North. Much has been written about North-South collaboration involving African universities and discussion is still continuing for the potential and actual benefits (and costs) it brings to the African universities and practical ways to improve the chances of success in terms of fair division of leadership and management roles, development of communication strategies and dealing with cross-cultural differences and research ethics (Knight & de Wit, 2005; NORRAG News, 2008; Holmarsdottir et al, 2013). If there was a common shortcoming for the North-South collaboration approaches, it was that much of the collaborative research effort was directed to capacity building of individual researchers but not to the strengthening of the institutional research set-up (Velho, 2002)

It is also important to note that the collaborationist discourse also ignited the emergence of South-South collaboration. Initially this new modality was proposed as North-South-South collaboration, a variant of North-South collaboration. Whereas North-South collaboration or partnership tended to be dominated by Northern research interest as well as control of the research process (Gaillard, 1994, Baud, 2002), North-South-South arrangements may modify the asymmetric nature of the North-South relationship. However, whether the latter really represents a different modality remains largely an empirical question, since the North may continue to retain the control of the way the partnership is structured and operated (Chege, 2008). South-South cooperation attempts have been observed especially in the area of education. Within Africa, there have been institutionalized attempts to promote such cooperation as exemplified by ADEA (Association for the Development of Education in Africa), AAU (Association of African

Universities) and IUCEA (Inter-University Council for East Africa). These initiatives have sprung up on the basis of recognition by the African universities and researchers themselves that there is serious lack of indigenous or local research capacity to tackle development problems and also that the commonality of these problems should compel the African universities to work together (Juma, 2006). The most recent manifestation of this trend in Africa is the establishment in 2016 of ARUA (African Research Universities Alliance).

2.3. Stakeholder-oriented partnership views emphasizing localization approaches

The third view, stakeholder-oriented partnership views emphasizing localization approaches, has emerged from the lessons learned with the cooperationist and collaborationist approaches, such as "the asymmetry is unavoidable in spite of all rhetoric about mutuality (Olsson, 2008, p. 79), "typically, once the funding ran out, the programme died, along with its practice and policy benefits" (de-Graft Aikins, 2008, p. 97) and "relationship between researchers and other stakeholders, including policy makers, remains a major issue" (Baud, 2002, p. 168). Specific and narrow focus suggested for effective research collaboration may have served well the academic audience especially in the North, but led to limited impact on the development reality which increasingly demanded more holistic and practical problem solving approaches for more complex sustainable development concerns (Velho, 2002).

Questioning the relevance of the research outcome suggested the need, on the one hand, for greater participation by the African researchers in determination of the research priorities and planning and conduct of the research process, and for closer attention to the socio-economic situation of the locality under study (Baud, 2002). In actual practice of international research collaboration involving African universities what is increasingly observed is effort by all the parties concerned to contextualize the research undertaking emphasizing the localization of both research process and outcome.

3. Asia-Africa Cooperation in Higher Education

Asia-Africa cooperation in higher education is not an entirely new phenomenon. To take Japan as an example, Kyoto University started its African studies already in the late 1950s and developed the tradition of ecologically oriented research based in Africa helping to train many African researchers along the way through its Center for African Area Studies (CAAS) established in 1986. In Kenya the Japanese Government assisted the establishment of a college of agriculture and technology in 1981 and supported its development to become a comprehensive university in 1994 as Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology. However, a more broadly based Asia-Africa cooperation in higher education started only in the late 1990s when the Japanese Government initiated technical assistance to African countries for supporting their mathematics and science education (M & S education). As shown in Chart 1, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) carried out nearly 15 such projects between 1998 and 2015, with some significant achievements as well as shortfalls (JICA Research Institute, 2007; Matachi & Kosaka, 2017).

Chart 1 JICA's math & science education cooperation projects in Sub-Saharan Africa

1998-2008	M&S secondary teacher retraining project in Kenya (SMASSE)
1999-2006	M&S secondary teacher retraining project in South Africa (MSSI)
1999-2008	M & S primary/secondary teacher retraining project in Ghana (STM)
2004-2012	M&S secondary education in Malawi
2005-2012	M&S secondary teacher training in Uganda
2005-2015	M&S and school-based INSET in Zambia
2006-2009	Primary education in Mozambique
2006-2013	M&S education at the primary level in Nigeria
2006-2013	M&S secondary education in Niger
2007-2015	M&S&T education in Senegal
2008-2015	M&S education at the primary level in Burkina Faso
2008-2015	M&S education at the secondary level in Rwanda
2009-2013	M&S education in Southern Sudan
2011-2014	M&S education in Ethiopia

Source: Table 1 in Matachi & Kosaka (2017)

For many university-based M & S education specialists and their education colleagues around Japan who were mobilized for these projects, these technical assistance projects provided a new frontier for research, and for some universities interested in internationalization a fresh platform for overseas networking engagements. The subsequent development over the 20 year period may be described in two sub-periods: (1) from 1998 to 2008, when many deliberate attempts were made to experiment with modified cooperationist approaches, and (2) from 2009 to present, when modified collaboration approaches flourished.

3.1. Modified cooperationist approaches from 1998 to 2008
(1) Research support mechanism for JICA's M & S education assistance to Africa

JICA-led engagements for Japanese universities and their faculties in African education typically started with a cooperationist approach concerned mainly with provision of accumulated M & S education experience in Japan to African primary and secondary schools through teacher training projects. Although JICA's M & S education package cooperation project in the Philippines from 1994 to 1999 provided some useful knowledge and experience on the technical assistance delivery, its limited knowledge base on African education hampered the smooth beginning of M & S education assistance in Africa. [2] To cope with this situation, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) established in 1997 a research center dedicated to international cooperation in education at Hiroshima University, named Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE), with four full-time professorial posts and a foreign visiting professorship position. Its mission was to organize and conduct practical research "to

contribute to the effective and efficient implementation of Japanese educational cooperation and function as a network center for Japanese practitioners and researchers in this field". [3]

CICE was immediately mobilized to serve as the research support mechanism for JICA's M & S education assistance to Kenya, South Africa and Ghana, on the basis of a close working relationship established with education researchers in several teacher training colleges and graduate schools for international cooperation in Nagoya University, Kobe University and Hiroshima University. [4] The exact terms of CICE engagement varied from one technical assistance project to another reflecting the different demands that came from the aid receiving countries. However, there were three common practical concerns that needed to be addressed, which were: (i) how to frame the educational assistance to African countries following the self-help (or aid recipient's project ownership) principle of Japan's basic aid policy philosophy; (ii) how to utilize the accumulated knowledge and experience of M & S education in Japan in defining the contents and methods of assistance projects; and (iii) how to make academic contribution through aid project engagements. CICE approach to answering these questions was to start by studying the actual situation of M & S education in the African countries concerned. CICE researchers made considerable efforts in this respect. For example, during the 1998-2008 period they combined to conduct 7 major research projects on educational development in Africa with the grant aid from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), and invited 12 African researchers and 2 European researchers specializing in African educational development as Visiting Professors for a four month research engagement and interaction with CICE researchers. [5] Sawamura (2006) characterized this process as an integration of policy research and field work. How this process actually evolved is illustrated in the following section in terms of CICE engagement in M & S education assistance to South Africa, which may be characterized as a modified cooperationist engagement.

(2) Modified cooperationist approach: M & S education cooperation to South Africa

JICA's M & S education cooperation to South Africa was carried out from 1999 to 2006 as technical assistance to the Mpumalanga Province, one of the country's 9 provinces with the poorest secondary M & S test scores, for improving the quality of M & S teaching in classrooms through teacher retraining. The teacher retraining was needed to compensate for the gaps and deficiencies that existed in their instructional capacity owing to the training shortfall dating back to the apartheid times. The department was interested in instituting an in-service teacher training (INSET) system using a cascading model that should start with capacitating of 'Curriculum Implementers' (i.e., teacher advisors), who provide training to head M & S teachers of secondary schools, who in turn conduct training of M & S teachers at their respective schools. JICA called on Hiroshima University CICE to work with the Mpumalanga Department of Education (MDE) for this project, named Mpumalanga Secondary Science Initiative (MSSI). [6] CICE engagement was to comprise a comprehensive set of support activities, including: (i) provision of substantive leadership, (ii) formulation and implementation of project intervention, (iii) support for internal evaluation conducted by JICA, and (iv) conducting of policy research to backstop the project operation. Since JICA provided most of the funding for the project, MSSI at its initiation was very much a cooperationist conception.

Taking substantive leadership of a JICA project meant having to face immediately and squarely the question of how to frame the educational assistance in a manner consistent with the self-help principle of Japan's basic aid policy philosophy, which is a long-standing tradition of Japanese ODA dating back to the middle of 1970s and firmly grounded in Japan's own development experience characterized by self-reliance, especially for educational development (Nagao, 2004). The question was a difficult one of how CICE could exercise substantive leadership for the project and at the same time make sure that the aid recipient side assumed, or at least felt the sense of, the project ownership (Sawamura, 2004). In the MSSI project CICE found the answer in the participation of the University of Pretoria (UP) as a full project partner on the supporting side. [7] UP's M & S education program, jointly managed by its Faculties of Education and Science, was one of the strongest in the country. Their staff could not only provide substantive guidance for all the training and learning activities which took place in the Mpumalanga project schools but also learn themselves and interpret for the Mpumalanga teachers lessons to be drawn from the knowledge and experience of Japan's M & S education. Because of their strong presence in the project, the physical presence of the Japanese support team could be kept to a minimum – one JICA resident staff in South Africa combined with short visits by small teams of Japanese M & S experts 2-3 times a year. This arrangement was significant also because of the promise of sustainability of project impact beyond the project term.

Another challenging question at the start of the technical assistance concerned the question of how to utilize the accumulated knowledge and experience of M & S education in Japan in defining the contents and methods of assistance projects. JICA's M & S education cooperation in the Philippines which preceded its African engagement had already demonstrated that the long-standing tradition of Japanese school teachers' peer learning practice, termed 'lesson study', could be relied upon as a major tool of technical assistance (JICA, 2004; Nakajima, 2007). In fact, 'lesson study' has become the main stay of Japanese educational assistance to developing countries ever since (Matachi & Kosaka, 2017). In the case of the MSSI Project, CICE added a project component of group study visits to Japan for the Mpumalanga Curriculum Implementer and Education Administrators in order to observe and learn from the Japanese teachers' practice in schools and classrooms, including not only lesson study approach but also curriculum development, classroom management, reflection methods and so forth. Between 1999 and 2006 a total of 116 such Mpumalanga educators visited Japan in groups of 10 for a duration of four to six weeks. This immersion type approach was developed as 'experience-sharing' model (Nagao & Matachi, 2003). Naruto University of Education, (NUE) played a key role in the implementation of this model by hosting their long stays and dispatching its teaching staff to South Africa for follow-up support activities. The essential characteristic of the experience-sharing model was the combination of self-learning orientation and group practice, aiming not only at individual gains from training but also collective learning of a group practice. [8]

Regarding the third and final question for CICE of how to make academic contribution through aid project engagements, the joint technical support activities by its faculty staff and NUE faculty with UP faculty served as a platform for generating many joint research projects. The Visiting Professorship facility was used by both CICE and NUE to bring UP faculty for a long stay in Japan,

enabling joint authorship of papers on different aspects of the MSSI Project. One concrete outcome of these research activities was a joint publication entitled *Mathematics and Science Education in Developing Countries: Issues, Experiences and Cooperation Prospects* (Nagao, Rogan and Magno (Eds), 2007). Perhaps even more significant was the joint evaluation exercise that the three partners of the project, MDE, JICA (CICE and NUE) and UP, conducted at the end of the 6-year term of the MSSI project, which CICE edited (CICE, 2006). This multi-stakeholder collaborative exercise, involving both the aid providing and receiving sides as equal partners, signified that this engagement of CICE was a clear departure from the conventional cooperationist engagement.

(3) Modified cooperationist approach: Research networking through Japan Education Forum

At the G-8 Summit in Kananaskis, Canada, in 2002, the Japanese Government announced its new initiative to support basic education development in developing countries named BEGIN (Basic Education for Growth Initiative) in line with the global concern for Education for All and MDG Goal for improvement of educational access and quality. BEGIN also stressed developing countries' ownership and commitment as a priority concern of the Japanese Government based on Japan's own experience of educational development. This was significant because the global push for improvement of educational access with funding schemes tended to abstract from the local adaptation requirements for policy interventions and, still worse, take away from the developing countries' own commitment, thereby threatening the sustainability of the efforts (Nishimura, 2008). In March 2004, at the initiative of CICE, Hiroshima University, jointly with the University of Tsukuba and supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and MEXT, established the Japan Education Forum (JEF) as an annual half-day meeting to host in-depth multi-stakeholder exchanges on the educational development experiences of developing and developed countries, especially for encouraging 'collaboration toward greater autonomy in educational development'. [9] Annual JEF conferences brought together many and diverse participants, including education researchers, teachers, policy-makers, NGO staff and students from developing countries, especially in Africa and Asia. This provided numerous opportunities for international research networking for CICE based on modified cooperationist approach.

3.2. Modified collaborationist approaches from 2009 to present

While the initial impetus for higher education collaboration with Africa came from M&S education technical assistance for Japanese universities and led to many trials of cooperationist engagements with modifications to reflect Japanese aid philosophy and educational experience, the interest of the Japanese researchers shifted increasingly to pursuit of research collaboration in broader areas, involving more universities and with much greater participation by other Asian countries. The scope and contents of the collaboration were also expanded accompanying the qualitative improvement of the research outcome. CICE continued to lead higher education collaboration in the field of education development, but other institutions also joined as the target field was expanded to other fields with the spread of global concern for sustainable development. Some of these developments are reviewed below.

(1) Modified collaborationist approaches in educational development research

In the field of educational development, Hiroshima University CICE opened a new frontier with the establishment of Africa-Asia University Dialogue for Education Development (A-A Dialogue) project.[10] The project received a major grant from MEXT in 2009 for creating a research network linking African and Asian universities and in 2010 joined UNESCO's University Twinning and Networking (UNITWIN) Program with CICE serving as the Chair. The subsequent development in three 3-year phases of collaborative work has expanded to include 16 African universities from 12 countries and 13 Asian universities from 8 countries (including 6 universities from Japan). The joint research activities have been conducted in three groups on 'gender and equity in education', 'quality of education and educational policy' and 'teacher professional development', respectively, and 'general assembly' meetings and sharing seminars are organized periodically for coordination of expanded activities, including not only research undertakings but also student exchanges, and sharing of research results. The Director of CICE continues to serve as the Project Coordinator, but the formal mechanism established for the management of the project appears to be run in a democratic way, helped also by a favorable funding situation.[11] The ready availability of access to research output publication in the CICE journal for all the project participants also help. The collaborationist approach has definitely been modified and improved for 'localization' of the research process through Africa-Asia research collaboration.[12]

The most significant aspect of the A-A project, however, may still lie elsewhere. It is the fact that the research activities undertaken address key policy issues affecting the African countries as seen by the participating African researchers. The choice of topics for joint research, such as gender and equity in education and teacher professional development, and the approaches taken for actual studies seem to reflect closely the views of stakeholders of school education. The basic research approach of CICE for integrating policy research and field work is in full bloom in the A-A Dialogue project.

(2) Modified collaborationist approaches in sustainable development education and research

One spill-over effect of the Africa-Asia higher education collaboration in educational development research was the extension of the inter-university network established to other areas. The United Nations University based in Tokyo, which participated in the earlier phase of the A-A dialogue project as a supporting partner, has relied upon part of the contacts established through the project to initiate a new collaboration undertaking in capacity building for sustainable development in Africa, entitled Education for Sustainable Development in Africa (ESDA) in 2008 (Mutisya and Nagao, 2014). With initial funding from MEXT it organized a team consisting of several African and Japanese universities to develop and test a new capacity training scheme for Africa's sustainable development, which materialized in the establishment and implementation of three Masters-level programs in integrated rural development, sustainable urban township development and mining and mineral development, respectively. These programs are provided in six African partner universities and by the end of 2018 graduated 55 Master's degree earners. In order to support the curricular programs geared to field-oriented studies by students using problem-solving approaches, ESDA

partner universities established a team of 'Next Generation Researchers' to conduct joint research to produce learning materials and to strengthen their research capacity. These young researchers, combined with their senior faculty counterparts, published five books on Africa's sustainable development so far. The NGR team is starting to collaborate with their Asian counterpart, and has jointly published a compilation of papers based on their Ph.D. dissertations (Kudo and Kapfudzaruwa (Eds), 2018).

ESDA provides a unique case of intra-African university collaboration with the support from Asia. The ownership and running of the three Master's programs is by Africa partner universities and the programs' inter-university collaboration promotes equal program ownership and partnership. In addition, the education, research and practice components of the programs are delivered within the collaborative framework, further promoting program excellence (quality education and research) as well as high impact (practice) to stakeholders and community development. As such, the ESDA programs have the potential to enhance the critical role of universities for sustainable development in Africa. In the longer term, the ESDA NGR team will serve as the main carrier of inter-university collaboration in Africa and with the outside world for Africa's sustainable development. The ever-changing sustainability concerns in Africa would require research continuity on relevant issues of sustainable development, which should mean that NGR will increasingly become important as an engine for Africa's knowledge creation for sustainable development (Mutisya & Nagao, 2014).

4. New Perspectives on Asia-Africa Higher Education Collaboration

The foregoing discussion showed that the Asia-Africa higher education collaboration evolved quite significantly in a relatively short space of time. The researchers who participated in it were very conscious of the cooperationist and collaborationist approaches taken by their predecessors from the Northern universities, especially their problematic aspects, and tried to adjust their approaches. Out of such efforts some new perspectives have emerged that should guide the next phase of the Asia-Africa partnership in support of Africa's higher education development. Three such perspectives are presented in this section – the first on inter-university collaboration within Africa as a pre-condition for constructive partnership with Asian universities, a second on Africa-Asia collaboration to tackle global sustainability concerns, and a third on exercise of convening power and authority as an important role and function of universities in the world increasingly managed by knowledge.

4.1. Inter-university collaboration within Africa: ESDA`s community of practice on entrepreneurship

In the past few decades, Communities of Practice (CoP) have been credited for building platforms allowing co-creation of knowledge and co-innovation to solve societal problems (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger *et al*, 2002). The concept of CoP was introduced as a way of thinking about knowledge management, reflection and learning with commercial organizations (Wenger, 1998; Wenger and Snyder, 2000). Wenger and Snyder`s emphasis was on cultivating appropriate opportunities and spaces for people to physically meet, and follow through the development of their increasingly shared agenda. More recently, the concept of communities of practice has been used

to think about management, collaboration and learning beyond the corporate world for social and community benefit (for example, see Hart and Wolff, 2006).

Within universities, CoPs are increasingly becoming valuable in finding and sharing the practices for teaching and research, as well as serving as engines for the development of social capital. In light of this, the ESDA program has initiated a CoP for young faculty teaching and researching entrepreneurship at selected 15 African business schools. ESDA`s CoP on Entrepreneurship seeks to build on the young faculties` competences and practices to build relationships which allow for co-creation of knowledge on entrepreneurship, co-innovation in support of African entrepreneurs and Africa`s sustainable development, and capacity development of the young faculty. In August 2018, 34 young faculty from 15 African business schools met at the Gordon Institute for Business Science (GIBS), University of Pretoria to discuss and develop a framework and strategy for the CoP on Entrepreneurship. The two-day workshop was designed to foster new relationships; develop a framework and strategy for the CoP; discuss the purpose and format for the community of practice; identify clusters and projects for future collaboration; and design high level plans with key faculty "drivers" from each business school. This workshop was followed up by two virtual meetings in November 2018 and January 2019. These discussions revealed a shared recognition of the diversity of contexts and approaches to entrepreneurship across the African continent. As result, the faculty members identified five key areas of collaboration which were consolidated into four clusters:

1/ Producing outputs with a focus on teaching cases on entrepreneurship
2/ Developing methodologies for entrepreneurship with a focus on incubation
3/ Capacity development of faculty
4/ Supporting entrepreneurship ecosystems with a focus on benchmarking, codes of ethics for African entrepreneurs, stakeholder terms of reference, knowledge sharing and finance

Whilst the 30 faculty members mostly work with their specific clusters led by faculty "drivers" based at each African business school, a virtual community system has been developed which allows the individuals to be embedded in a relational network to share on progress and learn from the different clusters. Through virtual interactions and annual face to face meetings within and across the 4 clusters, opinions on new approaches to teaching and research entrepreneurship in Africa are formed and shaped through "social influence". This interactive process amongst African faculty who perceive and approach teaching and researching of African entrepreneurship differently involves much more than simple information transmission. Instead, this process cultivates the co-creation of knowledge and innovations to African entrepreneurship. The ESDA CoP involving 15 African business schools reveals that the co-creation of knowledge and co-innovation for Africa`s sustainable development goes beyond individuals situated within organizations. Instead, this process involves faculty working across university boundaries with other individuals who share their practice or may influence their practice ultimately establishing "networks of practice" (Hustad and Teigland, 2005).

In addition to co-creation of knowledge and co-innovation, mostly through joint research

and producing research outputs and sharing on approaches to incubation, the CoP will also be helpful in transforming teaching and learning of entrepreneurship. Curriculum transformation - both in terms of content and mode of delivery - is fundamental to higher education`s ability to train workplace-ready graduates. The CoP cluster on faculty development specifically focuses on providing capacity training mostly to faculty without practical teaching experience, lack of real-life experience of owning an enterprise or being a corporate manager, lack of "andragogy" skills, and limited knowledge of the entrepreneurial discipline. Whilst specific business schools or universities might provide training on teaching and curriculum design, Oreszczyn *et al* (2010) argued that new opportunities for learning and fresh insights often occur at the boundaries of organizations (universities/business schools in this case), either through "communities of practice" or "networks of practice". The ESDA Secretariat with the support of the African business school Deans has performed the role of "broker" to remove impediments to collaboration between business schools which are often competing against each other and allow for the faculty to connect across the business school boundaries. To allow these cross-boundary collaboration spanning knowledge exchange and sharing of resources between the business schools, the ESDA Secretariat continually provides progress reports to the Deans.

Given the different geographical locations of the faculty across Africa, the group has blended the idea of a CoP which meets once or twice a year at an agreed location and a "Network of Practices" with a virtual structure which meets online quite often (either on Skype or Zoom). These internet-based technologies provide a convenient single platform for the young faculty to continually interact, co-create knowledge on African entrepreneurship and co-innovate. The convening of meeting once or twice a year allows for the building of social ties whilst the continuous virtual communication provides a co-located hub that serves as a knowledge generation node for the larger network of faculty.

4.2. Africa-Asia collaboration for global sustainability partnership

In the coming decades, co-design of sustainability actions will be one of the main drivers for strengthening global partnership including Africa-Asia partnership. Sustainability actions are not limited to developing technical solutions to each sustainability challenge but they include design, prototyping, and inception of social design that facilitate alternative ways of doing and learning things.

The emphasis on co-design of sustainability actions is well presented by the United Nation's Agenda 2030, also known as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs scheme sets a premise that sustainability challenges such as climate change, inequality, and rapid urbanization are global sustainability concerns. Essentially, the SDGs scheme is a call for collective actions for sustainability transformation that is set beyond the divide of developed and developing countries. One notable change of SDGs scheme from its previous scheme, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), is this equal positionality of developed and developing countries in the pursuit of global sustainability. Along with this positionality change, other dimensions such as theoretical, practical, and pedogeological approaches also need to be upgraded.

The first and the second phase of Africa-Asia partnership, as described in previous section, accommodated knowledge transfer by international cooperation scheme and knowledge exchange by shared process scheme. The authors argue the emergence of sustainability scheme would possibly trigger a qualitative change of partnership that can be best described as the phase of co-design of sustainability actions. This change is led by two main features of sustainability challenges, which are (i) complexity and (ii) normativity of sustainability challenges.

Sustainability challenges are considered as complex as they are interrelated to one another and proposing a solution to one particular sustainability challenge may cause another set of sustainability challenges (Jerneck et al., 2011; Lazarus, 2009). Holistic approaches are required not only to analyse sustainability challenges but also to design comprehensive actions for sustainability (Kudo & Mino, 2019). However, it remains as a challenge to ensure "holisticness" of developed actions. The second feature, normativity, is that sustainability challenges include normative discussions. This becomes particularly evident when discussing the contents of sustainable development; in other words, what needs to be included (or what does not need to be included) in the concept of sustainable development. What to sustain is a normative question and answers to this question reflect what we value collectively (Jarzebski & Kudo, 2016; Tainter, 2003). Answers to what to sustain and priorities in the answers differ among different societies and also different periods of time. For instance, sustainable development was first coined as a concept that emphasized the balance between environmental conservation and economic development (WCED, 1987). However today, sustainability includes wider ideas especially those related to societal well-being such as gender balance, decent work, and peace. In the same manner, it is likely to have some additional ideas when discussing post-2030 SDGs scheme. This process reflects what are relevant issues for those living in the world at that time [13] . Any initiatives for sustainability transformation should incorporate a mechanism to continually inquire what topics have been the mainstream in sustainability discourse and what have been less pronounced and why they are treated so.

One way to facilitate co-design for sustainability actions is to internalize a collective learning process within a project. This step corresponds to co-creation of knowledge before developing concrete actions. As a new method to organize such learning, "translocal learning" approach is proposed. Translocal learning is a type of collective learning that takes place when knowledge, experience, and ideas from multiple localities are shared among the participants who represent different localities (Kudo, Allasiw, Matsuyama, & Hansen, 2019). In this approach, locality is multi-dimensional concept that can be explained as the totality of cultural, political, and socioeconomic characteristics of a particular geographical area. Translocal learning can be implemented by joint-fieldwork on a common issue.

Since 2017, Graduate Program in Sustainability Science (GPSS) at The University of Tokyo has been hosting one translocal learning project focusing on the topic of migration and rural entrepreneurship. The main project members are researchers from University of the Free State (South Africa), University of Cape Town (South Africa), Universiti Sains Malaysia (Malaysia), Chulaloncorn University (Thailand), Akita International University (Japan), and The University of Tokyo (Japan).

Translocal learning stresses the importance of building common experience and sharing perspectives brought from each participant through joint-fieldwork. The participants in a translocal learning project obtain new perspectives mainly through group reflection sessions. For example, researchers from Nigeria and South Africa gained perspectives of "rural areas with advanced information and communication technologies (ICTs)" though a joint-fieldwork held in Gojome town, Akita Prefecture, Japan, in 2018. In their localities, rural areas are associated with poor infrastructure, less access to water and energy, and poor access to internet. This assumption made them think that rural areas are subject of developmental intervention from outside. However, meeting with creative entrepreneurs and community leaders, some of them are in-migrants from metropolises such as Tokyo and Osaka, they realized knowledge-based and vision-driven businesses are possible in rural areas with the quality that is as competitive as the ones based in major cities. Through such experience, translocal learning helps participants to be self-aware and re-examine the conceptions and assumptions they hold because of the specificities of their localities. Moreover, such learning in translocal learning project is mutual as the host members are also being questioned by the participants from different localities about their conceptions and assumptions.

As one concrete outcome of the translocal learning project, a team of researchers who come from diverse academic, cultural, and case study backgrounds was formed. In this team, we have been successful to learn about the set topic, migration and entrepreneurship, with equal positionality and elements about normativity of sustainable development by integrating perspectives from the participants' localities. This discussion helped us to co-envision possible actions we can take to contribute the ongoing sustainable development initiatives in the joint-fieldwork site. Along with this process, the participants were trained in epistemological agility and openness to other worldviews. The project suggests that training these competencies is a critical initial step for co-design of sustainability actions.

4.3. Boosting the convening power of African universities to enhance their role in sustainable development

Socio-economic transformation in Africa has continuously become a central focus in the continent's development agenda. Over the years, the region has grown rapidly with rising population and economic growth. However, the continent continues to face monumental challenges of improving the social welfare of its people. The current global development paradigm has shifted to knowledge-based economy informed by scientific research, evidence and data to solve socio-economic challenges and to promote industrial competitiveness and sustainable development (Nagao, Mutisya and Kudo, 2018). Navigating the challenges would require extensive search for relevant knowledge, innovative creation of new knowledge for societal transformation, in addition to coping with continental and global competition.

With changing development demands and challenges, African universities are today getting recognized as avenues of practical knowledge and skills. According to Mutisya & Nagao (2014), unlike in advanced countries where university education has and still is the center for current and future innovations, Africa's higher education sector has for decades lacked focus on development.

The decline in real value of university budgets, increase in undergraduates' intakes, increase in academic staff turnover, and research facilities deterioration has put university education in the region under severe pressure leading to decline in admissions and completion of higher education (Eshiwani, 1999; Teffera & Altbach, 2003; Samoff & Carrol 2004; Assie-Lumumba, 2006). In addition, with poor university research and innovation support to development, Africa risks lagging behind the rest of the world in all important aspects of human living such as the economy, technology, and quality of life.

To address these challenges, African universities' leadership and management need to reposition themselves. Like many other institutions, they possess accessible but often underutilized power – the convening power. To enhance the role of universities, there is a need to boost this power through strong social networks at all levels. Bolstering this power could be done through partnerships across leading universities to ensure effective leadership and promote collaboration, resource mobilization, and research development among others (Okalany & Ekwamu, 2016). Such partnerships will facilitate collaboration between universities, break down silos, and foster a community of practice.

Convening of universities to tackle complex challenges will help deal with global challenges and position to work at the nexus of local and global issues as core part of their value proposition. This provides immense opportunities and ideas whose implementation is by bringing people together and providing a safe space for exploration and innovation. There is a need to come up with a plan on how and when universities exercise convening power to spark collective action on continental issues. Given the scale and interconnectedness of global challenges; increased complexity of the development ecosystem, the universities' role as a catalyst for collective action for sustainable development should be sustained. Bringing universities top leadership together across the continent will produce a common strategic direction in education and research. Harnessing this convening power will enhance university's role in socio-economic transformation.

5. Conclusion

Higher education cooperation between Africa and Asia has a relatively short history, but has evolved considerably both in its scope and innovative nature. The broadly based partnership building started with the cooperationist approach accompanying educational cooperation through ODA as was the case for the preceding African partnership with the North. However, owing perhaps to the absence of colonial and historical bondage, the issue of passive participation and ownership for the recipient African side has not surfaced in any significant way. The positive experience with the modified cooperationist approach has encouraged both African and Asian sides to jointly engage in research collaboration on equal terms. In the area of educational development research, the pioneering networking initiative by Hiroshima University CICE has produced considerable impact on the outcome as well as process of the collaborative research. Furthermore, the research network established through this initiative was instrumental in starting a collaborative undertaking in the area of sustainable development.

The generally positive experience of Africa-Asia higher education collaboration so far has also pointed up new challenges. One such concern is the need to strengthen inter-university collaboration

within Africa as a condition for realizing more productive international academic partnership. A second concern is the challenge for the Africa-Asia research partnership to tackle global issues and make research contribution at the world level developing new research methodologies along the way. A third challenge is for the partnership to explore the new frontier for the role of universities going beyond the usual functional conception of research, education and public service, and consider a new role using its convening power as principal creator, user and distributor of knowledge in the knowledge society. This paper concludes by exploring practical approaches for these new perspectives.

Notes

1) The discussion in this section dwells mainly on the activities of Hiroshima University's Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE) which spearheaded the higher education cooperation with Africa in the education field. One of the authors of this paper was a staff member of CICE for part of the period covered in this section. The information and data quoted about CICE are based on the notes kept by this member and CICE website (https://home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/cice/?page_id=968).

2) In the case of M&S secondary teacher retraining project in South Africa, the initial request from the South African Government came to JICA in 1996, but it took until 1999 to prepare the final project document and initiate the technical assistance.

3) Establishment of CICE was followed by that of a similar center at the University of Tsukuba, named Center for Research on International Cooperation in Educational Development (CRICED) in 2002, to work mainly on curriculum issues and cooperation to Asian countries.

4) CICE invited researchers in the partner institutions to join the center as associate researchers and to contribute papers to its academic journal, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, which it started publishing bi-annually since 1998.

5) The concentrated attention of CICE research on Africa was evidenced by the fact that the figures quoted represented 44 % of the total number of JSPS-funded research projects (16 projects) and 56% of the total number of invited foreign Visiting Professors (25 Visiting Professors) during the period.

6) For a detailed account of the MSSI project, please see Nagao (2007).

7) The agreement reached was that UP would join the project as a project partner along with MDE and JICA and not as a consultant. JICA covered the travel costs of UP staff but did not pay any fees for their engagement. CICE also concluded an MOU with UP's Joint Centre for Mathematics, Science and Technology Education (JCMSTE) for this engagement and additional joint research activities.

8) Some of the visiting Mpumalanga M & S teachers termed lesson study as 'Peer Teacher Learning' (PTL) and published a series of PTL guidebooks upon return to South Africa.

9) 'Collaboration toward greater autonomy in educational development' was the principal theme of JEF, and it was maintained for the first 13 years until 2016, when it was changed to 'JEF for SDGs'.

10) CICE initiated the A-A Dialogue project in 2004 as a joint research undertaking by several African and Asian universities with the cooperation of UNESCO, United Nations University and JICA, focusing on policy research to support basic education and sharing of research experiences. This joint experience of 3-year duration served as a preparatory step for a major scaled-up collaboration initiative which started in 2009 and is still continuing today

after several phases. For a brief account of the project's chronological development, please refer to CICE website at https://home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/cice/?page_id=3511.

11) According to CICE, in the most recent phase of 2015-2018, Hiroshima University received a MEXT ODA grant for UNESCO activities and a UNU Grant for Global Sustainability, and "researchers of the participating universities have won various research grants"
(https://home.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/cice/?page_id=4409).

12) The research network established through the A-A Dialogue project has produced significant Africa-Asia joint research outside its project framework as well, such as the Kobe University team's Africa-Asia joint research on comparative analysis on universal primary education policy and practice in Sub-Saharan Africa (Ogawa and Nishimura (Eds.), 2015).

13) For example, four main topics may be considered as independent goals in a post-2030 SDGs scheme, as follows: (i) aging and falling fertility, (ii) intergenerational knowledge transfer especially around traditional knowledge about local environment, (iii) rural sustainability in contrast to the current zonal focus on cities, (iv) theoretical ties among the set goals that underpin the current Goal 17 about partnership.

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International inter-university networks and higher education development in STI in Africa

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1. Introduction

The African higher education system is considered to be the most internationalized, as it is the recipient of extensive interventions from outside the continent (Teferra & Knight, 2008). The sources of such interventions are not limited to Europe and North America; relationships with East Asian countries, such as Japan and China, have also been strengthened in recent decades (King, 2015).

Many African countries have adopted policies to further promote science, technology, and innovation (STI) and strengthen higher education, recognizing that these sectors are becoming a core factor for the development of knowledge-based societies (Molla & Cuthbert, 2018; Temple, 2012; World Bank, 2002). Owing to efforts made by individual countries, the past decade has seen an increase in the number of students enrolled in higher education across the continent. Still, a wide gap exists in educational access and quality. The higher-education enrollment rates in Sub-Saharan countries remained as low as 9.08% in 2018 (UIS Statistics released in September 2019).

In addition, the higher education sectors within these countries face insufficient resources for enhancing the quality of education and research. While Africa is home to 14% of the world's population, as of 2014, the Sub-Sahara Africa region's share of the global expenditure on research and development (R&D) was 0.8%. There were about 88 researchers per one million inhabitants in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2014, while the same figure in South Korea was 6,899 (World Bank, 2017).

To achieve higher productivity of national economy, a highly skilled workforce in the right priority sectors must be created, while R&D investments are increased and strong engagement between academia and the private sector is promoted. Africa, especially Sub-Saharan Africa, however, faces some challenges in establishing "world-class universities" that can compete on a global scale, especially with regard to research (Altbach & Salmi, 2011; Marginson, 2018). While research productivity is becoming more visible, especially among Africa's flagship universities, the continent's top universities are met with dilemmas in their diversified mission in student enrollment for human resource development and social contributions in addition to active participation in international research competition (Teffara, 2016). In addressing these challenges, university networks operating at the regional level are playing a larger role in promoting STI and developing the higher education sector by organizing collaborations between universities (Knight & Woldegiorgis, 2017).

Though Africa has fewer global inter-university networks than other regions, the past decade has seen the establishment of many networks within the continent. Some of these networks have been formed with universities across the African region, while others include universities outside Africa. Examples of the former include the Association of African Universities (AAU), the African Research Universities Alliance (ARUA), and the African Network of Science and Technological Institutions (ANSTI), all of which are inter-university networks that cover the entire continent. The Southern African Regional Universities Association (SARUA) and the Inter-University Council of East Africa (IUCEA) are examples of networks representing each sub-region of Africa.

The Africa–Asia Dialogue for Educational Development Network (A–A Dialogue), one of the examples of the latter types of networks, was established in 2004, recruiting 16 universities from 12 African countries and 12 universities from seven Asian countries, with the objective of promoting international collaborative research that would contribute to educational development in developing countries. The Australia–Africa Universities Network (AAUN) was established as a network of nine African and 11 Australian universities aiming to scale up the Africa–Australia institutional research partnership. An overview of the major global inter-university networks operating in Africa is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Overview of major global university networks in Africa

Name	Year Established	Members	Objectives
Association of African Universities (AAU)	1967	Over 360	• To promote exchanges, contacts, and cooperation among universities and other institutions of higher education in Africa. • To collect, classify, and disseminate information on higher education and research, particularly in Africa. • To promote cooperation among African higher education institutions in curriculum development, postgraduate training, research, and so on.
African Research Universities Alliance (ARUA)	2015	16	• To develop local research excellence through collaboration. • To find solutions for Africa's development problems.
African Network of Science and Technological Institutions (ANSTI)	1980	Not available	• To facilitate active collaboration among African scientific institutions for developing training and research in science, engineering, and technology.
Southern African Regional Universities Association (SARUA)	2005	57 from 15 Southern African Development Community members	• To assist in the revitalization and development of leadership and institutions of higher education in the southern African region, thus enabling the regional higher education sector to meaningfully respond to its developmental challenges.

Inter-University Council of East Africa (IUCEA)	1980	100	• To facilitate networking among universities in East Africa and with universities outside the region. • To provide a forum for discussion on a wide range of academic and other matters relating to higher education in East Africa. • To facilitate the maintenance of internationally comparable education standards in East Africa to promote the region's competitiveness in higher education.
Africa–Asia Dialogue for Educational Development Network (A–A Dialogue)	1994	6 from 12 African countries and 12 from 7 Asian countries	• To promote international collaborative research that contributes to educational development in developing countries.
Australia–Africa Universities Network (AAUN)	Not available	9 from Africa and 11 from Australia	• To scale up the Africa–Australia institutional research partnership. • To strengthen the academic and leadership capacity of our network's partners. • To be an influential voice in policymaking across the critical issues affecting Australia and Africa. • To provide an intelligence and advisory portal for expertise on Australia–Africa issues.

Sources: The official websites of the networks, retrieved on September 15, 2019: https://www.aau.org/, http://arua.org.za/, http://www.ansti.org/, http://www.sarua.org/?q=content/about-us, https://www.iucea.org/, http://aaun.edu.au/, and http://aadcice.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/j/aboutus/.

Among these networks, the Pan-African University (PAU), established by the African Union (AU) and supported by Japan and other countries, is a key network composed of the continent's top universities and has made substantial efforts toward improving higher education in Africa.

Attempts to develop a higher education sector based on inter-university networks at the regional level are not limited to the African region. For example, the Southeast Asia region has also been promoting STI and developing its higher education sector by organizing collaborations between universities. The Southeast Asia region is a region whose higher education systems and their graduate education and research capacities are rapidly expanding, while the region has also experienced the intervention of various partnerships from outside the region (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2014). Among other networks, the ASEAN University Network/Southeast Asia Engineering Education Development Network (SEED-Net) in particular has had a long history of operation in the field of STI since its inauguration in 2001 with support from Japan (Umemiya & Tsutumi, 2008).

This article discusses the status and future prospects of the PAU in terms of its roles in contributing to higher education development in STI. In order to draw useful lessons for African inter-university networks, including the PAU, the authors also analyze the experiences of SEED-Net.

The next section analyzes the experiences of AUN/SEED-Net while Section 3 offers an overview of the PAU and the PAU Institute of Basic Sciences, Technology, and Innovation (PAUSTI), one of the five institutes supported by Japan, in greater detail. Finally, Section 4

concludes the article by discussing the lessons from SEED-Net for African inter-university networks and how Japan should advance its cooperation with African higher education in STI.

2. AUN/SEED-Net

This section analyzes the experiences of SEED-Net, which is an inter-university network in the STI field in the Southeast Asia region, in order to draw lessons and implications for African inter-university networks.

2.1. Overview and strategies of SEED-Net

SEED-Net was established by the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) with support from Japan in 2001 as a sub-network of the ASEAN University Network (AUN). It was established with the aim of contributing to the sustainable socio-economic development of the Southeast Asia region through human resources development, research capability enhancement, and academic exchanges in the field of engineering. It consists of 26 universities selected by the ministries in charge of higher education of the 10 ASEAN countries and 14 Japanese universities. Its steering committee is composed of 10 member universities assigned by the governments of the 10 ASEAN countries, AUN, ASEAN Secretariat, Japanese University Consortium (JUC), the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and SEED-Net Secretariat, which is located in the Faculty of Engineering of Chulalonkorn University in Bangkok, Thailand.

SEED-Net adopted the following three strategies. First, it divided the engineering field into 10 sub-fields, then it assigned a leading university in the region, which played a leading role in the implementation of the activities in the particular field, as a host university for each of the 10 fields. These host universities offer postgraduate education programs at master's degree and Ph.D. levels and accept international students from within the region and implement other activities as a hub of the region. The member universities and host universities are as shown in Table 2.

The second strategy is a study-abroad program within the region. When SEED-Net was launched in 2001, there were still many academic staff who were teaching without higher degrees at the member universities, particularly in less developed countries, namely Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and Myanmar. To address this issue, the study-abroad program within the region was launched. While the major destinations of study abroad for academic staff of these universities had been developed countries such as the USA, the UK, or Japan, this program added universities in more developed ASEAN countries, such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines as new additional destinations (Umemiya, 2008).

These strategies are similar to those adopted by the PAU. At the PAU, a host university has been assigned for each field, which offers international postgraduate programs and accepts international students in order to foster highly skilled human resources and conduct research activities. It is our view, therefore, that analyzing the experiences of SEED-Net, which has been working with the same strategy for nearly 20 years, could provide beneficial lessons and implications.

Table 2.   Member universities and host universities of SEED-Net

Country	University	Host University and Host Field
Singapore	Nanyang Technological University	All fields
	Singapore National University	All fields
Malaysia	Universiti Sains Malaysia	Material Engineering
	University of Malaya	Manufacturing Engineering
Thailand	Chulalongkorn University	Civil Engineering, Electrical/Electronic Engineering
	King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang	Information and Communication Technology
	Burapha University	n.a.
Indonesia	Bandung Institute of Technology	Mechanical/Aeronautical Engineering
	Gadjah Mada University	Geological Engineering
Philippines	De La Salle University	Chemical Engineering
	University of the Philippines Diliman	Environmental Engineering
Brunei	Institute of Technology Brunei	n.a.
	Universiti Brunei Darussalam	n.a.
Vietnam	Hanoi University of Technology	n.a.
	Ho Chi Minh City University of Technology	n.a.
Cambodia	Cambodia Institute of Technology	n.a.
Laos	National University of Laos	n.a.
Myanmar	Yangon University	n.a.
	Yangon Technological University	n.a.

Source: Created by the authors

Note: This table shows the host universities in the initial stage when only one host university was assigned for each field. Additionally, a few host universities were assigned for each field in and after 2013.

2.2. Outcomes of SEED-Net

The main outcomes of SEED-Net can be summarized as the following three outcomes. First is research and education capacity building of academic staff of the member universities. SEED-Net provided opportunities for more than 1,400 staff or staff-to-be in total to study for a master's degree and/or Ph.D. by the end of 2018, many of whom have returned to their home universities to contribute to the enhancement of education and research capacity of their universities.

Second, more than 200 collaborative research projects have been conducted among the researchers of ASEAN countries and Japan, through which more than 1,000 academic papers have

been produced and published. Third, an academic network has been established and strengthened through various activities such as networking more than 400 researchers from ASEAN countries and 200 researchers from Japan and publishing the "ASEAN Engineering Journal", which was indexed at Scopus in 2018.

2.3. Promoting factors of SEED-Net

What are the factors that support an inter-university network to promote higher education development in an effective manner? Umemiya (2008, 2019) pointed out five, which consist of the followings: (1) the existence of regional common issues, (2) division of tasks according to different levels of development of member universities, (3) substantive exchanges of scholars, (4) nurturing relationships through a step-by-step approach, and (5) quality enhancement. These are the main factors that enabled SEED-Net to function and produced outputs, as described below:

(1) Existence of regional common issues

Countries in Southeast Asia have been facing a variety of common issues. For example, the region often suffers from different kinds of natural disasters such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, or floods in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Malaysia. These countries have a strong motivation to work together on research on mitigation and prevention measures for these disasters. At the same time, the region possesses different types of assets, such as next-generation natural resources, including geothermal and solar energy as next-generation energy alternatives; and natural raw materials, such as cassava, palm, rubber, and melaleuca. An inter-university network can play a role to address these issues by implementing collaborative research to put these common "assets" to practical use. The capabilities of the countries in the region to respond to common issues and assets can be more effectively and efficiently prepared through collaboration across the region under SEED-Net.

(2) Division of tasks according to different levels of development of member universities

The 10 countries in ASEAN are diverse in terms of economic and social development levels as well as levels of education and research at universities. Taking into consideration these differences, SEED-Net assigned a different role to each university according to the different levels of development of member universities as well as their needs. As mentioned, many academic staff were teaching without higher degrees at the member universities, particularly in the less-developed countries, namely Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and Myanmar. The member universities in these countries were given a role as a sending university, which sends their academic staff to other member universities in the region. Opportunities were given to the universities and countries where the need for higher study abroad existed with a low rate of higher degrees held by university academic staff. On the other hand, member universities from the more developed ASEAN member countries of Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia became host universities as they could offer high-level postgraduate programs. These countries and universities were seeking to internationalize and enhance their postgraduate education by accepting international

students, which was realized with technical support from Japanese universities to help improve their quality. Furthermore, depending on the financial capability of each country, cost sharing has been implemented. The two Singaporean universities provide their own scholarships while other host universities exempt their tuitions. According to its needs and capacities, each country plays its role in sharing and fulfilling each role to maximize achievement in the network's activities, preserving their incentives to participate in the network activities.

(3) Substantive exchanges of scholars

Another success factor is that this program accomplished a substantive exchange of scholars by setting a study-aboard program as its core program. Over 1,400 academic staff of the member universities were sent to other countries in the region for a period of two or three years, where they have intensive interactions with their supervisors at host universities, co-supervisors from Japanese universities and international students of the other member countries and local students. These scholars then went back to their home countries as researchers after graduation to become partners of their counterpart researchers in other member countries, making a strong tie among researchers within the region. This resulted in continuous collaboration between member universities under SEED-Net.

(4) Nurturing relationships through a step-by-step approach

SEED-Net activities have been conducted over four phases of collaboration by setting single phases of five years each, after the preparation period between 2001 and 2003. The first five-year phase, between 2003 and 2008, established the base of an inter-university network focused on building an organization and system while putting the emphasis on human resources development through the study abroad program within the region. While the research activities under the first phase were limited only to small-scale activities for the thesis writing of master's and Ph.D. students under the study abroad program, a number of relatively large-scale collaborative research projects started to be conducted on common regional issues under the following second phase between 2008 and 2013, which newly introduced a competitive research funding scheme. Academic staff of the member universities who graduated from the study abroad program under the first phase and came back to their home universities played a key role in the implementation of these research projects in the second phase. The third phase collaboration, which started in 2013 for another five years, added university–industry linkage activities as a new pillar of SEED-Net. Collaborative research projects involving private enterprises in the region as new research partners started based on the network of researchers of the member universities that were established in the previous phases of collaboration. The fourth phase, which started in 2018, now promotes the formation of international collaborative education programs among member universities, such as double degree programs. Three or more member universities from different countries form a consortium based on the network of universities in different fields that were established through collaboration in the previous phases. Each of these consortiums forms and implements a collaborative education program based on a formal agreement among the consortium member universities. These collaborative education programs involve the

industrial sector in its designing and implementation stages as part of university–industry linkage activities, which SEED-Net initiated in the third phase of collaboration. Collaborative education programs based on formal agreements at the university–university level is one of the goals of inter-university joint activities as they are the most institutionalized activities among others.

In summary, SEED-Net first focused on preparing organizational set-ups of a network while establishing a human linkage through the study abroad program, based on which it then expanded collaborative research activities in the second phase and university–industry linkage activities in the third phase. It finally formed consortiums of universities, which now implement international collaborative education programs at its final stage of collaboration. Accordingly, SEED-Net took a step-by-step approach, by which it expanded its activities from the individual level to the organization level, from education to research, then to collaboration with industry as a new partner. It is not feasible to implement collaborative activities of a high order under a university network at its initial stage. A network should first establish an organization and build a human network and trust among universities gradually through staff and student exchanges and smaller-scale joint research activities. Only then can the network initiate collaborative activities of a high order based on such human networks and trust.

(5) Quality enhancement

Another key factor for activities under inter-university networks to run in a sustainable manner is quality enhancement of the activities. At the time when SEED-Net was launched, several universities existed that could provide international postgraduate programs. However, the average study duration of 10 students who obtained doctoral degrees from the University of the Philippines Diliman between 2000 and 2005, for example, was 6.7 years, while it took four years even for a student who completed the program for the shortest period. On the other hand, a Vietnamese student whom the same university accepted in 2004 as the first doctoral student under SEED-Net graduated in 2.5 years, which is shorter than the regular period of three years. Other host universities also made efforts to shorten the duration of the study period by re-designing their doctoral programs more systematically and eventually to establish the program of an international standard, with support from Japanese universities (Umemiya et al., 2014). With these efforts, the quality of graduate programs and research activities at the host universities, which had not reached the international standard, were enhanced by getting support from Japanese universities that could offer high-quality education and research. Dean of Faculty of Engineering at Universiti Gaja Mada (UGM) at the time pointed out that "while the reform of the doctoral program at UGM itself was our own initiative, inputs from SEED-Net such as continuous inflow of international students, research funds, equipment and research guidance by Japanese university professors enhanced the quality of the reform, and materialized the reform in a substantial manner" (Umemiya et al., 2014). Host universities successfully enhanced the quality of their postgraduate programs and research activities, which, as a result, enabled them to continuously attract international students from within the region and to conduct collaborative research in a sustainable manner.

3. The Pan-African University

3.1. Overview of the Pan-African University

The AU places a high priority on higher education, implementing a variety of higher education development programs to achieve its vision of an integrated, prosperous, and peaceful Africa that is driven by its own citizens and represents a dynamic force in the global arena (Woldeensae, 2013). Among these programs, its flagships include the Nyerere Program, which aims to promote mobility among students within the African region, the Harmonization of Higher Education Programs, which aims to enhance harmonization among higher education institutions in the region, and the African Quality-Rating Mechanism, which aims to enhance the quality of higher education institutions within the region. The PAU is also considered one of the AU's flagship programs within the field of higher education.

With the objective of strengthening African research and innovations in STI, the PAU aims to establish an allied organization with excellent research and educational functions as a flagship institution of higher education in Africa. The governance structure consists of the PAU Council, the PAU Senate, and the Rector's Office under the African Union Committee (AUC). The PAU has assigned five host universities, one from each of Africa's sub-regions, to administer each field of the PAU institution and will establish ten additional satellite campuses per field. Through its campuses, the PAU plans to develop world-class, highly skilled human resources by providing scholarships to students in the sub-regional master's and doctoral degree programs.

The five sub-regional institutions are as follows: East Africa represents basic science, technology, and innovation (PAUSTI), hosted by the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) in Kenya; West Africa is in charge of life and earth sciences (PAULESI), hosted by the University of Ibadan in Nigeria; Central Africa fosters governance, humanities, and social sciences (PAUGHSS), hosted by the University of Yaoundé II in Cameroon; North Africa manages the water and energy sciences (PAUWES), including climate change, hosted by the University of Tlemoen in Algeria; and, finally, South Africa will administer space science (PAUSS), with coordination by Cape Peninsula University of Technology (PAU 2019). In addition to these five host universities, a country outside Africa has been assigned to each region as a Key Thematic Partner (KTP), which is expected to provide support to each host university. In the case of PAUSTI at JKUAT, for example, the Japanese government provides support such as research funding, facility improvement, and technical advice in educational and research activities by academic staff of Japanese universities through a technical cooperation project by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) based on an agreement among concerned parties. The KTPs are as follows: Japan for East Africa, India for West Africa, Sweden for Central Africa, and Germany for North Africa. South Africa has not been assigned an official KTP yet. In the case of PAUSTI, for example, Japan became a KTP at the request of the government of Kenya based on a long history of collaboration in the field of STI between the two countries.

According to the AU's (2011) project document on the establishment of the PAU, the PAU has the following six missions: (1) to develop continent-wide, world-class graduate and postgraduate programs in science, technology, innovation, and the social sciences; (2) to stimulate collaborative,

internationally competitive, cutting-age, fundamental, and development-oriented research in areas with a direct bearing on the technical, economic, and social development of Africa; (3) to enhance the mobility of students, lecturers, researchers, and administrative staff across African universities, improving teaching, leadership, and collaborative research; (4) to contribute to capacity building among present and future stakeholders of the AU; (5) to enhance the attractiveness of African higher education and research institutions for the effective development and retention of young African talent, while also attracting the best intellectual capital from across the globe, including members of the African diaspora; and (6) to invigorate dynamic and productive partnerships with organizations in the public and private sectors.

The PAU began accepting students in 2012, starting with the first batch of 57 master's students to PAUSTI at JKUAT in Kenya. In the following year, the second group of students entered PAUESI at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria. In 2016, 55 students from the first group graduated from PAUSTI, followed by 52 graduates from PAUESI, 51 graduates from PAUGHSS, and 26 graduates from PAUWES.

The number of applicants to each PAU institute is increasing, as shown in Table 3. The total number of applicants to the four institutes currently in operation was 1,221 for the 2014–15 academic year, which increased to 5,629 for the 2015–16 academic year.

Table 3. Number of applicants to the PAU by institute

Institute	2014–15			2015–16		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
PAUSTI	463	112	575	1294	425	1719
PAULESI	200	53	253	1245	515	1760
PAUGHSS	201	76	277	1066	654	1720
PAUWES	100	16	116	327	103	430
Total	964	257	1221	3932	1697	5629

Source: JICA's Africa-ai-Japan Project

3.2. The Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) and the Pan-African University Science, Technology, and Innovation (PAUSTI)

(1) JKUAT

JKUAT, the East African host university of PAUSTI, was established in 1981 as a mid-level college. In 1989, it was upgraded to a college under Kenyatta University, then became a full-fledged, independent university in 1994. The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) has supported the establishment for many years; since 1980, JICA has offered technical aid to enhance JKUAT's education and research and, since 1978, has provided facilities and equipment through three grant aid projects.

The first phase of JICA's 1980–1990 technical aid project was to support the establishment of the new college. Two grant aid projects were executed during that time. The first project supported

the development of new school buildings, including classrooms, laboratories, staff accommodations, and student dormitories, supplying a total of 4.8 billion JPY. The second project aided in the development of a 20-hectacre agricultural field, donating a total of 780 million JPY. As a result, the college completed its Faculty of Agriculture and Faculty of Engineering diploma and technical education programs, which developed mid-level technicians. By the late 1980s, toward the end of the first phase of the project, the college achieved the highest passing rate among Kenyan colleges in the national graduation examinations (JICA, 2009).

Also in the late 1980s, the government of Kenya, under the direction of President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, launched an education reform initiative to expand the higher education sector in preparation for an increase in college-aged citizens. Under this initiative, the government of Kenya decided to upgrade Jomo Kenyatta College to a full-fledged university, making it the fifth in the country and allowing it to offer education programs and confer degrees, and requested Japan's assistance in 1988.

In 1990, JICA started the second phase of the technical aid project to upgrade JKUAT's education and research programs to the university level. JICA also created a third grant aid project to establish buildings to house the bachelor's programs, including classrooms, laboratories, and libraries, donating a total of 3.5 billion JPY. Eight training courses for engineers from neighboring countries such as Uganda and Tanzania were also organized by JKUAT under JICA's scheme to promote South–South cooperation.

Due to JKUAT's efforts and JICA's support, the university succeeded in achieving vertical growth by upgrading its program from college to university level, as well as horizontal expansion by increasing the number of departments and adding new institutes and centers. JKUAT started as a college with two faculties and six departments. By 2000, it had grown into three faculties with 13 departments (each of which offers undergraduate and graduate programs), four research institutes, and two centers. With support from JICA, it has an influence on neighboring countries through its training program (JICA, 2009). JKUAT further expanded its activities, even after Japan's official development assistance had ended in 2000 and is now one of the top Kenyan universities in science, technology, and innovation, recruiting 45,000 students and 2,180 academic and administrative staff.

(2) PAUSTI

Upon the establishment of the PAU, JKUAT was selected to serve as a host university for the fields of basic science, technology, and innovation. Japan was invited to become the KTP for PAUSTI, and JICA initiated a new technical aid project in 2014, lasting five years. In 2012, PAUSTI became the first among the four PAU institutes to accept students, enrolling 58. Following the first batch, PAUSTI accepted 68 students (45 master's and 23 doctoral) in February 2015 (Batch 2), 78 students (40 master's and 38 doctoral) in October 2015 (Batch 3), 106 students (67 master's and 39 doctoral) in November 2016 (Batch 4), 140 students (102 master's and 38 doctoral) in November 2017 (Batch 5) and 114 students (73 master's and 41 doctoral) in May 2019. Table 4 shows the number of new students in each batch, separated by gender and level of study.

Table 4. Number of students enrolled in PAUSTI

Level	1st Batch			2nd Batch			3rd Batch					
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total			
M.Sc.	8	50	58	13	32	45	8	32	40			
Ph.D.	0	0	0	8	15	23	10	28	38			
Total	8	50	58	21	47	68	18	60	78			
	4th Batch			5th Batch			6th Batch			Grand Total		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
M.Sc.	19	48	67	24	78	102	16	57	73	88	296	384
Ph.D.	9	30	39	9	29	38	10	31	41	46	133	179
Total	28	78	106	33	107	140	26	88	114	134	429	563

Source: JICA's Africa-ai-Japan Project

The first group of 54 students graduated from PAUSTI in November 2014 and one student graduated in July 2015 with a master's degree, followed by the second group of 42 master's degrees graduated in June 2017, the third group of 32 master's degrees graduated in June 2018, and the fourth group of 43 master's degrees graduated in November 2018. Fourteen doctoral degrees graduated in June 2018 and five doctoral degrees graduated in November 2018. PAUSTI students were required to write one referred journal paper during the master's program and two referred journal papers during the doctoral program, thereby ensuring the quality of its graduate programs while increasing the number of papers published by PAUSTI.

The outcomes from the first to third batch graduates, as of November 2018, are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5. Outcomes among the first batch of PAUSTI graduates

Status	1st Batch	2nd Batch	3rd Batch	Total
University Lecturers	16	13	0	29
Government Officers / Researchers / UN, JICA, etc.	12	7	1	20
Employed by Private Companies	6	8	5	19
PAUSTI Ph.D. Students (pursuing Ph.D.)	10	0	3	13
Students in other Institutes	6	0	0	6
Not Confirmed	5	28	23	56
Total	55	56	32	143

Source: JICA's Africa-ai-Japan Project

Having become one of the top universities in Kenya by enhancing its educational and research capacities, and with support from Japan, JKUAT could accept international students for PAUSTI at the master's and doctoral levels. Experiences of implementing international training programs by accepting trainees from neighboring countries with support from JICA also provided plentiful expertise, which helped JKUAT to smoothly function as a host university for international students. Table 6 shows the number of international students in each batch by country of origin, with 43 countries represented from first to sixth batches.

Table 6. Country of origin among PAUSTI students

No.	Country of Origin	1st Batch	2nd Batch	3rd Batch	4th Batch	5th Batch	6th Batch	Total
1	Kenya	27	20	17	23	36	30	153
2	Ethiopia	11	9	8	9	7	5	49
3	Nigeria	3	3	3	12	10	4	35
4	Rwanda	2	5	4	7	10	3	31
5	Uganda	5	6	4	5	3	3	26
6	Cameroon	2	3	7	5	5	2	24
7	Benin	1	4	2	6	5	4	22
8	Chad	2	3	4	5	2	4	20
9	Ghana	0	3	2	7	6	2	20
10	Tanzania	0	2	3	7	2	4	18
11	Zimbabwe	2	1	2	3	3	2	13
12	Congo	0	0	1	3	4	4	12
13	Burundi	0	0	2	2	5	2	11
14	Togo	0	1	1	1	3	3	9
15	Eritrea	0	0	2	3	3	0	8
16	Malawi	0	0	1	1	3	3	8
17	Sudan	0	1	2	0	4	1	8
18	Gambia	2	1	0	0	2	2	7
19	Guinea	0	0	0	1	1	5	7
20	Mali	0	0	1	0	3	3	7
21	Senegal	0	2	1	0	3	1	7
22	Burkina Faso	0	1	2	0	2	1	6
23	Liberia	1	0	2	1	1	1	6
24	Niger	0	0	1	0	2	3	6
25	Algeria	0	1	1	0	1	2	5

26	South Sudan	0	0	1	0	2	2	5
27	Zambia	0	0	0	1	1	3	5
28	Botswana	0	0	0	2	0	2	4
29	Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)	0	0	1	0	2	1	4
30	Egypt	0	1	1	0	2	0	4
31	Cote d'Ivoire	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
32	Namibia	0	0	1	0	1	1	3
33	Somalia	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
34	Swaziland	0	0	0	1	0	2	3
35	Comoros	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
36	Djibouti	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
37	Central African Republic (CAR)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
38	Lesotho	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
39	Mauritania	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
40	Morocco	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
41	Mozambique	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
42	Sierra Leone	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
43	Tunisia	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Total	58	68	78	106	140	114	563

Source: JICA's Africa-ai-Japan Project

4. Discussions

This section discusses what sort of lessons can be drawn from the experiences of SEED-Net analyzed in Section 2, for inter-university networks in Africa. First, we confirm the commonalities and differences among the surrounding environment of SEED-Net at the time of its launching and that of the PAU.

4.1. PAU's environment in comparison with AUN-SEED/Net

There are several commonalities between the environments of the two networks. First, there are only limited resources available for investment for higher education development and promotion of STI, both in the Southeast Asia region and in the Africa region. As a result, the governments of each country and regional bodies such as ASEAN and the AU are required to find ways to effectively and efficiently utilize the available resources. Second, both regions are behind other regions such as Europe and North America, which are more advanced in terms of higher education development. While the internationalization of the higher education sector advances in all regions, universities in Africa and Southeast Asia have to compete with their counterparts in developed countries in a globally competitive environment.

On the other hand, there are also differences. First, the economic condition of the African region is lower than that of the Southeast region at that time, thus the public funds available for higher education are even smaller in Africa. Second, while Southeast Asia consists of 10 countries, Africa consists of 54, which is more than five times larger than the number of Southeast Asian countries. Third, while SEED-Net was the first established as an inter-university network in the field of engineering in Southeast Asia at that time, a number of inter-university networks in Africa already existed.

What sort of lessons can we draw from the experiences of SEED-Net for the PAU, taking into consideration these commonalities and differences? First of all, there was a rationale for both regions to adopt the strategy of assigning existing leading universities in the region as host universities and establishing a virtual university or consortium of graduate schools by networking them, when they had to compete with higher education sectors in other regions with limited resources available for higher education. While previously sending their scholars to developed countries was the major means for producing highly skilled human resources in Africa, with the establishment of the PAU, the region is now developing a mechanism to develop the human resources needed by the region in the region. It should also be pointed out that the PAU enables the region to develop such human resources in a relatively cost-effective manner compared to studying abroad in developed countries, which was also the case of SEED-Net. By forming an alliance composed of the leading universities, the PAU further strengthened these universities with strong political and financial support from the AU and the governments of the host countries in Africa in the form of scholarship for students, administrative costs and facility development, as well as technical support from the KTPs, and these universities can now offer study abroad and postgraduate programs to develop highly skilled human resources.

4.2. Factors that may lead to the future success of PAU

Most of the success factors of SEED-Net that we discussed in section 2 also apply to Africa. For example, in terms of the existence of common regional issues, African countries also share common issues such as tropical infectious diseases and agricultural challenges in tropical wet/dry regions. Meanwhile, the region also has potential assets such as mineral resources and alternative energy including thermal energy across the region. Therefore, it is in the interests of countries in the region to address these issues and develop ways to utilize the assets through joint research activities.

Second, with regard to the division of tasks according to the different levels of development of member universities, the PAU divides the African region into five sub-regions and selects a leading university in each field in each sub-region as a host university. Tasks are given according to the different levels of development in the PAU mechanism. It gives the role of host universities to the countries and universities that are prepared to accept and educate international students from within the region. On the other hand, currently, only one host university has been assigned for each of the five fields in the PAU. It would be worth examining the possibility to apply a multiple host university system at some point, which SEED-Net did in the third phase of its cooperation.

Third, the PAU shares another success factor of the substantive exchange of scholars, by

having a regional study abroad program as its core program. A relatively short history after the establishment of the modern higher education systems in Africa, the limited variation of languages in academic activities (English, French, Arabic, Portuguese, and Afrikaans), and active mobility of the academics and knowledge workers within and across the regions have somehow worked positively on the wide range of active exchange of scholars and university leaders. While we have already seen some collaboration such as research collaboration between JKUAT/PAUSTI and the Regional University Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture (RUFORUM), collaboration with other university networks should also be further discussed.

Fourth, in terms of nurturing relationships, the PAU is still in its initial stage of development as it only started to accept students in 2012. It is now in the first stage of developing a human network through the study abroad program. It would be possible for the PAU to establish a stronger academic network by promoting more comprehensive collaborative education and research activities in the future, such as alumni activities and multilateral joint research programs involving graduates of the PAU, as the number of graduates from the PAU increases.

 Last, in terms of quality enhancement, the PAU assigns a thematic partner country for each of the five host universities and fields, which is expected to support and assure the quality of activities at the host university. Both the PAU and SEED-Net apply this mechanism of triangular cooperation, in which developed countries support the effort of South–South Cooperation within the region. Japanese universities under JICA's technical cooperation project as a thematic partner provide academic inputs to academic staff and students at PAUSTI by dispatching Japanese professors. As a result, about 80% of graduates have completed their studies within two years in the case of a master's degree program and about 40% of graduates have completed within three years in the case of a doctoral program, which shows quality of education has been enhanced by PAUSTI. A key for the success of the network is to continue to provide quality education and research activities.

Prospects of the PAU should also be discussed taking into consideration the differences between Southeast Asia and Africa. The resources available for investment in higher education in Africa are even more limited compared to those in Southeast Asia. At the same time, the African region has to work for the vast land of as many as 54 member states. Therefore, the African region requires more resources investment from outside the region. The PAU also needs more resources for management and administration of its network to cover 54 countries. On the other hand, there are already many existing inter-university networks operating in the region. The PAU should consider how it could work with these existing networks so that they can create synergy effects for each other.

4.3. Higher education cooperation for Africa by Japan

This last section discusses how Japan should advance its cooperation in the higher education sector in Africa. There is a difference between the relationship of Japanese universities with universities in Southeast Asia and that with universities in Africa. In terms of official development assistance (ODA), Japan has had a long history of extending cooperation to many leading universities with technical and financial assistances since the 1960s. Japanese universities that participated in these ODA projects established the relationship with these leading universities, many

of which have maintained and developed this relationship even after the ODA projects completed. SEED-Net further strengthened these relationships between Japanese universities and universities in Southeast Asia. In addition, Japan has accepted a number of international students from Southeast Asia. In contrast, Japan's assistance to the higher education sector in Africa is relatively smaller. JICA started its support to JKUAT in 1977 as its major intervention to Africa in the field of STI. Then in 2009, it started its support to Egypt to establish the Egypt–Japan University of Science and Technology (E-JUST). In the 2000s, many collaborative research projects with African universities started under the Science and Technology Research Partnership for Sustainable Development programs (SATREPS) administered by the Japan Science and Technology Agency (JST) and JICA. The number of international students from Africa is around 1,000 in 2019, although recent years have seen a dramatic increase, which is expected to grow in the coming years.

The roles that Japan should play in Africa should be different from those in Southeast Asia. In SEED-Net, Japan has been taking a lead in all of the ten fields that SEED-Net covers. On the other hand, it is indispensable for Japan to work closely with other partner countries and organizations in Africa. Japan should make proactive contributions to the higher education sector in fields in which Japan has rich experience of research collaboration with Africa. At the PAU, Japan focuses its support on PAUSTI in charge of STI, out of the five PAU institutes, which is in line with this strategy.

It is also important to collaborate between Africa and Japan in fields that are beneficial both for African universities and Japanese universities from the viewpoint of assuring sustainability. Research collaboration by Nagasaki University with Africa on tropical infectious diseases is a good example of having a long history of collaboration with outstanding outcomes. Other examples include Kyushu University's plan to work on thermal engineering with a Kenyan university.

Japan should strategically utilize the leading universities that Japan has been collaborating with as windows for its future collaboration with other countries in Africa. It takes years to establish a relationship with mutual trust and to establish branding of universities and university networks. Japan and Japanese universities have strong relationships with JKUAT and EUST through their long-term relationships of collaboration. Japan should collaborate with them as partners to extend its activities, which would benefit the whole region of Africa.

The PAU has contributed to human resources development in the fields of basic science, technology, and innovation, which is a crucial issue for African countries. A substantial proportion of higher education students in Africa belong to faculties of social science as there are not enough faculties related to science and technology, which typically require large investments in research facilities and equipment. In order to further contribute to human resources development in these fields, the PAU should enhance its capacity to enroll more students. While the PAU's initial plan was to set up 50 satellite campuses, 10 under each of the five institutes, it has only completed five institutes so far. Therefore, the PAU's ability to recruit international students is still limited, as there is only one campus for each field across the entire continent of Africa. Establishing satellite campuses to enhance its capacity is a challenge for the PAU in the future.

Note: the opinions expressed here are solely of the author's and do not represent the views of the organizations which the authors belong to.

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Translocal learning approach: facilitating knowledge exchanges across communities with different localities

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1. Introduction

One of the common experiences in the practice of community development is to be in a state of lock-in where ongoing projects are seemingly addressing main challenges of the community, yet sense of ownership to the projects remains weak among the residents. Such situation makes the projects rootless. A new approach to facilitate transformative social learning is needed in order to disrupt the lock-in state and increase people's engagement to ongoing projects in their own community. The aim of this exploratory paper is to propose "translocal leaning" approach that is to design collective learning in the context of community development. Translocal learning is to share different ways of understanding about reality through joint-fieldwork among the participants from diverse backgrounds. This collective learning process enables the participants to gain new perspectives that help them to re-examine the assumptions they have to their own communities and realize the potentials that have not been fully explored.

The idea of translocal learning is inspired by social learning literature. The concept of social learning has become popular in environmental education, natural resource management, and governance (Muro & Jeffrey 2008). The theory has established its own arena of theoretical and practical discussions especially in the topic of social-ecological system management (Cundill et al. 2013). Although the concept is not unified across the fields, social leaning emphasizes the process of change in individual's understanding about a topic and spread of the new understanding about the topic to wider social units through social network (Prell et al. 2017). Such scaling of one's learning to other social units is described conceptually in multi-level framework of societal transition (Geels 2011) and also considered as a key step in enhancing adaptation and transformation strategies for multi-scale interactions of social-ecological systems (Folke et al. 2005, 2002). In a specific context of natural resource management, social learning is described as an iterative and collective learning process that generates communication among diverse stakeholder groups and facilitates negotiation among them to co-create knowledge, co-design and plan actions, and build momentum for joint implementations (Murti & Mathez-Stiefel 2019; Allen 2017).

The idea of social learning, especially the process of building common understanding about a topic and transferring individual's understanding to wider social units, is conducive to the topics related to sustainable development. Furthermore, it is important to develop a method that explores transformative social learning that enhance exchanges of ideas and perspectives; this will help communities to have a breakthrough when they are experiencing a lock-in state. This study reports one translocal learning project organized in Akita, Japan, to introduce how a translocal learning can be designed. By doing so, the authors aim to highlight the approach's contributions for transformative social learning at the individual and collective scales. The gap this research addresses is the design and practical steps of social learning.

2. Literature review: social learning and sustainability

Based on conventional theories, learning happens at the level of the individual. Although, the concept of organizational learning have become quite widespread in recent years, learning in larger social units remains controversial (Berkes 2009). Despite the lack of consensus on its definition and theoretical basis, social learning has become a norm in the field of natural resource management. Many of the existing empirical work on social learning focus on resource management as a collective learning process of mixed stakeholder groups. Social learning is often framed as a result of a collaborative process in a particular project among multiple stakeholder groups such as in river basin management, coastal management, or protected area management, among others (see Tippett, Searle, Pahl-wostl, & Rees, 2005; Anh, James, & Pittock, 2018). Social learning for sustainability has been largely equated with the maintenance of the productive capacity of social-ecological systems to support planetary life.

However, sustainability learning should be much more than simply sustaining the resource that we have. In efforts to achieve sustainable development, social leaning is becoming an increasingly popular concept in the field of sustainability. This marks a shift in sustainability literature from a goal oriented discussion to an understanding of sustainability as a learning process (Tàbara & Pahl-Wostl, 2007). Three learning theories were identified to be relevant to the on-going learning processes for sustainable transition; experiential learning, transformative learning, and iterative reflection (Armitage, Marschke & Plummer, 2008).

Transformative social learning is presumed to create disruptions and help us generate new ideas or to have possible break-through ideas to existing lock-in state. To avoid to be trapped in the state of system lock-in, it is important to switch mindsets (O'Sullivan, 2003; Wals, 2010). Social learning in its wide interpretation is understood as two-step process: that is (i) changes in one's understanding about a topic not only at the surficial level (gaining new knowledge about a topic) but also at a deeper level (changing attitude, value, and epistemological belief), and (ii) expanding to a wider social units and generates learning at the scale of social networks (Reed et al. 2010). These two steps possibly explain the steps of how the individual's mindset can be navigated to a switch.

Common criticism to social learning is on its verification. Though the idea of social learning is widely accepted, the concept has a premise that participation of stakeholders generates collective learning. This may be likely to occur yet it is up to case if such collective learning is intentionally

designed or naturally occurs. Also, even if social learning does occur, it is difficult to measure its degree as well as quality. The triple-loop learning process is applied to describe possible effect of social learning (Bos, Brown, & Farrelly, 2013). However, overall, how concrete steps of social learning can be designed, implemented, and assessed comprehensively remains a research gap.

## 3. Proposing "translocal learning" approach

As one method to facilitate social learning for community development, this paper proposes translocal learning. The main purpose of translocal learning is to obtain new ideas and perspectives by linking (trans) different localities (local). Locality in translocal learning is multi-dimensional concept that is explained as the totality of cultural, political, socioeconomic characteristics of one particular geographical area. Community development in translocal learning means the collective process by a group of people to reorganize, facilitate, and implement actions that lead them to actualize their wishes and visions about their community. The act of community development is seen as a continual process of co-envisioning, planning, and coordinating actions to improve the conditions of living environment. Local economic, human, and physical resources are harnessed as a result of community development (Matarrita-Cascante & Brennan 2012).

The concept of translocal learning derives from reflexive learning that helps one to be self-aware about her or his assumptions or usual pattern of thinking (Danver 2016). Translocal learning is mostly designed through joint-fieldwork that includes interviews, data analysis, group discussions, and reflection sessions. There are two main benefits of translocal learning: they are (i) re-examine one's understanding about reality by contrasting two localities, one the project participants are experiencing through the joint-fieldwork and the other the participants originally have connections from her or his backgrounds, and (ii) obtain new ideas or perspectives that provide different angles to interpret her or his locality. The first benefit is the process to be aware of and critically review assumptions that one has to her or his own locality. Such re-examination to one's locality occurs in translocal learning because multiple localities, at least two localities, are consistently referred among the participants during the joint-fieldwork, especially at reflection sessions. This process accelerates reflexive learning and encourages the participants to re-examine the current situation and potentials of their localities. Exchange of different views from multiple localities generates the second benefit of translocal learning. This process corresponds to the process of scaling one's learning to wider social units in social learning. The participants are expected to bring the new ideas and perspectives they gained in a translocal learning program to her or his own localities. In translocal learning, fieldwork areas with largely different contexts and qualities are chosen. This enables participants to obtain ideas and perspectives that are often new or less prioritized. By linking largely different localities, translocal learning aims to trigger wider social innovation.

Figure 1 illustrates how the effects of a community project can be understood within a single community boundary and multiple community boundaries. When a project is designed and implemented, its effects are commonly targeted within one specific community boundary (Community A in Figure 1). Social learning in earlier literature describes the process of collective learning among diverse stakeholders within a single community boundary. The set projects are to

address local challenges within this specific community and the participants who build common understanding and negotiate local challenges coming from a single project boundary. In contrast, translocal learning links takes boundary-spanning perspective, and this approach enables one to situate the current situation of community within multiple community boundaries. In Figure 1, Community B is where one participant of translocal learning has in-depth understanding through prior engagements before the joint-fieldwork. Community C is the focal community where the joint-fieldwork is organized in a translocal learning project. In this setting, reflexive learning is designed to happen among the project participants because reference points are consistently presented between Community B and Community C. The efforts of community development projects are still designated within specific community boundary, Community B and C respectively, yet exchanges of knowledge and experiences will take place in multiple community boundaries.

I. Project understood within single community boundary
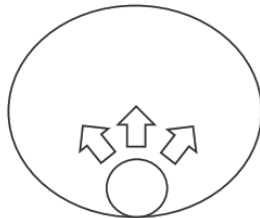
II. Project understood within multiple community boundaries
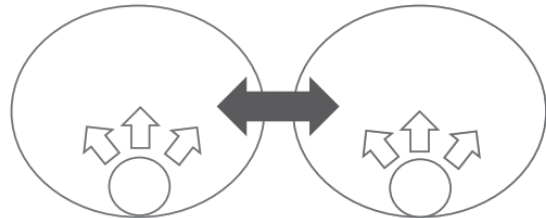
Community A

Community B   Community C

Figure 1   Effects of community development in single boundary and multiple boundaries

One might wonder how translocal learning differs from other case study methodologies such as multiple case study or comparative study approaches. Conventionally, these approaches are applied when the research purpose is to identify commonalities or determinants of particular patterns, in line with the research theme. The case selection, therefore, is strictly structured in order to have a few distinct conditional differences among the cases. Those selected cases are compared by a common analytical framework. Those conditional differences are commonly incorporated in hypothesis and also are expected to be the factors to explain the reasons for the appeared differences or patterns.

In contrast, translocal learning is designed based on the idea that "pluralism and heterogeneity offer more promise for finding creative solutions to stubborn issues than "singularism" and "homogeneity" (Wals 2010). More specifically, translocal learning stands on a belief that one can learn new ideas better from people with different attributes than from those who have similar attributes. Such premise is suitable to translocal learning as it is designed as a process to deliver transformative disruption that leads to fundamental changes in the way of being and seeing reality (O'Sullivan 2003). Additionally, in terms of outputs, translocal learning brings ideas and perspectives at the conceptual level instead of findings based on comparative analysis or practical action plans. For example, expression of "rural" carries different meanings when the word is used in

different regional contexts. On the one hand, in rural Japan, issues related to aging and depopulation (e.g. asset management, public services, loss of traditional knowledge) are widely discussed. On the other hand, in rural South Africa for instance, issues related to development (lower income households, lack of basic infrastructure, education for youth) are often associated with rural areas. Conceptual differences appear clearly in a translocal learning project because the participants provide diverse references during reflection sessions. This process offers opportunities to learn alternative perspectives to interpret the participants' own localities.

4. Practical application of translocal learning

This section explains the practical application of translocal learning in four steps through introducing the ongoing translocal learning project that the authors are currently operating. This project aims to provide an empirical case of translocal learning through a joint-fieldwork on the theme of rural entrepreneurship in Gojome town in Akita Prefecture, Japan. Below, the four steps will be explained based on the activities and findings from the project's first joint-fieldwork conducted in Gojome on August 2018.

Translocal learning is designed in four main steps, that are (i) Identify locations, (ii) Team formation, (iii) Joint-fieldwork, and (iv) Reflection (Figure 2). The first and second steps are done only once at the beginning of a translocal project while the third and fourth steps are repeated in each time of fieldwork. Space of translocal learning is created during joint-fieldwork and reflection sessions both formally and informally among the participants.
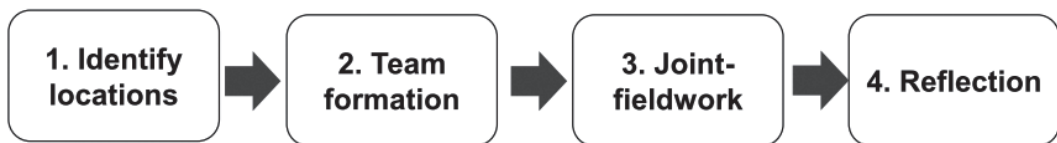

Figure 2　Steps of translocal learning

Note: Translocal learning team is formed with members from diverse affiliations who have willingness to work with actors from different fields of expertise. Space of translocal learning is created within joint-fieldwork and reflection steps. A series of joint-fieldwork are organized to share diverse perspectives among the team members.

4.1. Identify locations

The first step is to identify locations where joint-fieldwork will be conducted. The identification of locations is based on the theme and the availability of local coordinators. Because the aim of translocal learning is to obtain new ideas and perspectives that facilitate social learning for community development, it is recommended to choose locations with a common phenomenon yet with largely different social, political and economic situations. Those differences in locality offer a greater degree of learning to the participants, compared to a study focusing on the locations with similar settings. Essentially, multiple communities' perspectives are incorporated by having participants with deep understandings of different localities.

In the ongoing project, "migration and local entrepreneurship" is set as the theme for the fieldwork in the two locations, Akita in Japan and QwaQwa in South Africa. These two areas represent typical context of rural regions in these two countries and experiencing constant in- and out-migration of young population. We observed that often those entrepreneurial-minded people are in-migrants from outside or returners who are originally from these areas and stayed outside for several years. This is why the authors identified the relationship between migration and entrepreneurship as an important topic for Akita and QwaQwa.

Gojome town is located in the central area of Akita prefecture (Figure 3). The total population of Gojome is approximately 9,200 as of February 2019. Together with its neighboring towns, there are about 20,000 residents in this area. Local economy of Gojome has a foundation in primary sector and the town is known for timber processing and sake brewery. However, the town has been experiencing continual outflow of residents, especially the high school graduates and those in their 20s. Decline of young population inevitably pushes the ratio of elderly residents higher. In 2018, the ratio of those aged 65 and above was 47.1 percent. The town represents the phenomenon of aging and depopulation that Japan is facing nationally. In response to declining economic and community-based activities due to aging and depopulation, the municipal government of Gojome has been active in promoting business and community-driven projects through provision of sharing offices, financial support to create public space, and guided tour to visitors meet with local entrepreneurs in the town. The authors of this paper have built a close relationship with the municipal government, community development officers, and entrepreneurs in Gojome through education and research activities in past six years.

Figure 3　Location of Gojome town, Akita Prefecture, Japan

4.2. Team formation

The second step is to identify project members. In translocal learning, the members are selected from diverse backgrounds and expertise. Ideally, the team should be formed by diverse actors such as researchers, entrepreneurs, NGO and NPO officers, government officers, and local residents. There are two conditions to join a translocal learning team. The first condition is

possession of in-depth understanding about one specific locality, through direct engagements such as case study, community development projects, and social outreach programs. This connection to one locality is required to experience translocal learning because the participant's knowledge and experience of her or his locality is utilized as a reference source to enhance learning both at individual and group levels. The second condition is an openness to an interdisciplinary group setting. Translocal learning does not provide a space to advance knowledge or skills in one specific field. Instead, it provides an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary space for one to build multiple ways of understanding about reality. This happens by exchanging ideas and perspectives among the participants from diverse backgrounds. Such environment would be challenging for those who are not willing to explore outside of her or his own field of expertise or worldview. Therefore, openness or interdisciplinary-mindset is one pre-requisite to those who join a translocal learning team.

In the ongoing translocal learning project, a team of 12 members was formed. The members were limited to researchers because it was the first trial of translocal learning. However, they are selected from diverse academic backgrounds, namely Agriculture, Chemical engineering, Development studies, Environmental studies, Geography, Rural studies, and Sustainability Science. These members were selected through the network of sustainability research through a project called Education for Sustainable Development in Africa (ESDA) which has provided funding for Asia-Africa knowledge exchange, especially on the theme of mutual-learning between the two regions on sustainable development [1] . Through the network of ESDA, the team identified five scholars from South Africa and Nigeria and two scholars from the Philippines and Thailand. In addition to them, three five graduate students from China, Mongolia, Philippines, and Japan joined the fieldwork. Those members who joined from Japan served as facilitator and translator during the fieldwork.

4.3. Joint-fieldwork

The third step is conducting a joint-fieldwork. The main purpose is to build a common experience of field activities and have continual discussions on a set theme. In this step, the role of local coordinator is important because this step must provide enough materials to the participants to obtain in-depth understanding of locality. This is done by visiting key sites, conversation or interviews with local residents, and observations of local activities. This step is to ensure sufficient understanding about the study area that is necessary for the participants to interpret what they see and learn in the area with referring their own localities throughout the fieldwork. The local coordinators must have both in-depth knowledge of the area as well as good understanding of research structure especially in qualitative research.

One joint-fieldwork was conducted on local entrepreneurship for six days in Gojome. It started from an introduction session that provides an overview of aging and shrinking society in Japan, its implications in rural areas, and the current situation of Gojome as well as the town's initiatives on entrepreneurship. Figure 4 shows some of the activities in the fieldwork. The participants had guided tours in Gojome to obtain a holistic understanding about its locality. This process includes learning about landscape and history, main economic activities, local governance system, people's

general perceptions and sense of attachment to the area, and current challenges the town faces. Local entrepreneurs are defined as people with an active mindset who makes concrete actions to improve the quality of their daily lives in the fieldwork. Therefore, the informants were both business owners and those initiators of community-based projects. The team interviewed entrepreneurs in six projects in total that include café, art gallery, operation of public space for mothers with small children, and renovation of abandoned houses. The interviews were to learn their motivation, type of support they have received through both personal network and public support, challenges they are facing, type of support they wish to have, and future vision of their business or project.

Figure 4   Joint-fieldwork in Gojome, Akita prefecture, Japan

*(Left: learning about local management of forest and farmlands from one local farmer,
Centre: Interview to café owner (entrepreneur), Right: Group reflection session)*

The fieldwork found that those six projects are all driven by the initiators' sense of creativity. It was an expectation that those project initiators were driven by social business to address particular local challenges in Gojome. However, it was not the case and they mentioned local challenges are not major part of their motivation. For example, the owner of Ichi-café (Picture in the center in Figure 4) told us that her primary motivation was to create a space where her close friends can gather and chat about new ideas for business or community-based projects. She chose café not because she wanted to offer her own cooking to customers but she thought serving lunch and coffee would make it easier for her friends to come by. As a result, her café serves as public space where people organize workshops, language classes, and meet-up with visitors from outside. Without the intention of the owner, Ichi-café became a shared place where local residents can gather and organize various events.

The second main finding was that the role of intermediaries was critical in the projects of five entrepreneurs. There are two particular individuals who helped to connect the project initiators and people with different kind of knowledge or skills, especially in the early phase of projects. At the same time, these intermediaries were serving as informal mentors to the projects. By drawing social networks of the entrepreneurs based on the interviews, we realized that those intermediaries are often playing a role to connect different groups of people both within the town and between inside and outside of the town. Based on this finding, it was recommended to the local government to develop a policy to support intermediaries along with the existing supporting mechanisms for business incubation.

4.4. Reflection

The fourth step, reflection, is the integral part of translocal learning. During the fieldwork, daily reflection and final reflection sessions are organized in order to deepen both individual and collective learning of the team. The main purpose of this step is to identify ideas and perspectives to be shared to the localities where the participants originally have connections. The discussions in reflection sessions are to bring up general findings and comments to the conceptual level. By doing so, what is shared in reflection sessions can be applied to other localities regardless of the contextual differences among them.

Discussions in reflection start from sharing ideas that address the challenges the participants observed during the fieldwork. Diversity of the participants is important resource in reflection session that creates a space to be aware of and carefully examine the process of knowing and learning new perspectives from team members. Participants are encouraged to verbalize their thoughts and ideas with referring to knowledge and experience based on her or his locality. The discussions after sharing individual reflections are shaped as collective learning. One reflection by the participant from Nigeria was about how the researchers' group can engage with the local community for research and educational purpose. He explained to the team that in rural Nigeria, people would ask researchers for immediate and visible outcome that will help improve their living conditions. This has made their educational program output-oriented without much of space to build collaborative relationship with rural communities. He found that both local coordinator to the translocal learning team and those intermediates who support local entrepreneurs offer one specific function to the community, which is linking people from outside to the local residents. Another point raised by members from South Africa was about people' motivation for entrepreneurship. In the context of South Africa, rural areas represent poverty, low education attainment, and poor condition of infrastructure. In such situation, entrepreneurship is commonly framed as livelihood strategy. Regarding the motivation people to become entrepreneur, most of them wanted to come out from poverty. In the fieldwork in Gojome, the participants found that those local entrepreneurs are driven strongly by the process of self-actualization. Those activities and businesses operated by the local entrepreneurs in Gojome are largely based on the individual's creativity. In fact, very few of them mentioned that their business or projects are for the town in spite of the fact their projects have significant contributions to community development. Those participants from South Africa and Nigeria realized that entrepreneurship can be driven by people's creativity.

Participatory approach is suggested in social learning as a method to build common understanding and negotiate among stakeholder groups within one project. Here, it is assumed that the stakeholder groups would naturally collaborate and build relevant knowledge. However, participatory approach could also generate irrelevant and even possibly negatively affecting knowledge among the stakeholder groups. These possibilities are often not well considered because the effects of social learning can only be measured in relation to the project purpose (e.g. conservation of urban water). In contrast, the reflection sessions in translocal learning is a designed step to facilitate communication among the team members for the purpose of generating a set of common conceptual findings that can scale out to other localities.

5. Concluding discussions

This study proposes translocal learning as a new approach to design collective learning for community development. The core idea of translocal learning is based on social learning theory that explains scaling of one individual's learning on a topic to wider social units through social networks. Social transformation for sustainability requires changes of people's ways of thinking and learning. This process includes changes in people's perceptions and values. Any initiatives aiming for sustainability become complete when particular values that support sustainability initiatives by people is widely shared. With this regard, the idea of social learning is conducive to wider sustainability topics including community development. This study introduces the four steps of translocal learning with concrete examples from the joint-fieldwork organized by the authors. Some of the key features of translocal learning were verified by the empirical observations during the fieldwork. Three key features of translocal learning were suggested through the joint-fieldwork.

5.1. Re-examining assumptions and conceptions

By having participants with connections to different localities in the joint-fieldwork, it became possible to have multiple reference points when discussing the findings during the daily reflection sessions. This particular condition enriched the analysis by realizing new perspectives such as meaning of rurality, drivers of entrepreneurship, and role of intermediaries in community development. Obtaining these new perspectives allows participants to re-examine the assumptions and conceptions they have established originally in each locality that they hold as their background. This process of realizing one's assumptions and conceptions is uniquely designed in translocal learning as a part of collective learning based on the diversity the participants bring into the team.

5.2. Creation of interdisciplinary dialogue

Translocal learning provides a unique opportunity for interdisciplinary dialogue. Building shared experience through joint-fieldwork is critical in creating such space for interdisciplinary dialogues. It is commonly said in an interdisciplinary setting, some terms are used in different meanings and that hinders smooth communication among the people who come from different academic backgrounds. Working with people with same or similar background is efficient and often more comfortable because of the common understanding of terms that come from a shared worldview. However, dialogues to clarify worldview of each member need to be intentionally designed in a social learning project. If such mechanism is missing, those participants end up with only exchanging ideas at the surficial level and co-creation of knowledge would not happen. One achievement of the authors' ongoing translocal learning project is the creation of interdisciplinary dialogue among the participations. This was possible because the fieldwork built a shared experience that aligned diverse views to one concrete setting. One key factor in the project that enabled the team to be successful about having interdisciplinary dialogue was the epistemological agility of the members. The methodological approach is often identified as one ground challenge in an interdisciplinary research because borrowing methods from diverse fields does not only mean

applying practical analytical process but also incorporating different epistemological stands (Isgren, Jerneck, & O'Byrne 2017; Olsson et al. 2015; Von Wehrden et al. 2017). Epistemological agility is considered as one key competence to be nurtured in interdisciplinary training (Haider et al. 2018). Translocal learning is one possible method to train this competence.

5.3. Socially robust knowledge

Translocal learning encouraged the team to discuss socially robust knowledge. Given sustainability challenges are highly interlinked to each other, knowledge to address them need to be applicable to real-world settings. This process requires awareness of the researchers in producing socially robust knowledge (Miller, Muñoz-Erickson, & Redman 2011; Scholz 2017). The team realized that each member has different expected role in their own localities. This point became evident when the expected roles of program organizers and the local coordinators in Gojome became clear during the fieldwork. They both were serving as key intermediaries for the town to have access to niche networks. The local residents can obtain new ideas and perspectives through such networks. Translocal learning was found effective to influence the individual participant's understanding about community development, especially on the topic of local entrepreneurship through the organized joint-fieldwork.

5.4. Translocal learning approach as a mean for knowledge exchange

Translocal learning approach is a designed process of collective learning that facilitates knowledge exchanges among the participants coming from different localities. Joint-fieldwork is prepared as a learning exercise in which each participant is expected to be reflexive and provide different perspectives to examine findings based on the knowledge and experiences they have from their localities. Translocal learning approach differs from comparative study approach on the point that the main focus of translocal learning is the collective learning among the participants while the main purpose of comparative study lies in identifying influencing factors to achieve a particular condition. Comparative study approach naturally leads us to hold a notion of "advanced" or "successful" cases. When such liner perspective is applied, knowledge and experiences are often "transferred" from one end to the other end. In contrast, translocal learning is developed as a mean to "exchange" knowledge and experiences among researchers, practitioners, and residents of communities. This implies an equal relationship is assumed among the participants and the communities where joint-fieldworks are conducted in translocal learning. This perspective of translocal learning support researchers to go beyond the conventional methods of selecting case study sites. Linking communities coming from largely different localities, for instance linking communities from Asia and Africa, is even much encouraged from the perspective of translocal learning.

5.5. Next steps

The empirical evidence of current study is limited to the first joint-fieldwork in one translocal learning project conducted in Gojome, Japan. Further fieldwork activities are necessary in order to

enhance translocal learning of the participants and discuss the effectiveness of translocal learning approach to harness social learning for community development. It also needs to be monitored if the participants applied what they learned in a translocal learning project to her or his own localities. If this has happened already, it would be the evidence of social learning, transferring of knowledge to wider social units. Studies to evaluate the impact of such scaling of knowledge from one individual to a wider community will be critical when discussing the scope of translocal learning.

Acknowledgement:

Notes

1) For further information about ESDA visit its official website at https://unu-esda.org/

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南アフリカ共和国の高等学校に通う学習者の
「共生社会」志向に関する一考察
—Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化に着目して —

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はじめに

　本稿の目的は、南アフリカ共和国（以下、南ア）の高等学校に通う学習者の「共生社会」志向について、現代の同国の高等学校でそのような志向に関わる教育の中核を担っていると捉えることのできる教科である Life Orientation の学習経験（による他者との関係の変化との関連）に着目して考察することである。具体的には、同国西ケープ州の高等学校に通う学習者を対象とした質問紙調査の分析結果を基にした、実証的観点からの考察を行う。

　はじめに、本稿における南アの高等学校の Life Orientation に着目した探索の背後には、「共生社会」志向に関わる教育の世界的潮流があることについて言及される必要がある。具体的には、欧米社会を中心とした「多文化主義／教育」や「シティズンシップ教育」などに関する理論や実践が挙げられるが、本稿では、それらの議論の到達点の 1 つである、「多様性の中の統一」をいかに達成するのかという点に着目する。例えば、トーレス（2012, 136 頁）は、多くの研究がなされてきた「多文化主義」のディレンマとして、「多様性と共通性の結びつきをどう理解するか、いいかえれば、多様性のなかの統一という問題」があることを指摘している。また、米国、英国（イングランド）や豪州などにおける「多文化教育」の比較検討が行われた松尾（2017, 199-200 頁）では、「多文化主義や多文化教育が進んでいるといわれる国々においても、諸集団の文化や言語を対等に取り扱うといった政策をとっているわけではなく、あくまで主流集団を中心に教育政策が進められており、社会資源が許される範囲において、エスニック集団の文化や言語に配慮するといった程度」とされた上で、「1990 年代以降は、国家統合の危機に直面して、ナショナル・アイデンティティを強調するシティズンシップ教育を重視する国」が増加し、同教育をナショナル・カリキュラム内に（時に必修教科として）配置する国が増加したとされている。さらに松尾（2017, 206 頁）は、「重要なのはまず、多文化の共生はきわめて大きな困難を伴うという現実を自覚することだろう」と述べているが、総じて、「「先進的」とされてきた多文化社会の国々であっても、「国民」という枠組みが根強く残り、市民社会の実現には困難がつきまとっているという現実」（坂口 2018, 75 頁）に直面してきたのである。本稿では、そのような「共生社会」志向に関わる教育の世界的動向を前提としつつ、南アの高等学校に通う学習者の社会意識や学習経験に着目した実証的研究による分析・考察を行う。

　なお、本稿において高等学校段階の学習者に着目した議論を展開する理由としては、第 1 に、「〈共生社会への構えと実践力の形成〉という課題は、中学校から高校段階にかけて、とりわけ高校段階での中心的な学習課題」（藤田 1995, 226 頁）と指摘されている点が挙げられる。そして第 2 に、そのような指摘と対応する形で、本稿で着目する南アの高等学校段階の Life Orientation がその対象としている学習者に対して、「市や人権の問題への参加がより重要になる」（DoE 2008, p.11）といった観点を有している点が挙げられる。

1. 南アの高等学校段階の Life Orientation

　1994 年の選挙の実施により、制度としてのアパルトヘイト（人種隔離政策）が撤廃された後の南アに関しては、Volmink（2008, p.193）により、同国のカリキュラム改革が、①「ポスト・アパルトヘイトの挑戦」（「社会正義」、「公正」や「発展」の達成のための挑戦）と、②「グローバルな挑戦」（「世界村の市民」として生きるため、また「21 世紀の経済活動」へ参加するために必要な「知識」、「スキル」、「コンピテンス」の養成の挑戦）という 2 つの挑戦を抱えてきたことが指摘されている。すなわち、現在の南アの教育には、国内外を視野に入れた —— 「共生（教育）」に関する議論とも関連の深い —— 課題に同時に対応することが求められているのである。そして、そのような課題への対応は、特に、2000 年代に「ナショナル・カリキュラム声明 10-12 年生（一般）（National Curriculum Statement Grades 10-12 (General))」（以下、NCS G10-12）などが制定されたことで（DoE 2003）、南アの高等学校において施行され始めた、Life Orientation という名の必修教科において顕著に取り組まれていることが指摘できる（cf. 坂口 2015）。そのことを踏まえて、本稿では、高等学校に通う学習者の学校教育経験の内、同教科の学習経験に焦点を当てることとする。

1.1. 高等学校段階の Life Orientation の目的と学習内容

　南アの高等学校段階の Life Orientation は、言語系／数学系科目と共に必修教科として導入（週 2 時間の授業時間）された（DoE 2003, p.21）。設立当初の同教科は、「社会における自己の発達」に焦点を当て、「民主的社会」や「万人のクオリティ・オブ・ライフの向上」等に貢献できる学習者の育成に取り組むとされ（DoE 2003, p.44）、具体的には、4 つの「学習成果」ごとに、例えば次のような学習内容が扱われるとされた（DoE 2008, pp.26-33）。

　学習成果①は、「個人のウェルビーイング」と名付けられ、具体的な学習内容としては、例えば、自己認識や自尊心を高めるための学習、他者の差異を尊重するためのマナーを身につけるための学習、健康的でバランスのとれた生活を送るための学習、ストレスをマネジメントするスキルを身につけるための学習や、異なる文脈における他者との関係性についての学習などが挙げられた。学習成果②は、「シティズンシップ教育」と名付けられ、具体的な学習内容としては、例えば、社会問題に対応するためのプロジェクトやコミュニティ・サーヴィスへの参加を通した学習、差別や人権侵害についての定義を確認した上で、それらを克服するための活動を行ってきた人物等の功績を明らかにするための学習や、非政府組織等への参加を通じた民主主義の構造を理解するための学習などが挙げられた。学習成果③は、「レクリエーションと身体的ウェルビーイング」と名付けられ、具体的な学習内容としては、例えば、様々なスポーツ活動への参加を通したリーダーシップ等のスキルの実践のための学習、学校内外のプログラムへの参加を通した健康の促進のための学習や、「国民形成」におけるスポーツの役割を探索する学習などが挙げられた。学習成果④は、「キャリアとキャリア選択」と名付けられ、具体的な学習内容としては、例えば、自分自身の関心や能力等を知るための学習、学校の科目が将来のキャリアとどのように関連しているのかに関する学習や、労働倫理の重要性を探索するための学習などが挙げられた。

　さらに、これら 4 つの「学習成果」については、互いに関係があるため、それらを結合させて全角度から学習者の学習を促進することの重要性が指摘された（DoE 2008, p.13）。

すなわち、4つの「学習成果」をそれぞれ独立させるのではなく包括的に取り扱うことにより、座学や身体的活動を融合させつつ、全方位から学習者が自助や社会について学ぶ機会を学校教育で提供することを目指したのが、設立当初の Life Orientation であると言えるのである。

　2010 年代に入ると、NCS G10-12 等に置き換わる形で、「ナショナル・カリキュラム声明R-12 年生」[1] が設置され、全科目で「カリキュラムとアセスメント方針の声明（Curriculumand Assessment Policy Statement）」（以下、CAPS）の導入が開始された（DoBE 2011）。CAPSを概観しても、NCS G10-12 と同様に、高等学校段階の Life Orientation は必修教科として設定されていることなどから（DoBE 2011, p.8）、同教科の学校教育全体での位置づけは依然として重要であることが指摘できる。他方、NCS G10-12 の同教科では上述した 4 つの「学習成果」が設定されていたのに対して、CAPS では、①「社会における自己の成長」、②「社会と環境に対する責任」、③「民主主義と人権」、④「キャリアとキャリア選択」、⑤「勉学のスキル」、⑥「体育」と名付けられた 6 つの「トピック」が掲げられているように、構成等が異なる（DoBE 2011）。加えて、NCS G10-12 と比較すると、CAPS では評価方法等に変化が見られる点も看過できないが、同教科の学習内容に大きな違いは管見の限りほとんど見られない。そのことなどを踏まえて、本稿ではひとまず、後述する質問紙調査の分析において、2 つのカリキュラム別に学習者[2] を厳密に分けた分析は行わない。すなわち、本稿ではあくまでも、高等学校に通う学習者が Life Orientation の学習を通じて得た経験という共通項に焦点化した分析を行うこととし、学習者の同教科の学習経験を上記の「学習成果」や「トピック」ごとに分けた分析は行わない —— 本稿では同教科の学習経験の定義は各学習者に委ねる。これらのことを考慮すると、2 つのカリキュラムの異同を踏まえた分析やLife Orientation の学習内容を細分化した分析等は、今後の課題ということになる。

1.2. 高等学校段階の学習者や Life Orientation の取り組みに関する実証的な先行研究

　南アの高等学校段階の Life Orientation を受ける学習者を対象とした実証的な先行研究としては、例えば、同教科のスポーツに関わる学習内容に対する学習者の評価（役立つか否か）と 2010 年に南アで開催されたサッカーのワールド・カップにおける学習者の異なる「国民」との交流経験等とには関連がほとんど見られないことを指摘した研究（坂口 2019）などが挙げられる。また、南アの学校において、Life Orientation の理論（制度）と実践がかけ離れているという結果が導き出され、同教科は学習者の態度や振る舞いに意義ある変化をもたらしていないのではないかという考察を提示した研究（Jacobs 2011）なども実施されてきた。それらの研究は、現代の南アで生きる学習者の社会意識や Life Orientation の取り組みを実証的に分析することを試みた点で意義があると言える。しかし、先行研究においては、高等学校に通う学習者の基本属性や社会経験等の中に同教科の学習経験を位置づけ、学習者の「共生社会」志向という観点からの同教科の役割を分析する定量的研究は管見の限りほとんど行われてこなかった。実際、学習者の視点に立った同教科に関する研究はほとんど行われておらず、その取り組みの成果を測る研究が求められているとされてきた（Jacobs 2011）。

　そのような中、本稿では、学習者を対象に実施した質問紙調査による実証的研究を基に、「共生社会」志向という観点から Life Orientation の学習経験の「効果」に関する分析を試みる。

その点において、本稿は、「共生社会」（志向に関する教育）論に関する研究としてのみならず、南アの高等学校の同教科に関する実証的研究としての意義があると言える。

2. 高等学校に通う学習者の「共生社会」志向と Life Orientation の学習経験
2.1. 調査の概要と分析の観点

　本稿では、2013 年 7 月と 8 月に南ア西ケープ州の公立高等学校 3 校に通う 10 年生から 12 年生までの学習者を対象に実施した質問紙調査の一部を基にした分析を行う[3]。同調査の目的は、高等学校段階の Life Orientation 等の学習者の経験が彼／彼女たちの「共生社会」志向とどのように関連しているのかなどを明らかにすることであった。実査では、調査者が各クラスを訪問して質問紙票を配布し、その場で回収する集合法を用いた（調査は英語による無記名自記式で実施）。最終的には 1,530 票を配布し、有効回答数[4]は 1,520 票（有効回答率 99％）であった。なお分析に際しては、IBM SPSS Statistics 25 を使用した。

　前述した通り、「共生社会」志向に関わる教育については、ナショナリズムの側面の強化による制約に目を向けつつ、「多様性の中の統一」をいかに達成するかという論点に取り組むことが、世界的な潮流として挙げられる。そのような中、ポスト・アパルトヘイト時代の南アについては、ソロモン（1996，182 頁）により、「国民意識よりも人種意識が強調」された過去を克服するために、新生民主政権（国民統一政府）が、同国の「共通性を繰り返し主張するようになった」ことで、同国において外国人差別が助長されたことが指摘されてきた。これらのことを踏まえて、本稿で質問紙調査の分析を通じて南アの高等学校に通う学習者の「共生社会」志向を探索する際には、ナショナリズムに関わる社会意識に関する項目に着目した分析を展開する。なお、本稿では、「差別を温存したままで、差別者と被差別者の関係を「共生」の語で被うのは論外」（栗原 1997，14 頁）とされる点を大前提とし、南アの高等学校に通う学習者の「共生社会」志向を探索する際には、差別（人種／外国人差別）に対する行動志向に、特に焦点を当てた分析・考察を行うこととする。

　具体的には、本稿の質問紙調査の分析では、次の質問項目を使用する。まずは、基本属性（学年、性別、家庭言語、居住地）、将来の希望進路、生活経験（異なる人種／外国の人々との交流機会の頻度、日常のニュースに触れる頻度、休日の過ごし方）や社会経験（学校以外での活動への参加経験）といった学習者の背景情報に関する質問項目である。次に、人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向やナショナリズムに関わる社会意識、そして、高等学校段階の Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係性の変化の有無に関する質問項目である。本稿ではとりわけ、「共生社会」志向に関わる項目を被説明変数、Life Orientation の学習経験に関する項目を説明変数とした分析を軸に据える。なお、本稿で同教科の学習経験の内、他者との関係の変化に焦点を当てるのは、それが、「共生社会」志向という観点からの学習者の他者／社会認識と特に関連すると考えられるためである。

2.2. 基本属性、将来の希望進路および異なる人種／外国の人々との交流機会の頻度の単純集計結果

　はじめに、本稿で取り上げる学習者の特徴を、基本属性（学年、性別、家庭言語、居住地[5]）、将来の希望進路および異なる人種／外国の人々との交流機会の頻度という観点から読み解く（いずれの項目も N =1520）。

本稿で取り上げる質問紙調査に回答した学習者の学年別の割合は、10 年生 36.0％、11 年生 31.4％、12 年生 32.6％となり、学年による偏りはほとんど見られなかった。一方で、性別の割合は女性 53.5％、男性 43.3％となり、女性の割合が男性よりも若干高いという特徴が見られた（無効回答 3.2％）。また、家庭言語の割合を見てみると、84.9％が英語を家庭言語と回答（無効回答 3.3％）しており、本稿で取り上げる学習者のほとんどが家庭言語として英語を話すという特徴が読み取れる。さらに、回答者の居住地別の割合を見てみると、都市部が 29.3％、都市郊外が 57.6％、農村部が 4.8％、その他が 2.1％という結果（無効回答 6.3％）が得られ、本稿で取り上げる学習者の大半が都市部あるいは都市郊外に居住しているという特徴が挙げられる。また、回答者の将来の希望進路については、勉学を継続する意志を表明した者の割合は 90.3％、表明しなかった者の割合は 7.0％、未定の者の割合は 1.2％となり（無効回答 1.5％）、本稿で取り上げる学習者の大半が勉学を継続する意志を持っているという特徴が指摘できる。さらに、「あなたは、以下の場所において、異なる人種の人々あるいは外国の人々と、どの程度交流機会がありますか」という問いの内、異なる人種の人々との交流に関して、「いつもある」または「しばしばある」と答えた者の割合は、学校は 76.2％、家庭は 36.9％、地域は 54.9％であり、外国の人々との交流に関しては、学校は 53.9％、家庭は 17.8％、地域は 31.6％であった[6]。このことから、本稿で取り上げる学習者の全体的な傾向として、学校、地域、家庭の順番で、異なる人種や外国の人々との交流を経験している頻度が高い傾向にあることや、それぞれの場所において、外国の人々よりも異なる人種の人々との交流頻度の方が高い傾向にあることが読み取れる。

2.3. 人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向の単純集計結果

次に、本稿で取り上げる学習者の人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向を整理する。具体的には、「あなたは、以下の場所において、周囲の人たちが差別的な作法で振る舞っているのを目の当たりにしたとすると、どのような行動をとると思いますか」[7]という質問項目にて、学習者が現在属する学校／家庭／地域における人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対して、どのような行動をとると思うのかについて 4 つの項目から選択する形式で尋ねた問いへの回答を整理する。

単純集計（N =1520）の結果、人種差別的振る舞いについては、学校では、「彼／彼女たちをとめる」（以下、「抑止的」）が 57.2％、「彼／彼女たちを無視して立ち去る」（以下、「回避的」）が 35.3％、「彼／彼女たちを傍観する」（以下、「傍観的」）が 5.0％、「彼／彼女たちに加担する」（以下、「加担的」）が 1.3％（無効回答が 1.3％）、家庭では、「抑止的」が 73.3％、「回避的」が 18.9％、「傍観的」が 4.1％、「加担的」が 2.1％（無効回答が 1.6％）、地域では、「抑止的」が 40.7％、「回避的」が 48.1％、「傍観的」が 7.8％、「加担的」が 1.2％（無効回答が 2.2％）であった。また、外国人差別的振る舞いについては、学校では、「抑止的」が 60.5％、「回避的」が 30.7％、「傍観的」が 4.6％、「加担的」が 1.5％（無効回答が 2.6％）、家庭では、「抑止的」が 66.8％、「回避的」が 25.7％、「傍観的」が 3.3％、「加担的」が 1.5％（無効回答が 2.8％）、地域では、「抑止的」が 41.9％、「回避的」が 47.8％、「傍観的」が 5.6％、「加担的」が 1.6％（無効回答が 3.0％）であった。

本結果より、本稿で取り上げる学習者の全体的な傾向としては、学校／家庭／地域における人種差別的振る舞いや外国人差別的振る舞いに対して、「傍観的」や「加担的」では

なく「抑止的」あるいは「回避的」な行動志向を有する傾向にあることが指摘できる。また、家庭、学校、地域の順に「抑止的」志向を抱く者の割合が高くなるという点と、地域については「回避的」志向を抱く者の割合が最も高いという点を指摘することができる。

2.4. 人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向と Life Orientation の学習経験との関連の分析

　それでは、学習者の学校／家庭／地域における人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向は、学習者の学習経験とどのように関連しているのか。本稿では、前述した通り、南アの高等学校段階の Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化に焦点を当てた分析を行う。具体的には、「あなたの他者との関係は、FET［Further Education and Training］段階［高校学校段階］における Life Orientation の授業を受けて変わりましたか」（括弧内追記）への回答を軸にした分析を行う —— 高等学校における同教科の学習による他者との関係の変化を経験したか否かを尋ねた同質問に、「はい」と答えたのは 49.5%、「いいえ」と答えたのは 46.4% であった（無効回答 4.0%、N =1520）。なお、本稿の分析では、人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向の内、回答数が少なかった「傍観的」と「加担的」を除外し、「抑止的」と「回避的」の 2 つの項目に焦点を当てることとする。

　はじめに、高等学校における Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化と人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向（「抑止的」と「回避的」）との関連について

表1　Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化と人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向（「抑止的」と「回避的」）との関連の分析（クロス集計）

			学校における人種差別的振る舞いに対して	
			「抑止的」志向	「回避的」志向
Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化	はい (N =715)	度数	488	227
		%	68.3%	31.7%
	いいえ (N =639)	度数	351	288
		%	54.9%	45.1%

$\chi^2(1)$ =25.410, p =0.000

			学校における外国人差別的振る舞いに対して	
			「抑止的」志向	「回避的」志向
Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化	はい (N =695)	度数	481	214
		%	69.2%	30.8%
	いいえ (N =645)	度数	410	235
		%	63.6%	36.4%

$\chi^2(1)$ =4.781, p =0.029

			家庭における人種差別的振る舞いに対して	
			「抑止的」志向	「回避的」志向
Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化	はい (N =706)	度数	577	129
		%	81.7%	18.3%
	いいえ (N =641)	度数	492	149
		%	76.8%	23.2%

$\chi^2(1)$ =5.073, p =0.024

			家庭における外国人差別的振る舞いに対して	
			「抑止的」志向	「回避的」志向
Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化	はい (N =704)	度数	526	178
		%	74.7%	25.3%
	いいえ (N =649)	度数	452	197
		%	69.6%	30.4%

$\chi^2(1)$ =4.333, p =0.037

			地域における人種差別的振る舞いに対して	
			「抑止的」志向	「回避的」志向
Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化	はい (N =672)	度数	331	341
		%	49.3%	50.7%
	いいえ (N =629)	度数	265	364
		%	42.1%	57.9%

$\chi^2(1)$ =6.645, p =0.010

分析（クロス集計）したところ、表 1 に示した結果が得られた —— 地域における外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向（「抑止的」と「回避的」）については、統計的有意差（5%水準）の観点から、関連がほとんど見られなかったため、表 1 には記載していない。

　表 1 の結果からは、高等学校における Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化を経験した学習者は、そのような変化を経験していない学習者と比較すると、学校／家庭／地域における人種差別的振る舞いおよび学校／家庭における外国人差別的振る舞いに対して「抑止的」志向を抱く割合が、統計的に有意に高い傾向が読み取れる。

2.5. 人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向の背景要因の探索

　以上の分析結果を踏まえつつ、次に、高等学校における Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化という経験は、他の基本属性等との比較において、学校／家庭／地域における人種差別的振る舞いおよび学校／家庭における外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向とどの程度関連しているのかについての分析 —— 別の見方をすると、人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向の背景要因の探索 —— を行う。具体的には、表 2 で示した基本属性等の項目を説明変数、学校／家庭／地域における人種差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向および学校／家庭における外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向を被説明変数（「抑止的」を 1、「回避的」を 0 とし、「傍観的」と「加担的」は引き続き分析から

表 2　二項ロジスティック回帰分析で使用する説明変数 [8] の一覧

①学年：・10 年生を 1、それ以外を 0 とした。・12 年生を 1、それ以外を 0 とした。
　＊ 11 年生が参照カテゴリ。
②性別：女性を 1、男性を 0 とした。
③言語：英語が家庭言語を 1、それ以外を 0 とした。
④居住地：都市部を 1、それ以外（都市郊外と農村部）を 0 とした。＊その他は除外 [9]。
⑤将来の希望進路：勉学を継続する意志を表明しているを 1、それ以外を 0 とした。
　＊勉学を継続する意志を表明していないが参照カテゴリ。未定は除外。
⑥日常のニュースに触れる頻度（「あなたは、日常のニュースを読んだり見たりしますか」）：「いつもある」を 4、「しばしばある」を 3、「あまりない」を 2、「まったくない」を 1 とした。
⑦休日の過ごし方（「あなたは週末や休みの日をどのように過ごすことが多いですか」）：あてはまるを 1、あてはまらないを 0 とした。
⑧学校以外での活動への参加経験（「あなたは、学校で必須とされている活動以外で、以下の活動に現在参加していますか、あるいは、以前参加していましたか」）：参加経験がある（「現在、参加している」と「以前、参加していたことがある」）を 1、参加経験がない（「まったく参加したことがない」）を 0 とした。
⑨学校／家庭／地域における異なる人種／外国の人々との交流機会の頻度：「いつもある」を 4、「しばしばある」を 3、「あまりない」を 2、「まったくない」を 1 とした。
⑩高等学校における Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化：変化あり（「はい」）を 1、変化なし（「いいえ」）を 0 とした。

除外）とした分析（二項ロジスティック回帰分析）を行う。なお、地域における外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向については、前述の通り、Life Orientation の学習経験との関連が統計的有意差（5% 水準）の観点からほとんど見られなかったため、分析から除外する。

　分析の結果、表3に示した通り、学校における人種差別的振る舞いに対して、「回避的」志向（参照カテゴリ）と比べて「抑止的」志向か否かという回答について、「居住地：都市部」、「日常のニュースに触れる頻度」、「休日の過ごし方：勉強をする」、「社会問題に取り組むボランティア活動への参加経験あり」と並んで、「Life Orientation の学習経験による他者と

表3　学校における人種差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向（「回避的」と比較した際の「抑止的」志向）の
　　　背景要因の探索（二項ロジスティック回帰分析）

	学校における人種差別的振る舞いに対して「抑止的」志向		
	B	標準誤差	Exp（B）
学年：11年生に対して			
10年生	0.026	0.178	1.026
12年生	0.012	0.183	1.012
性別：女性	0.336	0.182	1.399
言語：英語が家庭言語	0.389	0.247	1.475
居住地：都市部	0.361 *	0.158	1.434
将来の希望進路：勉学継続の意志の表明あり	−0.177	0.301	0.838
日常のニュースに触れる頻度	0.317 **	0.106	1.373
休日の過ごし方：			
友人と共に過ごす	−0.139	0.162	0.870
家族と共に過ごす	−0.168	0.169	0.845
自分の地域の中で過ごす	−0.121	0.279	0.886
自分の地域の外へ出かける	−0.223	0.233	0.800
スポーツをする	0.288	0.188	1.333
楽器を演奏する	0.375	0.258	1.455
テレビ・ゲームをする	−0.131	0.183	0.877
モールに行く	−0.042	0.177	0.959
勉強をする	0.360 *	0.167	1.434
ボランティア活動に参加する	0.521	0.279	1.684
特に何もせずに、ぶらぶらしたり、ねころがっている	−0.251	0.151	0.778
その他	0.097	0.217	1.102
環境問題に取り組むボランティア活動への参加経験あり	0.159	0.154	1.172
社会問題に取り組むボランティア活動への参加経験あり	0.320 *	0.156	1.377
個人で行うスポーツ活動への参加経験あり	0.121	0.178	1.129
団体で行うスポーツ活動への参加経験あり	−0.089	0.191	0.915
南アフリカ国内で行う国際交流活動への参加経験あり	0.090	0.262	1.094
南アフリカ国外で行う国際交流活動への参加経験あり	0.032	0.331	1.033
学校における異なる人種の人々との交流機会の頻度	−0.005	0.098	0.995
家庭における異なる人種の人々との交流機会の頻度	0.175	0.096	1.191
地域における異なる人種の人々との交流機会の頻度	−0.113	0.099	0.893
学校における外国の人々との交流機会の頻度	0.162	0.086	1.176
家庭における外国の人々との交流機会の頻度	−0.014	0.106	0.986
地域における外国の人々との交流機会の頻度	0.080	0.098	1.083
Life Orientationの学習経験による他者との関係の変化あり	0.425 **	0.145	1.529
定数項	−1.861 **	0.597	0.156
Cox & Snell R^2	0.105		
Nagelkerke R^2	0.143		
−2対数尤度	1167.929		
χ^2値（df）	106.103（32）		
モデルの有意確率	0.000		
N	953		

**: p <0.01, *: p <0.05
参照カテゴリ：学校における人種差別的振る舞いに対して「回避的」志向

の関係の変化あり」に正の関連が見られた。この結果からは、学校における人種差別的振る舞いに対して「回避的」志向よりも「抑止的」志向になる傾向の背景要因の１つとして、Life Orientation の学習による他者との関係の変化は重要な位置を占めている可能性が高いことが推察できる。

　また、表３の結果で特筆できるのが、学校／家庭／地域における異なる人種／外国の人々との交流機会の頻度には関連がほとんど見られなかった中（5% 水準で統計的有意差なし）、Life Orientation を通じた経験と、学校における人種差別的振る舞いに対して「回避的」よりも「抑止的」志向になる傾向とに関連が見られた点である。学習者にとって同教科の学習経験が、他者との交流経験よりも意味を持ち得る点が示唆されたことは、それ自体が人種差別を乗り越えるという観点からの学校での「共生社会」志向に関する教育の可能性を示していると言えるだろう。

　一方で、家庭／地域における人種差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向（「抑止的」／「回避的」）および学校／家庭における外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向（「抑止的」／「回避的」）と Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化は、他の項目と比較分析した際には、統計的有意差（5% 水準）という観点からの関連がほとんど見られなかった。先述した表1に示したクロス集計の分析結果においては、それらの行動志向（「抑止的」／「回避的」）と Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化との関連が見られたため、それぞれの行動志向と Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化に全く関連がないと言い切れそうにはないが、それらの関連は、他の項目と比較した際には相対的にほとんど見られなくなる関連である可能性が高いことが示唆されたと言えるだろう。

2.6. Life Orientation の学習経験とナショナリズムに関わる社会意識との関連の分析

　次に、ナショナリズム（自信／愛着／国際性／排他性）に関わる社会意識[10]に焦点を当てた分析を行う。具体的には、ナショナリズム（自信／愛着）に関わる社会意識を尋ねた「南アフリカにおける次のような状況について、あなたはどう思うかについて教えてください」に設けた項目への回答を「そう思う」を 4、「どちらかといえばそう思う」を 3、「どちらかといえばそう思わない」を 2、「そう思わない」を 1 とし、ナショナリズム（国際性／排他性）に関わる社会意識を尋ねた「南アフリカにおける次のような状況について、あなたはどう思うかについて教えてください」に設けた項目への回答を「賛成する」を 4、「どちらかといえば賛成する」を 3、「どちらかといえば反対する」を 2、「反対する」を 1 として主成分分析を行い、成分と主成分得点を抽出した上で、Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化と各主成分得点との関連を分析（平均値の差の検定[11]）する。

　分析に先立ち、はじめに、ナショナリズムに関わる社会意識の回答傾向を分析するために、各回答を「肯定群」と「否定群」に分類[12]した上で分析（二項検定）を行う（同時に、上述した数値の割り振りに基づきつつ、それぞれの回答の平均値についても算出する）。

　分析の結果、表４に示した通り、「南アフリカは外国から見習うべきことが多い」、「南アフリカに生まれてよかった」と「南アフリカの国歌や国旗が好きだ」については、「肯定群」の割合が「否定群」よりも統計的に有意に高いという結果が得られた一方で、その他の項目については逆の結果が得られた。また、表５の通り、「外国の人がスプリングボクスのキャプテンになる」[13]という項目は「否定群」の割合が「肯定群」よりも統計的に

有意に高いという結果が得られた一方で、それ以外の項目については逆の結果が得られた。

　表4と表5に示した分析結果からは、本稿で対象とした高等学校に通う学習者に関しては、全体としては「南ア」に対して強い愛着を抱いている傾向が見られる一方で、「南ア（人）」に対する自信は低い傾向が見られることが指摘できる。また、「南ア（人）」の国際化に対して賛同する ―― 「外国（人）」に対する排他性が低い ―― 傾向が見られる一方で、「南ア（人）」の象徴であるラグビーのナショナル・チームに関しては逆の傾向が見られることが指摘できる[14]。

表4　ナショナリズム（自信／愛着）に関わる社会意識の分析（二項検定）と平均値

		肯定群	否定群	有意確率	平均値	標準偏差
南アフリカは外国から見習うべきことが多い	（N =1512）	94.3%	5.7%	0.000	3.59	0.650
南アフリカ人は、他国の人々よりも才能がある	（N =1488）	37.4%	62.6%	0.000	2.19	0.949
南アフリカに生まれてよかった	（N =1495）	90.2%	9.8%	0.000	3.58	0.789
南アフリカの国歌や国旗が好きだ	（N =1502）	87.0%	13.0%	0.000	3.43	0.885
南アフリカは一流国だ	（N =1503）	29.9%	70.1%	0.000	1.99	0.942

表5　ナショナリズム（国際性／排他性）に関わる社会意識の分析（二項検定）と平均値

		肯定群	否定群	有意確率	平均値	標準偏差
学校での外国語教育を充実させる	（N =1511）	92.5%	7.5%	0.000	3.60	0.710
たくさんの南アフリカ人が外国に住む	（N =1455）	76.6%	23.4%	0.000	2.99	0.797
たくさんの外国の人々が南アフリカに住む	（N =1497）	85.3%	14.7%	0.000	3.31	0.806
外国の人々がプロのサッカー・チームの監督になる	（N =1500）	70.9%	29.1%	0.000	3.02	1.000
外国の人がスプリングボクスのキャプテンになる	（N =1501）	37.4%	62.6%	0.000	2.22	1.099

　次に、ナショナリズムに関わる社会意識の主成分分析の結果を示す。表6に示した通り、ナショナリズム（自信／愛着）に関わる社会意識に関しては2つの成分（初期の固有値の合計が1以上であることが基準）が抽出された。成分1は、「南アフリカ人は、他国の人々よりも才能がある」、「南アフリカに生まれてよかった」、「南アフリカの国歌や国旗が好きだ」や「南アフリカは一流国だ」といった項目が正の負荷量を示していることから、「南ア（人）に対して自信と愛着を抱く傾向」と捉えることができる。また、成分2は、「南アフリカ人は、他国の人々よりも才能がある」といった項目が負の負荷量を示している一方で、「南アフリカは外国から見習うべきことが多い」や「南アフリカの国歌や国旗が好きだ」といった項目が正の負荷量を示していることから、「南ア（人）に対して自信は抱かないが愛着を抱く傾向」と捉えることができる。他方、表7に示した通り、ナショナリズム（国際性／排他性）に関わる社会意識では、抽出された成分は1つ（初期の固有値の合計が1以上であることが基準）であり、「たくさんの南アフリカ人が外国に住む」、「たくさんの外国の人々が南アフリカに住む」、「外国の人がプロのサッカー・チームの監督になる」や「外国の人がスプリングボクスのキャプテンになる」といった項目が正の負荷量を示していることから、「南ア（人）が国際性豊かになることに対する肯定的認識傾向」と捉えることができる。

表6　ナショナリズム（自信／愛着）に関わる社会意識の主成分分析

説明された分散の合計				成分行列	成分	
	初期の固有値					
成分	合計	分散の%	累積%		1	2
1	1.790	35.794	35.794	南アフリカは外国から見習うべきことが多い	−0.298	0.760
2	1.062	21.235	57.029	南アフリカ人は、他国の人々よりも才能がある	0.421	−0.425
3	0.895	17.893	74.922	南アフリカに生まれてよかった	0.734	0.245
4	0.686	13.713	88.635	南アフリカの国歌や国旗が好きだ	0.690	0.472
5	0.568	11.365	100.000	南アフリカは一流国だ	0.713	−0.141

表7　ナショナリズム（国際性／排他性）に関わる社会意識の主成分分析

説明された分散の合計				成分行列	成分
	初期の固有値				
成分	合計	分散の%	累積%		1
1	1.616	32.328	32.328	学校での外国語教育を充実させる	0.291
2	0.999	19.981	52.309	たくさんの南アフリカ人が外国に住む	0.442
3	0.967	19.332	71.642	たくさんの外国の人々が南アフリカに住む	0.455
4	0.856	17.116	88.757	外国の人がプロのサッカー・チームの監督になる	0.784
5	0.562	11.243	100.000	外国の人がスプリンボクスのキャプテンになる	0.717

　最後に、表6と表7に示した3つの成分の主成分得点とLife Orientationの学習経験による他者との関係の変化との関連について分析する（平均値の差の検定）。

　分析の結果、「南ア（人）に対して自信は抱かないが愛着を抱く傾向」と「南ア（人）が国際性豊かになることに対する肯定的認識傾向」については、統計的有意差は見られなかった。一方で、表8の通り、「南ア（人）に対して自信と愛着を抱く傾向」については、Life Orientationの学習経験とに統計的に有意な関連が見られた。そこでは、同教科の学習経験による他者との関係の変化を経験している学習者は、経験していない学習者よりも、「南ア（人）に対して自信と愛着を抱く傾向」が強いという結果が得られたのである。

表8　Life Orientationの学習経験による他者との関係の変化と「南ア（人）に対して
自信と愛着を抱く傾向」との関連の分析（平均値の差の検定）

Life Orientationの学習経験による他者との関係の変化	「南ア（人）に対して自信と愛着を抱く傾向」の平均値	標準偏差	t値	効果量（d）	有意確率
変化あり（N =717）	0.12	0.925	4.756	0.26	0.000
変化なし（N =674）	−0.13	1.060			

おわりに

　本稿では、南ア西ケープ州の高等学校に通う学習者を対象とした質問紙調査の結果を基に、Life Orientationの学習経験による他者との関係の変化に着目しつつ、学習者の「共生社会」志向を分析した。最後に、主な分析結果（3点）をまとめつつ、考察を提示する。

　第1に、高等学校におけるLife Orientationの学習により他者との関係の変化を経験することと、学習者の学校における人種差別的振る舞いに「抑止的」志向（「回避的」志向と

比較して）を抱く傾向に関連が見られる可能性が高いという点が挙げられる。前述の通り、Life Orientation に関する既存の研究では、例えば Jacobs（2011）により、南アの学校で同教科が学習者の態度等に意義ある変化をもたらしていないのではないかという懸念が提示されていた。そのような中、本稿では、高等学校段階の Life Orientation の学習により他者との関係の変化を経験した学習者は、そうではない学習者と比べると、少なくとも学校における人種差別的振る舞いに対して、「回避的」よりも「抑止的」志向になる傾向が見受けられたのである。このような結果からは、現在の南アにおいて同教科が、学習者の「共生社会」志向への働きかけ、つまり「共生社会」志向に関する教育の観点から一定の役割を果たしているということが推察できるだろう。

　第 2 に、高等学校における Life Orientation を学習したことで他者との関係の変化を経験した者の人種／外国人差別的振る舞いに対する「抑止的」な行動志向（「回避的」と比較して）は、学校という場所、さらには人種差別的振る舞いに限定されている可能性が高いという点が挙げられる。Life Orientation の学習経験による他者との関係の変化と地域における外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向には関連がほとんど見られなかったことに加えて、家庭や地域における人種差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向および学校や家庭における外国人差別的振る舞いに対する行動志向については、単独では関連が見られたものの、基本属性等の他の項目と比較分析すると、同教科の学習経験による他者との関係の変化との関連がほとんど見られなくなる可能性が高いことが示唆されたのである。このことからは、同教科の「効果」には、場所と対象という限定性があるのではないかという点が推察できるだろう。

　第 3 に、高等学校における Life Orientation の学習による他者との関係の変化の経験と「南ア（人）に対して自信と愛着を抱く傾向」とに関連が見られる一方で、「南ア（人）が国際性豊かになることに対する肯定的認識傾向」とには関連がほとんど見られないという点が挙げられる。南アは欧米の多文化社会とは異なる特徴を持つとも言われてきたが（e.g. 坂口 2018）、本結果を基に一歩踏み込んだ議論をすると、南アの同教科も同国以外の多文化社会の教育が直面してきた限界に、同様に立たされている可能性があると解釈することもできる。しかし一方で、全体としては学習者の「南ア（人）」の国際化に対する賛同傾向 ——「外国（人）」の排他性が低い傾向 —— が見られたという本稿の分析結果を踏まえると、本稿で取り上げた学習者が「外国（人）」に対して全面的に排他的認識を抱いているとは言えない。むしろ本結果からは、本稿で取り上げた学習者が、ナショナリズムを越境し得る志向を抱いている可能性を指摘することもできるだろう。とはいうものの、本稿で取り上げた学習者の一定数が、「南ア（人）」を象徴するスポーツのナショナル・チームにおける排他性への賛同傾向を有しているという側面も看過することはできない。このことを踏まえると、本側面に象徴されるような、現代の南アの高等学校に通う学習者が有する、ナショナルなものを象徴する領域における「外国（人）」への排他的傾向に対して、Life Orientation はいかなる働きかけをし得るのかの詳細な探索が、今後の課題となる。

付記
　本稿は、筆者の博士論文（2016 年）の一部を加筆・修正したものである。また、本稿は、2012-2014 年度日本学術振興会特別研究員奨励費による研究成果の一部である。

注

1) R年生は「受入（reception）年または1年生の前年」の学年である（DoBE 2015, p.1）。

2) 本稿が分析対象とする2013年に実施した質問紙調査に参加した学習者は、12年生はNCS G10-12に沿った学習、10年生と11年生はCAPSに沿った学習に取り組んでいた。

3) 南ア基礎教育省が、南アの通常学校と特別支援学校を対象としたSNAPと呼ばれる調査データを基にまとめた資料によると、2013年当時、南アの公立の通常学校に通う高校生の数は、南ア全体では2,460,662人（女性1,311,495人，男性1,149,167人）であり、西ケープ州では181,246人（女性101,362人，男性79,884人）であった（DoBE 2015, p.10）。また、南ア基礎教育省が「2013年ナショナル・シニア試験結果報告書」（2014年1月）を基にまとめたデータによると、2013年の高等学校卒業資格試験の合格率は、南ア全体では78.2%であり、西ケープ州では85.1%であった（DoBE 2015, p.24）。そのような中、本稿で取り上げる公立高等学校3校は、同試験合格率（2013年当時）が南ア全体や西ケープ州の平均よりも高いという特徴が挙げられる。加えて、同3校は、南アの中でも施設・設備が相対的に整っている点も特徴として挙げることができる。

4) 同意が得られなかった3票と質問紙票の半分以上が無回答の7票を無効回答票とした。

5) 主にリスク共有型共生社会研究所（2012）を参照しつつ作成した質問項目である。

6) 本質問項目群に対して、「あまりない」または「まったくない」と答えた者の割合は、異なる人種の人々との交流については、学校は23.1%、家庭は61.0%、地域は42.7%であり、外国の人々との交流については、学校は44.2%、家庭は79.7%、地域は66.4%であった（無効回答は、異なる人種の人々との交流は、学校は0.7%、家庭は2.1%、地域は2.4%、外国の人々との交流は、学校は1.8%、家庭は2.5%、地域は1.9%であった）。

7) 主に共生社会形成促進のための政策研究会（2005）と、東京学校臨床心理研究会運営委員（2003）で言及されている森田洋司が提唱（「参考図書」とされているのが、森田洋司・清永賢二（1986）『いじめ ― 教室の病い ―』金子書房）した「いじめの4層構造」（加害者、観衆、傍観者、被害者）を参照しつつ作成した質問項目で構成されている。

8) 「⑥日常のニュースに触れる頻度」は、共生社会形成促進のための政策研究会（2005）を、「⑦休日の過ごし方」と「⑧学校以外での活動への参加経験」は、主に内閣府政策統括官（共生社会政策担当）（2009）を参照しつつ作成した質問項目である。

9) 「その他」は、地域性が判別できない回答が含まれるため、分析から除外する。

10) 主にベネッセ教育総合研究所（2003）、NHK放送文化研究所編（2004）やリスク共有型共生社会研究所（2012）を参照しつつ作成した質問項目である。同様の項目を扱う研究としては、例えば坂口・岡本（2016）や坂口（2019）などが挙げられる（特に本稿との関連が深い後者の研究では、2010年と2011年に南ア西ケープ州の高等学校に通う学習者を対象に実施された質問紙調査の一部に基づいた分析・考察が行われている）。

11) 本稿における平均値の差の検定では、5%水準以下で有意差が見られることに加えて、水本・竹内（2008，64頁）で紹介されている計算シート（Microsoft Excel）（http://www.mizumot.com/stats/effectsize/xls、2014年9月19日取得）を用いて、効果量（*d*）の測定を行い、効果量（*d*）が0.2（効果量小）以上のものを統計的に意味のあるものと捉えることとした。

12) ナショナリズム（自信／愛着）の内、「そう思う」と「どちらかといえばそう思う」を「肯定群」、「どちらかといえばそう思わない」と「そう思わない」を「否定群」とし、ナショナリズム（国際性／排他性）の内、「賛成する」と「どちらかといえば賛成する」を「肯定群」、「どちらかと

いえば反対する」と「反対する」を「否定群」とした。

13) 「スプリングボクス」とは、南アのラグビーのナショナル・チームの愛称である。

14) 調査対象学年（数）や質問項目に異なる箇所があるため厳密な比較はできないが、本稿が取り上げた調査と同様の質問項目が用いられた坂口（2019）では、南ア西ケープ州の高等学校に通う学習者(10年生と11年生の計877票)を対象とした2010年の質問紙調査の分析結果を基に、「特定の「ネイション」への愛着と異なる「ネイション」の受容性 ——「ネイション」の越境志向 —— が同時に存在しうる」（坂口 2019，53頁）ことが示唆されている（同研究では、2010年と2011年の調査（11年生と12年生の計849票）の結果の比較（t検定）も行われているが、いずれの項目も統計的有意差の観点から平均値の差はほとんど見られなかったとされている（坂口 2019, 54-56頁））。同研究と本稿の分析結果は概ね同様の傾向を示していると捉えられる一方で、同研究の調査では設定されていなかった「外国の人がスプリングボクスのキャプテンになる」という項目に着目すると、現代の南アの高等学校に通う学習者の「南ア（人）」の象徴における「外国（人）」に対する排他的傾向の側面にも注意を向ける必要があると言えるだろう。

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ウガンダ北部の難民受入地域への教育援助に関する一考察
― 初等学校の教員と児童の視点に着目して ―

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はじめに

　国際連合難民高等弁務官事務所（Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: UNHCR）によれば、世界全体の難民数は第二次世界大戦後の過去最大を更新し続けており、このうち 18 歳未満の子どもが占める割合は約半分である（2018 年時点：UNHCR 2019a）。また、学齢期の難民の 90% 以上が住む途上国で、学校に通うことができている初等教育と中等教育学齢期の難民の割合は、それぞれ 50%、11% と推計されている（2017 年時点：UNHCR 2018）。難民問題への国際的関心がかつてなく高まるなか、現行の国際的な教育開発目標である「持続可能な開発目標（Sustainable Development Goals: SDG）」4 の達成に向け策定された「教育 2030 行動枠組み」においても、難民のニーズへの対応は明示的に盛り込まれた（UNESCO 2016）。特に、途上国で避難生活を送る難民に、質の良い教育へのアクセスを保障することが、喫緊の課題となっている [1]。

　Dryden-Peterson（2016）が指摘するように、難民への教育は従来、受入国の教育制度とは別の体系に位置づけられた学校で難民の母国のカリキュラムに沿い、将来の帰還を念頭に行われることが多かった。しかし、難民数の増加にくわえ難民状態の長期化も進行するなか、国際的人道支援に頼るこうした方法で難民に十分な教育を提供することの限界が、次第に明らかとなっていった（ibid.）[2]。上記のような状況を受け、UNHCR は 2012 年にはじめて、難民の受入国の学校教育システムへの統合 [3] を促す内容の教育戦略を打ち出す（UNHCR 2012）。2012 年以降、難民への教育をめぐる国際社会の中心的な政策課題は、本戦略を個々の難民受入状況にどのように適用するかとなっている（Dryden-Peterson et al. 2018; UNESCO 2018, p.61）。

　統合型の教育提供の特徴の一つは、難民と受入住民へ同時に教育サービスを提供し、すでに課題を抱えている途上国受入地域の教育改善にも取り組むことが意図されている点である。本研究の事例国であるウガンダは、1940 年代にはじめて難民を受け入れたとき以来、難民居住地（refugee settlement）と呼ばれる農村部の土地を難民に分配するのが伝統となっている [4]。「自立戦略（Self-Reliance Strategy: SRS）」政策を 1999 年より実施してからは、難民と農村部の受入住民の双方がアクセスできるかたちで、教育を含む社会サービスを提供することが一般的となった。現在は、2016 年 7 月の南スーダンの首都ジュバでの武力衝突に端を発する激しい戦闘から逃れてきた、同国がかつて経験したことがない規模の南スーダン難民を、国内でもっとも開発が遅れる農村地域に設立した難民居住地で受け入れている。

　難民が流入することによって、教育に限らず、医療を含む社会サービスへのアクセスや、その他の社会・経済指標が受入地域でどのように変化するかについては、これまで研究が盛んに行われてきた（例えば、Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. 2011）。しかし多くの研究では、様々な社会・経済指標の一つとして、教育への平均的な影響を測る分析がなされてきた。それ

に対し、難民への教育支援が受入地域の学校運営や児童にどのような恩恵を与えているのか、あるいは負担を強いているのかについて、学校を基点としたミクロな調査研究は、これまで十分に行われてこなかった。

　本研究の目的は、難民支援と同時に行われる受入地域に対する教育援助が、途上国の低開発受入地域の初等教育に与える影響の実態について、教員と児童を中心とする当事者の視点から検証することである。その際、ウガンダ北部の受入地域を事例に、援助を受けた学校の運営状況とこうした学校に通学するウガンダ人の特徴について、学校形態の違いによって期待される影響が異なる点を考慮しながら検討を行う。

１．難民の受け入れが地域の教育に及ぼす影響に関する先行研究

　難民を受け入れることによって生じる変化が、受入地域の社会経済開発にどのような影響を与えるかについては、これまで様々な研究が行われてきた。本分野の草分け的な研究として知られる Chambers（1986）は、難民の存在や難民向け支援プログラムの恩恵を主に受けるのは受入住民のなかでも比較的富裕な層で、より貧しい層が恩恵から取り残されている問題を指摘した。以来現在に至るまで、受入住民内の異なるグループ間で一様となっていない影響の実態を、経済的面を中心に明らかにしようとする実証研究が、受入国が途上国であることの多いアフリカで主に行われてきた（例えば、Codjoe, Quartey, Tagoe, & Reed 2013; Omata 2019; Whitaker 2002）。

　難民流入を受けて行われる教育支援が受入地域の教育に及ぼす影響について、Chambers（1986）は、供給不足が懸念される難民流入後間もない時期に、受入住民の貧困層が援助による新しい学校の設立や、既存の学校の拡充による恩恵を受けることができない可能性を指摘している。また、長期的にはこうした貧しい層も恩恵を受けることができる可能性について言及しながらも、受入国が教育の質の維持に必要な財政支出を継続できた場合に限られると述べている（ibid.）。

　このように、難民に対する教育支援が、途上国のもともと就学が困難な農村部の貧困層にまで恩恵をもたらすことができるかについて、懐疑的な先行研究がある一方、本研究が取り上げる統合型の教育提供の肯定的な効果や役割を強調する研究も存在する。Dryden-Peterson & Hovil（2004）はウガンダ西部地域に 1950 年代から存在する難民居住地に UNHCR が建てた初等学校を事例として、近隣に学校がなく就学が困難だった受入地域の子どもが学校に通えるようになったことにくわえ、援助機関からの支援によって、こうした学校で周辺の公立校よりも質の高い教育が行われていることを明らかにした。

　本研究が事例とするウガンダ北部の難民居住地における受入住民と難民の関係性に関する定性的研究は、両者の対立の要因となっている難民の受入住民に対する根強い不信感が歴史的に醸成されていった経緯（村橋 2017）や、難民が薪を集めることによる環境悪化、および土地の所有権をめぐる争いなどが紛争の火種となっている問題の背景（Boswell 2018; Dawa 2018）を明らかにしている。しかし、本研究のように、学校の教育現場の当事者の視点に着目した本格的な研究は行われていない。

２．ウガンダにおける難民受入地域への教育援助の政策枠組みと現状

　本研究は、難民と受入地域住民双方への統合型教育提供に先駆的に取り組んできた、ウガンダの事例を取り上げる。ウガンダでこうした試みがはじめて行われたのは、1999 年か

ら 2003 年にかけ実施された SRS 政策においてで、当時泥沼化していた第二次スーダン内戦から逃れてきたスーダン難民を主に受け入れていた北部地域の 3 県に、対象は限定された（UNHCR 2004）[5]。2004 年以降は、「難民の受入地域に対する開発援助（Development Assistance for Refugee Hosting Areas: DAR）」政策のもとで、同様の取り組みが北部地域以外の県を含む 8 県に対象を拡大して実施された。

　国全体の開発目標においては、まず「第二次国家開発計画（Second National Development Plan: NDPII）」（2015/16 年度〜 2019/20 年度）で、教育提供を含むあらゆる難民関連の支援は受入住民を統合して行うこととされた（Government of Uganda 2015）。本開発計画のもとにある現行の教育セクター戦略計画（2017/18 〜 2019/20 年度）には、「難民と受入住民の双方に質の良い教育を提供するための対応プログラムを策定し実施する」（MoES 2017b, p.20）ことが、目標の一つとして明記されている。これを受け 2018 年には、「難民と受入住民のための教育における対応計画（Education Response Plan for Refugees and Host Communities: ERP）」が策定された。

　2019 年 6 月末時点でウガンダに逃れてきた難民の数は 130 万人弱で、その 65 ％近くが南スーダンから、27 ％がコンゴ民主共和国からの難民とされている（UNHCR 2019b）。UNHCR とウガンダ政府公表のこれらのデータによれば、首都カンパラに住む難民の割合はわずかに約 5 ％で、2016 年以降に南スーダン難民の大量流入があったウガンダ北部の西ナイル地域の県に住んでいる難民の割合が全体の 55 ％を超える。難民流入後、西ナイル地域のなかでもモヨ県では全人口の 45 ％が、アジュマニ県においては半分以上となる 55 ％が難民となっている状況である。西ナイル地域は、ウガンダ国軍と「神の抵抗軍（Lord's Resistance Army: LRA）」との間の内戦にくわえ、1970 年代のイディ・アミンによる軍事クーデター以降 2002 年に至るまで、複数の武装組織による様々な紛争の影響を直接受けてきた。このため同地域は、ウガンダ国内でもっとも社会経済開発の遅れた地域の一つとされている（国際協力機構 2018; Bogner & Rosenthal 2017）。

　ウガンダでは 1997 年、「初等教育普遍化（Universal Primary Education: UPE）」政策と呼ばれる無償化政策が導入され、就学率は飛躍的に向上した。ウガンダ全体での現在の純就学率（Net Enrollment Ratio: NER）は 93 ％で、男子 93 ％、女子 94 ％と全国平均においては男女格差がほとんど存在しない（2017 年時点：MoES 2017a）。UPE 政策では、子どもを就学させるための親や保護者による経済的負担を取り除くことを目的に、初等教育段階の公立校における学費徴収が原則禁止された一方で、人頭補助金（capitation grant、以下 UPE 補助金と表記）の給付が公立校に行われている。2006 年に制定された難民法（The Refugee Act 2006）に、難民がウガンダ人と同様に初等教育を受ける権利は明記されており、UPE 補助金を受けている公立校に難民がアクセスすることは法律上保障されている。

　ところが、UPE 政策導入当初は存在した児童一人当たりの目安補助金額の設定は、2008 年に教育法（The Education Act 2008）が制定されて以降なくなった。各公立校が受け取る UPE 補助金額は政府の予算額によって毎年一定せず、各校の運営に必要な経費を賄えない状況は恒常化している（Kayabwe et al. 2014）。このため、法律上も規定額以下の徴収が例外的に認められている都市部はもちろん、本研究が調査対象とする農村部の公立校においても、PTA 予算の確保という名目で事実上の学費徴収が全国的に行われている（ibid.）。

　ERP 策定にあたり 2017 年 11 月時点のデータを用いて行われた集計によると、ウガンダ全体での難民の初等教育への粗就学率（Gross Enrollment Ratio: GER）は 58.2 ％で、受入

地域では 120.8％とあり、初等教育へのアクセスに関して受入地域における問題は存在しないかのように見える（MoES 2018）。しかし、西ナイル地域で現在難民の人口割合が多いアジュマニ県とモヨ県の、難民大量流入前の 2016 年時点での純就学率はそれぞれ 69％と 72％で、難民の受け入れ人数自体はもっとも多いユンベ県の NER は 51％となっている（MoES 2016）。ユンベ県ではくわえて、男子と女子の NER がそれぞれ 56％と 47％と、女子の就学率の低さが際立っていた（ibid.）。

３．現地調査の概要
3.1. 調査地
　本研究の目的は、教育開発がもともと進んでいない途上国の農村地域が難民を受け入れたことにより受ける援助が、同地域の教育に与える影響の実態を検証することである。このため、受入地域の初等教育に課題があることが明白な、ウガンダ北部ユンベ県に位置するビディビディ難民居住地を調査地として選定した。ユンベ県には、過去にも 1994 〜1998 年と 2003 〜 2008 年にイカフェ難民居住地が存在した歴史がある（村橋 2017）。このイカフェ難民居住地の一部にあたる土地に、ビディビディ難民居住地は 2016 年 8 月に開設された。その後居住地には、難民の受け入れを停止した同年 12 月まで、当時のユンベ県の人口推計値 56 万人の半数近くとなる、27 万人の難民が一挙に流れ込んだ。

　現地調査時に入手可能だった 2017 年のデータによると、ビディビディ難民居住地内に援助機関によって新たに建てられた初等学校（以下、UNHCR 校）は 25 校あり、難民も通う受入地域の公立校は 9 校あった。ユンベ県内の公立校数はこの 9 校を含めて 123 校で、私立校の数は 9 校であった（MoES 2016）。年次学校悉皆調査（Annual School Census: ASC）の結果にもとづき教育スポーツ省が公表しているデータによれば、2017 年時点でのユンベ県内全体でのウガンダ人就学者数は 97,273 人となっている（MoES 2017a）。これに対しユンベ県教育事務所で得られたデータによると、UNHCR 校と受入地域の公立校に通う難民児童数の合計は 50,717 人である。さらに、就学者数でみると県内のウガンダ人初等学校児童の、わずか約 6％にあたる 5,501 人が難民援助の対象となる公立校に通っているにすぎない。また、UNHCR 校に統合されているウガンダ人児童の数はさらに少なく、約 3％にあたる 3,070 人だった。

　ウガンダにおいて難民居住地を管轄しているのは首相府（Office of the Prime Minister: OPM）で、UNHCR とその実施・運営パートナーの NGO が連携して、学校建設や教員・補助教員の雇用、教員研修、学用品配布等、難民と受入地域の教育支援に関わる様々な事業を行っている。ビディビディ難民居住地は 5 つのゾーンに分かれているが、このうち 2 つのゾーンでは受入地域から比較的隔離された区域に難民が住んでいて、本研究が対象に含めたい難民を統合した公立校が近くに存在しなかったため、事例校の抽出を行わなかった。また、残る 3 つのゾーンにはいずれも、ウガンダ人も通う UNHCR 校と難民を受け入れた公立校が混在していた。それぞれのゾーンには UNHCR に委託されて担当ゾーン内のすべての教育関連事業を統括する実施パートナーが存在するが、日本の NGO が実施パートナーのゾーンが一つだけあった。そこで、現地調査への協力体制が整っている当該ゾーンに集中して、調査を行うこととした。

3.2. 調査対象校

　本研究が調査対象としたゾーンには、UNHCR 設立の初等学校が 3 校、公立の初等学校が 2 校存在した。このうち時間的制約から、ユンベ県の中心市街地からもっとも離れた位置にあった 1 校を除く、UNHCR 校 2 校（以下 A、B 校）と公立校 2 校（以下 C、D 校）を調査対象校として選定した。A 校は県中心市街地からは約 22km、車で約 40 分の距離にあり、就学者数が 5,000 人を超える大規模な UNHCR 校である。2018 年の調査で訪れたときは、学校が最初に設立された場所からは車で 5 分ほど離れたまったく別の敷地に移転したばかりで、半恒久構造の新しい校舎が立ち並んでいた。B 校は A 校からさらに約 14km、車で約 20 分奥に進んだところにある UNHCR 校で、こちらは仮設構造の校舎での授業が続いていた。C 校は、この B 校から 5km ほどしか離れていない場所に位置する公立校である。そして、調査対象としたもう一つの公立校の D 校にたどり着くには、この B、C 校がある地区から舗装されていない道を車でさらに約 20 分以上行く必要があった。C 校はイスラーム教のモスクが、D 校はキリスト教のカトリック教会が設立母体であった [6]。

　続いて表 1 で、調査対象校 4 校の児童数、教員数、補助教員数に、難民流入直後の 2017 年と 2018 年でどのような変化があったかを示した [7]。UNHCR 校の A、B 校では難民の児童数に大きな変化はみられなかったものの、ウガンダ人児童数に上昇傾向が読み取れる。これらの学校に、NGO 雇用教員は補充されているものの、児童教員比率が高い状態は依然続いている。公立校の C、D 校ともに難民の受け入れは増加する傾向にあるが、ウガンダ人児童数は D 校で減少しており、C 校では大きな変化はみられなかった。両校の児童教員比率は UNHCR 校ほどではないものの、ウガンダ政府が基準としている 53 を大きく上回っており、難民受け入れ数の増加に伴う児童数増加に対して教員の補充が追い付いていない状況が伺える。

表 1　調査対象校における児童数、教員数、補助教員数の変化

学校名	学校種	年	児童数				教員数				補助教員数	
			ウガンダ人		難民		政府雇用		NGO 雇用			
A 校	UNHCR	2017	319	(174)	4,354	(2,087)	―		36	(13)	5	(5)
		2018	1,026	(475)	4,657	(1,986)	―		45	(15)	6	(6)
B 校	UNHCR	2017	171	(84)	1,966	(634)	―		10	(8)	不明	
		2018	300	(195)	1,964	(1,050)	―		26	(9)	1	(1)
C 校	公立	2017	891	(427)	679	(304)	13	(3)	8	(2)	3	(2)
		2018	903	(516)	953	(470)	16	(2)	7	(2)	3	(1)
D 校	公立	2017	734	(348)	515	(252)	11	(3)	5	(0)	不明	
		2018	474	(237)	1,063	(556)	12	(3)	5	(2)	3	(0)

（注）括弧内は女性の人数。
（出所）筆者作成。

3.3. 調査の時期と手法

　現地調査は、2018 年 9 月 24 日〜 28 日の 5 日間、A 〜 D 校を訪問して行った [8]。まず学校の運営状況について尋ねるため、A 〜 D 校の校長に、校長が不在だった場合は教頭

に半構造化インタビューを行った。続いて各校で可能な限り、学校運営委員会（School Management Committee: SMC）と PTA の委員に、学校運営状況を尋ねる半構造化インタビューを行った。協力を得たのは、A 校の南スーダン人男性の PTA 会長、C 校のウガンダ人男性の SMC 会長、および D 校のウガンダ人男性の SMC 会長の計 3 人だった。また各校では訪問時に出勤していた全教員を対象に質問紙調査を行い、A 校では 17 人（男 11 人、女 6 人）、B 校では 16 人（男 11 人、女 5 人）、C 校では 12 人（男 9 人、女 3 人）、D 校では 10 人（男 5 人、女 5 人）から協力を得た。さらに、訪問の際、業務に支障なく協力できるとして校長または教頭から許可を得た、A 校では 2 人（男 1 人、女 1 人）、B 校では男性 2 人、C 校では女性 1 人、D 校では 4 人（男 2 人、女 2 人）の教員に対して、インタビュー調査も行った。A 校は 2017 年 8 月 11 日〜 17 日に、C 校は 2017 年 10 月 13 日〜 16 日に実施した現地調査以来の 2 回目の訪問となった。本研究の分析においては、2017 年の調査で学校運営状況に関して得たデータや、校長または教頭に対して実施した半構造化インタビューの結果も補足的に用いる。

　児童への質問紙調査は、英語での質問に回答が可能な 7 年生のみを対象とし、調査時に出席していた児童全員に対して行った。A 校だけ 7 年生が 2 学級あったため、無作為に選んだ 1 学級の児童のみに調査を行い、対象者数は 52 人（男 43 人、女 9 人）であった。また、B、C、D 校の対象者数はそれぞれ 38 人（男 28 人、女 10 人）、54 人（男 32 人、女 22 人）、27 人（男 15 人、女 12 人）だった。各校では、ウガンダ人児童の男子、女子 1 人ずつへの半構造化インタビュー調査を試み、校長または教頭から許可が得られた B 校の女子児童 1 人と、D 校の男子児童、女子児童 1 人ずつから協力を得た。児童へのインタビューでは、対象者の出身地や家族構成といった基本的属性の詳細や、生活状況、学校選択の理由等について聞き取りを行った。インタビューは英語で行ったが、ウガンダで高等教育まで受けた南スーダン出身のリサーチアシスタントに、英語で伝わらなかった部分を対象者が話す言語に訳してもらい、対象者が現地語で回答した部分があった場合は英語に訳してもらった。このほか補足的に、援助機関やユンベ県教育事務所を訪問し、担当者に最新の難民支援の動向について尋ねるインタビューを行った。

４．調査結果
4.1. 難民受入地域への援助を受けた学校の運営状況

　各調査校の運営に関わる教員と SMC、PTA の委員へのインタビューから得られた、学校運営に関係する情報を、表 2 にまとめた。A、B 校の校長へのインタビュー結果によると、UNHCR 校である両校は政府からの UPE 補助金の支給を一切受けていなかった。これに対し、公立校での訪問調査で得られたデータにもとづき計算を行うと、2017 年を通じて C 校と D 校が受け取った児童一人当たりの UPE 補助金額はそれぞれ 1.6 ドルと 1.7 ドルで、総額を難民を除くウガンダ人児童数のみで割った額は 2.8 ドルと 2.9 ドルだった [9]。また、2017 年に行ったインタビューで C 校の教頭は、「政府は難民の数を考慮して（補助金を支給して）いない」と話していた。ウガンダ政府が公表している 2016/2017 年度の UPE 補助金拠出額を、公立校の就学者数で割った額は 2.7 ドルである（MoES 2017c）。この額との比較からは、公立校が難民を受け入れたことによる児童数の変化に比例した UPE 補助金の増額は行われていない状況が伺える [10]。援助機関からの学用品等の物資の支援については、難民とウガンダ人児童の両方が必ず対象となると、C 校の教頭は話していた。

　A 校においては、難民はもちろんウガンダ人児童の親や保護者からの学費の徴収も行われておらず、運営にかかる費用のすべては援助機関からの支援によって賄われていた。しかし B 校では調査時点において、ウガンダ人と難民双方の 7 年生から、試験料（examination fee）の名目で月 2,000 シリングの徴収を開始する話し合いが進んでいた [11]。難民を受け入れている公立校において難民からの学費徴収は行われておらず、ウガンダ人からの学費徴収額については、2018 年時点で一学期あたり、C 校で 2,500 ～ 3,500 シリング（0.67 ～ 0.80 ドル）、D 校で 2,000 シリング（0.54 ドル）であった。難民受け入れ後、間もなかった 2017 年のインタビューで C 校の教頭は、「今年は 20% くらいの親しか（学費を）払っておらず、（学費を払わない親・保護者からは）国連からの援助で足りているはずだと言われている」と述べていた。2018 年のインタビューでは、現在は支払っていない親・保護者の割合は 20% ほどだとしていたものの、引き続き学費支払いの説得に苦慮している様子が伺えた。D 校における徴収額は少な目であるが、校長室には 1 ～ 2 年生から 6,600 シリング、3 年生から 7,600 シリング、4 ～ 7 年生から 12,600 シリングと、学期ごとの学費徴収額を記した表が掲示されていた。D 校の教員にこの表について尋ねると、「このルールは 2014 年から 2016 年まで使っていたけれども、もはや機能していない」と話していた。

　次に各校で SMC の構成について尋ねたところ、SMC は UNHCR 校の A、B 校にも設置されており、委員に占める難民の割合はウガンダ人よりも多かった。公立校の SMC の委員は D 校ではすべてウガンダ人だったが、C 校では 12 人の委員のなかに 2 人の難民が含まれていた。PTA については調査した 4 校すべてに設置されており、UNHCR 校の A 校では委員 12 人中 8 人が難民という構成で、公立校の D 校においても委員 12 人のうち半数近い 5 人が難民であった。UNHCR 校において SMC の会長はウガンダ人から PTA 会長は難民から選ばれるのが慣例で [12]、A 校の SMC と PTA にはそれぞれ 1 人ずつの難民居住地内の村（village）の代表として難民福祉協議会（Refugee Welfare Council: RWC）[13] の委員が含まれていた [14]。

　UNHCR 校でインタビューを行った A 校の PTA 会長は、2016 年の 11 月にイエイから避難してきたという南スーダン難民男性で、ジュバの大学でディプロマを取得していた。出身民族はカクワで、これは南スーダン南部エクアトリア地方と国境を挟んでウガンダにも居住する主要な民族の一つである。ウガンダ人の PTA 活動の参加については「全員が活発というわけではない」と答えていたものの、「毎月の定例会合にくわえ緊急時は随時集まる」ようにしており、「学校のモニタリングは活発に行われている」と答えていた。また、公立の調査校 2 校では、ウガンダ人男性の SMC 会長にインタビューを行った。どちらの調査対象者も、ビディビディ難民居住地が設置された土地を、共有地としてもともと利用していた主な民族集団であるアリンガ出身で、いずれも難民は協力的であると話していた。このうち C 校の SMC 会長はインタビューで、難民と関係が良好である理由の一つとして、イディ・アミン大統領の失脚後家族で南スーダンに避難し、1984 年に難民として南スーダンの初等学校に 1 年生から入学したという自らの経験を挙げていた。

　教員を対象に行った質問紙調査では、親・保護者は活発に学校の活動に参加していると思うかという質問に「思わない」または「まったく思わない」と回答した教員が、UNHCR 校の A 校では 17 人中 4 人、B 校では 16 人中 6 人だったのに対し、公立校の C 校では 12 人中 7 人、D 校では 10 人中 6 人といずれも半数を超えていた。D 校では、12 年間

でD校を含めてユンベ県内の5つの公立校で教えた経験を持つという、40代のウガンダ人女性教員にインタビューを行った。ユンベ県に限らない西ナイル地域を中心に分布するルグバラが出身民族のこの教員は、「女性は結婚するものという文化」や「親の（教育に対する）否定的な意識」があることを、親・保護者による学校活動が活発でない理由として挙げていた。この女性教員は「（南）スーダン人児童の方が成績がよい」、「彼らは教育だけを頼りにして（将来を賭けて）いるけれども、ウガンダ人児童は家での仕事の影響を強く受けて（学校での学習に集中できないで）いる」とも話していた。

表2　調査対象校の学校運営状況に関する比較

学校名		A校	B校	C校		D校	
学校種		UNHCR	UNHCR	公立		公立	
一人当たりの年間 UPE補助金額（シリング）		なし	なし	5,733		6,077	
学期ごとの 学費徴収額 （シリング）	ウガンダ人	なし	なし	1～3年 4～7年	2,500 3,000	全学年	2,000
	難民	なし	なし	なし		なし	
学校運営 委員会委員数	ウガンダ人	5人	4人	10人		12人	
	難民	8人	7人	2人		0人	
PTA委員数	ウガンダ人	4人	7人	9人		7人	
	難民	8人	5人	3人		5人	

（注）一人当たりのUPE補助金額は、2017年度に各校が受け取った補助金額を2017年の難民を含む
　　　全就学者数で割って算出した。これ以外は2018年度の数値。
（出所）学校での聞き取りをもとに筆者作成。

4.2. 難民のいる初等学校に通うウガンダ人児童の特徴

　7年生児童の背景情報に関する質問紙調査結果を、ウガンダ人と難民に分けて、表3に示した。なお、今回の調査で対象となった難民は、すべて南スーダン人だった。ウガンダの初等教育7年生の規定年齢は12歳であるが、すべての難民が13歳以上で、ウガンダ人もUNHCR校においては全員が、公立校でもほとんどが13歳以上だったことが明らかとなった。宗教については、難民のなかでキリスト教徒が大多数を占めていたのに対し、ウガンダ人のなかではイスラーム教徒の数がキリスト教徒の数をすべての調査校で上回っていた。C校では、イスラーム教のモスクが設立母体であることが影響してか、イスラーム教徒の割合が高い傾向がウガンダ人のなかではっきりとみられた。民族については、公立校でウガンダ人と難民間の違いが際立ち、C校のウガンダ人児童の多くは、イスラーム教徒が多いとされるアリンガであったことが分かった。家で主に話す言語については、ウガンダ人の間で英語と答える児童の割合がB校以外では多数を占める一方、難民の間ではアラビア語とする児童の割合がA校以外で多数を占めていた。家庭で主に民族の言葉を話すと答える児童の割合が多い対象校もあったが、既述のとおりウガンダ人と難民を構成する民族は異なるため、すべての調査校で使いなれた言語の異なる児童が同じ教室で学んでいたことが確認された。

表3 質問紙調査対象となったウガンダ人と難民の初等学校7年生児童の背景

学校名	A 校		B 校		C 校		D 校	
学校種	UNHCR		UNHCR		公立		公立	
難民状況	ウガンダ人 (n=6)	難民 (n=46)	ウガンダ人 (n=6)	難民 (n=32)	ウガンダ人 (n=38)	難民 (n=16)	ウガンダ人 (n=11)	難民 (n=16)
性別								
男性	5	38	3	25	23	9	4	11
女性	1	8	3	7	15	7	7	5
年齢								
12 歳	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0
13～16 歳	3	26	5	16	27	6	7	10
17 歳以上	3	20	1	16	9	10	2	6
不明／無回答	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
宗教								
イスラーム教	4	2	4	1	29	1	6	1
キリスト教	2	43	2	30	8	14	5	15
その他	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
不明／無回答	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
民族								
ルグバラ	5	0	1	0	2	0	6	0
アリンガ	0	0	0	0	33	0	2	0
カクワ	1	26	2	11	0	10	0	5
ポジュル	0	9	0	10	0	3	0	1
クク	0	6	0	5	0	1	0	3
その他	0	5	0	6	0	2	0	5
不明／無回答	0	0	3	0	3	0	3	2
家で主に話す言語								
英語	3	4	1	6	19	3	7	3
アラビア語	1	19	1	20	2	11	0	8
その他	1	22	4	6	16	2	3	5
不明／無回答	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
居住場所								
受入地域	0	0	1	0	32	0	9	1
難民居住地内	6	46	3	31	3	16	0	15
不明／無回答	0	0	2	1	3	0	2	0
親の安否状況								
両親不明	2	12	4	4	0	7	0	2
一方の親不明	3	16	0	7	8	3	1	8
両親とも無事	0	17	2	19	28	6	10	6
不明／無回答	1	1	0	2	2	0	0	0
世帯の収入源								
なし	6	33	1	18	5	5	2	9
農畜産物の販売	0	3	2	7	15	1	4	3
小規模事業	0	4	3	7	18	7	5	4
雇主からの賃金	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0
その他	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
不明／無回答	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

（出所）学校での質問紙調査をもとに筆者作成。

　次に現在の居住場所を尋ねたところ、難民児童のほとんどが難民居住地内に住んでいると回答した。同じ質問に対し、公立校に通うウガンダ人児童のほとんどが居住地外に住んでいると回答した一方で、UNHCR 校に通うウガンダ人児童の多くからは、居住地外の受入地域の村ではなく、居住地内に住んでいることを示す回答が得られた。具体的には、A 校で調査対象となった 6 人全員が、B 校でも 6 人中 2 人は無回答で、3 人が難民居住地内の具体的な村の番号を居住場所として回答した。

　さらに親の安否に関する質問への回答では、難民の間で親を亡くした、あるいは安否がわからないと答えた児童の割合が多かったことにくわえ、UNHCR 校に通うウガンダ人の間で親を亡くしたと答えた子どもが大半を占めていた。詳細を示すと、A 校で無回答を除く 5 人全員が少なくとも一方の親の安否がわからない状態と回答し、B 校では 6 人中 4 人が父親または母親を亡くしていると答えた。世帯の収入源について尋ねると、A 校のすべてのウガンダ人児童は「ない」と回答し、B 校のウガンダ人児童では「ない」と回答した 1 人以外の 5 人は、農畜産物の販売や小規模事業から収入を得ていると答えた。本質問に対する難民からの回答をみると、世帯が何かしらの収入源を持っているという児童の割合が、特に公立校で多い傾向がみられた。

　さらに、B 校で質問紙調査を行った 7 年生のウガンダ人 6 人のうち 3 人は、B 校に転校する前はユンベ県以外の県に居住していたと回答した。このうち、中央部地域のカユンガ県から来たという 14 歳でカクワの女子児童は、ビディビディ難民居住地へ引っ越してきた経緯について、以下のように語っていた。

　　私はカンパラ生まれで、1 年生から 6 年生までは政府の初等学校に通っていた。ところが、2 年前に父親を病気で亡くし、学費の高いカンパラの学校にこれ以上通うことができなくなってしまった。ここ（ビディビディ難民居住地）の学校では学費を払わなくてもよいので、去年の 2 学期から B 校に通っている。母親はカンパラに住んでいるが、放課後は一緒に引っ越してきた兄弟がしているコーヒーを売る仕事の手伝いをしている。

5．考察
5.1. UNHCR 校のセーフティーネットとしての役割と持続可能性
　難民に対する支援と同時に受入地域に教育援助を行う一つ目の経路は、援助機関によって新しく建てられた学校で受入国のカリキュラムに沿った教育を実施し、受入住民の子どもに新たな就学機会を提供することである。調査結果から、難民の流入規模が極端に大きかった今回の事例では、Dryden-Peterson & Hovil（2004）の研究成果と異なり、援助機関が運営する学校における児童教員比率が、近隣の公立校よりも高いことが明らかになった。そして本調査結果は、こうした UNHCR 校に就学しているウガンダ人が、必ずしも受入住民の子どもではないことを示唆している。7 年生に限定した少ない標本数の調査結果ではあるものの、このなかには、親を失うなどの理由で経済的に困窮し、公立校においても実際は学費徴収が行われているために教育の機会を失っていた子どもが含まれていた。調査結果は、こうした子どもが無償の教育を受けるために、県内のほかの村や県外から居住地に引っ越してきた可能性も示している。

　このうち、A 校で調査対象となったウガンダ人児童は世帯の収入がなく、難民居住地内で暮らしていると回答していたことから、ウガンダ人でありながら難民への援助物資になんだかのかたちで頼って生活をしている可能性は否めない。B 校のウガンダ人の調査対象児童のなかには県外から転校してきたものが含まれていたが、農畜産物の販売や小規模事業によって生計をたてていることから、もともと周辺に住んでいる親戚などを頼ってきた可能性がある。第 2 節で述べたように、UPE 補助金を受け取っている公立校における事実上の学費徴収が農村部においても常態化し、ウガンダの初等教育無償化政策が形骸化していることは知られている。こうした状況のなかで、援助機関の運営する学校が、かなり広範な地域のウガンダ人の子どもの初等教育へのアクセスを保障する、セーフティーネットとしての役割も果たしていることを本研究は示唆している。

　また、教員への質問紙調査からは、公立校に比べむしろウガンダ人就学者の少ないUNHCR 校で、親や保護者が学校活動に協力的であることを示す結果が得られた。さらに、学校運営関係者へのインタビュー結果からは、UNHCR 校において、ウガンダ人よりも難民の親や保護者が積極的に学校の運営に関わっていることも伺われた。長期的に貧困層に恩恵が行き渡る条件として、Chambers（1986）はすでに受入国政府のこうした学校への継続的財政支援を挙げていた。UNHCR 校が、長期的には難民の帰還後にも、受入地域の初等教育へのアクセス向上に資するかたちで存続していく可能性を考えれば、運営における地元住民との連携の確保も重要となる。

5.2. 公立校への UPE 補助金の実態と受入地域の実際の教育課題

　難民支援とともに受入地域に教育援助が行われるもう一つの経路が、既存の公立校が難民の統合で援助を受けとり、受入住民の子どもがアクセスできる教育の質が向上することである。現地調査で得られたデータや行ったインタビュー結果の分析からは、難民の統合による児童数増加に教員の補充は追いついておらず、公立校への UPE 補助金の増額は限定的なことを示す結果が得られた。D 校教員へのインタビュー結果から伺われるように、難民受け入れ前に比べ学費徴収額が減っていることは、受入地域の就学促進において歓迎すべきことかもしれない。しかし C 校教頭へのインタビュー結果からは、供給側の視点として学校運営者が、低額の学費支払いに対しても親や保護者が消極的な点を、彼らによる学校活動の参加の低さを示すものとして否定的に受け取っていることが明らかとなった。公立校で親や保護者による学校活動への参加度が低いことは、教員への質問紙調査とインタビューの結果の UNHCR 校との比較から伺われた点でもある。

　Ezati et al.（2016）は、北部地域全体で親・保護者による学校教育への関与が少ない要因の一つとして、たびたび発生してきた内戦や紛争後の支援として援助機関が行ってきたトップダウン型の教育援助への依存を挙げている。本調査結果から、援助に依存して親や保護者が学校活動に積極的に関わろうとしない同様の傾向を今回の事例において確認できた。受入地域の教育開発に、学用品などの配布によって短期的な恩恵はもちろん、公立校の施設拡充により、長期的な恩恵が及ぶことも考えられる。しかし調査結果からは、難民支援と一体的に行われた受入住民への教育援助が、受入地域が抱えるより根源的な教育課題に直接対処するものと、必ずしもなっていないことが明らかになった。

おわりに

　本研究はウガンダ北部を事例とし、難民受入地域を対象とする教育援助が、地域の初等教育に与える影響の実態について検証を行った。このなかでは、援助を受けた学校の運営状況とこうした学校に通学するウガンダ人の特徴に注目し、UNHCR 校と公立校の違いを考慮しながら、当事者の視点からの分析を行った。

　その結果、難民受入地域の公立校において、児童教員比率が政府の基準を上回った状態が続き制度上はなされるはずの UPE 補助金額の増額もないこと、さらにウガンダ人就学者数はほぼ横ばいか、むしろ減少していることが明らかとなった。また、地域が学校教育に非協力的な傾向は、難民支援と一体の援助を受けている公立校においてもみられた。UNHCR 校は、児童教員比率が公立校よりもさらに高くなっているものの、学費が支払えずに困難な状況にありながらも教育を受けたいと願う子どもの受け皿として、一定の機能を果たしていることが伺えた。

　統合型教育提供は、難民支援と受入地域への開発援助を同時に行うことができる、一石二鳥の手法とされている。難民支援によって受入地域が経済的にどのような影響を受けるかは不明瞭で、多くの先行研究が行われてきた一方、教育は正の効果が比較的分かりやすく観察できるセクターとして捉えられてきた。しかし本研究は、難民支援と一体的に行う受入地域への教育援助にも、限界は存在することを示している。受入地域に向けられた教育援助の恩恵を受けているウガンダ人児童の割合はユンベ県全体のわずか約 10% であり、難民への教育支援もままならない状況のなか、受入地域への援助が限定的となるのは仕方のないことかもしれない。しかしだからこそ、受入地域の実際の教育課題に正面から向き合う取り組みが別に必要となるという現実を、ウガンダ政府も援助機関も無視することがあってはならないと考える。

　本研究の制約として、援助が行われていない学校の状況や、援助が始まる前の状況との比較を行ったわけではなく、影響そのものを検証するにはデータが不十分であることが挙げられる。また、現地調査が実施できた期間が短く各学校においても少ない標本数の調査しかできなかったため、調査で得られた結果がどの程度各学校全体の状況として一般化して解釈できるかも含めて注意が必要である。今後はさらに、統合型教育提供において重要となる教授方法と児童の学習における課題や、難民と受入住民の社会統合における役割など、本研究で扱うことができなかった点についても検討していきたい。

注

1)　1951 年の「難民の地位に関する条約」と 1967 年の同議定書は、受入国において、難民が少なくとも初等教育を受ける権利を有することを明示していた（United Nations 1954, p.168）。2018 年 12 月の国際連合総会で採択された「難民に関するグローバル・コンパクト」では一挙に進んで、

難民が初等・中等・高等教育を受けることのできる制度構築に向けて国際社会が取り組むことを謳っている（United Nations General Assembly 2018, p.13）。

2) 本過程は、難民の自立化を促すことで受入国による負担の軽減を目指すため、開発援助を難民支援に結び付けようとする方策が、難民政策全体の議論で注目されていったことと呼応するものである。本議論の詳細や現在に至る経緯は、黒澤（2018）や杉木（2018）にまとめられている。

3) Dryden-Peterson et al.（2018）も指摘しているように、「統合（integration）」という用語は、難民に長期間の法的地位か市民権を将来与えることを受入国が意図しているかのような印象を与える。しかし本研究では UNHCR（2012）にならい、単に受入国の教育システムに難民を包摂することを指して、「統合」という用語を使っている。

4) ウガンダの難民受け入れの歴史は、1940 年代に第二次世界大戦の戦火で母国を追われたポーランド難民のため、難民居住地を提供したことに端を発する（UNHCR 2004）。

5) Dryden-Peterson & Hovil（2004）が事例とした学校はウガンダ西部に位置し、SRS 政策の対象となっていなかったはずである。このことからウガンダにおいて、難民向けに援助機関の設立した学校が受入地域住民の子どもを受け入れる取り組みは、制度化の進む前から始まっていたことが伺える。

6) ウガンダの公立校の 39% がウガンダ国教会、35% がカトリック教会を設立母体としている。残りの内訳は、政府（9%）、コミュニティ（8%）、イスラーム教モスク（7%）、その他（2%）で（2017 年時点：MoES 2017a）、ウガンダ全体においては D 校のようなキリスト教会を設立母体とする公立校が一般的である。その一方で、本研究の調査地が位置するユンベ県は、イスラーム教徒の人口割合が 76% と、全国の 12% に比べて極めて高い（2002 年時点：Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2005）。ユンベ県内の設立母体別の公立校数に関するデータは今回の調査で得られなかったが、イスラーム教のモスクが設立母体である C 校は、ユンベ県においては一般的な公立校といえる。

7) 児童数について、A 〜 D 校の 2017 年のデータは WTU 資料、2018 年のデータは AAR Japan 資料にもとづく。2017 年の NGO 雇用教員数は WTU 資料に、D 校の政府雇用教員数はユンベ県教育局資料にもとづくが、それ以外の教員数と補助教員数については、各学校での聞き取りで得られたデータをもとにした。

8) 本研究の調査は、大阪大学大学院人間科学研究科共生学系研究倫理委員会より承認を受けるとともに、ウガンダ首相府難民局からマケレレ大学と共同のデータ収集を目的としたビディビディ難民居住地訪問許可証を取得した上で実施している。

9) 本研究でのシリングのドル換算は、ウガンダの中央銀行（Bank of Uganda）が公表している、該当する会計年度や暦年の平均レートを用いた。

10) 2017 年における UPE 補助金の各学校への配分額は、南スーダン難民が大量に流入する前（2016 年 4 月ごろ）の ASC で得られた就学者数にもとづいて算出されていた可能性はある。しかし、2018 年に C 校で行ったインタビューでも、同じ教頭が 2017 年のときと同様の回答をしていた。

11) 2018 年 9 月 26 日に、筆者が B 校の校長に行ったインタビューにもとづく。

12) 2018 年 9 月 27 日に、筆者が A 校の PTA 会長に行ったインタビューにもとづく。

13) ウガンダの地方分権体制に呼応して、難民が意思決定を行うために設置されている機関で、RWC1（村レベル）、RWC2（クラスターレベル）、RWC3（ゾーンレベル）の 3 つの段階がある（Boswell 2018, p.9）。

14） 2018 年 9 月 25 日に、筆者が A 校の校長に行ったインタビューにもとづく。

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ガーナにおける大学教育改革の試み
―University for Development Studies を事例として ―

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はじめに

　本稿の目的は、ガーナにおける新しい大学モデルとして設立された University for Development Studies（以下、UDS）を対象として、その制度および教育プログラムの特徴、背景にあるねらいや理念を分析し、教育改革としての新規性や意義を考察することである。

　多くのアフリカ諸国では独立後、植民地支配と共に持ち込まれたシステムである大学教育を、いかに社会のニーズに適応させるかということが重要な課題であった。ガーナでも同様に、イギリス式の大学教育から脱却することの必要がはやくから議論されていた。UDS はガーナにおいて非イギリス式の大学モデルを実現した初めての大学であり、また、南部都市部に比べて開発の遅れている北部農村部にキャンパスを構える唯一の国立大学でもある。本稿では、文献調査およびインタビュー調査に基づき、UDS が「ガーナ社会のニーズに応える大学」の在り方をどのように捉え、どう実現しようとしたかを明らかにし、今後の実証的な調査の土台としたい。

　はじめに、テーマの背景と調査概要を述べる（第 1 節）。次に UDS 設立の背景として、「新しい大学」に何が求められていたかを確認し（第 2 節）、UDS の制度的特徴にその理念がどのように反映されているかを分析する（第 3 節）。その上で UDS の教育アプローチの特徴（第 4 節）および開発アプローチの特徴（第 5 節）を、教員へのインタビューも合わせて分析し、第 2 節で提示した課題に UDS がどのように応えようとしているかを示す。最後に、教育改革の事例としての UDS の新規性と意義を考察し（第 6 節）、今後の研究課題としてさらに追究すべき点を述べる（おわりに）。

1．テーマの背景と調査概要

　本節では背景として、アフリカの大学教育の課題と本稿の目的、本稿の分析対象である UDS の概要、そして調査の概要を説明する。

1.1. アフリカの大学教育の課題と本稿の目的

　アフリカでは、学校教育が社会の実情に合致していないという批判が長年繰り返されてきた。特に大学教育はエリート主義、新植民地主義の中心であると批判され、社会との乖離の問題が様々な観点から論じられてきた（Kaburise 2003）。例えば、大学は修了資格を持つ失業者を生むばかりで、社会で実際に需要の高いタイプの労働に携わる適切な技能と態度を養うことに失敗しているという批判がしばしばなされている（Abdi, Puplampu & Dei 2006）。本人の知識や能力と関係なく学歴のインフレが進行することを「学歴病」と呼び、産業発展以上に学校教育制度が急速に拡大しがちな途上国がこれに陥りやすいことを指摘したのは Dore（1976）だが、アフリカ社会の多くがまさにそのような状況に陥っているといえる。学校教育を修了した者は、その学歴によって近代部門への切符を手に入れたと期

待するが、実際には彼らを吸収するだけの雇用は存在しない。かといって農業やインフォーマルセクターの仕事には就きたがらない為、学生のニーズと社会のニーズの乖離が深刻な問題となっている（山田 2011）。また、大学で生産・伝達されている知識や価値観が、アフリカ社会にもともと根付いている伝統的知識と乖離しており、現実の社会において意味をなさないという指摘も繰りかえされてきた（Manuh, Gariba & Budu 2007）。アフリカの大学が西欧式のモデルに文化的に従属していることが、大学が社会の発展に貢献する役割を果たせない原因になっていると Mazrui（1992）は述べる。外部からの影響を強く受けていることは、「教育プログラムが真にアフリカの人々のものになっていない」ことを意味し、そのことによって「アフリカの発展についてのアフリカの考え」が周辺化されてきたということも指摘されている（McClaffrty 1996, p.111）。こうした議論を踏まえ、本稿では、アフリカで「開発に専念することを目的とした初めての大学」（Kuu-ire 2005, p.45）である UDS が、これらの課題にどう向き合い、解決しようとしているかを分析する。

1.2. UDS について

　UDS は 1992 年に、ガーナの北部に設立された。ガーナには全部で 10 の州があるが、北部と呼ばれるのはノーザン州、アッパーイースト州、アッパーウェスト州という 3 つの州から構成される地域で、国土の 41% を占める。この 3 州はガーナで最も貧しい地域であり、約 80% の人々が農業に従事している（Ghana Statistical Service 2000）。多様な少数民族が住んでおり、キリスト教やイスラム教の影響が拡大しているものの、半数近い人々が伝統的な先祖信仰を保持している（同上）。UDS はこの北部 3 州に散らばる 4 つのキャンパスから構成されている。

　1992 年当時、ガーナには UDS の他に 4 つの国立大学があった（同年に設立された University of Education, Winneba を含む）。これらはイギリスの大学モデルを踏襲し、開発が進む南部の都市部に集中していた。それに対して UDS は、「北部ガーナの、ひいてはガーナ全体の発展のために、学術的世界とコミュニティ世界とを融合させ、両者の間に建設的な相互作用をもたらす」ことを目的として、北部ガーナに設置された (PNDC 法 279 条)。UDS のウェブサイトによれば 2019 年 7 月現在、全部で 15 ある学部・研究科で約 20,000 人の学生が学んでいる。

　UDS ではコミュニティの開発課題の解決に直接寄与するための実践的な教育を重視しており、Third Trimester Field Practical Program（TTFPP）というフィールドワーク実習がコースワークの柱となっている。TTFPP の具体的内容については第 5 節で詳述するが、このプログラムは全学生に参加が義務付けられており、学生は 8 週間にわたってコミュニティで寝泊まりしながら、開発課題について学習する（UDS ウェブサイト）。UDS のプログラムを修了した卒業生の多くが、実際に農村開発に携わる実務家として仕事をしているという（Kaburise 2006）。

1.3. 調査概要

　本調査の分析は、質的データに基づく質的調査である。扱ったデータは文献および、筆者が 2014 年に実施したインタビューのデータである。文献調査で扱ったのは UDS の発刊物（年次レポート、学生向けハンドブック、パンフレット、ウェブ上の公開資料等）、

UDS の構想と設立にかかわった人々や UDS の教員による論文、著書等の文書、その他関連する新聞記事やレポート等である。UDS 関係者による著作物の中でも、UDS の初代学長である R. B. Bening によって著されたもの、特に「ガーナの高等教育の歴史における University for Development Studies」（2005）は、UDS の設立背景について知る上で重要な情報が多く記されており、貴重な資料となった。インタビューは 4 つあるキャンパスのうち、ガーナのアッパーウェスト州の州都ワにあるワキャンパスで実施された。ワキャンパスを選択した理由は、当キャンパスに総合的開発学部（Faculty of Integrated Development Studies, 以下 FIDS）があるためである。FIDS は UDS の中でも、他の学部が医学や経営学など専門性を軸にしているのに対して、開発そのものの包括的なアプローチに取り組む学部である。また FIDS は UDS 設立当初からある 3 つの学部の一つであり、2008 年にはガーナで初めて、「内発的発展（Endogenous Development）」という、地域の文化に根差したオルタナティブな開発観を模索することを目的とした博士課程のコースが設置されている（このコースについては Millar（2014）などが詳しい）。以上のことから FIDS には UDS の開発に対する考え方や教育理念がより濃く反映されているのではないかと考えた。また、インタビュー参加者には教育学部（Faculty of Education，以下 FoE）の教員も含まれている。FoE では、地域や国家の発展に寄与する教育の在り方を探究していることから（UDS 2014）、人材育成と地域開発の接続に関心の焦点を置く本調査の目的に合致すると思われた。

　インタビュー参加者は 4 名の教員である（表1）。調査の目的は、UDS が採用する制度やアプローチを教員がどのように解釈しているかを分析し、UDS の実践の意味を多角的に考察することであり、事前にインタビューガイドを作成した上で、半構造化インタビューを実施した。教員 D は UDS の要職についており、多忙の中 15 分のみではあったが、特定の学部についてではなく、UDS 全体の理念等について話を聞くことができた。その他の参加者は 1 時間半から 2 時間のインタビューを実施した。フォーマルなインタビューデータは文字起こしをし、コードを付し、テーマごとに分類した。ただし、キャンパスを案内してもらう間などに実施したインフォーマルな聞き取りの内容も分析に含まれており、これらは聞き取りの内容を書きつけたノートに基づいている。

表1　インタビュー参加者

参加者	性別	学部
Teacher A	女	Faculty of Education (FoE)
Teacher B	男	Faculty of Integrated Development Studies (FIDS)
Teacher C	女	Faculty of Integrated Development Studies (FIDS)
Teacher D	女	Faculty of Land Management (FLM)

2．UDS 設立の背景

　1957 年の独立後、ガーナでは学校教育制度の拡大が急速に進んだ。学校数・入学者数が大幅に増加すると同時に、学校教育をガーナ社会のニーズに適合させることが喫緊の課題となった。そこで新しいタイプの大学の構想が独立直後から持ち上がっていたものの、方

向性がなかなか定まらず、度重なる政権交代の影響もあり、設立が実現したのは独立後数十年を経てようやくであった（Bening 2005）。本節では大学教育改革をめぐってどのような議論がなされ、それが UDS の構想とどう結び付いているかを確認する。

2.1. ガーナの大学自治の問題

　ガーナの大学教育は、イギリスによる植民地支配期に、植民地政府役員の秘書の育成機関として始まった。設立にあたっては、University of London などのイギリスの国立大学をモデルとし、イギリスの大学の監督下に置かれた。このような大学間関係は独立後もしばらく続いた。1984 年にガーナ（当時はゴールドコースト）で最初の大学として設立された University College of the Gold Coast（現在は University of Ghana 以下、UG）は University of London の分校として設立され、1961 年に独立した大学としての地位を得るまで、教育プログラムや学位授与を University of London が監督した（UG ウェブサイト）。他の大学も同様にイギリスの大学の監督下に置かれており、UDS 以外の 4 つの大学はいずれも、独立した大学としての地位を獲得する前に「ユニヴァーシティ・カレッジ」として、教育プログラムの内容や質保証の基準を監督大学に負う時期があった（Bening 2005）。

　1960 年には、イギリスの大学による監督から自由な国立大学を構想するための国家委員会が設置され、大学独自の学位を授与し、教育カリキュラムと研究の独自のプログラムを持ち、独自の教授方法を追求し、教員を独自に採用し、自らの保証基準を定めることのできる大学についての構想が練られた（同上）。こうして UDS は、1992 年に制定された PNDC 法 279 条に保障される形で、はじめから自ら学位を発行する資格を持つ、独立した大学として設立された。

2.2. 大衆レベルでの大学への批判の高まり

　ガーナの一般大衆の間で、大学と社会との接続がうまくいっていないという批判が高まっていたことは、UDS の設立を後押しした大きな要因の一つである。大学教育をより実践的な内容に改革し、社会の労働ニーズにより適合したものにするよう求める声は特に 1980 年代初期から大きくなっていった（Bening 2005）。この時期、空軍大尉 J. J. Rawlings による社会主義的な軍政が敷かれ、国内の不平等や政治的腐敗が市民によって厳しく糾弾される機運が高まったことが、批判を無視できなくなったことの一因であったと思われる。UDS の元学長は、社会のあらゆる問題の解決に向けて大学が適切に対応しているかどうかが、国民によって厳しく審判されるようになったこと、そのためにガーナ政府は、新しい大学の方向性とその実現にかなり真剣に取り組む必要に迫られたことを述べている（Kaburise 2003; 2006）。当時、人々が抱えていた不満の要点として、ここでは大きく 2 点を挙げる。第一に、ガーナではほかの多くのアフリカ諸国と同じく、大学を修了した者の就職率が非常に低く、若者の失業率の高さが社会問題となっていたことだ。ガーナでは大学とポリテクニックを合わせた卒業生の 50％が 2 年間、20％が 3 年間、職を見つけられずにいるという報告もある（Aryeetey 2011）。こうした状況は、大学教育が、社会に必要な態度や資質を学生に身につけさせることに失敗しているという批判につながり、第二の不満である、大学で伝達される知識や価値観に対する不信の根拠となった。つまり高い失業率や、農村部から都市部への労働人口の流出の根本的な原因のひとつは、農村社会に対す

る否定的な価値観の内面化や、現実の労働ニーズにそぐわないキャリア観が形成されていることにあるとみなされたのである（Bening 2005; Kaburise 2003）。

2.3. 北部地域の教育開発の政治・経済的重要性

　UDS がキャンパスを構える北部ガーナは、植民地時代の間接統治のために南部と深く断絶され、開発の遅れた地域であった。独立後のガーナにおいて国家統合が政治的に重要な課題となると、北部が低開発のまま取り残され、南部との格差が著しくなることは、国内の政治的・社会的不安定の原因になるとみなされ、教育開発を進めて地域格差を是正する必要があるという認識が広まった。その後、度重なる政権交代によってしばらくの間具体的な施策が採られることはなかったが、1987 年に大学適正化委員会（University Rationalization Committee）が大学教育に関する国策を制定するための調査を開始した際、北部の人々に大学教育へのアクセスが開かれていないことが問題視され、北部に大学を設立することが決定された（Bening 2005）。

　南北格差の是正という目的と同時に、北部地域の経済的可能性への注目が増していたことも、北部における大学設置を後押しした。適切な管理と投資があれば、北部の広大な土地をつかって、タバコや綿、シアバター、カシューナッツ、野菜などの商品作物の生産が可能になると期待され、また畜産業の発展も見込まれた。こうした産業の発展のためには、大規模な農業や畜産業に従事するための技術者の確保が不可欠であった。例えば既にノーザン州タマレの精米所では機械を扱える技術者に不足し、規模を拡大しようにも困難な状況にあり、近い将来、農業関係の人材不足がますます深刻化することが予想された（同上）。北部ガーナの人材育成は地域の開発課題の解決としてだけでなく、国家の経済政策としても優先事項となっていたのである。

3．UDS モデルの制度的特徴

　前節で確認したような文脈の中で UDS は、北部農村部の発展に直接寄与することを目指して設立された。このように明確な目的の下、従来の在り方にとらわれずに大学運営の在り方が検討された結果、UDS の諸制度は他の国立大学とは大きく異なるものとなった。以下では、UDS の制度的特徴と、それらがどのような考え方に基づいているかを確認する。

3.1. 運営上の特徴

　UDS はガーナの中では珍しいマルチキャンパス制を採用しており、北部 3 州に 4 つのキャンパスが分散している（図 1）。各キャンパスに複数の学部が置かれており、各キャンパス長の指揮下で運営がなされる分権的な体制は、ガーナで初めての「中央主集権主義的な大学運営からの脱却」（Kuu-ire 2005, p.47）の試みであるとされる。キャンパスの設置場所の選定にあたっては、土の性質や天候、耕作パターン、農業的ポテンシャルと食料の供給可能性、道路や水源の確保などのインフラ条件を考慮して、4 つの地域が選定された（Bening 2005）。地域とのつながりが希薄な従来の大学運営と異なり、UDS では TTFPP の実施をはじめ地域との連携がその教育と研究の方法に組み込まれており、地域コミュニティとの対話を通して、より分野横断的で、地域の文化的コンテクストを配慮したあり方へと、アプローチに修正が重ねられてきた。地域の発展に貢献するという目的に照らし、地域ごとの

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特性やニーズに適した大学運営、フィールドワーク実習の実施、地域との連携を深めながらの人材育成を行う上で、マルチキャンパス制は適した在り方だったといえる。

　UDS がほかの大学と異なるもう一つの分かりやすい例は、3 学期制を採用しているという点である。1992 年時点で、ガーナ国内の他の全ての大学は国際的潮流に合わせて 2 学期制を採用していた。しかし UDS では北部農村部の天候パターンや、学生がフィールドワークで農作業における主要な作業に携わることを考慮し、3 学期制を採用し、そのうち 3 学期目の全期間が TTFPP にあてられている（Kuu-ire 2005）。国際的な標準にならうことによって交換留学がしやすいなどの利点はあるものの、国内の他の大学が、欧米の大学の制度を国際的標準としてそれに追従する中、自らの目的に照らして合理的な制度を採用している UDS はガーナでもユニークな存在であるといえる。
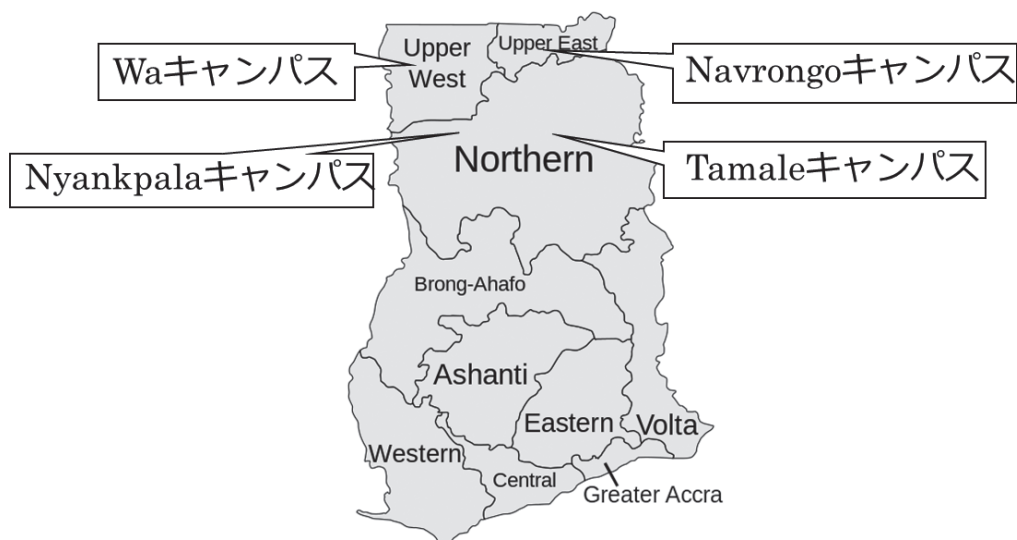
図 1　UDS のキャンパスマップ
（出所：筆者作成）

3.2. 入学許可方針

　ガーナにおいて高等教育へのアクセスを左右する最も大きな要因の一つは、出身地域であるといえよう。UDS 以外の国立大学で採用されている成績換算方式では、出身校の学校のレベルが個人の成績に反映される。そのため貧しい 4 州出身の学生が非常に優秀であっても、出身校の平均学力が低いために他の学生に総合的な得点で劣るということが起こっていた。UDS でも当初同様の換算方式を採用していたものの、北部出身の受験者にとって不利な状況が生まれることから、独自の換算方式に変更し、さらに北部出身の学生に対する優先枠を設けることで、北部出身者の入学を増やす努力をしている。UDS の採用方針では、基準を満たすすべての受験者は、彼らの出身校ランクに応じてグループ分けがなされ、似たランクの出身校の学生同士の比較に基づき、上位 5-10% の生徒が入学を許可される（Manuh, Gariba& Budu 2007）。この他、北部出身の学生や金銭的な問題を抱える学生を優先的に採用するような諸制度が設けられており、Abonyi (2011) の調査によれば合格枠の

約 60％が北部地域出身者に優先的に割り当てられていることになる。ガーナの大学に通う 1,500 人の学生を対象としたある調査では、北部 3 州出身者の割合が、UDS 以外の 4 つの大学では全入学者の 10-20％ であるのに対し、UDS では 68％ 近くにも上り、北部出身者の就学率向上には実質的に成功しているといえる（Manuh, Gariba & Budu 2007）。

　教員 D は、このように極端な「偏り（bias）」を設ける理由について、次のように説明した。優遇措置を取らない場合に、南部の学生の入学者が多くなれば、彼らの多くは卒業後北部にとどまらずに南部へ戻ることが予想され、教育の成果を北部地域の発展に還元するという UDS 本来の目的の達成は難しくなる。例えば、北部地域の保健環境を改善したいならば、北部出身者に医療従事者としての教育をするのでなければ、地域の保健分野の人材育成には繋がらないということだ。

　ただし、実際に北部出身者が本当に地域での活動を志す傾向にあるのかは定かではない。例えば本当は南部で近代セクターに就きたいが、他の大学への入学が難しいために UDS を志望していることも考えられる。UDS では卒業後の進路状況に関する追跡調査は行っておらず、地域への還元がどの程度達成されているかを知るためには別途調査が必要である。

4．UDS の教育アプローチの特徴

　前節で、UDS の運営制度の特徴を挙げ、背景にある目的や理念を確認した。本節では、UDS の教育プログラムの特徴と背景にあるねらいを分析する。

4.1. 実際的な問題解決を通じた学び

　TTFPP では、毎年 200 ほどのコミュニティが、受け入れ先として北部 3 州の中から選定される。学生は 3 年間（Kaburise（2006）によれば少なくとも 2006 年時点までは 4 年間だったが、聞き取りによると現在は 1-3 年生までの 3 年間となっている）、毎年同じグループで同じコミュニティに滞在し、継続的に活動をする。こうすることにより、コミュニティについての理解を深めながらニーズや課題を深く分析し、アクションプランを練り上げる仕組みになっている（Kaburise 2006）。TTFPP のもととなる発想を、UDS のある教員は「実験室としてのコミュニティ」（Bagah 2010, p.3）と表現する。

　　UDS にとっての、特に TTFPT（原文ママ）にとっての挑戦は、どのように問題解決型の教授法を、農村開発のプロジェクトと結びつけるかということであった。我々は、「実験室としてのコミュニティ」というコンセプトを解決法として考えていた。これらの実験室は、学部に、学生に、そしてコミュニティの人々に、一定の期間、参加型・問題解決型研究と我々が呼ぶものに従事する方法を提供すると期待された。（括弧内は筆者）

　コミュニティを具体的な試行錯誤の場としてフィールドワークを繰り返しながら、より有効なアプローチとなるよう、TTFPP の方法論に修正が重ねられていった。例えば当初は、研究科ごとにフィールドワークが行われていたが、コミュニティの開発課題に取り組む過程で、現実の問題状況への対応にはより包括的なアプローチが求められるという認識が高まり、現在 TTFPP では、学生は異なる研究科から集められて分野横断的なグループをつくり、互いの専門分野を越えて協働することを求められる。「統合的なアプローチ」と呼

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ばれるこの方法が採用されるようになったのは UDS が設立されて 10 年を迎えた 2002 年からである（Kaburise 2003）。このように課題を多角的に、包括的に捉える視点は、学生グループ内のチームワーク及び地域の様々なアクターとの連携の重要性への認識ともつながっている。TTFPP には、政府機関、非政府機関にかかわらず様々な地域アクターが関わっており、学生は、コミュニティの人々だけでなく、地域の様々なステークホルダーとの連携及び情報交換の重要性を、実践を通して学ぶ。このようなネットワークの蓄積は、それ自体が TTFPP のリソースとなり、プログラムの妥当性を高めることにつながると期待されている（同上）。

4.2. 地域の文化的・社会的コンテクストへの習熟

　学生はフィールドワークにおいて、大学で学んだ知識をコミュニティの発展に役立てるために、知識以外の様々なスキルや経験を身につけることを求められる。教員 A は、変化を持ち込もうとする前に、文化的コンテクストを理解し、尊重しようとする努力が重要であると述べた。

　　人々は生まれてこの方そのように食べ、死んでいったし、彼らの両親もそのようにしていて、これは長年続けられてきたのです。なのに今、あなた方が皆して、川の水を飲むな、という。なぜそんなことを言うのか、示さなければなりません。あなたが彼らと共に過ごし、彼らと語り、彼らとともに食べ、彼らと行動を共にするのでなければ、そして文化を尊重するのでなければ、ただ変化を持ち込んだところで、彼らは受け入れないでしょう。(教員A）

　教員 A は、人々の知識は、長い歴史の中で受け継がれ、人々の生活に深く根付いている習慣そのものであるとし、従って、文脈と切り離された知識だけを外から持ち込んだところで、それが人々の生活に根付くことはない、と述べた。従って新しい知識がなぜ必要かを人々に伝えるためには、人々と寝泊まりをして、彼らの生活について知ることが必要であると説明する。また、教員 C は、知識の在り方の違いはその学習方法の違いとも関係していることを指摘した。教員 C によれば、コミュニティの人々の「学習」は、生活のなかでの経験や、物語の口承伝達などを通してなされるため、学生が学校で「学習」するやり方とは大きく異なる。そのため人々が学生の知識を吸収することはしばしば難しく、「（学生側が）人々の世界観を学び、吸収し、彼らの学び方を知り、自分たちの方法と組み合わせる必要がある」と述べた。

　2 人の教員によるコメントは、学生が大学で学んだ内容を実際の状況で生かすためには、コミュニティの人々の文化や価値観の深い理解と尊重、それに基づく関係性の構築といった、知識以外の技能やプロセスが必要であること、そしてその形成を UDS では重視していることを示している。

4.3. 学生に期待される役割について

　具体的に、UDS の学生は卒業後、どのような役割を果たすことを期待されているのか。UDS が教育目標としているのは、学生が「彼らの専門領域においてキャリアを確立し、実

践家として開発の遅れたコミュニティで生活、機能するための知識を身に着けさせること」（UDS ウェブサイト）であり、そのためにフィールドワークを通して「農村部で活動することに対する肯定的な態度を養うこと」（Kaburise 2006, p.4）が重要と考えられている。学生が卒業後に地域に貢献することは、コミュニティへの大学の知識の還元であると同時に、学生が卒業後、地域社会の中に自らの役割を見出し、参加するということでもある。教員 A は、通常の大学の卒業生について、「政府のイス（ポスト）を探し求めるだけで、彼ら自身が何かを創始できるとか、社会に貢献できるなんてことは考えもしません。まして、農村環境に戻ってきて働こうなんて一層考えないでしょう。（括弧内は筆者）」と言い、誰かに雇用してもらうのを待つような受動的な姿勢を批判した。

　産業が発展しておらず、南部よりさらに雇用の数が限られている北部では、大学の卒業資格を持つことで雇用が保証されると期待することはますます難しいと思われる。その意味では確かに、学生自身が自らの役割や居場所を社会の中に見出すような主体性、教員 A の言葉を借りれば「自己雇用（self-employed）」の発想を持つことが望ましいといえよう。一方、いくら何らかの技能や、農村で生活する上で適切な態度や知識を持っていても、雇用に頼ることなしに安定的な経済的基盤を形成することは、容易ではない。また、教員の言葉を踏まえると、UDS の卒業生は既に存在する職業に自分を当てはめるだけでなく、大学で学ぶ知識とコミュニティの生活知との双方を用い、新しい知識を創出しながら、農村社会の発展を促進するという高度な役割を期待されていると推測できる。このような役割を果たすための技能を形成する上で、UDS の教育プログラムや支援は十分といえるのかは疑問である。この点については第 7 節の「考察」で後述する。

5．UDS の開発アプローチの特徴
　さて前節で述べたような、UDS の教育アプローチの特徴を理解するには、その土台にある開発に対する考え方を捉える必要がある。本節では UDS において「開発とはどのような行為で、どうあるべき」とされているかを分析する。

5.1. コミュニティ中心の開発観
　UDS の地域開発に対する姿勢で特徴的な点として、「知識」の捉え方が挙げられる。UDS は、大学の知識をコミュニティ開発に役立てることを「サービスとしての知識」（UDS ウェブサイト）と呼び、自らの役割としているが、同時にコミュニティの人がもつ既存の知識を「伝統的知識（indigenous knowledge）」と呼び、大学で学ぶ知識と同様に重要であることを学生に強調している。UDS では長年のフィールドワーク経験の結果、「低開発を克服する、最も実現可能で持続的な方法は、人々が既に知っていることや理解していること、つまり伝統的知識から始め、科学的知識を取り入れることである」（Kaburise 2006, p.2）という考えに至った。その考え方が凝縮されているのが、「プラグイン」と呼ばれる原則である（図 2）。この原則は、開発の中心となるのがコミュニティであり、そこでは UDS の介入以前から、すでに様々な活動が存在することを強調するものである。「UDS の学生やスタッフは変化させるのではなく（すでにあるものを）" よりよくする " 存在」（Kaburise 2006, p.5. 括弧内は筆者）であり、この「プラグイン」を成功させるために、既に起こっていること、起こりつつあるものを、時間をかけて理解し、適した介入の在り方を探って

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いく必要があるとする。プラグインの原則は、FIDS の教員で元副学長でもある D. Millar が提示する「逆の参加（reverse participation）」（1992, p.18）の概念にも通ずると思われる。これは、従来の参加型開発では、外部からの介入に住民をいかに参加させるかが論じられていたのに対し、むしろ人々の生活プロセスに、介入する側がいかに参加するかが意識されるべきだという指摘である。Millar（1992; 2014）によれば、地域の内発的発展とは、人々の日常生活から切り離されたプロジェクトとしてではなく、内外からの作用を受けながら営まれる生活のプロセスそのものである。人々の生活プロセスを軸として介入を捉える態度は、プラグインの原則の考え方にも通底していると思われる。
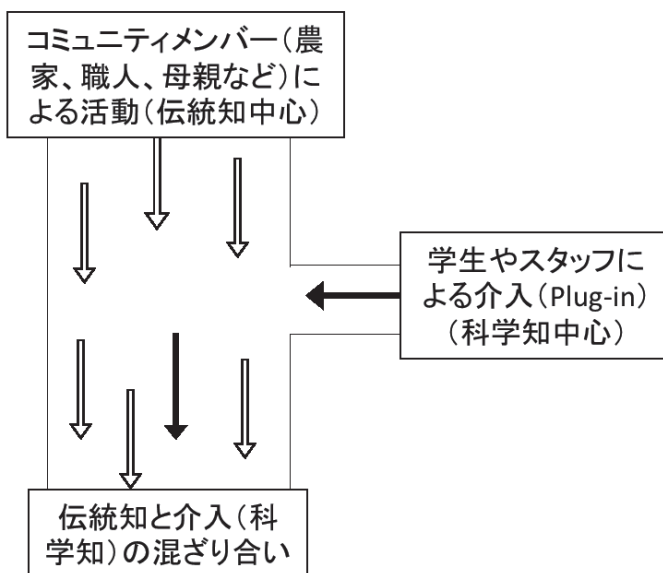
図2　プラグインの原則のイメージ図
出所：Kaburise (2006, p.5, figure1) をもとに筆者作成。

5.2. 伝統的文化にもとづく価値創出

　学生が人々の知識に注目することが重要であるもう一つの理由として、教員らは、コミュニティの人々が、学生が外から持ち込む「科学的知識」がより進歩的で、自分たちの知識よりも優れていると無批判に思い込む傾向があるために、学生の側が、人々の持つ知識の価値を再発見する必要があることを指摘した。教員 C は特に、伝統的知識の経済的・資源的価値について言及した。

　　例えばなぜ我々は、肌をよいにおいにさせるために高価なポマードを買うのでしょう。我々には沢山のシアバターの木があるのに。シアバターで作られたものはとてもよいものです。私は彼ら（西欧の人々）がポマードを作るのにシアバターを買っているのを知っています。そして私たちはそれを豊富に持っている。だったらそれを使って、収入を創出し、発展することができるではありませんか。シアバターに少し手を加えて、それを売ってお金を得ればよいのです、貧困な状態に留まるのではなく。でも人々はそれを顧

　みず、*市販のクリームを買うのに手元のわずかなお金を使ってしまうのです。我々にも豊かで素晴らしい文化があるのです。（教員 C）（括弧内は筆者）*

　教員 C は、学生に、人々自身がその価値を見失いがちな文化や伝統的生活知の価値を再発見する役割を期待している。そして教員 C はこのことを、文化的アイデンティティ等のためというよりは、そうした知識が、土着の資源の活用という、より経済的で持続的な発展のために欠かせない要素に密接に結びついているという理由から強調している。

　　西欧由来のモノが持ち込まれても、どれもこれも高価で、手に入れることができません。しかし我々はローカルな資源を持っていて、人々はそれとともに暮らしています。ローカルな知識というのは、ローカルな資源、私たちが手に入れることのできる資源のことでもあります。我々はそれらを使って（西欧と）同様のものを生み出すことができるはずです。（教員 C）（括弧内は筆者）

　既にある資源を最大限活用することによって、地域の経済的制約と資源の不足という課題を克服すべきであるということは PNDC 法のなかにも書き込まれており、UDS の教員と学生が常に意識するよう求められている事柄である (PNDC 法 279 条)。教員 C は、地域の資源を長年用いてきた人々の生活知に光を当てることが資源を発見する上でヒントになることから、知識も地域の資源の一つであるとみなしている。

　教員 B は、既存の知識や資源から有益な技術を取り出し、規模の大きい産業への応用を試みた事例として、草から炭を作り出すプロジェクトを紹介した。ガーナ北部では、貴重なシアの木などが燃料のために伐採されることが問題視されている。確保できる量も多く、成長スピードも速い草を利用して炭を作ることで、環境破壊と人々の燃料不足の問題の解決に貢献すると同時に、新たな収入源確保にもつながると期待されているという。おそらく教員 B が述べているのは、D. Millar が主導した「草から炭へ (Grass for Carbon)」プロジェクトのことであると思われる。ウェブ上の記事によれば D. Millar がフィールドでの調査を通じて、地域の人々の生活状況や資源の用い方、気候変動への対処の方法について深い認識を得たことがこのプロジェクトの基盤になっている（Millar 2012; Francis 2010）。人々の生活と、地域に存在する資源についての理解が、開発プロジェクトに生かされている一例であるといえよう。

6.　考察
　本稿では、UDS の取り組みを確認し、その背景にある理念を分析した。以下、教育改革としての UDS の実践の新規性および意義を 3 点に分けて考察する。
　第一に UDS の教育改革の方向性が、それまでの改革と異なるのは、従来は既存の学校教育モデル、大学教育であればイギリス式の大学モデルを保持した上で、「伝達する中身」について議論する傾向があったのに対して、UDS の構想は学習そのものの意味と目的の問い直しから始め、その具体的方法をオルタナティブとして提示した点である。ガーナでは独立後すぐに、大学教育を社会的要請にこたえるものにすべく、その在り方を再考する動きが始まった。そうした中でなされた試みの一つは、大学の初年次に「アフリカ学」を必

須科目として履修させ、アフリカの伝統文化を学び、尊重する態度を養うというものであった。しかしこれについて Bening は、「イギリス式の大学のシステムに則った中でそのようなコースを設置することが、果たして地域のニーズに応える最適な方法といえるかは疑問」（2005, p.61）と指摘している。また、山田（2005）はガーナの Achimota 学校のカリキュラム開発の過程を分析した論文の中で、カリキュラムとして教えるべき「伝統」が、カリキュラムを開発する側の考えに基づいて取捨選択され、固定化され、現実の流動的な実態とは別のものとして「創造」されたことを指摘した。こうした議論は、従来の教育改革では、教育システムと現実社会の接続を強化しようという意図ににもかかわらず、システムの枠組みを保持したまま、そこに「現実」を当てはめようとすることで、かえって現実との乖離を拡大してしまう可能性のあったことを示唆している。これとは対照的に UDS の事例では、「地域コミュニティの発展」という現実の目的に沿うようにシステムの在り方を抜本的に変革したのであり、イギリス式の大学モデルの慣例に縛られることなく、大学の諸制度がどうあるべきかを自らの目的に照らして再設計することができたといえる。

　第二に挙げられるのは、UDS において伝統文化の尊重は、教育目標としてもともと据えられていたわけでないにもかかわらず、結果として人々の持つ知識や地域の文化的文脈が重視されるようになったという点である。Hountondji（2002）は、開発の領域において土着の人々の実践の有効性が一層認識されつつあると指摘したうえで、重要なことは、それが土着であるかそうでないかに関わらず既存の知識を活用しながら、「生活の質の向上」という目的のもとに新しい知識を創出していくことであると述べている。確かに人々の価値観や世界観を尊重することは、人々にとってなにが「よりよい」のかを知る上で不可欠であるが、その技術や知識が西欧のものか土着のものかという区別に固執することが、人々の生活の改善に必ずしも結び付くわけではない。UDS では「北部地域の発展」という目標が先にあったために、文化や伝統そのものを尊重することが前提としてカリキュラムに組み込まれていたわけではなく、あくまで地域の発展を考える中でその重要性が認識され、フィールドワークの指針として取り入れられるという、逆のプロセスをたどっている。これは、「アフリカ学」をカリキュラムに組み込むことで教育適応を目指すようなアプローチと対照的であり、教育の社会的適応と文化の関係を再考する上で示唆的である。また同時に重要なのは、「発展」の中身自体も問いに開かれつつあるという点である。一点目に、UDS では「発展」という目的・ニーズが教育システムに先立っていたと述べたが、この目的であるところの「発展」の定義は必ずしも固定的なものではない。「発展」が近代化や経済成長といった狭義のものに限定されているならば、いくら文化や伝統を尊重しているといったところで、目的に対する合理的手段に矮小化しているという批判的な見方もできよう。人々の価値観に深く寄り添うならば、目的であるところの「発展」自体が問いなおされる余地は大いにあるはずである。この点について本稿では十分に扱う余地がなかったが、UDS にガーナで初めて「内発的発展」の博士課程が設置されたことを考えると、UDS 内部で、「発展」という概念自体を問うような動きが芽生えつつあることが十分に推測できる。この点については今後の調査で、具体的なプロジェクトの事例など、実際の状況を分析したい。

　第三の点は、UDS が大学の人材育成と社会の労働ニーズとの接続をどのように実現しようとしたかという点である。「学歴病」が、「何を学んだか」よりも「どこで学んだか」に

意味が置かれ、本人の技能や知識と関係のない資格が独り歩きする状況を指していたことを考えると、UDS が目指したのはそれとは対照的に、「どこで学んだか」よりも、「何を身につけたか」「何をすることができるか」という学習の内容自体に、大学教育の意味を置きなおすことであったように思われる。また、学ぶ内容についても、UDS においては、大学の教室で学ぶ知識や技能だけでなく、実際的な状況における知識の「活用」にかなりの重点を置いていることも分かった。UDS において、実際の状況における知識の「活用」とは、大学知と生活知の間で、どちらがより優れているといった価値判断をするのではなく、それぞれの知識のどの要素を組み合わせることによって、いかに問題を解決したり状況を改善したりすることができるかという視点に立つことであった。それを可能にするために学生には、他のアクターと対話を通じて関係を構築し、問題を多角的かつ深く捉え、活用できる資源を見出すといった、通常、大学で学ぶ「知識」以外の様々な能力を形成することが求められているといえるだろう。このことは UDS の教育アプローチの新規性・独自性であると同時に、その実現にはまだまだ多くの課題が残されているように思われる。この点について、今後の調査で追究すべき点として次節で述べる。

おわりに

　最後に、本稿の限界と、今後の研究課題を提示する。今後は、本稿の分析と考察に基づき、UDS の構想時点で意図されたことが実現されているのか、地域社会にはどのような影響を及ぼしているのかを実証的に調査していきたい。特に焦点を当てたいのは次の事柄である。

　まず、学生らが卒業後、どのような活動に従事しているのかについて。UDS では卒業生の進路に関する記録がなく、卒業生の就労状況は現時点では分かっていない。しかし UDS の学生が期待されているような、専門性に加えて、先述したような実務能力を生かし、自分の役割を創出すると同時に地域の発展に貢献するような役割を果たすためには、教育プログラムの実践的側面を強化するだけでなく、経営的要素に特化した教育・支援環境の整備が求められよう。たとえば、本稿で紹介した、草から炭を創り出すプロジェクトのように、知識や技能に基づいて新しい産業・経済活動を創出するような活動の場合、ビジネスの知識や投資に関する支援体制が必要になると思われる。そう考えると、TTFPP のようなフィールドワーク経験は、UDS の掲げる人材の育成に対して、必要ではあれ、十分とはいえない可能性がある。今回筆者の調査した限りでは、学生の起業活動を支援するような教育プログラムや制度の充実に配慮がなされている様子は見られなかった。卒業後の活動を支援するような教育プログラムや環境整備を限られた資源の中でいかに行うかということは、UDS の課題の一つであると思われる。これらの点を踏まえ、卒業生の就労・活動状況の実態と課題について調査を進めたい。

　もう一点、今回の分析の中で明らかになっていないと感じたのは、学生の位置づけである。UDS では、大学の世界とコミュニティの世界を結びつける役割が学生に期待されているが、この場合、学生はコミュニティに対して「外部」の者なのだろうか、それとも「内部」の者なのだろうか。これについては、UDS 関連の文献や、教員のコメントの中でも、必ずしも一貫していないように思われた。実際、UDS への入学者の社会的・家庭的背景は他の大学と比べてより多様であると予想できる。北部出身者がほかの大学と比べて極めて多いのは事実だが、北部地域内でも、近代化が進む地域と、伝統的な生活様式が維持されてい

る地域との差は著しい。北部出身だとしても、より近代的な住居での生活経験しかない学生にとっては、やはりコミュニティでの生活は未知の体験であろう。逆に伝統的なコミュニティ生活の中で育ち、大学での知識を全く新しい世界のものとして身につけ、自らのコミュニティに還元しようとする学生もいると思われる。実際、筆者が現地でインフォーマルな聞き取りをした際も、「自分は元々伝統的なコミュニティの出身なので、村で生活をすることに不自由はない」という学生もいれば「こういう生活をしたことがないので大変だった」という学生もいた。学生自身が地域コミュニティに対して自らをどのような存在であると位置づけているかは、彼らの就学への動機に関わり、就学動機は、卒業後の進路にも影響を与えると思われる。教員らの想定とは別に、学生ら自身が自らをどの様に位置づけ、UDS での学びにどのような意味を見出しているかを分析することで、UDS の実践の意味を学生の視点から理解することにつながるのではないか。学生の意識は、今後の調査で扱いたい事柄の一つである。

　本研究の限界として、インタビューの参加者が教員に限られ、その人数がごく小規模で所属学部にも偏りのあることが挙げられる。また本稿で扱ったのはあくまで制度設計・理念の次元であり、そのため意義などについての肯定的な言及が多くなり、TTFPP の受け入れコミュニティの負担や学生の安全面の問題など、実践に伴う課題や困難については十分に扱えていない。筆者が聞き取りをした限りでは、UDS の教員は、コミュニティでの伝統的生活ではなく、より近代的な生活環境で育った者が多く、コミュニティ社会に対して自らを「外部」と位置づけているように思われたのに対し、学生はある時には教員と同じ「外部」として、またある時はコミュニティ「内部」の者として位置づけられており、UDS の教育的アプローチの中での学生の位置づけや役割は必ずしも明確ではなかった。今後の実証的な調査では、どのような社会階層の学生がどのような目的で UDS に入学しており、卒業後は地域にどのような還元をしているのかを分析し、UDS と地域社会の相互作用の実態を捉えたい。学生・卒業生の活動や、コミュニティ開発の具体的なプロジェクト状況も含め、今回踏み込んで考察できなかった点については、今後の調査の課題とする。

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Effectiveness of facilities grants on the equitable access to schooling in Ugandan primary education

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Abstract

The study examined the effectiveness of the availability of school facilities to equitable access, sanitation as well as teacher accommodation, using propensity score matching technique on administrative data routinely collected by the Ministry of Education and Sports through the Information Management System. The treatment schools received the grant during the FY2014/15 – FY2016/17, and their outcomes were compared with the control group of schools that have never received the grant. The results from the stratification matching revealed that schools that received the facilities support significantly (at 1%) increased the number of pupils by 10.3 per class, 2.8 per toilet stance and about 2 teachers per house more than the control group of schools. A similar trend of impacts is also observed on estimates from Kernel matching technique. The impact of facilities grant on gender equality in access is rather insignificant, implying that girls are equally likely to attend schooling as do boys. The results imply that a spacious classroom gives the teacher and students a good opportunity for interaction. The availability of toilet stances enhances safe and clean environment as well as positive attitude towards personal hygiene. It is glaring clear that the facilities' importance can be measured from the uses they provide to learners and instructors even though they have differing degrees of influence on schooling. On the other hand, having a new school facility is good but maintaining them regularly in good condition remains a concern, which can even negate the schooling achievements gained in the medium to long term.

1. Introduction

The Uganda government has for the past three decades prioritized investment in primary education to respond to the global commitments on Education for All, Millennium Development Goals and the recent assented Sustainable Development Agenda 2015. Among the key priority areas was the infrastructure development to create a conducive environment for teaching and learning to take place. Properly organized infrastructure system coupled with adequate instructional facilities are the key pre-requisites for the development and implementation of the teaching curriculum (UNICEF 2000). A growing body of research has found that school facilities can have profound impact on schooling particularly teacher, access and learning outcomes (Mbanwi 2018). Facilities in schools can affect teacher retention, commitment to work and effort. Moreover, school facilities may influence learner attendance, engagement and growth in achievement. Thus, the physical and emotional health of the learners and teachers depend on the quality of the school infrastructure (Buckley et al. 2004).

　Since 1997, Uganda prioritized the construction of school infrastructure as a flagship programme to meet the increasing demand for quality education. The school facilities grant (SFG) programme was an intervention created under the Poverty Action Fund (PAF) in 1998 to assist

the populated and neediest schools/communities acquire physical infrastructure. The SFG had three components, namely construction of new classrooms, construction of Ventilated Improved Pit latrines (VIPs) and construction of teachers' houses. The total national SFG grant was US$ 18 million per year between 1998 and 2006. It declined to US$ 5 million per year, after the introduction of Universal Secondary Education (USE) in 2007. On average, eligible schools receive US$15,000 - 20,000 to construct school facilities. Consequently, the target was for every school to have a maximum of 55 pupils per class. Although several initiatives and efforts have been made to improve access and educational outcomes in Uganda, the learning conditions for both the educators and learners have not been conducive let alone being inadequate. In terms of construction of new facilities and maintenance of the existing ones, a lot more needs to be done.

The introduction of the Universal Secondary Education (USE) in Uganda in a way created a shift in government spending. The SFG declined to an average of US$ 4.5 million annually; currently, the funding is granted to just a few of the neediest schools, especially those with a high Pupil Classroom Ratio (PCR) of above 55:1. These needy schools continue to experience increase in enrolment and attendance. For instance, the average enrolment and attendance in P1 in the public schools increased from 132.9 and 96 in the year 2010 to 142.4 and 132, respectively in 2018. For a long time, the districts that have not received SFG have inadequate classrooms to accommodate lower primary pupils (P1 – P3), leading to overcrowded classrooms. This has derailed not only construction of new infrastructure but there is also lack of maintenance of the existing ones, which has partly led to pupil and teacher absenteeism and, in extreme cases, pupil dropout. **Figure 1** and **2** indicate that schools have varying pupil-to-classroom ratios (PCRs) with Maracha and Mpigi districts having the highest and lowest PCR, respectively. The inadequacy of school facilities is also reflected in the high pupil-to toilet stance ratio (PSR) as noted in Naminsidwa (PSR = 128) and Kalangala (PSR = 22), having wide differences, respectively.

The process evaluation report (OPM 2016) reveals that the majority of the UPE schools have poor learning environments which have had an effect on pupil/teacher safety, pupil/teacher retention, pupil absenteeism and dropout, especially for girls. The poor state of school structures is partly attributed to inadequate funding which is granted to just few schools. The selective provision of SFG has caused imbalances in the teaching and learning environment in primary schools, which
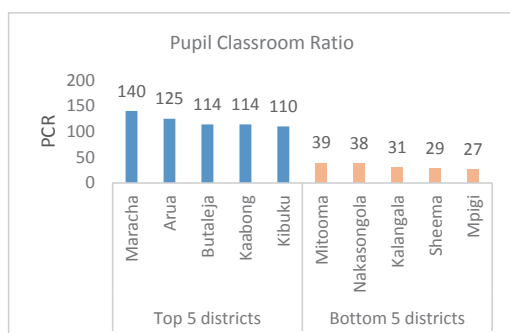

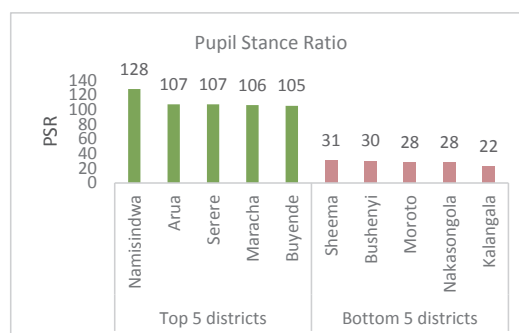Figure 1: Pupil classroom ratio for the lowest 5 and highest 5 districts

Figure 2: Pupil toilet stance ratio for the lowest 5 and highest 5 districts

likely impacts on learning outcomes. Schools that continue to receive the grant are not only increasing on the stock of classrooms but also the condition of the buildings is good. However, there are some challenges that affect the implementation of the SFG and these include delays in the release of SFG funds by the government; high enrolments in some schools yet the funds received are limited; political interference by some district leaders; low community ownership and participation in SFG projects; poor workmanship on the part of the contractors; and stealing/vandalizing of the construction materials community members among others.

Previous studies have established that educational quality is associated with high conducive environment both in the school and within the classrooms. School systems work with learners and carry social trust for transmitting values, inspiration and knowledge to improve the future society (Berill & Whallen 2007; Mbonteh, Fonkeng & Galy 2016). According to the survey conducted by UNESCO (2015), there are more than 50 pupils per class in the sub-Saharan Africa countries. In Uganda, about 56 pupils share a class but with wide variations between rural and urban areas, 15 pupils on average share one mathematics textbooks. About 40% of the primary schools do not have ventilated improved pit latrines (VIPs); the teacher houses are largely lacking in almost 60% of the government aided primary schools. The trend in statistics reveal rather general impression about school conditions, but in small part of a whole, is in a way examining the contribution of infrastructure to equitable access, which is still a priority for developing countries like Uganda. Thus, the question guiding this study is; how does school facilities reflect and contribute to school access in Ugandan public primary schools?

Globally, there is a significant and strong link between the school facilities and the learning process (Blair, 1998). Kerr (2003) reports that 75% of the American nations school buildings are inadequate. This is no exception for Uganda today, where primary school access, dropout and academic performance has remained stagnant. Earthman and Lemasters (1996) pointed out that learners surrounded by a safe and environmentally conducive environment experience a positive effect on their learning. Knowing the importance of school facilities in access to schooling, it would be necessary to draw a clear understanding of the contribution of school facilities grant (SFG) on improving access in Ugandan primary education. This study uses regular but non-traditional estimation technique to assess the SFG contribution. Previous cited studies analysed the correlations based on the traditional regression analysis between the outcomes on a set of the covariates. Few studies have used Propensity Score Matching (PSM) technique but considering different sets of outcomes and covariates at several stages of the analyses. This study is premised on the fact that in the absence of randomization given the public nature of the SFG programme, it would be of interest to establish what would have happened to pupil school access and teacher recruitment and retention had schools not received the facilities support – counterfactual. The study is set to assess the effectiveness of the SFG programme on pupil access to school and to sanitation facilities as well as teacher accommodation by addressing the following research questions:

a) What is the impact of SFG on equality in access to schooling and teacher accommodation?
b) How cost-effective is the SFG on the school access measures?

The study reveals the medium to long-term effects of SFG on the pupil and teacher measures. At the school level, the findings demonstrate that SFG is significant in increasing pupil access and teacher accommodation measures. The analysis also generates evidence to close the knowledge gap on the extent to which the SFG is not only pre-requisite to learning environment but also key direct determinant of school access. The findings of this study could potentially inform UPE policy change as well. The rest of the paper is structured as follows: section two presents the literature related to the study; section three is the identification and estimation techniques; section four presents the data and descriptive analysis, section five presents the results and discussion while section six concludes.

2. Literature Review

There is a broad body of knowledge linking school facilities to learning. Whereas fixing a new school infrastructure is a necessary pre-requisite for teaching and learning to take place, there are other factors that trigger education outcomes. A system-wide transformation is critical for the attainment and sustainability of improved educational quality (Holt 2000). The quality teaching and learning is based on proper organizational infrastructure coupled with adequate school facilities (UNICEF 2000). Educational quality is within the context of the state obligation to establish and sustain the conditions under which the learners study. This was clearly re-affirmed in the Dakar Framework and now the Sustainable Development Goals, to improve access to schooling with quality (Mbonteh, Fonkeng & Galy 2016). According to Chitty (2002), learning being a key indicator of educational quality needs to be conducted in an acceptable environment with good classrooms and sanitation facilities. Teachers need to be accommodated within school community to improve pupil-teacher interaction and reduce on absenteeism.

Educators and education researchers from diverse perspectives have argued on the correlation between class size and pupil learning, but according to Pennycuick (1993), class size has not been consistently linked to pupil achievement. Fisher (2000) reveals there is evidence that the correlation between student behaviour and quality of school facilities is less conclusive as does Smith (2001) who admits that causal relationships between schooling and adequacy of facilities cannot be established solely on the basis of available school infrastructure, but rather on what is exactly taking place in the classroom environment. But on the other hand, many other studies have found a relationship (e.g. Willms 2000; Mbonteh, Fonkeng & Galy 2016; UNESCO 2015). For instance, they argue that sanitation facilities provide a safe, dignified and healthy learning environment that promotes school attendance and high academic achievement. In Cameroon, Mbanwi (2018) found that the role of school facilities is indispensable. That school facilities (classrooms with good air conditions) enhance teaching and learning, comfortable seats enable learning as students feel well to participate in class while spacious classrooms give the teacher and student good room for interaction in Presbyterian secondary schools. His finding was also buttressed by Buckley et al. (2004) who established that poor air movement and ventilation could result in increased student absenteeism and subsequent reduced student performance.

From the global perspective, Cash (1993) examined the impact of building conditions on learning in Virginia, and found that facility conditions controlling for socio-economic factors

significantly correlated with student achievements. The physical infrastructure such as libraries, classrooms, solid waste disposal facilities do much to banish apathy and often arouse learners' interest to learn and matriculate. As classroom size is reduced, educators have a greater chance to provide with individual attention and can respond to the reduced class size by re-allocating resources towards low achieving pupils or adopting teaching methods that enhance understanding (Brown & Saks 1987). Lorton and Walley (1979) also emphasized that learning experiences are fruitful when there are adequate quantity and quality of physical resources; and that unattractive school buildings, crowded classrooms, non-availability of playing ground as well as poor surroundings can contribute to poor academic performance. To emphasize further the issue of physical facilities, Cameron (1970) as quoted by Likoko et al. (2013) re-echoes the importance of developing adequate and appropriate physical facilities for quality education to be realized.

Malcolm Gladwell (2009) using Wilson and Kelling's theory said that the condition of school infrastructure has crucial consequences for learning, specifically attendance rates. Students who stay in such unattractive environment perceive that they are not special, that school is not important, that no one really cares, and as a result will be more likely to stay home, giving education low priority in their lives. According to Barrett et al. (2019), there is evidence of particularly strong impact of school planning and design on health and on the learning progress, and they also highlight evidence on the impact of a good "fit" between pedagogy and school spaces.

The reviewed literature brings mixed evidence on the effectiveness of school facilities. Most of the studies were conducted in developed education system and used several analytical techniques that yielded differing conclusions. All these bring a research paradox in the developing education context like Uganda. It would therefore be necessary to test the same hypotheses in the evolving education system to establish the relevance of school infrastructure. The next section presents the analytical framework particularly the identification strategy and estimation techniques.

3. Identification and Estimation Techniques

The use of the propensity score matching technique has gained prominence in the recent social research landscape. This follows the seminal work of Rosenbaum and Rubin (1983) that introduced the systematic approach to estimating treatment effects while minimizing the endogeneity and selection bias in the quasi-experimental designs. In context, there may be endogeneity issues between receiving the facilities grant and school class size. In reality, the schools that receive the facilities grant may be different from those that do not receive in aspects of class sizes, teacher accommodation and availability of sanitation facilities. In the circumstances where there is no experiment to isolate certain characteristics specific to the schools particularly how a school is assigned to participate in the programme, then a quasi-experimental design would be the suitable alternative.

Because the SFG is usually provided to needy schools in phases based on the need and subject to availability of funds, it would then be of interest to determine what would have happened, to access to schooling in the absence of the SFG - counterfactual. Thus, the PSM technique reduces the selection bias and in which a match is artificially constructed for each one of the individual units studied who have similar attributes but one difference: received or did not receive the facilities

financial support. The PSM approach mainly follows four key steps: First, we are more concerned about the identification of suitable covariates that predict the choice to receiving the grant. This initial examination of the data uses the regression to establish the marginal treatment effects; Thus $y=\beta X+\varepsilon$, where y is the outcome variable and X is the vector of regressors, the β is the vector of treatment effects including the covariates. Second, is to estimate the likelihood of the school participating in the program, using the probit model that uses the latent or non-observable variable as the outcome variable; that is to say, $Y^*=\beta_0+X\beta+\varepsilon$, $Y=1[Y^*>0]$, where $Y=1$ *if* $Y^*>0$ and $Y=0$ *if* $Y^*\leq0$]. Where Y* [0,1] indicates the likelihood that the school will participate in the programme and X is a series of independent observable variables. The probit model was used to identify the suitable covariates that would predict robust propensity scores. Worth to note that, the use of the probit, a function of maximum likelihood is more important than the significance of the estimators (Heckman, Lalonde & Smith 1999; Alderete & Formichella 2016).

The third step involves estimating the propensity of observations. The sample is divided into two groups (i.e. treatment and control) and the two sample groups are arranged in descending order. The propensity score model with Treatment D (=0/1) as the dependent variable and 'x' explanatory variables are as follows.

$p(x)=prob(D=1/x)=E(D/x)$

The propensity score P(x) is the predicted probability that a school receives the grant given their observables. The fourth step is the matching of each unit in the treatment group to another unit with a similar propensity score in the control group, and then calculate the difference in the levels of the choice outcomes in each pair as well as the average difference for the whole sample – the treatment effect on the treated (ATT) which is estimated using the following basic equation:

$ATT=E(\Delta/p(x),D=1)=E(y_1/p(x),D=1)-E(y_0/p(x),D=0)$

Note that one unit in the control group can be matched with more than one unit in the treatment group. The study employed several matching alternatives: First, the nearest neighbour matching where a control group school j selected from the control group is the school that minimizes the difference between propensity scores of control and treatment groups, thus C(i)=min $j \mid P_i$-P_j |. In this case, the average treatment effect on the treated is reported as 'attnd'. Second, is the Kernel approach, a method in which treated units are matched with the weighted average of all units in the control group, using weights that are inversely proportional to the distance between the scores of the treatment and control units. The treatment effects are thus reported as 'attk'. The third is the stratification where there are matches between the treated and control cases based on the variable that contains the block number (strata) to which there is common support (Smith & Todd 2005), and thus the treatment effects are reported as 'atts'. A t-test between the outcomes (y) for the treated and control groups was also performed. The variables used for matching included pupil teacher ratio, ratio of female repeaters, school location, school ownership as well as distance of the school

from the district education administrative unit.

In a common approach, the outcomes of the control schools would be matched to similar treatment schools based on the values of the propensity score, or else the unmatched schools are discarded from the sample. Estimates of the treatment effects are based on the comparisons of the average outcomes across the schools in the propensity score matched between treatment and control groups. This PSM approach has two advantages as suggested by Ravallion (2005). First, it has no arbitrary assumption of linearity between outcomes and covariates as does in most models; second, it removes the treated and the untreated units from the sample that have no obvious match in the group – thus controlling for possible bias attributed to unobservables. A limitation to the PSM is that selection of schools is done on observables and yet it is possible that there were certain unobservable characteristics (e.g. influential local leaders) in those schools that made them more likely to be selected to receive the grants.

4. Data and Descriptive Analysis

The evaluation used the existing data in Education Management Information System (EMIS) routinely collected by the Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES). The data is part of the annual school census information collected on infrastructure, enrolment, staffing and teacher qualification, co-curricular activities as well as school management related data. The schools that had received SFG so far, for the period 2014/15 to 2016/17 were identified and compared with those schools that were similar in characteristics (based on both output and input variables prior to receiving SFG). The schools studied were government owned and supported primary schools in the country. Of the 2,625 schools, 389 (14.8%) of them received the facilities grant and about 80% of the schools are in rural areas (Table 1).

Table 1 : Descriptive statistics

Variables	N	Mean	Std	Min.	Max.
Treatment school (Yes=1, No=0)	2,625	0.148	0.355	0	1
Pupil-to-classroom ratio	2,625	82.12	70.45	19.49	1,314
Pupil-to-toilet stance ratio	2,625	80.13	79.11	30.88	874
Teacher-to-house ratio	2,251	6.64	4.74	0.55	37
Pupil-to-teacher ratio	2,625	58.29	51.7	6.2	1,550
Proportion of female pupils to total	2,625	0.50	0.048	0	1
Proportion of female repeaters to total	2,625	0.486	0.115	0	1
School location (Rural=1, Urban=0)	2,625	0.798	0.40	0	1
Proportion of Government Owned School (Yes=1, No=0)	2,625	0.177	0.382	0	1
Distance from local administrative office to school (1=>3km, 0=<3km))	2,625	0.289	0.453	0	1
School has grade 1- 6 =1, grade 1-7=0	2,625	0.06	0.246	0	1

The small proportion of schools that participated in the programme was an institutional matter beyond the researcher but however, dealing with small and/or sub-samples has been observed in other related studies. For instance, Alderete and Formichella (2016), that considered a treatment group of 15.9% in the Conectar Igualdad programme in Argentina using PSM; and they employed the same estimation technique for sub-groups that have more characteristics in common.

In Uganda, there is an average of 82 and 80 pupils per class and per toilet stance, with wide margins, and above the recommended 55:1 and 40:1 ratios, which signal over-crowding thus making the school environment unconducive. Even teachers are disrupted with the lack of accommodation as well as teaching big classes as revealed by the pupil-to-teacher ratio and teacher-to-house ratios. It is worth to note that about one in every ten schools do not have final grade (i.e. Grade 7) in the primary schools; and also the majority of the schools are community as well as faith based but government aided schools (82.3%=100*1-0.177). The key component of the SFG was the construction of the school facilities in needy schools. Often the cost of construction was greater in the urban than in schools rural (Figure 1). Averagely, it is costlier (=USD 12.500) to construct a facility in urban than in rural schools (=USD 10,991), which was attributed to differences in economic conditions. In terms of per capita spending, unit cost in the rural (=USD 15.7) was slightly higher than in the urban (=USD 14.6) largely because free fee urban public schools are populated more than the rural counterparts.
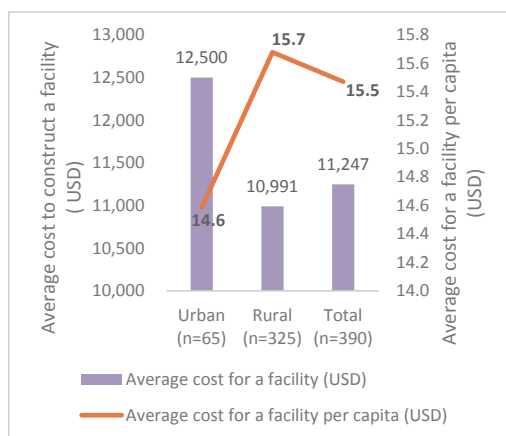

Figure 1: Average and per capita facility cost by rural-urban
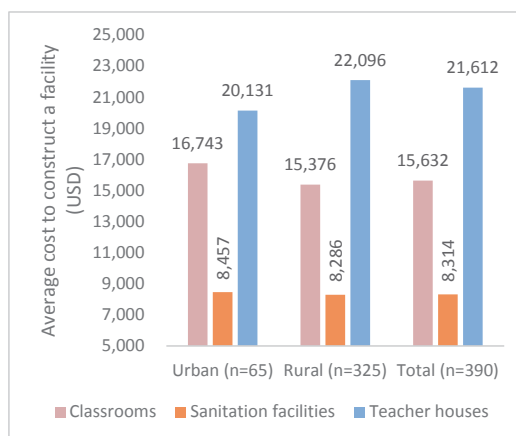

Figure 2: Average construction cost by type of facility and by rural-urban

In terms of the cost of the type of facility, the classroom costs were modest than teacher houses. Construction of teacher houses was mainly in rural and hard to work schools, as a way of motivating educators to stay in school. Again, it costs a little more to construct classroom block (=USD 16,743) and sanitation facility (USD 8,457), in the urban schools than the rural counterparts (Figure 2). The next section presents and discusses the results of the PSM analysis.

5. Results and Discussion

Marginal differences in outcomes and determinants of participation in the SFG programme

The initial investigation involved estimating a regression with a dummy for treatment (=1), as the independent variable followed by another regression with a dummy variable for treatment controlling for the covariates. The objective was to ascertain the covariates that would predict the robust propensity scores. The results reveal that participation in the SFG programme had a meaningful impact on the access measures (i.e. Pupil-to-classroom ratio (PCR), Pupil-to-toilet stance (PSR), Teacher-to-house ratio (THR) and proportion of female students in a school) as observed in the results of Table 2 from Col. 2 to Col. 9. Moreover, the PTR, location, school ownership and school grade are correlated with several or all of the access measures. However, the practical importance of these findings should be taken with caution because of the self-selection and non-randomization bias. Although there is a comparison group, the differences in the outcomes may be due to systematic differences that could bias the interpretation of the findings (Thompson 2002; Park & Osborne 2007). Rather, the remedy to the biases is the use of propensity score matching that could equate the two groups so that any comparisons made reflect an equal likelihood of receiving the grant with minimal or no influence from the unobservable factors (Lane et al. 2012).

Table 2: Marginal differences in outcomes and determinants of participation in the SFG programme

Dependent variable	PCR		PSR		THR		Prop. of females to total enrolment		Treat (0/1)
	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Treated (0/1)	18.65*** [4.727]	16.10*** [5.156]	12.94** [6.550]	8.310 [6.696]	1.007*** [0.235]	1.105*** [0.279]	0.002 [0.003]	0.001 [0.003]	
PTR		0.483*** [0.034]		1.114*** [0.043]		0.005*** [0.002]		-0.001 [0.001]	0.002** [0.001]
Ratio of female repeaters		-2.596 [16.595]		25.32 [20.679]		1.421 [0.876]		0.121*** [0.009]	0.235 [0.305]
Location (Rural=1)		4.615 [4.772]		-6.144 [6.081]		-0.704*** [0.257]		-0.014*** [0.003]	0.122*** [0.049]
Own (Gov't=1)		-9.192* [5.044]		-12.35** [6.433]		-0.571** [0.271]		-0.001 [0.003]	-0.098*** [0.034]
Dist(>3km=1, =<3km=0)		-0.050 [4.255]		-11.58** [5.509]		0.636*** [0.229]		-0.005** [0.002]	0.063*** [0.031]
grade 1-6 =1, grade 1-7=0		-14.96* [8.750]		-21.37* [11.497]		-1.887*** [0.463]		-0.003 [0.004]	0.095** [0.048]
Control means	96.39*** [1.823]	70.408*** [9.322]	87.98*** [2.511]	24.79** [11.624]	2.481*** [0.090]	2.346*** [0.493]	0.501*** [0.001]	0.456*** [0.004]	-1.27*** [0.172]
N	2,473	1,903	2,320	1,777	2,625	2,000	2,625	2,000	2,000
R^2	0.0063	0.110	0.002	0.276	0.007	0.032	0.002	0.114	0.004

*** P<0.01, ** P<0.05, * P<0.10

The second stage was to assess the determinants of school participation in the SFG programme. The overall model (Col. 10) is a good fit as observed from the p-value of the likelihood ratio statistic (=0.004). The results reveal that the increase in pupil-to-teacher ratio, rural schools and those schools with lower grades 1-6 rather than grade 1-7 as well as schools located in more than 3km radius were significantly more likely to receive the grant (Table 2). On the other hand, school ownership variable has a significant negative effect (at 1%) as government owned schools are less likely to receive the SFG support than the public but government aided schools. In principle, the neediness to the SFG programme was associated with rural school location, far distance from the district local administration, the school need to upgrade to candidate class (i.e. grade 7) as well as pupil-teacher intensity – this is typical of developing country case like Uganda. The probit results are generated alongside the propensity scores, with a region of common support selected within [0.10505, 0.23676] range. As a result, the intervention would only be generalizable to those units that were in the lower and upper limits in terms of their likelihood of receiving the SFG support. Participants outside the range could not be matched instead could contribute to bias the treatment effects. Of the 2,625 schools investigated, 76% (=1,985 schools) are confirmed to belong to the region of common support, and of these, the 15.7% (=312) belong to the treatment group while 84.3% (=1,673 schools) are in the control group, respectively. There were 4 blocks, that largely ensure that the mean propensity score is not different for treated and controls in each block. Test of the balancing property of the propensity score was satisfied. There was also significant marginal differences in propensity score (=0.003, p-value=0.001) and common support (=0.051, p-value=0.023) between the treatment and control group of schools.
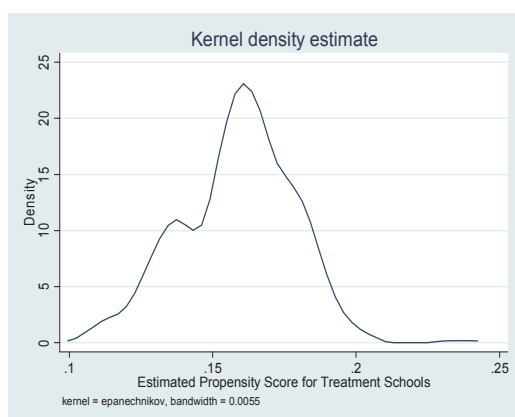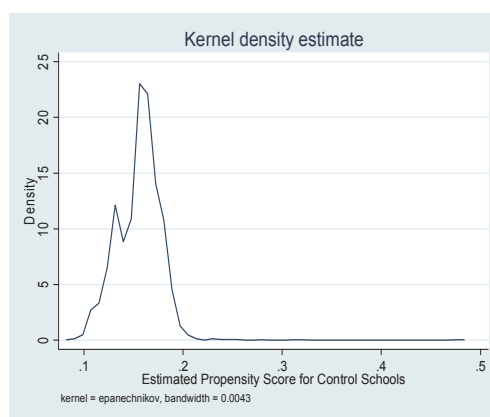

Figure 3: Treated schools

Figure 4: Control schools

The Figure 3 and Figure 4 indicate the Kernel density functions of the estimated propensity score within the regions of common support, for the treatment, control, matched and untreated as well as unmatched and control group of schools, respectively. Figure 3 reveals a normal and high density than Figure 4 implying that the average likelihood of programme participation for the treatment

schools is higher than the average of the control schools.

Impact Analysis Results

At this stage, the results on the propensity score matching that reveal the treatment effect of SFG on access are presented (Table 3). The probit estimation reports the propensity scores (p-scores) with their bootstrapped standard errors. Access measures in this case are the pupil-classroom ratio (PCR), pupil-toilet stance ratio (PSR), proportion of female pupils to total (PrFPT) and Teacher-to-house ratio (THR), all measured at school level. One of the key objectives of SFG was to reduce on the overcrowding by accommodating at most 55 pupils per class, to maintain gender equality in enrolment among boys and girls, and to ensure that at most 40 pupils share a toilet stance as well as providing school accommodation for every teacher. From the PSM results, there was a match of the 312 treated schools with the untreated and then the outcomes were compared. Note that the matching is one to many, and not all the control observations can be used as matches for all the treated schools.

The evaluation estimated the treatment effect on the treated (ATT) using the nearest neighbour matching, Kernel matching and stratification matching techniques. The results of the treatment effect reveal that after matching the treated and the control schools, the effects of the SFG intervention raise PCR significantly at 1%. For instance, Kernel and stratification matching show that schools receiving SFG increase their PCR by 5.761 and 10.264 more than the control schools; the impacts on PSR are 4.884 and 2.804 as well as 5.648 and 2.385 on THR under the two matching techniques. The impact on gender is rather insignificant implying girls as equally as boys are benefiting from the SFG support. However, the nearest neighbour approach does not yield any statistically significant results. Therefore, the hypothesis that the school facilities grant has not helped to significantly improve on school access is rejected. Although the impact in access measures is significant but with minimal effect size largely because the full potential utilization of the school infrastructure can be realized in the medium to long term than immediately after construction. As clearly stated by Mbanwi (2018), classrooms are key infrastructural facilities in the school where the teaching and learning process takes place. A spacious classroom gives the teacher and students good room for interaction. In terms of sanitation in Ugandan primary schools, solid waste disposal system using toilet stances is important in enhancing safe and clean environment. Proper management of solid waste in schools enhances positive attitude towards personal hygiene and environment. In addition, it can be argued that physical infrastructure such as classrooms, toilet facilities do much to banish apathy and often arouse learners' interest to learn and matriculate. The educators have a greater chance to provide with individual attention and can respond to the reduced class size by re-allocating resources towards low achieving pupils or adopting teaching methods that enhance understanding. Thus making the appropriate use of the resources requires more than just construction in the school. The schools must not only appear to be attractive to learners, the teachers have to provide conditions for learning and the facilities have to support the educational use as well.

Table 3: Results of the treatment effect on the treated using bootstrapped standard errors

Outcome Indicators	PSM Method	No. of schools treated	No. of schools controlled	ATT	t-statistic (p-value)
PCR	attnd	312	270	16.893	2.349***
	attk	312	1673	18.688	5.761***
	atts	312	167	18.078	10.264***
PSR	attnd	312	255	3.234	0.401
	attk	312	1673	14.820	4.884***
	atts	312	1673	13.958	2.804***
Proportion Female To total (PrFFT)	attnd	312	282	0.002	0.545
	attk	312	1673	0.001	0.058
	atts	312	1673	0.001	0.111
Teacher House Ratio	attnd	312	282	0.561	1.101
	attk	312	1673	1.145	5.648***
	atts	312	1673	1.119	2.385***

*** $P<0.01$, ** $P<0.05$, * $P<0.10$

The estimated model is demonstrably robust, inasmuch as the estimates of the average treatment effect on the treated (ATT) have been specified under the different matching alternatives that seem to deviate from the assumptions of the conditional independence. Various interventions related to school facilities are implemented in many developing countries to enhance access and improve student learning. This study provides additional insights regarding these types of interventions. With the increasing number of pupils that enrol in public schools, parents, district education and school management officials argue that the grant is not adequate to address the infrastructural challenges that have left most schools overcrowded with very few classroom space despite the increasing number of pupils. Having selected the sampled schools from among the neediest schools, the new infrastructure attracts enrolment of more children from their former schools, a matter that consequently leads to overcrowding because the capacity of the new infrastructure is suppressed.

Cost-Effectiveness Analysis

It is important to note that another entry point into the impact analysis of SFG programme is the unit cost and effectiveness analysis as suggested by Beam et al. (2018). Cost-effectiveness ratio (CER) analysis is an approach to inform decision-making and the ratio simply shows how much it costs per pupil to attain certain amount of units of output in the treated relative to the control schools. Per unit cost and treatment effects are computed and related as ratios. The costs are the facility grants disbursed to schools during the intervention period, while per unit cost is the cost per pupil in the treatment schools. The analysis establishes the cost per pupil in the intervention schools by simply

dividing all the total SFG spending in the survey schools by the number of students. If Pre1 stand for pre-SFG period, and Pre2 (2014/15 to 2016/17), we can then identify possible scenarios and cases. The CER lead to clear decisions as to whether to adopt and use SFG intervention. In symbolic notation, the Cost- effectiveness measure can be expressed as:

$$\text{Cost-Effectiveness}_{BUPE} = \frac{(cost/pupil)}{(Effect\ size)}$$

Where cost is the SFG allocated to the treatment schools, effect size is the impact or the gain in units per school relative to the control school.

As noted above, cost-effectiveness is ideally an efficiency measure. The CER is an efficiency ratio for comparing two systems based on a specific cost-effectiveness measure (cost per graduate/pupil). The decision rule is that if efficiency ratio = 1, then pre-SFG period (i.e. before 2014/15) and post SFG intervention (i.e. 2014/15 – 2016/17) are equally efficient.

If efficiency ratio >1, then SFG support is more efficient If efficiency ratio <1, then the SFG intervention is less efficient. The inverse of the CER say 1.22 (=13.96/11.44) is the increase in toilet stances in the treated relative to the control schools during the FY2014/15 and FY2016/17, respectively (Table 4). On the other hand, classroom and teacher houses construction were ineffective as their efficiency ratios (0.84=18.07/21.5) and (0.04=1.12/29.72), were less than one. The implication on the differences of efficiency ratios among PCR, PSR and THR is attributed to the fact that it costs relatively less to construct toilet stances to improve sanitation and hygiene in the learning environment – which is key pre-requisite to school access.

Table 4: Cost Effectiveness Ratios (CER) on classrooms, toilet stances and teacher accommodation

Measure	Cost per student in per type of facility	Effect size based on atts	CER
PCR	21.50	18.07	1.19
PSR	11.44	13.96	0.82
THR	29.72	1.12	26.54

6. Conclusion

There is increasing use of the matching techniques for the education grant funded research with the central aim, to interest researchers in the field of technical education where there is transparency in the steps for conducting the propensity score analysis. These quasi-experimental approaches are increasingly being applied in developing countries to assess the effectiveness of public spending on the household socio-economic livelihoods such as education. A case in point is the SFG that was implemented to enhance children access to schooling in government aided public schools in Uganda. The SFG focused on the construction of new classrooms, toilet facilities, and teacher houses with the aim of improving the infrastructure in the supported schools. The beneficiary schools were expected to achieve the classroom pupil ratio of at most 1:55 and gain improved learning outcomes. It is glaring clear that the concept of facilities cannot be underscored in any educational milieu.

Their importance can be noticed and measured from the uses they provide to learners and instructors even though they have differing degrees of influence to schooling. It can be also observed that learning experiences are fruitful when there are adequate quantity and quality of physical resources, and that unattractive building, crowded classrooms and poor sanitation facilities can negatively affect schooling process. Having a new facility is good but maintaining the facilities to regularly be in good condition remains a concern, that can even negate the learning achievements gained in the medium to long term.

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The representation of civic education in Madagascar: exploring the evolution of textbook contents

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Abstract

Despite the government and the population's agreed opinion on the importance of civic education in Madagascar today, the real meaning of such education remains blurred. The purpose of this study is to understand the representation of civic education as introduced in the Malagasy civic education textbooks and how it has evolved from the independence of the country until the present time. Seventeen textbooks, used since the first republic, have been analyzed to draw the understanding of the subject. The focus of civic education changes according to the political regime, from learning about institutions, and moral education, to the introduction of education for sustainable development and global citizenship education. The findings show that the textbooks have been used to establish the successive regimes' political, ideological, and financial interests, but they also explicitly or tacitly inculcate traditional values that nurture the cultural identity of the Malagasy citizen. The textbooks try to represent the civic education subject as the ideal subject that would transform the students into "decent Malagasy citizens" who firstly recognize their traditional values and principles, and who are socially and civically engaged moral citizens, aware of the local and the global society they are living in.

1. Introduction

Global Citizenship Education (GCE) has become an important topic in the education research field today in that such education is relevant in the understanding and the resolving of social, political, cultural, and environmental issues (UNESCO 2013). Major points of GCE are closely related to the "Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" in 1974 (UNESCO 2018). As GCE is most of the time addressed as part of subject matters such as Civics/Citizenship, Social Studies, or History, studies in the African context investigate the content of citizenship or civic education in light of major conflicts, human rights and democracy issues (Bayeh 2016; Yamada 2011; Schoeman 2006; Seroto 2012).

Unlike other African countries, Madagascar has never faced any major conflicts such as civil war or strong dictatorship. Moreover, despite the country having more than 18 ethnic groups, it has one national language understandable throughout the whole country. However, it is known for its recurrent political instability periods since independence and studies suggest that even during the Civic Education (CE) courses, discussion about rights and duties in democratic participation are avoided (Antal 2010). Kennedy (2019) suggests that the evolution of Civic and Citizenship education is unique to each context, time and values. Interesting is the study of the content of such education in the context of Madagascar in this era when reflecting GCE in the national curricula is considered "one of the most urgent tasks" (UNESCO 2013, p.5).

The purpose of this research is to understand the representation of CE as it is presented in the Malagasy CE textbook. This study attempts to explore the conception and the presentation of how the Malagasy CE evolved from the independence of the country until the present time.

2. The evolution of Malagasy education and educational materials
2.1. Overview of education in Madagascar since the independence
(1) The first republic (1960-1975)

As a former French colony, the Malagasy education has inherited a lot from France, particularly the education system, the use of French as the language of instruction, and the content of the curriculum. During the colonial period, the education policy favored an elitist education where only a few students managed to continue their studies, which greatly sustained colonial domination. Such policy caused a huge disparity between students' education level and limited the indigenous population's career opportunities (Lehmil 2006). The school subjects that were taught in the French colonies were the same as the ones taught in France, but the pedagogy was rather leaned towards strengthening the ascendance of the colonizers (Ibid.).

After the independence of Madagascar in 1960, the education field did not change much from that of the colonial period. French remained the language of instruction and the learning contents were still similar to the French model with some revisions adapted to the Malagasy context. This can be seen in the textbooks used at that time, such as in the *Mon livret d'Instruction Civique* textbook by Dubois and Raveloarisoa (1969).

(2) The second republic (1975-1993)

Dissatisfaction about the French-like education which favored few people and served the interest of the former colonizer was one of the biggest causes of the end of the first republic administration and the birth of the second republic, or the Malagasy socialist regime. The socialist revolution of May 1972 was obviously an educational revolution where university students demanded the *malgachization* (changing the language of instruction into Malagasy), the *démocratisation* and the *décentralisation* of the Malagasy education (Dahl 2011). Drastic changes have been made in this period to establish the national motto *Tanindrazana – Tolom-piavotana – Fahafahana*, translated as Homeland – Revolution – Liberty, and to restore the virtue of the Malagasy language and culture.

For the first time after formal education was made compulsory in January 1904 (Lehmil 2006), the Malagasy language will now be used as the language of instruction after almost 70 years of French usage. All textbooks for primary school were written in Malagasy. The former *Instruction Civique* school subject was replaced by *Fanabeazana ara-pitondrantena* or Moral Education.

(3) The first part of the third republic (1993-2008)

The *malgachization* policy is very often defined as a "total defeat" (Dahl 2011) for different reasons, particularly the poor preparation of the language policy reform, the insufficiency of textbooks, and the lack of teacher training, which left the students to neither master French nor Malagasy. A great number of schools were closed, the enrollment rate decreased, and the repetition rate raised, causing an important increase of the illiteracy rate of the whole population (Ibid.).

The third republic was established in 1993 and returned to using French as a language of instruction, but with a new approach in language use. Malagasy was used during the first two years of primary school. Starting from the third-year, social subjects and history were taught in Malagasy

while scientific subjects such as mathematics and geography were learned in French. This return to French presented several drawbacks as the teachers did not have a good enough command of French and students felt alienated in learning a language and concepts that were detached from their everyday life and reality. Going to school was limited to rote learning without real comprehension of the contents (Ibid.).

(4) The second part of the third republic (2008-2010)
Still during the third republic in 2008, a new educational reform was made with a new president and the Madagascar Action Plan (MAP) 2007-2012, a five-year development program for Madagascar which was aiming for an international standard education that would meet quality and efficiency (Republic of Madagascar 2006). The challenge was to bring all children to school including the very poor ones, to decrease the dropouts and repetition rate by creating contextually appropriate curricula. Malagasy will serve as the language of instruction during the five years of primary school and French and English are learned as foreign languages. French will gradually be introduced as the language of instruction from lower secondary school upwards. Not much is known about the CE textbooks used during the third republic apart from the fact that Moral Education, which is probably the second republic's Moral Education, was still taught in Malagasy in primary school.

As part of the MAP program, which was elaborated following the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Madagascar was starting the Education For All movement when the country faced another political crisis leading to the establishment of the fourth republic in 2010. Madagascar was then led by the High Authority of Transition for four years and no major changes have been done regarding the education area.

(5) The fourth republic (2010 to date)
As a result of the previous government's work and through the funding from international organizations, the Ministry of Education released a new CE textbook series in 2011, *Fanabeazana ho Olom-pirenena Vanona* (Education for Decent Citizens) which are composed of textbooks for lower secondary school and upper secondary school students, guide and syllabus for the teachers, and booklets sensitizing different categories of citizens to become decent citizens, namely children, young people, university students, adults, and the civil society. These materials were made available online for the public. This is the first time that CE materials were provided for teaching upper secondary school students while CE was not yet part of the national curriculum.

After four years of transitional regime and wounds of repetitive crisis, poverty is increasing and people start to believe that the Malagasy society is gradually losing civic and moral values as repeatedly reported by the local press (Ndimby 2013). With a newly elected president in 2014, the government has renewed the national curricula for the primary school in 2015 as a preparation for the post-MDGs. This renewal is considered a big one as the last national curricula update was done in 1996, almost 20 years before. The main changes were the insertion of two subjects in primary school, first the relatively new CE subject FFMOM (*Fanabeazana sy Fampivelarana ny Maha Olo-mendrika*) translated as "Education and development of a decent person", and the *Fanabeazana*

ny hetsika aman-tsapa, sahan'asa manodidina ny sekoly subject, or the "Development of senses, and practical activities around the school". The FFMOM is the revised version of the former Moral Education and is a response to the population's call for reinforcing the education of civism in the school system (Ministère de l'éducation nationale 2015).

In 2017, after almost 60 years of independence, Madagascar is the only country that is becoming poorer without facing any major conflicts (Razafindrakoto et al. 2017) and as Colloca (2018) asserts, continuing economic crisis have significant impacts on people's civic attitudes. In this respect, the Malagasy government developed a new Malagasy education policy, the Education Sector Plan (ESP) as part of the strategies to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal for education.

In the present time, the government is willing to make a reform in the former CE subject in lower secondary school and change it to *Education au Civisme et à la citoyenneté* or Civic and Citizenship Education (CCE) as part of the implementation of the new Malagasy Education policy (MEN et al. 2017). Besides, CCE will be implemented in the upper secondary curriculum for the first time in history. The upcoming reform in CE in secondary school is meant to address current social problems related to the degradation of people's civic attitudes in Madagascar, and to address global matters such as environmental or human rights issues (Ibid.).

2.2. Brief history of textbook production in Madagascar

After the independence movement in the French colonies in Africa, the newly independent African countries found it hard to give up on using French as the language of instruction. Besides, they have never known any other textbooks except those provided by France (Vellot-Samba et al. 1973). French publishers then quickly understood that they should create products that would meet the African needs and two main publishing houses investing in African textbooks were created, namely Nathan and EDICEF (*Editions Classiques d'Expression Française*). Nathan produced the Nathan Afrique and Nathan Madagascar series and EDICEF worked in collaboration with the IPAM (*Institut Pédagogique Africain et Malgache*) and collaborated with the French publishing houses Istra, Hachette, and Hatier (Vellot-Samba et al. 1973). Many of Nathan Madagascar's textbooks series were used in primary and lower secondary school in Madagascar during the first republic among which the Civic Education textbooks by Devic et al. (1968), Dubois & Raveloarisoa (1969), and Lejas et al. (1969, 1970, 1971). In these textbooks, the publishers emphasize the teaching of both written and oral French (Vellot-Samba et al. 1973).

Studies showed that the second republic or the *malgachization* period was the birth of the Malagasy textbooks for the primary school level, which for the first time had not involved any French writers and publishers. With funding from WWF (World Wildlife Fund) and the UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund), the Malagasy government published about 60,000 copies of textbooks between 1976 and 1989 (Dahl 2011). *Fanabeazana ara-pitondrantena* (moral education), the CE textbook used at that time was one of them. Dahl (2011) suggests that using the Malagasy language allowed a better understanding of the courses, better confidence of teachers and students when they express themselves, and allowed the parents to read their children's textbooks.

Nevertheless, the increasing number of the population and poor road infrastructure hindered the accessibility of the textbooks in remote villages. The Ministry of Education was not able to produce Malagasy textbooks for the secondary school level. The *ouvrages didactiques,* (didactic documents) were used instead, the teachers write them on the board and students copy (Ibid.).

Despite the presence of external donors such as the World Bank program CRESED (*Crédit de Renforcement du Secteur Éducatif*) which started to provide funding for the production of didactic materials from 1989 until 1996, funding for textbook production was not sufficient. The rarity of Malagasy textbooks at the beginning of the third republic was also part of the causes of the return to using the French language at school (Dahl 2011). Also, the Alliance Française, the worldwide international organization that promotes French language and culture, provided French textbooks, and the French government offered support and training for Malagasy teachers who teach French (Dahl 2011). Textbooks written in French by Malagasy people were now produced by local publishers. Sometimes, some public schools have foreign textbooks in their libraries that the teachers could borrow during the class. No record of CE textbook has been found by the author in the third republic but it is assumed that the *Fanabeazana ara-pitondrantena* textbook was still in use during the third republic (1993-2010) at the primary school level.

In the fourth republic (2010 to date), most of the textbooks that Malagasy students use at school are being produced by Malagasy publishers, the most famous publishing house being Librairie Mixte and Le Lauréat. However, the cost of the textbooks is high and most of the public schools have very few of them (see table 1). In 2011 for the first time, electronic versions of textbooks to be used at school were produced and made available online to the public. The realization of these online textbooks is the result of the Ministry of Education's collaboration with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDF).

2.3. Textbook usage in Madagascar

Alongside the history, important features of textbook usage in the Malagasy context need to be emphasized. The existence of textbooks in the country does not necessarily mean that all Malagasy students are using them. The cost, the language comprehension level, the access, and the availability of the textbooks are important barriers that should not be neglected particularly in a low-income country like Madagascar. Adequate and sufficient textbooks for Malagasy teachers and students have always been a big issue for consecutive governments in Madagascar as it is still the case today (Ministère de l'éducation nationale 2012; MEN et al. 2017).

Also, as experienced by the researcher, using textbooks is not a common practice in Malagasy public schools, and if available, textbooks are more likely used by the teachers but not by the students due to their scarcity. In general, the teachers create their lessons using textbooks if they have this opportunity, otherwise, as for the majority of the teachers in remote areas, the use of other teachers' notes or previous years' students' notebooks are very common because the curriculum has remained unchanged for a long period. Table 1 illustrates the provision of textbooks by the Ministry

of Education in the public primary schools in the 22 regions of Madagascar in 2014-2015. In the Malagasy context, textbooks are mostly used and mostly available at the primary school level.

Table 1. Number of students for one textbook used in primary school in the 22 regions of Madagascar in 2014-2015

Textbook	Arithmetic		Reading	French	Geography	History	C.E	Curriculum	Science
Language	(ML)	(FR)	(ML)	(FR)	(FR)	(FR)	(ML)	(ML)	(FR)
Region									
Alaotra Mangoro	0.4	0.5	2.5	0.5	0.5	22.6	11.2	12.6	1.3
Amoron'i Mania	0.4	0.5	2.0	0.5	0.5	12.4	7.8	10.9	1.0
Analamanga	2.4	2.3	16.8	2.3	2.3	111.7	71.4	55.5	5.2
Analanjirofo	0.2	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.3	8.0	4.2	5.8	0.5
Androy	0.7	0.7	1.4	0.7	0.7	11.2	8.9	26.1	1.6
Anosy	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	19.7	9.9	48.8	2.2
Atsimo Andrefana	1.1	1.5	3.5	1.9	1.5	25.4	18.1	86.4	3.3
Atsimo Atsinanana	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.2	0.2	4.9	1.6	7.3	0.4
Atsinanana	0.3	0.5	2.6	0.4	0.5	14.3	12.1	15.0	1.2
Betsiboka	0.6	0.7	2.5	0.8	0.8	26.2	8.8	24.3	1.4
Boeny	1.3	1.5	5.0	1.8	1.5	29.3	15.0	56.7	3.2
Bongolava	1.4	1.7	13.7	1.7	1.8	96.4	64.2	61.3	3.8
Diana	2.0	2.0	6.8	3.0	2.2	62.8	35.4	88.7	3.9
Haute Matsiatra	1.0	1.2	3.9	1.1	1.4	25.8	22.5	32.3	2.8
Ihorombe	0.7	1.0	2.6	1.0	1.1	29.2	12.1	33.2	1.9
Itasy	2.0	1.9	10.8	2.0	1.9	54.6	122.9	45.9	3.9
Melaky	0.6	0.7	1.6	0.9	0.8	17.1	9.5	13.2	1.4
Menabe	1.0	1.1	2.7	1.2	1.1	24.4	19.5	62.6	1.9
Sava	0.7	1.0	3.3	1.1	1.1	42.2	20.6	34.1	2.2
Sofia	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.6	14.1	5.8	27.4	1.3
Vakinankaratra	1.3	1.4	5.2	1.5	1.5	70.9	41.2	31.3	3.7
Vatovavy Fitovinany	0.3	0.3	0.9	0.4	0.4	5.6	3.7	10.0	0.7
Average	0.8	1.0	3.4	1.1	1.1	29.2	17.3	29.0	2.3

* FR: Textbook in French

* ML: Textbook in Malagasy

Source: Author's calculation based on the Ministry of Education's 2014-2015 data (MEN 2017)

A great disparity is observed regarding the regions, and regarding the school subjects. History and CE textbooks are mostly lacking in public primary schools probably because these materials are relatively new, produced after 2002 by private publishers, and are not necessarily provided by the government unlike the other ones such as Arithmetic, French, and Geography. Considering that Citizenship Education is taught with History in primary school, related materials may not have been accessible in the majority of the regions of Madagascar. In the case of CE, the distribution of the textbook widely varies according to the region with an average of 17.3 students sharing one textbook.

The Itasy region clearly lacks CE textbooks with one textbook for 122.9 students. Being the smallest region in Madagascar, it looks that students and teachers in this part of the island have not used any CE textbook at all during the survey period. Indeed, unless the government provides, the cost of textbooks is expensive. The average number of the curriculum booklets for a primary school student is fair enough (29.0) because it is used by the teacher only, which means that overall, all primary school teachers can access the national curriculum which was not the case years ago.

The four regions which lack CE textbooks the most represent the former province of Antananarivo where accessibility to teaching and learning materials are generally thought to be easier. After the Itasy region, Analamanga surprisingly holds the second record of the highest numbers of students sharing one CE textbook (71.4) although it is the capital region of Madagascar. It is the most populated region of Madagascar with the highest number of primary schools in the country. This might be the reason the number of textbooks is not enough for all the children in the region. Bongolava holds the third place of lacking CE textbook with 64.2 students sharing one textbook, and a significant number of 96.4 students sharing one history textbook. The Vakinankaratra region is the fourth region where CE textbooks and History textbooks are mostly scarce, 41.2 students for one CE textbook and 70.9 students for one History textbook.

At a time where several changes and strategies to improve the quantity and the quality of education are developing in Madagascar, the provision and the access to school textbooks remain a non-negligible aspect of education development in the country. In the case of CE textbook, even the lowest number of students sharing one textbook remains 3.7 in the region of Vatovavy Fitovinany, which means CE textbooks are not very much used in all regions if used at all. The figure in table 1 well illustrates the difficulty of the accessibility and perhaps the non-existence of certain textbooks in most regions of Madagascar.

3. Civic and Citizenship Education in the literature

According to Levinson (2014, p.1), civic education indicates "the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that children are expected to learn to be virtuous and civically productive members of the society". Kymlicka (1999, p.97) defines that citizenship education "involves acquiring a range of dispositions, virtues and loyalties that are intimately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship." In philosophy, civic and citizenship education refer to "the identities, rights and obligations of residents of a country in general rather than solely those of legal citizens (Levinson 2014, p.2). Antal and Easton (2009, p.600) state that civic and citizenship education are very closely related and

sometimes used interchangeably, "though accomplished both through and beyond schools, [they] give weight to the practical dimensions of learning how to be responsible citizens."

In different countries of the world, the organization, the implementation and the names attributed to CE varies according to the country, for instance, "Civic education" in France (Marchand 1992) and Serbia (Vasiljevic 2009), "Civic and ethical education" in Ethiopia (Bayeh 2016), "Human society and environment" in Australia (Kuhn & Sultana 2006), and "People and society" in Hungary (Arthur et al. 2008).

Today's understanding of citizenship is relatively based on Marshall's historical approach of the notion (Somers 1994). Marshall (1964) argues the interrelatedness of three elements of citizenship that have developed over consecutive centuries. In the 18th century, citizenship focused on the civil aspects of the citizens such as individual rights or equality in the eyes of the law. Citizenship in the 19th century entails the involvement in the political aspects of life like the right to vote and the liberty to be engaged in politics and take part in the political process. In the 20th century, the notion of citizenship expanded to the social aspects of citizens such as health, education, and culture.

3.1. CE as a democratic tool

The educational program Citizenship Education or Civic Education originated in the democratic United States of America at the beginning of the 20th century, and it was "tightly associated with democratic values and notions that are to be adopted by its citizens" (Vasiljevic 2009, p.7). Therefore, the primary understanding of citizenship education in the global context relates to democracy and democratic practices. In discussing concepts and issues related to education for citizenship and democracy, Arthur et al. (2008) expose key concepts that are underlying citizenship education, such as democracy itself, rights, duties and responsibilities, civic education, social justice, diversity and equity, and globalization. However, Kennedy (2019, p.1) argues that citizenship education progresses according to "unique contexts of time, place and values".

In a study about the establishment of CE for Africans in South Africa during the period 1948-1994, Seroto (2012) found out that the objective of the state in implementing the school subject failed to provide critical thinking and dialogue which is central in the establishment of a critical citizenship education in a socially devised nation (Ibid). In the same way, in studying Civic Education textbooks in Ethiopia, Yamada (2011, p.111) discovered that in a multi-ethnic social context that lived under a long-time dictatorship, "civic education diffuses the knowledge of principles and system of democracy not for emancipating people but for replacing the old logics of control with new ones".

3.2. Moral education, national identity, and global education in CE

Harber (1997) argues that important political and educational trend in the history shows the emergence of education in and for democracy rather than education about democracy that pronounce an authoritarian educational content. Likewise, Ross (2012) states that apart from the relationship between the political society and the individual, CE also deals with the relationship between oneself and the others. Furthermore, Althof and Berkowitz (2006) highlight the

interrelatedness of moral development and citizenship skills development to create good citizens in democratic societies.

Today in the globalized era, citizenship education is often referred to as global citizenship education which is the current trend research on the field. In his book Citizenship and national identity, Miller (2000) contends that the idea of creating a global form of citizenship is mistaken and that a "national self-determination" is more meaningful. To him, shared national identity is an inspirational factor for having citizens move together to establish justice.

In Madagascar, little research has been done regarding Civic and Citizenship Education and the meaning of such a notion in the Malagasy context remains unclear. Since access to official documentation about this school subject is very limited, studying it through the lenses of existing textbooks in the country is a good starting point.

4. Methods

The method consists in analyzing Malagasy CE textbooks produced from the beginning of the independence of the country to the present time. Seventeen textbooks were analyzed. Four (4) textbooks published during the first republic, three (3) textbooks published during the second republic, and ten (10) textbooks published during the fourth republic. No record of CE textbook was found by the researcher during the third republic. The list of the books used in this study is non-exhaustive, but the sample is used to provide an overview of the focus of the textbooks during the four consecutive republics of Madagascar.

4.1. The data

(1) CE textbooks in the first republic

The first CE textbook in Madagascar (Devic et al. 1968) was written in French and translated as "Civic education textbook for young Malagasy people". It is addressed to young Malagasy people as stated on the book cover, but its 200 pages are more likely to be used by teachers due to its format and the specificity of its contents. The book is informative and detailed, with no images or illustrations. The language and the register of the texts invite the reader to be part of the book through using the pronoun "we", which implicitly leads the reader to share the same views as the writer or to impose the author's views.

The second textbook, by Dubois and Raveloarisoa (1969), entitled "My civic education booklet" was also written in French and designed for primary school children. The presentation of the lesson either in terms of language or content is very easy to understand and suitable for children as it is filled with illustrations and examples from the everyday life of Malagasy people. The structure of the book gives a lot of space for the children to re-create the lessons after filling questions and reflections from the guidelines. A small summary is provided at the end of each lesson.

The last two CE textbooks for the first republic were designed for grade 6 and grade 7. They are the reinforcement of what was taught in primary school but presented in more serious ways, and contain images, illustrations, and distinct parts. The texts are wordy and purely informative and are

presented in a rather high level of French that necessitates a good command of the French language. The books comprise clearly defined subparts with exercises and a summary at the end of the lesson.

(2) CE textbooks in the second republic

The CE textbook produced during the second republic is a three in one textbook entitled "Moral education textbook" (Ministeran'ny fampianara ambaratonga faharoa sy ny fanabeazana fototra, n.d.) in Malagasy. It was elaborated for grade three to grade five and is presented as additional material for the teacher's preparation of the lessons rather than as a textbook to be read by the children. The titles of the chapters were the headlines of the syllabus for CE at that time, which were presented in a form of action verbs. The use of action verbs for the chapter titles, as well as the occurrence of "dos and don'ts" all along the lessons, show the highly prescriptive character of the book. The structure and the contents of the book are well-organized, clear, consistent and straightforward, and each lesson ends with a summary and a practical exercise.

(3) Non-record of CE textbooks during the third republic

No record of Citizenship Education textbook has been found by the author for this period. The third republic knew different political turmoil and instability with six subsequent changes of political leaders and significant socio-political and economic crisis. No much space was given to the renewal of educational textbooks and most textbooks used at school probably remained the ones used during the previous republic, or teachers and students did not use any textbook at all. However, the curriculum which is still used today (2019) in lower and upper secondary school was created during the third republic, more precisely in 1996. The teachers at that time might have only referred to the guides in the curriculum.

(4) CE textbooks in the fourth republic

The Ministry of Education produced new CE textbooks series called "Education for a decent citizen" (Ministère de l'éducation nationale 2011a, 2011b) at the beginning of the fourth republic. They are written in Malagasy, and have been created to address current socio-cultural issues in Madagascar. The textbooks have been designed for all four years of lower secondary school and all three years of upper secondary school. Unlike any other textbooks that have been used in Madagascar in the past, the textbooks are meant for self-study rather than taught lessons. They are colored, present illustrations with a well-defined structure. The presentation of its contents requires the students to reflect on current issues in the community, discuss them, offer solutions, and sensitize the others.

For the primary school, Ratsimaholy (n.d.) produced "Education and development of a decent person" or FFMOM for grade 3 to grade 5. The exact year of the publication of the textbooks is not defined but they follow the latest version of the 2015 primary school curriculum. The titles of the chapters also follow the titles of the CE syllabus curriculum. Written in Malagasy, the textbooks for primary school students have a clear and easy to read structure. The contents consist of texts with illustrations, exercises, and examples taken from the Malagasy context. They are informative, prescriptive, and written in an impersonal way as the books do not directly address the reader, but

presents notions, concepts, and behaviors that children have to know.

4.2. Data analysis method

The data was inductively analyzed using thematic analysis to understand the nature and the focus of CE from the first republic of Madagascar until the present time. This method "for identifying, analyzing and reporting themes with data" (Braun et al. 2016, p.79) follows a simple six-phase analysis, namely familiarizing with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report.

Seventeen CE textbooks containing a total number of 394 chapters have been translated in English and coded. The codes were grouped into themes; these themes were refined to generate the main themes that define the main contents of the textbooks. They are analyzed following a historical perspective to produce the main focuses and the representation of CE in each historical period.

5. Results

The analysis of the textbooks produced eleven themes (see figure 1) that summarize their main contents. Common traits are observed throughout the analysis but distinctive features in terms of focus and delivery also stand out for each period. The results are divided into three parts reported in the following sections.

5.1. The first republic: civic education, society, social and economic development

The first implementation of the CE school subject in Madagascar was the teaching of the French *Instruction Civique* in 1961 right after the independence, with the first edition of the CE textbook
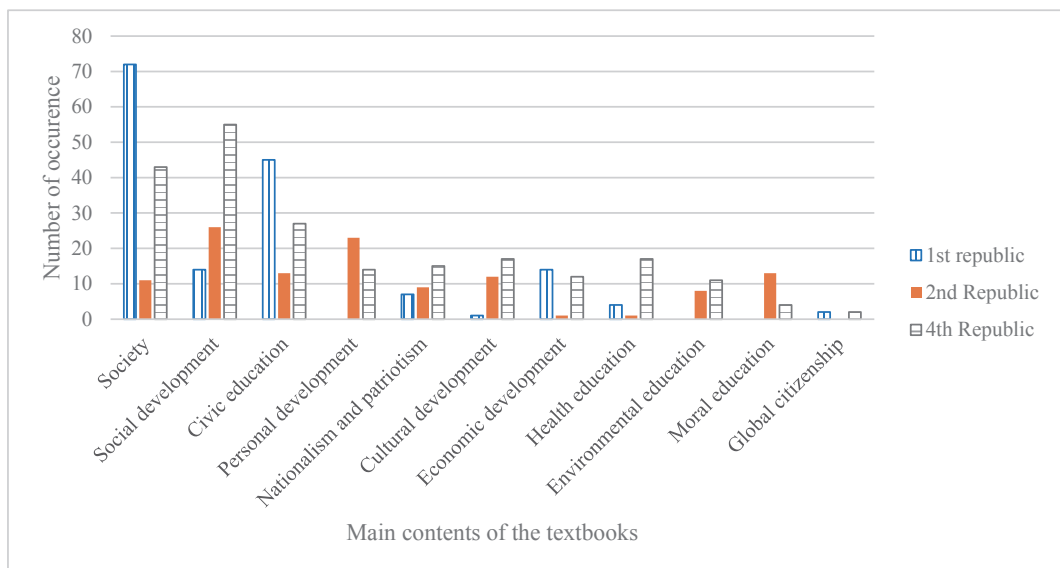
Source: calculated by the author based on the textbook content

Figure 1. Main themes emerging from Malagasy CE textbooks since the first republic

by Devic et al. (1968). It starts with a powerful message from the president of the republic, Philibert Tsiranana. He highlights the importance of the knowledge of one's country by firstly knowing the public institutions, how they work "because they are ours". He adds that knowing well about the republic guarantees the liberty that the constitution defines. In the spirit of preserving the independence that Malagasy people fought for, the president states he finds it is essential to start with a book that is clear and has the basic needed information for all Malagasy citizens.

A look at the French civic education history showed that the main contents of the Malagasy civic education textbook during the first republic is exactly the same as the French CE national curriculum in 1947 described by Marchand (1992) but adapted to the Malagasy context. At the primary school level, the textbook incites the students to know one's identity and one's role in the family and the community. It introduces notions of group collaboration and electoral duties through the example of an election at school. The existing Malagasy institutions, public services, and territorial organizations are presented to the children, and eight chapters are devoted to the description, the explanation of the small community organization known as the *commune*, its roles, its organization and the people who are in charge.

At the secondary school level, the books present the different aspects of social lives in the *commune* with concrete examples and illustrations from the Malagasy everyday life context. Alongside the presentation of the *commune*, the organization of the municipal services such as different civil status registry also represents a major part of the knowledge that secondary school students are expected to learn in class and experience in their daily life. The overall content of the textbooks is willing to show that the *commune* "is a real school for democracy because the inhabitants freely and effectively participate in the management of communal work" (Lejas et al. 1969, p.8). It should be a learning place that aims at training citizens to act for the benefit of the community, to be aware of their duty, and particularly, to commit to "conscious" voting. Moreover, it is taught that this new territorial organization is ensuring the citizens' safety and well-being with the help the *fokonolona*, the traditional territorial institution used before the colonial period.

In short, CE textbooks in Madagascar during the first republic present the new organization of the country and its relationship with the old one. They frequently refer to the former Malagasy institution called *fokonolona* to gradually establish the new one which is the *commune*. Since the reign of the king Andrianampoinimerina, the *fokonolona* was a well-respected self-administered territorial organization under the authority of the king. The elders of the village were the leaders and the *fokonolona* was in charge of all the community affairs in a defined territory. The textbooks in the first republic argue that the *fokonolona* is very much like the *commune*, and that the new Malagasy institution did not destroy the old system but used it as an asset in the establishment of the *commune.* The textbook of Lejas et al. (1969, p.129) illustrates it with a convention of 22 articles, "*Convention du fokonolona dite de Sakaraha*", signed by the president of the republic in 1961 stating the cooperation between the state and the *fokonolona*. The textbooks argue that from 1963 until 1967 the *fokonolona* managed to construct substantial infrastructure that significantly impacted the economic development of Madagascar.

Also, it is obvious in the textbooks (for instance in Devic et al. 1968, p.165) that the newly

established political institution used Malagasy beliefs and values, such as honor and respect, to smoothly compel people to contribute to the social and economic development of the country. For instance, the first republic administration used the word *Tendry* – traditionally referring to the honorable designation by the leader in the village– to make different "requisitions". The textbooks lay some cultural evidence teaching that one should follow the order. In ancient times, if the chief appoints someone in the name of the ancestors and the person refuses, he or she is considered as a rebel, despised by the villagers, and punished. The strongest punishment was not being allowed to enter the ancestral tomb after death and not becoming a proper *razana* or ancestor. The textbook states that "nowadays, the *tendry* has become the requisition". It could be the requisition of people, services, or goods, and the citizens have to comply with the State requirements and obey the authorities or otherwise be severely punished.

Social development and national unity also represented a challenge that the government wanted to take on during the first republic. The following extract is a sample of what the textbooks want to convey regarding the current status of a newly independent Madagascar which longed for the unity of all Malagasy people regardless of their origins and their past social status.

"There are no more castes: no Malagasy can proclaim to be superior to the others regarding their family background, their date of birth [some dates being considered as disastrous], or their origin (...) Slavery has been irrevocably abolished (...) All Malagasy people should consider themselves as brothers with the same rights but have the same duties for the country (...) We are all the same (...) we all look alike (...) and we are all in our country in Madagascar (...) We are proud to be Malagasy" (textbook by Devic et al. 1968, p.16).

5.2. The second republic: moral education, social development, and personal development

The second republic being a socialist regime, it is surprising to see that the occurrence of the theme patriotism and nationalism is only slightly higher that that of the first republic (see figure 1) although these themes are thought to be closely linked to the idea of building an independent and genuine self-reliant society, free from foreign influences. As the title of the CE textbook suggests, the focus is on moral education and it instills respectful behavior to the young generation. A significant part of the textbook emphasizes the respect for public and private properties, which could be translated as a willingness to recover from the former political crises in 1972, when the great demonstration led by Malagasy students in Antananarivo caused the death of several demonstrators and destroyed numerous public properties.

The textbook teaches moral education with clear details on what needs to be done to become a well-behaved child, an important reference in the Malagasy society. The textbook was a guide on how one should behave in different places and different situations, in the offices, at school, in the field, in the village, and when receiving guests and local authorities. Respect for the self, the others, and the established authority represent an important focus in the primary school knowledge. The textbook wants to inculcate values such as politeness and good behavior, respect of cleanliness and tidiness, finishing what has been started, keeping one's promises, preserving public properties, and

being cautious.

Seeking Malagasy morals and culture holds an important part of the textbook. The use of Malagasy expressions or proverbs in almost every chapter shows a willingness to revive the Malagasy culture and to reinforce the Malagasy values and the ancestors' ways of thinking through schooling. Social development and personal development are presented as another important focus of CE textbook in the second republic. Following the former political crisis in the country, messages in the textbook encouraged a call for dialogue and discussions in times of conflicts as well as a respect for discipline and order.

Equally, the government wanted to inculcate some social values such as respect for human rights. The CE textbook discourages illegal practices and teaches attitudes and principles that will guide the citizen's behavior in his or her everyday life. Moreover, it encourages the personal development of the students as physical and intellectual beings. The textbook also teaches the students to nurture a curious mind, take responsibilities, be disciplined, work hard and be perseverant. In the same way, caring for one's health and hygiene as well as creating a friendly and good-looking environment are given particular emphasis. Even though learning about society life, institutions, and environment were not the focus of the textbook, it had its part to play during the *malgachization* period.

5.3. The fourth republic: social development, society, and democratic education

CE textbooks used in primary and secondary school have different titles in the fourth republic. The title of the textbooks can be translated as "Education and development of a decent person" in primary school and "Education of a decent citizen" in secondary school, which suggest different targets but using the same approach. The general definition of the word "decent" presupposes an idea of conformity to generally accepted standards of a morally and physically well-presented person. In the dictionary, decent is defined as "marked by moral integrity, kindness and goodwill", "conforming to the standard of propriety, good sense, or morality", "free from obscenity", "adequate, satisfactory, appropriate". These definitions match the Malagasy meaning of *olom-pirenena vanona* (≃ decent citizen) and *olo-mendrika* (≃ decent person) as presented in the textbooks.

"Education and development of a decent person" at the primary school level is aiming to instill respectful behavior, explain hygiene and health, and teach the children to abide by the rules of the school and the society. The school subject is willing to show the children how to communicate with others, respect their rights, and nurture mutual help in the community. Children are impelled to care, protect and keep a clean and pleasant environment in and outside class, at home, and in the community. The textbooks sensitize the children to show love and respect for the homeland and serve it. The presentation of the lessons in the textbook invites the children to know the environment they are living in and the role they are playing in being part of this environment. The textbooks also emphasized students' literacy skills by providing numerous and diversified kinds of exercises for each chapter. Finally, learning Malagasy culture through poems, expressions, or proverbs are intended to both emphasize the development of children's reading skill, but also supports children's good command of the written Malagasy language.

Body hygiene, health education, children's rights, human rights, and their actual application constitute an important part of the textbooks' messages at the lower secondary school level. Relatedly, knowing social rules and fighting social evil practices are particularly highlighted. The readers are to take action whenever they encounter such problems. "Education for a decent citizen" wants to develop and nurture curiosity, creativity, and competitive spirit into the students' minds. Getting informed about the Malagasy institution and being aware of worldwide actualities represent values and attitudes that the textbooks inculcate. It sensitizes young people to vote and take responsibilities concerning community matters, heritage conservation, and environment protection. Young people need to work professionally and show earnestness to develop the Malagasy economy. The textbooks also emphasize the need to respect Malagasy culture, Malagasy values, and love for the country. In the same way, moral education and moral values are inseparable components of the Education for a decent citizen.

CE textbooks in upper secondary school reinforce previous knowledge in lower classes with particular focus on the reproductive health of adolescents and human rights. Young people are impelled to stand for justice and to develop problem-solving skills and conflict management skills. Nationalism and patriotism were also presented in the CE textbooks in the fourth republic to instill notions of Malagasy identity and sense of belonging which has gradually weakened over the years perhaps due to the deep poverty of the majority of the population, but also due to the globalization process that both impact the cultural and the economic area. Students are also pressed to develop projects and think of ways to make good use of existing resources in Madagascar. Cultivating a sense of entrepreneurship and developing managerial skills are strongly recommended for young people to encourage their contribution to the development of the Malagasy economy.

The tendency toward social, cultural, economic and environmental development and the incitation to democratic practices in the CE in the fourth republic decodes the influence of international policies such as the MDGs and the SDGs which drive the concept of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). ESD highlights the interdependence of the economy, the society, the environment and the culture in the field of education. The current CE subject call for young peoples' concrete actions to contribute to the growth of the country in contrast with the theoretical nature of formal education in Madagascar.

As a whole, CE in the fourth republic is the combination of the first republic civic education and the second republic's social development and social life focus. CE here refers more to the democratic notion that incites young people to vote and to be socially engaged. The social development stresses the protection of human rights and reference to the society life which leans towards the safety and well-being of the population and student's life in general. Today with the upcoming CE curriculum reform, CE is aimed to raise awareness on current local and global issues that need to be addressed.

6. Discussion and conclusion

After living more than sixty years of colonization, the first republic was technically a new era for both the leaders and the population. The political leaders were finding themselves in a

delicate situation where the complete detachment from the French administration system and the establishment of a pure Malagasy institution was still difficult to implement. CE textbooks during this time were used to find a consensus between the newly independent Madagascar that highlights the importance of "being a Malagasy citizen", and a French-like organization system. On one hand, the CE textbooks stress out the liberty of all Malagasy citizens who are "free" from any form of discrimination or colonization, but on the other hand, these textbooks were also used to exploit the traditional values and concepts to establish the new territorial and social organization which conforms to the French system. The findings from the textbook contents for the first republic show that CE is used to manipulate the young generation to believe that the traditional community institution and elements of indigenous principles are not being washed out, but are evolving to become a new territorial organization that defines "the independent Malagasy citizen".

After the devastating protest that aimed at ending the French interference in the national matters at the end of the first republic, the new socialist regime's challenge in the second republic was to firmly reestablish order in the Malagasy society and restore Malagasy people's national identity. However, it is also obvious that CE textbooks during the socialist regime were used as a tool to train obedient young Malagasy people by instructing in detail the behavior and attitudes they have to adopt for different situations. The values of nationalism and patriotism were tacitly inculcated through establishing a culture of rigid discipline starting from primary school. Therefore, as it is often seen in other CE and History textbooks in other contexts, CE textbooks during the second republic were used to reinforce the implementation of the Malagasy socialist ideology through training well-disciplined and obedient citizens that would be easy to lead.

The non-record of citizenship education textbook during the third republic leads the researcher to assume that the Malagasy leaders in this period did not find much interest in developing new CE material. Adding to the various Malagasy political crises at that time, as in many developing countries, educational concern around the year 2000 was the achievement of the universal primary education. The focus was rather on increasing Malagasy children's enrolment rate than renewing teaching and learning materials. While it is believed that the Moral Education in the second republic was still going on in primary school, the objectives of CE in lower secondary school, as seen in the curriculum, were rather similar to that of the first republic with additional focus on themes about international relations and an introduction of global issues. Citizenship Education during the third republic has then become the subject that manifests Madagascar's adherence and engagement in the global education policy agenda at that time.

At the beginning of the fourth republic, Madagascar was very politically, socially, and economically unstable, but as the leaders became legitimate, the educational sector received some considerable amount of funding to achieve the development goals for education, which allowed the creation of modern and freely accessible CE textbooks. In line with what Arthur et al. (2008) describe, the concepts in these CE textbooks relate to democracy and democratic practices, global environmental and human rights issues. As these textbooks are published online despite low internet access rate in the country, it is suspected that the CE textbooks funded by international organizations were just produced as proofs of Madagascar's engagement in the current SDG for education with

the introduction of ESD and notions of global citizenship education.

Textbooks are political objects (Mohammadi & Abdi 2014) and textbook production in Madagascar reflects the influence of political powers that lead the education area in the country. Madagascar has always been dependent on donations and external funding in terms of school material provision since its independence. Although Malagasy textbooks are socially contextual, the influence of the textbook language and the imposing ideologies of donors and fund providing organizations can be seen throughout the textbook contents. The findings from CE textbooks in Madagascar show that in their quest to create good citizens, the Malagasy leaders created CE textbooks that reflect their own socio-political interests, but they also attempted to address timely national and global issues. In different aspects, the representation of the textbooks in this study shares some common ground with general and contextual conceptions of citizenship education in the literature.

Nevertheless, the understanding of the representation of CE in Madagascar should not only be viewed through the fact that its main focus was purely civic education in the first republic, moral education in the second, and introduction of education for sustainable and global citizenship education in the third and fourth republic. As Tilahun (2006) put it, CE is a subject for multiple purposes. In the context of Madagascar, nurturing the traditional moral education is one of these purposes, which goes beyond being cautious of one's behavior in given specific contexts. It has always been present in all the four republics. In this respect, CE textbooks are also cultural representations (Mohammadi & Abdi 2014).

Long before the written civilization reached Madagascar, the riddles and tales that the elders of the villages used to tell the children in the moonlight were probably one of the ancient forms of today's citizenship education. In the same way, the proverbs and expressions used during different discourses in the community contain Malagasy traditional concepts and values that are often considered as "the wisdom of the ancients." During the first republic, some of these concepts were used to convince the people of the cultural foundation of what was asked of the students. Besides, all the CE textbooks from the second republic to date contain Malagasy proverbs and expressions inherited from the Malagasy oral literature. Therefore, traditional moral education which is an integral part of the different Malagasy CE textbooks has somehow been institutionalized and has become a sign that one has been trained to become a "decent Malagasy citizen".

Although they are not obviously highlighted in the CE textbooks, these cultural representations of "decent Malagasy citizens" are seen all along with the history of CE textbooks in Madagascar. The Malagasy words used as part of the title of CE in the textbooks, *fitondrantena* (behavior), *mendrika* (decent, deserving), *vanona* (successful) all demonstrates social and cultural ideal in the Malagasy society. Regarding *fitondrantena* or good behavior, famous Malagasy proverbs state that "it is not the land which is taboo, but people's evil speaking" and "don't look at the silent valley but at God who is above the head." The smallest children are taught that they need to behave because someone is always watching and the society quickly judges through the way one behaves. *Mendrika* represents not only decency in the Malagasy culture but also someone that deserves or merit social recognition of an outstanding behavior or achievement in the community. Someone who is *vanona*

characterizes someone who has moral integrity, educational or professional success, but most importantly someone who succeeded thanks to his or her educational background. Malagasy people believe that "if the wood has become a boat, it is the land where it grew which is good." If one has become a good person, it is first of all thanks to of parental education. The notion of "parents" or *raiamandreny* represents more than the blood relation, it expands to the community, to the village, the school, the region, and the country. Therefore, CE has always been the social subject that explicitly or tacitly teaches Malagasy traditional values and principles which are well illustrated in CE textbook regardless of the political regime that was leading the country.

Studying Civic and Citizenship Education from the standpoint of school textbooks is a first attempt to understand the meaning and the role of such education in Madagascar. However, further research needs to be done regarding the real implementation of this subject in class as well as the impact of such education in the Malagasy society. The findings of this study seems to point at CE as the ideal school subject that would transform the Malagasy student into a moral, democratically and socially engaged citizen conscious of traditional values and principles. Yet, the capacity of today's school to teach citizenship education remains questionable and is worth revising. Since educating people to become decent citizens is believed to solve sociocultural problems within the Malagasy society today, future research will study Malagasy people's perceptions and needs in citizenship education to gain a deeper understanding of the importance of this subject in the context of Madagascar.

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第 23〜24 回　アフリカ教育学会　大会プログラム等

The 23rd and 24th Conference Programs, Japan Society for Africa Educational Research

【第 23 回（The 23rd）】

１．日時：2019 年 4 月 12 日（金）12 時 00 分〜 13 日（土）17 時 15 分
　　(Date: 12:00, Friday, April 12, 2019 – 17:15, Saturday, April 13, 2019)

２．場所：国際基督教大学 東ヶ崎潔記念ダイアログハウス 2 階国際会議場
　　(Venue: International Conference Room, Dialogue House 2F, International Christian University)

３．プログラム (Program)

4 月 12 日（金）(Friday, April 12)

12:00-13:00　受付 (Registration)

13:00-13:10　開会の辞 (Opening Remarks) 大会実行委員長 西村幹子 (Mikiko Nishimura, Chair, The 23rd AERF) (国際基督教大学 International Christian University)

セッション 1 (Session One)：*Motivation for Teaching and Learning*

13:10-13:30　"Teacher motivation and its impact on student's learning performance." Mohamadou Ciss Mamadou（広島大学院生 Graduate Student, Hiroshima University）

13:30-13:50　「ザンビア中等学校教員の信念と職能成長 ― エスノグラフィー的手法を手がかりに ― (Secondary school teachers' beliefs and their professional development in Zambia: Using an ethnographic approach.)」薄田孝誠 (Kosei Usuda)（広島大学院生 Graduate Student, Hiroshima University）

13:50-14:10　"The effects of family factors on students' learning achievements in Burkina Faso's primary education." Mochamadou Bassirou Jean-Baptiste Sanfo（Graduate Student, Kobe University）

14:10-14:30　「他者からのサポートに対する就学する孤児の見解 ― ウガンダ、ナンサナタウンを事例として ― (Schooling orphan's perceptions on "Support from Others": The cases from Nansana Town, Uganda.)」山崎裕次郎 (Yujiro Yamazaki)（名古屋大学院生 Graduate Student, Nagoya University）

14:30-14:40　（休憩 Break）

セッション 2 (Session Two)：*Science and Mathematics Education*

14:40-15:00　「モザンビーク中学生の整数理解に関する研究 ― メンタルモデルとしての数直線に焦点を当てて ― (A research on student's understanding of Integer in secondary school in case of Mozambique: Focusing on number line as mental model.)」永田貴一 (Kiichi Nagata)（広島大学院生 Graduate Student, Hiroshima University）

15:00-15:20 "Teachers' understanding on science process skills at primary school level in Zambia." Mercy Mushani (Graduate Student, Hiroshima University)

15:20-15:40 "Utilization of open educational resources in STEM education and their effects on motivation and learning: A case study in Egypt." Eiman Yassin (Graduate Student, International Christian University)

15:40-16:00 "Zambian children's competencies of numbers: Analysis of the preliminary investigation." Nagisa Nakawa (Kanto Gakuin University), Satoshi Kusaka (Graduate Student, Hiroshima University), Masato Kosaka (University of Fukui), Koji Watanabe (Miyazaki International College), Takuya Baba (Hiroshima University)

16:00-16:15 （休憩 Break）

16:15-18:00 「特別セッション：アフリカの研究者とどう繋がるか Special Session: How can we connect with African researchers?」

発表者（Presenters）：工藤尚悟 (Shogo Kudo)（東京大学 University of Tokyo）、 Florien Nsanganwimana（University of Rwanda-College of Education）、 Foster Gondwe（University of Malawi/ Hiroshima University）

コメンテーター（Commentators）：馬場卓也 (Takuya Baba)（広島大学 Hiroshima University）、 澤村信英 (Nobuhide Sawamura)（大阪大学 Osaka University）、川口純 (Jun Kawaguchi)（筑波大学 University of Tsukuba）

司会 (Moderator)：西村幹子 (Mikiko Nishimura)（国際基督教大学 International Christian University）

18:00-18:20 臨時総会（Extraordinary General Meeting）

18:20-20:00 情報交換会（Information Exchange Meeting）（於 国際基督教大学食堂 ICU Dining Hall）

4月13日（土）(Saturday, April 13)

セッション 3 (Session Three)：*Empirical Studies on Learning Process and Outcomes*

09:00-09:20 "Impact of school cost factors and parental informal sector occupation on demand for education in the Democratic Republic of Congo: The influence of recent Universal Primary Education Policy." Bernard Yungu Loleka (Graduate Student, Kobe University)

09:20-09:40 "Linking formal education to decent work in the rural area of Madagascar: The fit between children's path and the new policy." Fanantenana Rianasoa Andriariniaina (Graduate Student, Osaka University)

09:40-10:00 "Determinants of pupils' learning outcomes among refugees and their hosts: Evidence from West Nile, Uganda." Katsuki Sakaue (Osaka University)

10:00-10:20 "Does information sharing enhance community participation in school? The case of Maasai community in Kenya." Tetsuya Yaamada (GLM Institute) and Mikiko Nishimura

(International Christian University)

10:20-10:40　（休憩 Break）

10:40-11:00　"Teacher absenteeism, practices in classroom and student achievement in primary education in Mozambique." Nelson Manhisse (Graduate Student, Kobe University)

11:00-11:20　"Examining the situation of teachers and determinants of their motivation: The case of a South Sudanese refugee settlement in Uganda." Kenta Miyamoto. (Graduate Student, Kobe University)

11:20-11:40　「マラウイにおける障害児の就学に影響を与える要因の分析 (Analysis of the factors affecting school enrollments for disabled children in Malawi)」丹羽勇人 (Hayato Niwa) (東京大学院生 Graduate Student, University of Tokyo)、川口純 (Jun Kawaguchi) (筑波大学 University of Tsukuba)

11:40-12:00　"Learning opportunities and its influence on higher education institution choice from the perspective of the distance education learners in Madagascar." Rasoanjanahary Tantely (Graduate Student, Hiroshima University)

12:00-14:00　（昼食休憩 Lunch Break）

ポスタープレゼンテーション・セッション (Poster Presentation Session)

12:00-13:00　
1. 「モロッコにおける道路建設による前期中等教育就学への影響分析 (The impact of road construction on lower secondary education in rural Morocco.)」石井璃奈 (Rina Ishii) (神戸大学院生 Graduate Student, Kobe University)

2. "Primary school head teachers leadership styles and teachers' job satisfaction. A case of primary schools in Nyamasheke District in Rwanda." Alphonse Sinabajije (Graduate Student, Hiroshima University)

3. "School principals' understanding of their roles as instructional leader in Rwanda: Cases of 3 selected schools." Emmanuel Ukwizagira (Graduate Student, Hiroshima University)

4. "Primary teachers' understanding and self-efficacy towards implementing inquiry-based instruction in Rwanda primary science curriculum." Drocelle Niyitegeka (Graduate Student, Hiroshima University)

5. "Effectiveness of utilizing GeoGebra software to teach trigonometry in Rwanda secondary Schools." Jean Claude Habimana (Graduate Student, Hiroshima University)

6. "Impact of cloud e-learning systems in resource deprived communities in Uganda: The case of Surala Ninja." Dominic K. Bagenda (Future University Hakodate), Shun Sudo (National Institute of Technology, Hakodate College), Tomoko Fujihira (SuRaLa Net Co., Ltd.)

7. 「「日本式教育」の海外展開―エジプトにおける Tokkatsu の導入―

(Dissemination of Japanese-style education overseas: Introduction of Tokkatsu to Egypt.)」中岡裕策 (Yusaku Nakaoka)（東京大学院生 Graduate Student, University of Tokyo）

13:00-14:00   8. "Soft and academic survival skills at public primary schools in Zambia." Yoshie Hama (Graduate Student, Hiroshima University)

           9. 「意図された数学カリキュラムの社会文化的視座からの枠組みの構築 (Development of a framework for analyzing mathematics intended curriculum from sociocultural perspective.)」日下聡 (Satoshi Kusaka)（広島大学院生 Graduate Student, Hiroshima University）

          10. "An analysis of democracy's Impact on school-based policy in Malawi." Fred Emmanuel Sato (Graduate Student, Sophia University)

          11. 「ポストコロニアル・アフリカにおける民衆演劇の教育的意義 ― グギ・ワ・ジオンゴの思想と実践を手がかりに (Educational significance of community theatre in postcolonial Africa: The Case of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's thought and practice.)」藤澤翔 (Sho Fujisawa)（慶応大学院生 Graduate Student, Keio University）

          12. 「ルワンダにおける教育と相互理解の促進 ― ユニット「Conflict: Genocide」の教科書分析を通して (Education and promotion of mutual understanding in Rwanda: Analysis of textbooks of unit "Conflict: Genocide.)」田島夕貴 (Yuki Tajima)（東京大学院生 Graduate Student, University of Tokyo）

          13. "Inquiry for alternative approaches to endogenous community development: Role of social networks." Kanako Matsuyama (Graduate Student, SOAS, University of London)

セッション 4 (Session Four)：*New Ideas on Education in Africa*

14:00-14:20 「汎アフリカ大学科学技術イノベーション（STI）分野の現状と展望 (Current trends and future of Pan African University science technology and innovation)」十田麻衣 (Mai Toda)（国際協力機構 Japan International Cooperation Agency）、梅宮直樹 (Naoki Umemiya)（国際協力機構 Japan International Cooperation Agency）、米澤彰義 (Akiyoshi Yonezawa)（東北大学 Tohoku University）

14:20-14:40 「セネガル共和国における保育者の専門性に関する一考察－知識習得を中心とする指導方法をめぐって－ (A study on the expertise of early childhood educators in the Republic of Senegal: Focusing on a teaching method based on knowledge acquisition.)」近藤保子 (Yasuko Kondo)（名古屋大学院生 Graduate Student, Nagoya University）

14:40-15:00 「ノンフォーマル教育における実践の「文脈化」― モロッコ・アズロー地域におけるコミュニティ開発センターを事例に ― (Contextualization" of practice

in non-formal education: a case study of the center for local community development in Azrou, Morocco.)」小泉奈子 Naoko Koizumi（筑波大学院生 Graduate Student, University of Tsukuba）

15:00-15:20 「アフリカの留学生を支援する制度・課題に関する国際比較研究 (International comparative study on systems and issues supporting international students from Africa.)」佐久間茜 (Akane Sakuma)（筑波大学 University of Tsukuba）、川口純 (Jun Kawaguchi)（筑波大学 University of Tsukuba）、山本在 (Aru Yamamoto)（筑波大学院生 Graduate Student, University of Tsukuba）

15:20-15:30 （休憩 Break）

15:30^15:50 「ルワンダにおける CBC を基盤とした初等教員制度改革に関する研究 (Some issues on curriculum reform of primary teacher training program under a competency-based curriculum in Rwanda: Focusing on science and mathematics teacher educator's perspectives.)」矢野昌義 (Masayoshi Yano)（広島大学院生 Graduate Student, Hiroshima University）

15:50-16:10 " ガーナの大学と University for Development Studies (Universities in Ghana and the University for Development Studies" 近藤菜月 (Natsuki Kondo)（名古屋大学院生 Graduate Student, Nagoya University）

16:10-16:30 「マラウイの中等教育におけるシティズンシップ育成の展望と課題 ― ソーシャル・スタディーズのカリキュラムより ― (Learning citizenship: The social studies curriculum in Malawian secondary schools.)」吉野華恵 (Kae Yoshino)（東京大学院生 Graduate Student, University of Tokyo）

16:30-16:50 "SDG4: Global progress and coordination: An Update." Kazuhiro Yoshida (Hiroshima University)

16:50-17:00 最優秀発表審査・休憩 (Best Presentation Award Examination/ Break)

17:00-17:15 優秀研究発表賞　授与 (Excellent Presentation Award)
講評・閉会の辞：アフリカ教育研究フォーラム会長　馬場卓也 (Closing Remarks by Prof. Takuya Baba, President of JSAER)

４．実行委員会 (Executive Committee)：
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5．受賞者 (Award Winner)：

　　最優秀研究発表賞 (Outstanding Research Presentation Award)：坂上勝基 (Katsuki Sakaue)（大阪大学 Osaka University）

　　優秀研究発表賞 (Excellent Research Presentation Award)：薄田孝誠 (Kosei Usuda)（広島大学院生 Graduate Student, Hiroshima University）、石井璃奈 (Rina Ishii)（神戸大学院生 Graduate Student, Kobe University）、山田哲也 (Tetsuya Yamada)（GLM インスティチュート GLM Institute）

6．参加人数（事前登録者）(Participants)：95 名（当日参加 121 名）

【第 24 回（The 24rd）】

1．日時：2019 年 10 月 11 日（金）12 時 00 分〜 12 日（土）15 時 00 分

2．場所：宮崎中央公民館 大研修室

3．プログラム

10 月 11 日（金）

12:00-12:55　受付

12:55-13:00　開会の辞

13:00-13:30　「アフリカ人留学生の受容における課題と展望（Challenges and Prospects for Accepting African Students in Japanese Universities）」佐久間茜（筑波大学）、川口純（筑波大学）

13:30-14:00　"An Analysis of the Effects of Refugees on Learning Achievements of Local Children: Evidence from Host Communities in West Nile, Uganda." Katsuki Sakaue（大阪大学）

14:00-14:30　"Why Do Pupils in Upper Grades Transfer from Private to Public School in the Urban Slums of Kenya?" Asayo Ohba（帝京大学）

14:30-14:40　（休憩）

14:40-15:10　"Association between Student Mobility and Achievement: Evidence from Malawi, Ghana, and Ethiopia." Kyoko Taniguchi（名古屋大学）発表取消

15:10-15:40　"Influence of an In-Service Training Program on Teachers' Conceptual Knowledge

of Science Process Skills and Students' Use in Public Secondary Schools of Malawi." Leah A.B Msukwa（広島大学院生）

15:40-16:10 "Community Participation in School Development Projects in Malawi." Fred Emmanuel Sato（上智大学院生）発表取消

16:10-16:20 （休憩）

16:20-17:30 「特別セッション：21世紀アフリカ社会における教育研究の未来を考える（Special Session: Discussing Future Education Research in 21st Century Africa Society）」
川口純（筑波大学）、小川未空（広島大学）、日下聡（広島大学院生）
司会：馬場卓也（広島大学）

18:00-20:00 情報交換会（於レストラン・パリの朝市）

10月12日（土）

09:30-09:50 「アフリカの高等教育の国際化における外部機関の役割（The Role of Outside Agencies in Internationalization of Higher Education in Africa）」千葉美奈（早稲田大学）発表取消

09:50-10:10 「マラウイ中等女性教員の教師観に関する一考察 ― 現職教員と教育実習生のライフヒストリー分析を通じて ―（A Study of Female Secondary School Teachers' Views of the Teaching Career: Through the Life History Analysis of In-Service and Pre-Service Teachers in Malawi）」佐藤美咲（筑波大学院生）

10:10-10:20 （休憩）

10:20-10:50 "Teacher's Understanding and Self Efficacy towards Implementation of Inquiry Based Instruction in Rwanda Primary Science Curriculum." Drocelle Niyitegeka（広島大学院生）

10:50-11:20 "Social Origins and Educational Attainment in Africa: The influence of Household Head's Occupational Status on Children's Schooling in The Democratic Republic of Congo." Bernard Yungu Loleka（神戸大学院生）

11:20-11:50 "A Three-level Hierarchical Linear Model Analysis of the Effect of School Principals' Factors on Primary School Students' Learning Achievements in Burkina Faso." Jean-Baptiste M. B. Sanfo（神戸大学院生）

11:50-13:00 （休憩）

13:00-13:30 "A Child and Learning in Africa: Teachers' and Parents' Views on Pre-primary Education in Rural Kenya." Taeko Takayanagi（早稲田大学）

13:30-14:00 "How Do Parents React to Information Shared through Text Messages? An Empirical Evidence from Rural Kenya." Tetsuya Yamada & Mikiko Nishimura（特定非営利活動法人ジーエルエム・インスティテュート／国際基督教大学）

14:00-14:30 "HLPF2019 and SDG4 - a Global Update" Kazuhiro Yoshida（広島大学）

14:30-14:50　　最優秀発表審査・休憩

14:50-15:00　　講評・閉会の辞

４．実行委員会：委員長・事務局長：渡邊耕二（宮崎国際大学）
　　　　　　　　　委員：木根主税（宮崎大学）、岩橋海人（宮崎国際大学学部生）、清藤
　　　　　　　　　駿希（宮崎国際大学学部生）、原田結月（宮崎国際大学学部生）、森美来（宮
　　　　　　　　　崎国際大学学部生）

５．受賞者：最優秀研究発表賞：該当者なし
　　　　　　　優秀研究発表賞：Leah A.B Msukwa（広島大学院生）
　　　　　　　Drocelle Niyitegeka（広島大学院生）
　　　　　　　Jean-Baptiste M. B. Sanfo（神戸大学院生）

６．参加人数（事前登録者）：27 名

アフリカ教育学会会則

第1条（名称）
　本会はアフリカ教育研究フォーラム (Africa Educational Research Forum) からアフリカ教育学会 (Japan Society for Africa Educational Research) と改称する。

第2条（事務局）
　本会の事務局は、会長が所属する機関または会長が指名する場所に置く。

第3条（目的）
　本会は、アフリカの教育についての研究および調査の推進を図り、会員相互の交流と協力によって、アフリカ教育研究の発展に努めることを目的とする。

第4条（事業）
　本会は、前条の目的を達成するために、次の事業を行う。
　（1）アフリカおよびその周辺地域の教育についての研究および調査
　（2）研究発表のための会合の開催
　（3）雑誌「アフリカ教育研究」の刊行
　（4）本会の目的を達成するために必要なその他の事業

第5条（会員）
　1．本会は、次の会員をもって組織する。
　（1）正会員：本会の目的に賛同する個人
　（2）学生会員：本会の目的に賛同する大学院生および学部学生
　（3）特殊会員：特殊な事情により、会費納入義務なしに会員の権利が与えられる個人
　2．理事会は以下の条件を満たしかつ本会の目的に賛同する個人を、特殊会員として承認できる。
　（1）本会の正会員または学生会員としての経歴を有し、日本以外の国・地域で活動する個人（大学院生および学部学生を含む）
　（2）本会の正会員としての経歴を有し、65歳以上で常勤職に就いていない個人
　（3）その他、理事会が会費納入義務を免除できる特殊な事情があると認定した個人

第6条（会費）
　1．会員は定められた年会費（正会員：5,000円、学生会員：2,000円、特殊会員：免除）を納入しなければならない。納入された会費は返却しない。
　2．顧問は会費の納入を要しない。

第7条（会員の権利）
　1．会員は次の権利を有する。
　（1）本会が刊行する雑誌「アフリカ教育研究」に投稿する権利
　（2）本会が開催する会合で、本会の目的に則った研究発表をする権利
　（3）本会が行う研究および調査、その他の事業に参加する権利
　2．会費を滞納したものは完納するまで、当該年度に第1項に定める権利を停止される。

第8条（入退会）
 1．会員になろうとする者は所定の申込手続きを行い、理事会の承認を受けなければならない。
 2．会員は、以下の理由で資格を失う。
 （1）本人が書面で退会を会長に申し出た
 （2）会費を1年間滞納した
 （3）本会の名誉を傷つける行為があったため、理事会が退会と決定した
 （4）本人が死亡した
 3．前項第1号の理由で退会する会員は、退会する年度までの会費を完納しなければならない。
 4．第2項第2号の理由で退会した個人は、第1項に定める手続きを経て再入会できる。

第9条（役員）
 1．本会に以下の役員を置く。
 （1）会長　1名
 （2）副会長　1名
 （3）事務局長　1名
 （4）理事　12名程度（会長、副会長および事務局長を含む）
 （5）顧問　若干名
 （6）幹事　若干名
 （7）監査役　2名
 2．役員の任期は2年とし、再任を妨げない。

第10条（役員の選出）
 1．理事は正会員から選出される。
 2．会長、副会長および事務局長は理事会において互選により決める。
 3．顧問は本会に特別の功労のあったものを理事会が選出し、会長が委嘱する。
 4．幹事は理事会が決め、会長が委嘱する。
 5．監査役は理事会が選考し、会長が委嘱する。

第11条（役員の任務）
 1．会長は本会を代表して会務を総括し、理事会の議長を務める。
 2．副会長は会長を補佐し、会長の不在あるいは事故のある時にその職務を代行する。
 3．事務局長は、会長、副会長を補佐し、事務局を統括し、日常の会務を執行する。
 4．理事は理事会を構成し、本会の組織運営、会則の改廃などに関わる事項の審議を行う。
 5．顧問は本会の運営等に関する事項について会長の諮問に応じる。
 6．幹事は本会の主に会計処理につき事務局長を補佐する。
 7．監査役は本会の会計を監査する。

第12条（会の運営）
 本会の運営は本会則による。理事会は細則を定めることができる。

第 13 条（会議）
　　１. 理事会は、次の事項の議案の承認と決議を行う。
　　（１）事業計画および事業報告
　　（２）予算、決算および会計監査報告
　　（３）役員の選出
　　（４）会則の変更
　　（５）その他
　　２. 会長は会員総会において理事会の決定事項を報告する。
　　３. 会員総会は通常毎年一回開催する。

第 14 条（会計）
　　１. 本会の運営および事業は次の資産によって行う。
　　（１）会費
　　（２）事業に伴う収入
　　（３）寄付金
　　（４）その他の収入
　　２. 本会の会計年度は、毎年 4 月 1 日にはじまり翌年 3 月 31 日におわる。
　　３. 本会の会計処理は、事務局長が責任を持つ。
　　４. 監査役は、理事会に会計監査報告を行い、承認を受けなければならない。

第 15 条（学会賞の規定）
　　学会賞については、別途定めることとする。

第 16 条（会則の改正）
　　この会則を改正するときは、理事会での審議を経て、会員総会に報告する。

附則
　　本会則は、平成 20 年（2008 年）4 月 18 日から施行する。
附則
　　本会則は、平成 31 年（2019 年）4 月 13 日から施行する。

Japan Society for Africa Educational Research Bylaws

Article 1. Name of the Organization

The name of this organization shall be changed to Japan Society for Africa Educational Research from Africa Educational Research Forum.

Article 2. Executive Office

The executive office is established at an institution where the President belongs or at an institution appointed by the President.

Article 3. Purposes

The Forum aims to contribute to the development and promotion of the field of Africa Educational Research and to advance studies and fieldwork about African education through regional and international networks and collaborations among the members.

Article 4. Activities

In order to accomplish the aforementioned purposes, the Forum engages in the following activities:

1) Studies and fieldwork about education in and around Africa

2) Hosting conferences for research presentations

3) Publishing 'Africa Educational Research Journal'

4) Other duties essential to accomplishing the purpose of the Forum

Article 5. Membership

1. The forum shall consist and be organized by the below members.
   1) Regular members: individuals who support the purpose of the Forum
   2) Student members: graduate and undergraduate students who support the purpose of the Forum
   3) Special members: individuals who are given rights of membership without payment of membership dues in case of special circumstances
2. The Board of Directors can approve individuals who support the purpose of the Forum and fulfill the following conditions as special members.
   1) Individuals who were regular or student members and work outside Japan. (including undergraduate and graduate students)
   2) Individuals over 65 years who were regular members and do not take a full-time position.
   3) Individuals who are approved exemption of the membership dues by the Board of Directors due to special circumstances

Article 6. Membership dues

1. Members are responsible for annual membership dues: ¥5,000 for regular members, ¥2,000 for student members, free for special members. Membership dues are non-refundable.
2. The Advisor shall be exempt from membership dues.

Article 7. Entitlement of Membership

1. Members are entitled to:
    1) submit a paper to 'Africa Educational Research Journal'
    2) apply for presentations at academic meetings organized by the Forum
    3) participate in studies, fieldwork and other activities sponsored by the Forum
2. A person who defaults in payment of the membership dues shall be suspended entitlements written in clause 1.

Article 8. Admission and withdrawal

1. Individuals may become members by following the designated procedures for application and receiving approval from the Board of Directors.
2. Membership shall expire when:
    1) the person submits a notice of withdrawal to the President.
    2) annual membership dues in arrears for that year is unpaid.
    3) the Board of Directors decides to terminate the membership of members who act with malice and/or inflict damages to the Forum.
    4) the person dies.
3. A person who withdraws by reason of clause 2. 1) must pay membership dues completely until the year of withdrawal.
4. A person who withdrew by reason of clause 2. 2) can apply re-admission by following the procedures written in clause 1.

Article 9. Administrative Board

1. The Administrative Board shall be composed of the following officers:
    1) President (1)
    2) Vice President (1)
    3) Executive director (1)
    4) Administration officer (about 12 including President, Vice President, and Executive director)
    5) Advisor (few)
    6) Secretary (few)
    7) Auditor (2)
2. The Administrative Board shall be elected for a term of two years and may be re-elected for multiple terms.

Article 10. Election of the Administrative Board

1. The Administration Officers shall be elected from regular members.
2. The President, the Vice President, and the Executive director shall be elected by the members of the Board of Directors.
3. The Advisor shall be as a person who has provided special distinguished service to the Forum, elected by the Board of Directors and appointed by the President.
4. Upon decision by the Board of Directors, the President shall appoint the Secretary.
5. Upon election by the Board of Directors, the President shall appoint the Auditor.

Article 11. Responsibilities of the Administrative Board

1. The President shall represent the Forum, superintend the programs of the Forum and act as chairperson of the Board of Directors.

2. The Vice President shall assist the President. If a vacancy by the President occurs for any reason, the Vice President shall perform duties usually retained by the President.

3. The Executive director shall assist the President and the Vice President, superintend the programs of the Executive Office and perform daily affairs for the Forum.

4. The Administration Officers shall constitute the Board of Directors and discuss certain matters involving reforming the Bylaws and the management of the Forum, etc.

5. The advisor shall give advice to the President on important questions about the management of the Forum.

6. The Secretary shall assist the Executive Director mainly in finances and accounting of the Forum.

7. The Auditor shall audit the Forum's financial statements.

Article 12. Management of the Forum

Management of the Forum is based on the Bylaws. The Board of Directors shall administer the Detailed Provision.

Article 13. Meeting

1. The Board of Directors decides and approves matters as below.
    1) Plans and results of activities
    2) Budget and settlement, financial report by Auditor
    3) Election of the Administrative Board
    4) Amendment of the Bylaws
    5) Others

2. The President shall report decided matters by the Board of Directors at the Annual Membership Meeting.

3. The Annual Membership Meeting holds a regular meeting in each calendar year.

Article 14. Finances and Accounting

1. The management and activities of the Forum shall be funded by:
    1) Membership dues
    2) Income associated with activities
    3) Donation
    4) Other additional income

2. The Forum's financial and accounting records shall begin on April 1 of the current year and end on March 31 of the following year.

3. The executive director is responsible for the finances and the accounting of the Forum.

4. The financial report provided by the
    Auditor, shall be approved by the Board of Directors.

Article 15. Award Provision

Academic award provision shall be prescribed separately.

Article 16. Amendment of the Bylaws

These Bylaws shall be amended upon approval by the Board of Directors. The amendment shall be reported at the Annual Membership Meeting.

Supplementary Provisions

1. The Bylaws shall be effective from April 18, 2008.

    Supplementary Provisions (Amended on April 12, 2019)

    The Bylaws shall be effective from April 12, 2019.

「アフリカ教育研究」刊行規程

（目的・名称）
1．アフリカ教育学会（以下、学会という）における、アフリカの教育に関する研究の成果を公表し、アフリカの教育研究の推進に資するために「アフリカ教育研究」（Africa Educational Research Journal）を刊行する。

（編集委員会）
2．「アフリカ教育研究」（以下、研究誌という）の編集は、編集委員会が行う。編集委員はフォーラム会員 8 名程度をもって構成し、編集委員長は、委員の互選による。その任期は 2 年とし、再任を妨げない。

（掲載論文等の種類）
3．研究誌に掲載する論文等の分類は、以下のとおりとする。
　（1）原著論文　（2）研究ノート　（3）調査報告
　投稿原稿をどの種類に分類するかについては、編集委員会が決定する。

（投稿資格）
4．学会会員は、投稿資格を有する。

（連名での投稿）
5．4．に定める投稿有資格者が第一著者である場合に限り、連名で投稿することができる。

（投稿件数）
6．原則として一人 1 篇とする。ただし、連名での投稿を含む場合は 2 篇までとする。

（査読）
7．投稿原稿は、編集委員会が審査を行い、採否を決定する。審査にあたっては、1 原稿ごとに 2 名の査読者を選定し、その結果を参考にする。

（刊行回数）
8．原則として年 1 回とする。

（その他）
9．執筆要領等、その他の必要事項については、編集委員会において定める。

「アフリカ教育研究」執筆要領

「アフリカ教育研究」編集委員会

（１）論文等の内容は、サブサハラ・アフリカおよびその周辺地域の教育に関するものとする。
（２）論文等は、未発表のものに限る。ただし、口頭発表はこの限りではない。
（３）使用言語は、日本語または英語とする。
（４）執筆方法は、ワープロ原稿とする（MS ワードが望ましい）。
（５）和文原稿は、A4 版横書き（本文、縦 40 行 × 横 40 行、10.5 ポイント以上）とし、14 枚以内（表題、図表、参考文献を含む）、英文原稿の場合、8,000 ワード以内（同）を原則とする。
（６）原稿には執筆者名・所属を記入せず、別紙に論文題目（和文および英文）、所属機関名、執筆者名（日本語および英語表記）、連絡先（電子メール、住所、電話）を明記する。
（７）図表、注記および参考文献の書き方などは、次のとおりとする。
　　① 本文の区分は、次のようにする。
　　　１．
　　　1.1.
　　　（１）
　　② 図表は完全な原図を作成する。出所を明記し、タイトルを図表の上に入れる。
　　　　表 1　アフリカ諸国の就学率

　　　　（注）
　　　　（出所）

　　③ 本文における文献引用は、以下のとおりとする。
　　　「・・・である」（内海 2010, 12 頁）という指摘がある。
　　　・・・と考えられている（馬場 2009）。
　　　黒田（2008）は・・・。
　　④ 注記、参考文献は、論文末に一括掲載する。
　　⑤ 参考文献の書き方については、以下のとおりとする。
　　　単行本：
　　　　山田肖子 (2009)『国際協力と学校 — アフリカにおけるまなびの現場 —』創成社.
　　　　小川啓一・西村幹子編（2008）『途上国における基礎教育支援 — 国際的潮流と日本の援助 —（上）』学文社.
　　　　吉田和浩（2005）「高等教育」黒田一雄・横関祐見子編『国際教育開発論 — 理論と実践 —』有斐閣、121-140 頁.
　　　　Sifuna, D. N. & Sawamura, N. (2010) *Challenges of Quality Education in Sub-Saharan African Coutries*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Kitamura, Y. (2007) The Political Dimension of International Cooperation in Education: Mechanisms of Global Governance to Promote Education for All. In D. Baker & A. Wiseman (eds.), *Education for All: Global Promises, National Challenges*. Oxford: Elsevier, pp.33-74.

雑誌論文：

小澤大成・小野由美子・近森憲助・喜多雅一（2008）「アフリカの大学による基礎教育開発に資する自立的研究への支援 — ウガンダにおける事例 —」『国際教育協力研究』3 号、11-16 頁．

King, K. (2000) Towards knowledge-based aid: a new way of working or a new North-South divide? *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, 3(2), 23-48.

（8）　原稿は完全原稿とし、著者校正は初校のみとする。

投稿手続・日程

（1）　投稿の際は、原著論文、研究ノート、調査報告の別を明記する。

（2）　投稿希望者は、次の投稿申込日までに論文題目および著者名を明記し編集事務局に申し込み、原稿締切日までに電子メールの添付ファイルで提出する。

［投稿申込締切日：毎年 3 月 31 日、原稿締切日：毎年 5 月 31 日（いずれも必着）］

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編集後記

　第10号をお届けします。アフリカ教育研究フォーラムの研究誌として9号まで発行してきましたが、アフリカ教育学会としては創刊号になります。馬場卓也会長は、草創期からの主要なフォーラムメンバーであると共に、今回、学会組織に移行するにあたって、主導的な役割を果たしてこられました。

　今号の特集は、本学会の創立大会にもなった第23回大会（2019年4月、国際基督教大学）での特別セッション「アフリカの研究者とどう繋がるか？」を発展させる形で、西村幹子理事に企画をお願いしました。馬場会長には、そのような経緯もあり、巻頭言として寄稿いただきました。特集としては、3編の英語論文から構成され、いずれの論文も共著者3〜4名の知識と経験が盛り込まれた内容で、読み応えのあるものに仕上がっていますので、ご一読いただけますと幸いです。

　投稿論文は、査読を経て、原著論文1編、研究ノート4編を採択することができました。前号が発行形態等を検討するタイミングもあり、投稿論文数が少なくなりましたが、今号では第8号に近い数の論文を採録することができました。これは、何よりも質の高い論文を投稿していただいた会員諸氏のおかげでもあり、この場を借りて御礼申し上げます。

　本号は、学会としての創刊でもありますが、次の第11号以降は、予算上の制約、およびアフリカなどの海外に在住する会員の便宜等も考え、完全電子化することが決まっています。まさに、アフリカの研究者といかに繋がっていられるかは、結論があるものではなく、今後とも検討を続ける必要があろうかと思います。技術の発展と共に、現在、課題として議論されている内容が近い将来、笑い話になる時代が来るかもしれません。

<div align="right">（澤村）</div>

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