



THE POLITICS OF CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTATION IN AFRICA.

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ABSTRACT

The curriculum decisions made about teaching are not just about educational content, not about whose voices are heard, or whose knowledge is valued, but also how societies envision education. So, understanding the dynamics of curriculum politics is fundamental to understanding the nature of implementation and the success possibilities of any curriculum implementation. This paper therefore found it important to investigate the kind of curriculum politics that prevails in Africa and how it influences curriculum development in schools. The objectives of the study were to explore how politics influences the curriculum implementation process in Africa and establish strategies that can improve the curriculum implementation process amidst the political dynamics. The study adopted an approach of methodological inquiry based on secondary data sources. Findings revealed the politicization of curricula in Africa significantly impacts teacher autonomy, teaching methodologies, and opportunities for professional development along the way through restrictive guidelines, standardized testing pressures, and conflicting pedagogical approaches. The study recommends addressing the politics of implementation through a multifaceted approach, where emphasis on prioritizing transparency, teacher empowerment, flexibility, and ethical inclusivity, can be used to navigate the challenges and create an educational ecosystem that empowers individual educators.

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1. Introduction

Politics and curriculum implementation is a complex (Gouédard, Pont, Hyttinen, & Huang., 2020) and multifaceted process influenced by a variety of political, social, economic and cultural factors. In Africa, as in many other regions of the world, this process is not immune to political considerations and power dynamics.

Curriculum, according to (UNESCO, 2016) is the social and political agreement that reflects what a society considers to be the legitimate and intentional educational experiences to influence the citizenry. Such educational experiences may be theoretical or practical exposures to learners aimed at influencing change. Curriculum implementation refers to how teachers deliver instruction and assessment using specified resources provided in a curriculum (Nevenglosky, Cale, & Aguilar, 2019). It entails the actual execution of an educational curriculum in schools, including the delivery of content, teaching methods, assessment, and the management of educational institutions. Ideally, implementing curricula with fidelity requires alignment of the instructional practices with the curriculum and should support the individual needs of the students (Causarano, 2015). Curriculum making and

implementation thus, is a combination of the theoretical and practical foundations in the creation of those experiences that lead to the enactment of education (Mannion & Lynch, 2016).

It is important to note that, curriculum decisions made about teaching are not just about educational content, but also about whose voices are heard, whose knowledge is valued, and how societies envision the education of their citizens (Levin, 2008). Such factors are pertinent in shaping the politics of determining which knowledge is shared and the type of schooling in many states. Although curriculum development and implementation involves a complex interplay of political, social, cultural, and economic factors, (Button, 2021) proposes that it is important to acknowledge that education is essentially a political activity, and thus the politics prevailing in a country is very important in determining the type of schooling and curriculum.

2. Statement of the Problem

Understanding the dynamics of curriculum politics is fundamental to understanding the nature of implementation, since current issues in curriculum politics according to Stephen (2015) (Stephe, 2015) include discussions on the type of curriculum, what content should be included or excluded, the question of content versus pedagogy; tension in curriculum decision making between expert opinion and public opinion, and competition among education institutions. In other words, political agendas, ideologies, and vested interests often seep into curriculum frameworks, determining what is taught, how it is taught, and who benefits. Unfortunately, such politicisation can result in biases, omissions, or misrepresentations within educational content, shaping learners' perspectives and their preparedness for the professional sphere. It is without doubt that political decisions during curriculum implementation and power dynamics significantly shape what students learn, and the future of societies and consequently shape the professional development of the teachers who are the key implementers of the curriculum. It is thus important to investigate the kind of politics that prevails in Africa and how they influence curriculum development in Africa.

3. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were to:

- i. explore how politics influences the curriculum implementation process in Africa; and
- ii. establish strategies that can improve the curriculum implementation process amidst the political dynamics.

4. Research Questions.

The research questions were:

- i. How does politics influence the curriculum implementation process in Africa?
- ii. What strategies can improve the curriculum implementation process amidst the political dynamics?

5. Theoretical Perspective

The paper is guided by Lev Vygotsky's Socio-cultural theory cited by (Kendra, 2022), which explains that human development relies on social interaction and therefore can differ among cultures. The theory explores the influence the world has on individual development, whereby the different curricular content is determined depending on the location or region where implementation of the curriculum takes place (Medical College of Wisconsin, 2022). The theory emphasises that our psychological growth is guided, in part, by people in our lives who are in mentor-type roles, such as teachers and parents, and other times we develop our values and beliefs through our interactions within social groups or by participating in cultural events (Kendra, 2022). It is thus imperative that the above concepts guide decision-making during the curriculum implementation process so that effective curriculum implementation is realised.

6. Methodology

The study adopted an approach of methodological enquiry based on secondary data sources including the use of literature, electronic data, and discourse analysis, to make a critical balanced review. The paper therefore focused on the politics of decision-making during curriculum implementation, utilizing secondary sources of data to make a critical analysis of the curriculum implementation challenges and how they can be solved.

7. The Influence of Politics on Curriculum Implementation in Africa

The relationship between politics and curriculum implementation has had various historical influences shaping educational policies and practices. It has progressively evolved from the 1700s – the 1800s when political ideologies determined education. For instance, in America, Thomas Jefferson advocated for a public education system to cultivate informed citizens capable of participating in a democratic society (Kaestle, 1983). The advocacy later shifted towards industrialization which led to bureaucracy and hence the standardization of curricula to meet the needs of an industrial workforce (Cuban, 1984). The progressive era between the late 1800s and early 1900s saw the introduction of John Dewey's more

flexible curriculum (Dewey, 1916) based on his advocacy for child-centred learning and other political movements advocating for curricular changes to focus on individual needs and societal progress. According to (Tyack & Cuban, 1995) and (Orfield & Eaton, 1996), the challenges of the Cold War and the Space Race led to an emphasis on science and mathematics education in the United States, whereas the Civil Rights Movement and Educational Equity of the 1950s – 1970 introduced political interventions to address educational disparities, resulting in policies like desegregation and initiatives for equal educational opportunities and promotion of diversity and inclusivity in the curriculum. Most recently, Neo-liberalism and Education Reform of the late 20th century to 21st century introduced market-based of accountability, standardized testing, and outcomes-based education (Apple, 2004). In essence, political ideologies influenced curricular shifts toward measurable outcomes and assessments. Such an evolution signifies the power of politics as a determinant of curriculum implementation.

To ensure quality education in any nation UNESCO (2018) (UNESCO, 2018) argues that curriculum developers and implementers engage in a democratic decision-making process with various stakeholders such as government officials, education boards, subject matter experts, parents, and community members through dialogue and consultations. These dialogues are engaged in, to ensure critical thought, commitment to contextual variations and a social ethic that caters for all stakeholders involved in the conceptualisation, designing, implementation and evaluation of the teaching and learning (Miller & Nadler, 2016). The process usually involves power dynamics, negotiations, and power struggles among various stakeholders (Landon & Michael, 1998). Although consensus is achieved, there is usually a dominance of politics as different stakeholders bring forward their perspectives, biases, and interests, to influence what gets included or omitted in the curriculum (Nat, 2013). In such a process, curriculum developers and implementers need to be competent social engineers, who have political awareness and the ability to deal with the changing knowledge and balance power relations to achieve consensus with diverse stakeholders (Letschert & Kessels, 2003). An example in this case is the Zimbabwean diverse cultural landscape which poses challenges in developing a curriculum that respects and represents the cultural diversity of the nation while still providing a standardized education (Matsa, Moyo, & Sibanda, 2018). As such, many curriculum developers experience pressure and conflict as they try to include everyone's proposals, resulting in a social-political process in which curriculum developers often negotiate with external stakeholders rather than working together with them (Koeslag-Kreunen, Van der Klink, Van den Bossche, & Gijsselaers, 2018).

In addition, political agendas, ideologies, and societal values are part of the politics that influence what

content is deemed important to include in school curricula (Levin, 2008). Although curriculum frameworks should allow flexibility, enabling educators to tailor content and methodologies to suit diverse learning needs, and fostering critical thinking, problem-solving, and lifelong learning skills essential for professional growth, political ideologies may not enable such an environment. Such politics is usually evidenced in enforcing government policies to shape educational curricula (Landon & Michael, 1998; Stephe, 2015). For instance, a government might push for certain historical narratives or scientific theories to be emphasized or marginalized based on political preferences or cultural values (Kolesnikova, 2022). An example in this case is the curriculum implementation in Ethiopia where there has been tension between the central government and regional authorities regarding curriculum content and policies were enforced by the central government to enforce its interests against the local needs (Weigele & Brandt, 2022). Such policies tend to limit the neutrality of curriculum content selection and subsequently all other curriculum decisions. Such enforced government policies tend to limit the autonomy of curriculum implementers and subsequently limit independent experiences.

Moreover, the politics of curriculum standardization influence processes and procedures during curriculum implementation because it usually encroaches on and limits the creativity and professional autonomy of teachers. This form of enforcement of standards typically showcases the politics that surround curriculum decision-making. In other words, the degree of freedom given to teachers to interpret, customize and adapt the curriculum is usually a matter of politics itself (Landon & Michael, 1998). This is because much as some teachers may advocate for standardized, uniform curricula, others support more flexibility for teachers to cater for diverse student needs. Although according (Kjær & Muwanga, 2019; Jooste & Hagenmeier, 2022; Makhasane, Onaolapo, & Onaolapo, 2023) some African countries like Uganda, Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe and others emphasize enforcement of standardization of practice at the expense of quality education, studies have revealed that standardized practices do affect the teachers' autonomy, where some teachers feel suffocated and unable to be the kind of teacher they wanted to be, while the others see it as normal routine and give up on creativity (Moorhouse, 2018; Nevenglosky, Cale, & Sunddip, 2019). A conclusion from the foregoing is that the advocacy coming from both opposing ends of exercising autonomy and efforts to standardize the curriculum practices gives room to the politics during the implementation and chances are high that professional practice and autonomy will be suffocated by the extreme powers of standardization.

Another important aspect to note is the politics involved in the funding of the curriculum development and implementation process. Since funding according to OECD (2020) is a powerful motivator of institutional performance, the budget allocated for education by the parliament which is itself political, determines which subjects receive more attention, which textbooks are purchased, and what

supplementary materials are available for teaching. An example is in Uganda, where political factors have influenced the allocation of resources for education (Kjær & Muwanga, 2019), where the uneven distribution of textbooks, trained teachers, and school infrastructure has created disparities in curriculum implementation between urban and rural areas. Such disparities can be attributed to political decisions regarding budget allocation, resource distribution, and the prioritization of certain regions over others. They impact the quality of education and access to a standardized curriculum. As such, the politics of lobbying for resources, decisions on resource allocation and many other political decisions related to educational logistics impact how the curriculum is implemented (Caldwell, 1996). It is thus obvious that political priorities can shape the resources devoted to different subjects or areas of study and how effectively their teaching is exercised given the number of resources allocated. So, to speak, the allocated resources in most cases also depend on political will and the priorities of the central government regarding the education and curriculum priorities as may be deemed necessary. However, such will, and priority as accorded by the central government may not truly reflect the real necessary resources that may be required by the curriculum implementers, and this is a disadvantage to the implementation process.

In addition, since Africa is home to a vast array of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups, decisions about what is included in the curriculum, particularly regarding the teaching of local languages, history, and traditions, can be politically sensitive and may lead to tensions or conflicts among different groups. For example, in South Africa, the post-apartheid government faced the challenge of transforming the education system to reflect the country's multicultural identity. Language became a central issue. The government had to decide which languages to include in the curriculum, especially in terms of the medium of instruction (Chetty & Mwepu, 2008; OSISA, 2018). This decision was politically charged as it involved balancing the interests of different language-speaking communities, including Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, and English speakers. It also had implications for social inclusion and addressing historical injustices.

Another significant form of politics in the discourse of curriculum implementation relates to the conflicting forces between National aspirations or goals and Global agendas. In an increasingly interconnected world, global agendas and international standards also influence curriculum development (Leite & Fernandes, 2012). An example is the case of Rwanda, where significant efforts to reform its education system following the 1994 genocide have been evidenced. The government collaborated with international organizations, including UNESCO, to develop a new curriculum where international partnerships and donor agencies played a significant role in shaping Rwanda's curriculum (Baxter, 2012). The government had to navigate the politics of balancing national identity and local

needs with global education agendas and donor priorities. In some way, nations may align their educational goals with global benchmarks, which can be driven by political agreements or economic considerations, however, sometimes contradictions may arise due to the differences in values of different countries which may be challenged by global forces of change. According to (Montserrat & Wert, 2023; Mohammed, 2014), this is further amplified by globalization and cultural exchanges, accompanied by international standards, agreements, or global trends, trade, diplomacy and international relations which influence the political decisions related to what content is emphasized in curricula to ensure competitiveness and global relevance. In that sense, the powers of professional autonomy and full professional development are so limited by dictated content and learning experiences originating from international forces of globalization.

Religion as another force plays a significant role in many African societies in determining curriculum implementation (Barr, 1971; Sherman, 1988). Religious groups often advocate for their beliefs and values to be reflected in the curriculum which leads to debates over the inclusion or exclusion of religious content, as well as which religions are given priority. For example, in Nigeria, a diverse and religiously divided country, religious groups often exert influence over the curriculum. For instance, there have been debates and conflicts over the inclusion of Islamic studies in public schools, with some Christian groups opposing it (Makhasane, Onaolapo, & Onaolapo, 2023). The conflicts highlight the political influence of religious organizations and the challenges of creating a balanced and inclusive curriculum that respects the religious diversity of the country.

Since educational systems often reflect the prevailing social ideologies and values of a society, the curriculum is never neutral because it reflects the dominant cultural and social norms of a society (Labaree, 1986; Offorma, 2016). The assertion is further supported by (Taylor, 2012) who cites Lawton defining the curriculum as a selection from the culture of a society. This implies that a curriculum should typically represent what culture treasures and preserves to pass on to the next generation. However, since (Okafor, 2023) posits that most societies in Africa are multi-cultural, politics is usually reflected in bargains and the conflicting forces about whose history, culture, and knowledge are prioritized in educational settings (Labaree, 1986). Moreover, societal norms like debates about teaching comprehensive sex education or including diverse cultural perspectives in history curricula often stem from political ideologies and societal values. These lead to debates about inclusivity, representation, and the recognition of diverse perspectives within the curriculum. With such forces in motion, the implementers may not fully exercise their freedom, creativity, and autonomy during the process of implementation.

To add on, the politics of curriculum decisions usually originate from the conflicting needs of enforcing

standardization and accountability versus customizing content and learning experiences to suit learning needs and learning situations. According to (Moorhouse, 2018), governments usually impose standardized testing, assessment measures and accountability that heavily influence curriculum design at the expense of teachers' originality, and creativity in teaching that are usually guided by the diverse learning situations. These assessments often drive what is taught and how subjects are taught, as teachers align their instruction to ensure students perform well on these standardized tests. This creates a cycle where curriculum content is influenced by what is being tested rather than what might be most beneficial for students' holistic learning (Nevenglosky, Cale, & Sunddip, 2019). Such curriculum dictations sometimes limit professional development since they hinder full teaching autonomy and exposure to curriculum realities.

Lastly, the colonial legacy has left its mark on the education system, including the curriculum experiences and knowledge. As an after-effect of colonization, many African education systems have continued to emphasize Western education while sidelining indigenous knowledge and languages (Mashiyyi, Meda, & Swart, 2020). This has paused a continuous political debate and conflicting forces of maintaining Western education experiences and decolonizing the curriculum. A case in point is the colonial legacy in Kenya which left its mark on the education system and the curriculum for years, emphasized Western education, sidelining indigenous knowledge and languages.

There has been an ongoing political debate about decolonizing the curriculum and integrating traditional African knowledge and languages (Owuor, 2007). This involves addressing historical injustices and reshaping the education system to reflect a more inclusive and culturally sensitive approach. According to (Mashiyyi, Meda, & Swart, 2020), such a decolonized curriculum enables students to learn about their own cultures, identities and what is happening in their environment rather than adhering to Western models and theories to guide the knowledge system. In addition, integrating traditional African knowledge and languages sufficiently enables addressing historical injustices reshaping the education system to reflect a more inclusive and culturally sensitive approach, and transforming the education system to reflect the country's multicultural identity. However, the long-lasting effect of colonialism has continued to influence curriculum implementation and most attempts to revise the curricula in African countries have still found themselves in a dilemma where they continue to copy and directly duplicate experiences of the Western world without making considerable attempts to decolonise as intended. Such duplications have disadvantaged and disarmed the abilities and professional development opportunities of teachers in African countries.

8. Strategies to Improve the Curriculum Implementation Process amidst the Politics of Implementation.

The foregoing discussion has established that the politics of curriculum implementation in Africa are deeply intertwined with historical legacies, cultural diversity, religious influences, resource allocation, and global partnerships. Notwithstanding this reality, there is a need to strive for a smooth curriculum implementation to take place. As a result, curriculum decisions would often require delicate negotiations to accommodate various interests while striving for an inclusive and effective educational system. Some of these are discussed below.

Promoting transparent communication through fostering open dialogue between policymakers, educators, administrators, and stakeholders is very paramount in reducing and neutralizing the politics and lobbying during curriculum decision-making and implementation (Hall, 2023). This communication should involve sharing the rationale behind curriculum decisions, allowing for feedback and collaboration. (Anderson & Adams, 2019) Argue that the strategy can be complemented by encouraging collaborative decision-making through encouraging participatory decision-making processes that involve all stakeholders to ensure that diverse perspectives are considered.

Since the inadequacy of resources contributes to the politics of rationalization and exclusions, the curriculum should be effectively implemented by providing schools with adequate resources (Thomas & Onyango, 2022). The government may set aside enough funds to run the schools efficiently. Provision of sufficient infrastructure such as classes, teachers' houses, and desks; reducing political interference will make the school administration and management to be effective in curriculum implementation. Further, educators can maintain quality by carefully manipulating scarce resources while at the same time applying innovative teaching-learning strategies to facilitate optimum learning (Stephe, 2015). When such resources are optimally and innovatively utilized, curriculum efficiency may be realized.

Despite its many shortcomings, politics remains an essential part of education and curriculum decision-making. However, unchecked political interventions from non-education sources may threaten the quality of education. In these circumstances, educators need to develop survival strategies which capitalize on political processes such as lobbying, sensitization and dialogue (Stephe, 2015). They can also develop the art of negotiation and collaboration to survive in a highly charged political environment and effectively implement a curriculum that benefits all stakeholders. This may also call for cultivating of support from influential political figures and policymakers by engaging them in understanding the benefits and importance of the proposed curriculum changes (Jones & Kahn, 2017).

Another strategy is to design a curriculum that allows for flexibility to accommodate regional, cultural, and pedagogical differences. This helps in garnering a broader acceptance (García-Martínez, Landa, & León, 2021). This may be complemented by providing adequate training to educators to enable them to effectively implement the new curriculum. This is very important because it can ultimately reduce resistance and increase confidence in its successful execution (Stephe, 2015).

Lastly, to surpass the politics of implementation, education systems can explore establishing a system for ongoing assessment and evaluation of the curriculum's effectiveness. This data-driven approach allows for adjustments and improvements in the curriculum decision-making procedure (Davis, Chen, Hauff, & Houben, 2018).

9. Conclusion

Politics is entwined within curriculum implementation and teaching practices. As a result, it significantly influences the material and mode of implementation at various levels, from local governance to global influences and reflects the priorities, values, and power dynamics within a society. Although teachers are pivotal in translating curriculum objectives into meaningful learning experiences, the politicization of curricula significantly impacts their autonomy, teaching methodologies, and opportunities for professional development along the way. This is because the intersection of politics within curriculum design and teaching practices often dictates the trajectory of professional growth and learning outcomes through restrictive guidelines, standardized testing pressures, and conflicting pedagogical approaches imposed by politics which impedes teachers' capacity to innovate and adapt, hindering their ability to embrace a holistic learning environment. However, addressing such politics necessitates a multifaceted approach, where emphasis on prioritizing transparency, teacher empowerment, flexibility, and ethical inclusivity, can be used to navigate the challenges and create an educational ecosystem that empowers individual teachers to exercise their professional autonomy as well as endeavour to foster a socially conscious, adaptable, and innovative curriculum for the learners.

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