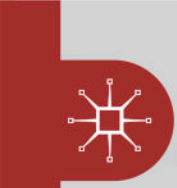

Fostering Institutional Development and Vital Change in Africa and Asia

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Dedicated to:

My parents, Jean Port Hayward, teacher and mother who inspired us with creative projects throughout our childhood, and our father Herman Eliot Hayward, scientist, scholar, and the person who taught me how to write.

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Introduction

Hope Fostered by Successes, Despair Among the Ruins of Failure

I have written about politics, higher education, and a variety of professional topics over the last fifty years;[1] and in these pieces I have often focused on leadership,[2] mostly national, and in retrospect, overlooked most of the personal and often life-saving stories of people at many levels who were critical to the change efforts as they did not seem appropriate to academic writing. There has been a tendency in much of the literature on development to focus on the elites and look at others involved only collectively rather than examining their contributions more deeply and exploring the diversity of the public and communities which help foster change and transformation.[3] Having thought about my research

[1] For example: Hayward, Fred M. (2020), *Transforming Higher Education in Asia and Africa: Strategic Planning and Policy,* SUNY, New York; and Hayward, Fred M., and Daniel Ncayiyana (2015), "Challenges of Graduate Education in Sub-Saharan Africa," *International Higher Education*, no. 79, Winter 2015.

[2] See especially my chapter 13 on leadership and transformation change in Hayward (2020) noted above.

[3] In his excellent book on political leadership, Robert Rotberg notes that "…greater attention should be paid to the critical role of leadership in the developing world." See Rotberg (2012), p. 2. I agree but want to go on to dissect the role of people at all levels, as well as communities, that make major change and transformation possible.

and writing over the last fifty years, I realized that this focus led to important omissions. In this piece, I have tried to rectify that by focusing both on my experiences with leaders and on people in general involved at every level of the change process. I have done this by going back to my notes over the last decades to explore both important leaders, and especially to focus on those in these societies at every level who have helped fostered critical change or create the conditions for change. In many respects that gives a more credible picture of these developing countries, the ideas, beliefs, and actions that affect change. In some cases, the lack of this support has also helped explain the failures.

My study is in the context of social theory, seeking to explore human actions and their relationship to development success, transformation, and failures. This effort does not belittle the importance on national or institutional leadership. Indeed, it builds on critical early studies in that area exemplified by works such as the classic on leadership by J. M. Burns (1978) *Leadership,* including the very useful work by Philip Altbach (2011) *Leadership for World Class Universities*, the excellent study by Robert Rotberg (2012) *Transformative Political Leadership*, and the important classic by Harvey Glickman (1992) *Political Leaders of Contemporary Africa South of the Sahara: A Biographical Dictionary*. I too have been unconsciously affected by the assumption that leadership is the key to development as in Hayward (2020). I have come to realize that the focus on leadership and elites leaves out critical aspects of the change process which is usually relegated to a brief mention of the importance of "followership" with few examples, if any. That has led me to suggest that development theory also needs to focus much more on the activity, successes, challenges, and risks undertaken by citizens, members of the communities involved, as well as local leaders.

The clearest examples of the importance of looking beyond top leadership in this book are the findings from South Africa and Afghanistan. Although Nelson Mandela is probably the greatest leader of this century, and I had the privilege of working with him during the elections that brought the ANC to victory, the successful defeat of the apartheid regime would not have happened without the actions of hundreds of leaders at the local level, along with people willing to put their lives on the line on behalf of change (and often losing them), and their solidarity and agreement on goals over decades. Similarly in Afghanistan, where the major transformations took place in higher education, and to some extent in health, it was the hard work of people at every level, the risks for, and

attacks on, many of them, and the effort of two national presidents to keep politics out of higher education, that allowed transformation in higher education in gender equity, increased access, and most importantly quality improvement. I lay out the case for the crucial role of these actors in the chapters on Afghanistan, South Africa, and several other cases explored here. Thus, I would suggest that the theory of development of underdeveloped nations needs to go beyond leadership to look at both important leaders, and the broad role of the public disaggregated into its many parts.

My methodology derives from social theory, as noted above, and to some extent functionalism which has had me looking carefully at public actors and what they do to foster change in each of the six cases examined here, some of which failed in their efforts at change and transformation. This study has involved intensive reanalysis of the material I have collected in my research over the last fifty years as well as extensive reading and rereading of relevant research, additional interviews with some of those involved, and then rethinking the actions at multiple levels which fostered change. I have also explored how lack of such support has been part of what led to failure—along with other factors such as coups and external interventions. It is by making the distinction between leaders and public actors that one can explain how higher education in Afghanistan was transformed, including the admission of women, increased access, and updating quality—things that could not be done at that moment nationally even by the most successful national leaders. Some of this work also benefited from the theories of Amartya Sen (1999), *Development as Freedom*, which suggests that the idea of *freedom* should be linked to the development process arguing that the "freedoms of individuals" are the basic building blocks of development which is enhanced by the "effective use of participatory capabilities by the public." Thus, there is a critical need to focus both on the public at many levels as well as leaders where change, and transformation are sought.

In this manuscript I present information and recollections which I have recorded over the years both as a study of development and also as a biography of my experiences over fifty years of working in developing countries. The book is organized by country. My exploration begins with my first visit in Africa to Sierra Leone in the 1960s, then on to Ghana, Madagascar, South Africa, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. This analysis, vignettes, short essays, and stories illuminate the daily events in the developing world that are critical to both successes and in their absence

often lead to failures. I also have explored the amazing access I had to several leaders which gave me unusual insights into their thinking and actions. Some of these assessments are in one sense insignificant viewed alone; yet taken together, they provide a picture of the conditions which make cultures livable, people lovable, and change possible. Some represent actions by expatriates, though most tell of the behaviors of leaders and local citizens and the impact of local events which created change, transformation, and a livable environment.

Unfortunately, a number of these occurrences did not result in solutions to pressing political problems, improve education, enhance the economy, or resolve major conflicts—though many did. Yet, as a whole, these pictures demonstrate ongoing public efforts in all these countries seeking to enhance these societies and improve daily lives.

Like the delicate red rose growing through the piles of rubble of a bombed-out building in Afghanistan, these events have remained in my mind over all these years and demonstrated the pervasiveness of the beauty, life, wisdom, and renewal that can be found even in the most dreadful of situations.

Fred M. Hayward

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CHAPTER 1

Sierra Leone—First Impressions and Experiences in Africa

Sierra Leone in 1966 was the first African country I visited, thanks to a Ford Foundation grant for my dissertation. My focus was on political party competition in developing countries recently freed from colonialism—a comparison of Sierra Leone and Senegal.

I arrived full of romanticism about these newly independent states and eager to tell the story of these two countries—one a former British Colony and the other ex-French. Sierra Leone had a special relationship with Britain under colonialism with Freetown, Sierra Leone, a home for returned slaves, called Creoles who spoke Krio, a linguistically recognized language. They dominated politics under colonialism and maintained unique ties to Great Britain even after independence.

A Brief Overview of Sierra Leone History

Sierra Leone, on the West Coast of Africa between Liberia and Guinea, had contact with European traders from the mid-1400s. The Portuguese built a fort on an island there in 1882 to protect their trade. From that time on, substantial trade in slaves, fine wood, gold, and other metals was conducted with forts along the coast built by the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and British. The British eventually came to dominate that area. With the end of the slave trade by Britain in 1807, Sierra Leone was

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conceived as a place for returned slaves by the British who provided funds to help establish Freetown, which was literally to be a free country under British protection. More than 50,000 freed slaves were sent to Sierra Leone from Britain, Nova Scotia, and slaves were intercepted from slavers on the high seas over the next decade. In 1897 the area around Freetown (often called the Peninsula) became a Protectorate and then part of a Colony of the British, with the area eventually becoming Sierra Leone, a Protectorate of Britain. Self-government did not last long after several attacks by local people who originally welcomed the returned slaves. As a result, authority over the area was given by the British to the Sierra Leone Company, a private for-profit business. Political, military, and legal matters took place with the help of British troops. The US sent returned slaves to neighboring Liberia which was similarly considered a free state under US protection.

Work in Sierra Leone

My work in Sierra Leone began a long career of studying Africa and working in ten African countries over the years. Flying into Sierra Leone on the day before Christmas was both an exciting and daunting experience. Since I had received a Ford Foundation scholarship, which was administered through the US Embassy in Sierra Leone, my wife and I were met at the airport by the Chief Cultural Officer from the US Embassy, Arnold Gordon, and a driver. Because of the hills around Freetown, the airport was built across Fourah Bay on flat land and thus involved a drive and then a ferry ride of half an hour across the bay to Freetown. We collected our baggage, changed the mandatory $200 to Leones (in theory to cut down on the Black Market), and drove to the Ferry.

Arnold Gordon was a great storyteller, and we talked the entire way about Sierra Leone and US politics, the US Embassy, growing up Creole—who were originally ex-slaves, pressure on Creoles for their domination, and the beauty of the beaches. The trip by ferry was stunning with Freetown on the other side of the bay looking small and pristine with houses ascending the hills. Fourah Bay College and the eight story Kennedy Building were perched on top of one of the hills—the latter a gift of the United States.

I think back to a trip to Sierra Leone nine months later aboard the Ferry with my two sons, aged 9 and 10, whom I had returned home

to pick up in time for school in Sierra Leone. The boys were accustomed to Africans in our house, as I taught about and engaged in research focused on Africa at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Students were invited over for a meal at least once a week. Nonetheless, to my surprise, my youngest child, Mark, came to me as we were standing on the deck enjoying the view and whispered in my ear. "Dad, I knew there would be Africans in Sierra Leone, but I did not think there would be so many!".

I was startled by his observation, yet looking around, I could see that there were merely five or six non-Africans on the Ferry with more than 100 Africans. This was an observation on my son's part—not a concern.

"You will probably be the lone non-Africans in the school for the children of employees at Fourah Bay College," I said.

"That's OK," said Mark taking in the whole scene as well as the incredible view from the ferry, "I was surprised that's all."

I was delighted that both boys seemed so happy with these new experiences. My older son, Kent, was amazed by the huge ant hills along the way to the ferry—all taller than he with some taller than I am at six feet two inches.

Now returning to the scene of our first arrival, Arnold Gordan and the driver took my wife and me to a two-story house which Fourah Bay College owned in the middle of Freetown and gave me the key to the second-floor apartment. The house was a lovely brick two-story building, recently painted white with great balconies at the front, a gas station on one side, and a school on the other. We were told that the Speaker of the House of Parliament, Banja Tejan-Sie, lived in an attractive multi-story, house across the street. He was a lawyer by training and the major figure in Parliament running the sessions and discussions. Arnold suggested that we go see him and introduce ourselves the next day. We followed his wise suggestion which ignited a friendship and introduction to Sierra Leone politics.

At that time, I viewed the newly independent states of Africa as harbingers of a new order that would reverse the damage of colonialism, bring quick economic development, and result in options for democratic governments that would be inclusive, open, and focused on all people. I thought these changes would be driven by a revulsion against colonialism, the freedom now offered, and encouraged by assistance from the US, the UK, and other entities such as the World Bank, the UN, and donors motivated by high expectations of new possibilities.

The housing manager kindly left breakfast cereal, canned sausages, non-spoil milk, margarine, orange marmalade in a bottle, and a loaf of bread. We were also given a note from Professor Michal Crowder, director of the African Studies Institute with which I was to be affiliated, saying he would pick us up in the early morning the day after Christmas.

For a moment, my wife and I felt lonely. We decided to go out on our second-floor front balcony to take in the view. The balcony was furnished with nice-looking wicker deck chairs. We overlooked Syke Street, which turned out to be great for people watching. We were no longer alone. Indeed, soon the President's motorcade passed by on his way home.

The date was December 24, 1966—the day before Christmas. A few minutes later, we heard a knock at the door. Our downstairs neighbors, the Marcus-Jones family came up to invite us for Christmas eve dinner. Marcus, as he was called, taught law at Fourah Bay College (FBC) and carried on a remarkably successful private practice; Ann ran a local charity.

We were delighted. Dinner with the Marcus-Jones family provided an enjoyable evening of good food, an overview of Freetown, and wonderful discussions with lots of laughter. Marcus received his Ph.D. in law at Harvard and was eager to find out about current happenings in the US politics. We also learned that he was one of the few lawyers who would take cases against the Sierra Leone police or government—and usually won. He told us about one of his favorite victories:

"I was asked to defend the diamond mining company against a suit by an employee who had burned his arm in an 'ordeal ceremony'[1] surprisingly used by this British company to identify whom, among the five employees in the secure diamond sorting and evaluation section, had stolen a number of diamonds. The drawers containing diamonds were weighted each day and in this case a number of diamonds were shown to be missing. That the man received severe burns on his arm was undisputed. The company suspected him but could not prove he was the thief—which he denied. The company thus decided to use a 'trial by ordeal,' which was customary in the region where the counting room was located, to find the culprit.

[1] There were many types of ordeals used in Sierra Leone, varying by location. Some involved putting the suspects arm in boiling oil, if burned the person was guilty. Others used a hot knife in the same way. Still others relied on ceremonies performed by a specialist often using spells they created, which were a kind of hypnosis usually getting the suspect to confess if guilty.

The counting room staff consisted of two Englishmen and three Sierra Leoneans. All five agreed to the trial by ordeal. The local specialist in such matters gathered the five of them outside where he built a fire and put a pot of oil on to heat. The oil became steaming hot. Each of the men was to put his arm in the oil. If he was burned, he was guilty.

They started off with the two Englishmen. Each man put an arm in, one by one, without getting burned. Then the first Sierra Leonean did the same without trouble as did the second Sierra Leonean. The final man put his arm in the oil and was severely burned. Thus, he was proclaimed the thief and fired!

The burnt man found guilty by ordeal sued the company for damages claiming he was unfairly hurt on the job and the company was remiss in using trial by ordeal. I argued, before the judge, that this was a voluntary effort, a traditional legal way to establish quilt or innocence, that all those involved freely agreed to the trail, that each went through the ordeal without problems except for this man. According to the usual traditional law of the area, that proved his guilt. I reminded the judge that under Sierra Leone law, traditional law was valid in court cases."

"What did the judge conclude?" we asked, curious about this method of justice.

Marcus-Jones replied, "The Judge said, 'I am not going to rule on whether this traditional law is valid or not, but I will rule against the complainant because, anyone foolish enough to stick his arm in boiling oil deserves to be burned. Case dismissed.'"

We all laughed at that careful rationale.

First thing on the morning of the 26th of December, Michael Crowder was at our house. We drove together up the steep narrow road to Fourah Bay College (FBC) for my first day of working with the African Studies Program. My wife went to the Archives to do some research. Michael Crowder was an Englishman who was a well-known African specialist. He had been recruited from Nigeria to Sierra Leone to set up the African Studies Program at Fourah Bay College. Michael was handsome, thin, and a man of strong views. He was noted for getting things done, as well as his outstanding writing about Africa.

December 1966

My First Forays into African Politics

Sierra Leone was off to a good start after independence from Britain in April 1961, with a multi-party democracy, relatively free elections, an active press, a well-functioning multi-party parliament, and an openness to foreign scholars. During the last years of British rule, Sierra Leone had a Parliament with members (MPs) from all over the country and a number of political parties. Independence was gained on April 27, 1961, with Dr. Milton Margai as the country's first prime minister, followed by his half-brother, Albert Margai, a lawyer and politician. Then Siaka Stevens was elected in 1967, removed in a coup organized by Albert Margai soon thereafter. That did not last long, and Stevens was returned to power. Joseph Momoh, former head of the military, became President by nomination of then President Siaka Stevens, who wanted to retire, on November 28, 1985, although Momoh campaigned as the sole candidate as a matter of principle. President Momoh worked quietly after his election to restore a multi-party democracy.

The first Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Margai, a medical doctor, worked hard to make the multi-party democracy work well. Unfortunately, Albert Margai, the next Prime Minister was not interested in democracy and established a one-party state (OPS), which was continued by President Siaka Stevens. He was followed by President Joseph Momo who worked to return the country to a multi-party democracy. Sierra Leoneans were proud of their progress during the first Margai regime, the economy was booming, and one could easily talk about politics and people's hopes for the future.

Sierra Leone enjoyed a special relationship with Britain during the colonial period. The people in Freetown, the town the British established, settled, and supported as a home for freed slaves, were given special status as quasi-British citizens. The citizens of Freetown spoke Krio—which developed over the years as a combination of English, Temne Yoruba, and words they created. It eventually became the lingua franca of Sierra Leone spoken by more than 80% of the population. Creoles dominated Freetown. The Freetown Peninsula was called the Colony and the interior the Protectorate, with much less British oversight. Eventually, the whole area became a British colony ruled from Freetown with a Governor and Legislative Council. Parliament opened upon independence in April 1961.