CONTEMPORARY INVESTIGATIONS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND CONFLICT IN AFRICA: A METAPHORICAL LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

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Abstract

That transgression against academic freedom is a major human fault line that leads to conflict in Africa is hardly a matter of dispute. Yet, this topic has not received its deserved attention in the study of peace and conflict on the continent. By arguing that one factor that is employed to contravene academic freedom in Africa comprises the metaphors that are employed in discussing the issue, this paper offers a linguistic analysis of the metaphors that have appeared in contemporary works on the topic, beginning with the one commissioned by CODESRIA, edited by Mamadou Diouf and Mahmoud Mamdani, and published in 1993 to that written by John Higgins and published in 2014. This is essential because metaphors are not just "more picturesque speech." The power of metaphors hinges upon their ability to assimilate new experiences so as to allow the newer and abstract domain of experience to be understood in terms of the former and more concrete, and to serve as a basis and justification for policy making. We should therefore be horrified by the metaphors that have become the currency in our discourses within the academy, as some of these lead to the loss of lives, employment, gender equity, benefits, prestige, etc.

Keywords: academic freedom, Africa, CODESRIA, linguistic metaphors, Darwinian Survivalism

Introduction

As soon as the deadliest armed conflict of its history ended, Côte d'Ivoire having been fortunate enough to have been one of the individuals who wrote book reviews on the early contemporary works on academic freedom in Africa (Bangura, 1998; Penna, 1996), which were coincidentally commissioned by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), I have made it a point of duty to keep up with the scholarship on the issue over the years, beginning in 1993. What, then, is all this talk about academic freedom in Africa? This paper seeks to answer this question by offering a linguistic analysis of the metaphors that have appeared in contemporary works on the issue, beginning with the one commissioned by CODESRIA, edited by Mamadou Diouf and Mahmoud Mamdani and published in 1993, and the one written by John Higgins and published in 2014. Before doing this, however, it makes sense to begin with defining the context in which "academic freedom" will be used in this paper. There are so many definitions of academic freedom that, as Philip Altbach poignantly points out, they "are being expanded and contracted beyond generally accepted norms."[1] It is only appropriate, therefore, to start with the problem of definition, even if the reader may feel frightened of another definition of a clearly over-defined phenomenon. The intention is not to suggest a new definition but to emphasize an important point: that there can be no final definition of academic freedom, only a suggestion of what it should imply.

Thus, the concept of academic freedom should be an open one which will continue to be redefined as our knowledge of the process increases and as new problems to be solved by this concept emerge. The intellectual preoccupation with the phenomenon of academic freedom, to give it new contents and to come up with new suggestions about how to promote it, is therefore part of the research process in the field of freedom theories. When definitions of academic freedom are talked about, the effort is geared toward research orientations or foci of interests. To avoid the concept completely would create more havoc than it solves.

Thus, the general definition of *academic freedom* that undergirds the discussion in this essay is the perception that faculty members being free to engage in the inquiry about any issue is imperative to the operation of the academy (i.e. an acknowledged institution of professional scholars and students engaged in higher education and research) and that in addition to the tenets of academia, scholars should be free to teach or discuss ideas

or facts, either convenient or inconvenient to external political groups or to authorities, without being repressed, dismissed from employment, or imprisoned. Since it is such a contested issue, academic freedom has restrictions in its application. For example, in their widely acknowledged "1940 Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure," the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) and the Association of American Colleges (AAC) caution teachers to be careful and avoid controversial issues that are disparate to a subject. They add that academic tenure only protects academic freedom by guaranteeing that teachers can be fired only for matters such as gross professional incompetence or behavior that induces condemnation from the academic community itself.[2]

Given the contestation on the issue of academic freedom, a metaphorical linguistic analysis of contemporary works on the topic pertaining to Africa is essential because, as I demonstrate elsewhere, metaphors are not just "more picturesque speech."[3] The power of metaphors, as Anita Wenden observes, is contingent upon their ability to assimilate new experiences so as to allow the newer and abstract domain of experience to be understood in terms of the former and more concrete, and to serve as a basis and justification for policy making.[4] Also, as George Lakoff and Mark Johnson put it,

> "The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor."[5]

Given the preceding excerpt, we should be horrified by the metaphors that have become the currency in our academic discourses. We hear again and again how our relations mirror Darwinian survivalism. If we are to accept this characterization, we would be quite properly justified in outlawing all societal relations as brutal and uncivilized behavior that no society should have to tolerate. Indeed, human rights advocates have effectively used just such descriptions to push their approach.

We must therefore reject those metaphors that cast academic relations in a bad light and encourage such hostile, uncaring, and, ultimately, selfish

behavior. Some of these are quite crude and explode as soon as they are seen for what they are, but others are much more sophisticated and built into every fabric of our current thought processes. Some can be summarized in a slogan while others do not even have names. Some seem not to be metaphors at all, notably the uncompromising emphasis on the importance of greed, and some seem to lie at the very basis of our conception as individuals, as if any alternative concept would have to be anti individualistic, or worse.

The major question probed in this essay is therefore quite straightforward: what types of metaphors are prevalent within our discourse when it comes to the issue of academic freedom in Africa? Before answering this question, however, it makes sense to end this section with the justification for focusing on the contemporary works on the topic and then present a brief discussion of the metaphorical linguistic approach, since it is the method through which the major analysis of the relevant texts is grounded, augmented by a descriptive statistical analysis to help give an account of the delineated metaphors in terms of their relevant characteristics.

Earlier works on academic freedom in Africa (1965-1991) focused on the racist policies of colonialists and on how the small number of educated African elites that inherited the educational institutions at the time of independence continued those policies, as most of the personnel in those institutions were still Western expatriates. Thus, the themes entailed in these works encompass the rules behind the rule of law in dealing with various freedoms, including academic freedom;[6] the role of governments in academic freedom matters;[7] academic freedom committees;[8] the legal status of academic freedom;[9] and the documentation of individual abuses of academic freedom.[10]

Initiated by CODESRIA, due to the failure of several attempts to set up a body to monitor academic freedom in Africa on a regular and systematic basis, as called for in The Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility of 1990, CODESRIA was designated in 1993 to carry out such a function.[11] Contemporary works on the topic (1993-present) entail critical analyses of both internal and external factors and seek to build a movement to challenge the encroachment on academic freedom in the continent.[12] This new focus emerged as a response to the several declarations that have been passed to address the matter, i.e. The Kampala Declaration on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility (1990), The Dar

es Salaam Declaration on Academic Freedom and Social Responsibility of Academics (1990), and the Academic Freedom Statement from the Academy of Science of South Africa (2010).

This essay transcends conventional works on peacebuilding by focusing not only on activities that seek to resolve injustices in nonviolent ways and to transform the cultural and structural conditions that generate deadly or destructive conflicts, as those works do, but by also examining metaphors that lead to such situations. This essay is therefore essential because, as I pointed out earlier, the power of metaphors rests upon their ability to integrate new experiences in order to allow the newer and abstract domain of experience to be understood in terms of the former and more concretely, to serve as a basis and justification for policy making[13] – in this case, the promotion of academic freedom in Africa.

Research Methodology

The research methodology that supports this essay is principally comprised of the Metaphorical Linguistic Approach, supplemented by descriptive statistical analysis. This methodology is not an attempt at triangulation (i.e. the mixture of quantitative and quantitative methods), which would require relatively more sophisticated inferential statistical analyses. Instead, the descriptive statistical analysis is meant to help give an account of the delineated metaphors in terms of their relevant characteristics. In fact, as Junior Hopwood and I have demonstrated, the determination of whether a study is quantitative or qualitative hinges upon which of the two types of analytical techniques is emphasized.[14] Many qualitative statements, for instance, are quantitative in nature. For instance, the statement "Nigeria is the most powerful country in West Africa" is qualitative in its surface. But its deep structure meaning is quantitative, as its operationalization calls for taking into consideration Nigeria's gross domestic product, number of major military weapons and expenditure, industrial production, etc.

In addition, Hopwood and I have shown that it may appear that the difference between qualitative and quantitative methodologies is a somewhat artificial dichotomy since each group combines both approaches in its underlying assumptions. This is because the quantitative approach calls for a great deal of qualitative description prior to counting (in order to empirically ground each category), as well as after counting (statistical tendencies have to be interpreted as to what they reveal about causal relations). And, the quali-

tative approach has an implicit notion that "more is better": that is to say, the more instances of a phenomenon to be found, the more a researcher can trust his/her interpretation of an underlying pattern.[15] In the ensuing paragraphs, I will begin the discussion with the Metaphorical Linguistic Approach and end with the descriptive statistics.

Apropos the Metaphorical Linguistic Approach, as I recount in our book titled Unpeaceful Metaphors (2002) and also in my keynote lecture titled "Challenging Unpeaceful Metaphors on Faith and Ethnicity: A Strategy to promote Effective Diplomacy, Development and Defense" (2015), metaphors comprise figures of speech based on a perceived similarity between distinct objects or certain actions.[16] According to David Crystal, the following four kinds of metaphors have been recognized:[17]

> (1)   *Conventional metaphors* are those which form a part of our everyday understanding of experience, and are processed without effort, such as "to lose the thread of an argument."

> (2)   *Poetic metaphors* extend or combine everyday metaphors, especially for literary purposes—and this is how the term is traditionally understood, in the context of poetry.

> (3)   *Conceptual metaphors* are those functions in speakers' minds which implicitly condition their thought processes—for example, the notion that "argument is war" underlies such expressed metaphors as "I attacked his views."

> (4)   *Mixed metaphors* are used for a combination of unrelated or incompatible metaphors in a single sentence, such as "This is a virgin field pregnant with possibilities."

While Crystal's categorization is very useful from a linguistic semantics standpoint (the focus on a triadic relation among conventionality, language, and to what an entity refers), from the perspective of linguistic pragmatics (the focus on a polyadic relation among conventionality, speaker, situation, and hearer), Stephen Levinson suggests, however, the following "tripartite classification of metaphors":[18]

> (1)   *Nominal metaphors* are those that have the form BE (x, y) such as "Iago is an eel." To understand them, the hearer/reader must be

able to construct a corresponding simile.

(2)   *Predicative metaphors* are those that have the conceptual form G (x) or G (x, y) such as "Mwalimu Ali Al'Amin Mazrui steamed ahead of his time." To understand them, the listener/reader must form a corresponding complex simile.

(3)   *Sentential metaphors* are those that have the conceptual form G (y) identified by being irrelevant to the surrounding discourse when literally construed.

A metaphorical change then is usually manifested by a word with a concrete meaning taking on a more abstract sense. For example, as Brian Weinstein points out,

> "By creating a sudden similarity between what is known and under-stood, like an automobile or a machine, and what is complicated and perplexing, like American society, listeners are surprised, forced to make the transfer, and perhaps convinced. They also gain a mne-monic device—a catch phrase that explains complicated problems."[19]

Indeed, by manipulating metaphors, leaders, and elites can create opinions and feelings, particularly when people are distressed about the contradic-tions and problems in the world. In such times, as exemplified immediately after the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC on September 11, 2001, the masses crave for simple explanations and directions: for example, "the attackers of September 11, 2001 hate America because of its wealth, since Americans are good people, and that America should bomb terrorists wherever they are back into the prehistoric age."[20]

In the words of Murray Edelman, "internal and external passions cata-lyze attachment to a selected range of myths and metaphors which shape perceptions of the political world".[21] On the one hand, observes Edelman, metaphors are used to screen out undesirable facts of war by calling it a "struggle for democracy" or by referring to aggression and neocolonialism as a "presence." On the other hand, adds Edelman, metaphors are used to alarm and enrage people by referring to members of a political movement as "terrorists"."[22]

Indeed, the relationship between language and peaceful or un-peaceful be-havior is so obvious that we hardly think about it. Everyone agrees, accord-ing to Brian Weinstein, that language is at the core of human society and interpersonal relations—that it forms the basis of civilization. Without this method of communication, Weinstein argues, no leaders could command the resources that are needed to form a political system extending beyond family and neighborhood. He further notes that, while we admit that the ability to manipulate words in order to persuade the voters is one approach people employ to gain and hold on to power, and that we admire oratorical and writing skills as gifts, we, nevertheless, do not perceive language as a separate factor, like taxation, which is subject to conscious choices by lead-ers in power or by women and men who desire to win or influence power. He adds that we do not see language in the form or capital yielding measurable benefits to those who possess it.[23] Another critical aspect about language and peaceful behavior is that, following Weinstein,

> "The process of making decisions in order to satisfy group interests, shape society in accordance with an ideal, solve problems, and co-operate with other societies in a dynamic world is at the heart of politics. Accumulating and investing capital are normally part of the economic process, but when those who own capital use it to exercise influence and power over others, it enters the political arena. Thus, if it is possible to show that language is the subject of policy decisions as well as a possession conferring advantages, a case can be made for the study of language as one of the variables pushing open or closing the door to power, wealth, and prestige within societies and contributing to war and peace between societies."[24]

Since people employ metaphors as a conscious choice between varieties of language forms that have significant cultural, economic, political, psy-chological, and social consequences, particularly when language skills are unevenly distributed, the major purpose of the data analysis section that follows then is to demonstrate that the metaphors that have been employed by contemporary writers on academic freedom in Africa entail different pur-poses. The ultimate question then is the following: How can the metaphors be systematically identified in the works? For an answer to this question, Levinson's treatise on tools used to analyze metaphors in the field of lin-guistic pragmatics can be used to find the answer to the question above.

Levinson discusses three theories that have supported the analysis of met-

aphors in the field of linguistic pragmatics. The first theory is the "Comparison Theory" which, according to Levinson, states that "metaphors are similes with suppressed or deleted predications of similarities".[25] The second theory is the "Interaction Theory" which, following Levinson, proposes that "metaphors are special uses of linguistic expressions where one 'metaphorical' expression (or focus) is embedded in another 'literal' expression (or frame), such that the meaning of the focus interacts with and changes the meaning of the frame, and vice versa."[26] The third theory is the "Correspondence Theory" which, as Levinson states, involves "the mapping of one whole cognitive domain into another, allowing the tracing out or multiple correspondences."[27] Of these three postulates, Levinson finds the "Correspondence Theory" to be the most useful because it "has the virtue of accounting for various well-known properties of metaphors: the 'non-prepositional' nature, or relative indeterminacy of a metaphor's import, the tendency for the substitution of concrete for abstract terms, and the different degrees to which metaphors can be successful."[28] Levinson then goes on to suggest the use of the following three steps to identify metaphors in a text: (1) "account for how any trope or non-literal use of the language is recognized"; (2) "know how metaphors are distinguished from other tropes;" (3) "once recognized, the interpretation of metaphors must rely on features of our general ability to reason analogically."[29]

I now discuss the descriptive statistics used in this essay. For the sake of brevity, a brief description of each statistic is provided:

(a) *frequency distribution:* a mathematical function showing the number of instances in which a variable takes each of its possible values;
(b) *percentage:* any proportion or share in relation to a whole;
(c) *mean:* the average of a set of numerical values, calculated by adding them together and dividing by the number of terms in the set;
(d) *standard deviation:* a quantity calculated to indicate the extent of deviation for a group as a whole;
(e) *variance:* a quantity equal to the square of the standard deviation;
(f) *range:* the area of variation between upper and lower limits on a particular scale; and
(g) *significance (2-tailed)/P-value:* the method in which the critical area of a distribution is two-sided and tests whether a sample is greater than or less than a certain range of value.

Metaphors on Academic Freedom in Africa

This section entails a discussion of the metaphors employed by the writers of the contemporary works on academic freedom in Africa. After reading each of these works, the metaphors were teased out and placed into the following categories based on their meanings: (a) academic metaphors, (b) personhood metaphors, (c) activist metaphors, (d) religious and spiritual metaphors, (e) animal metaphors, (f) state metaphors, and (g) political leadership style metaphors. In the following subsections, these categories are defined and their attendant metaphors with meanings presented. I must mention here that many of the definitions for the metaphors were derived from the Google Dictionary (http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/google).   I should also state here that citations for the metaphors that follow are omitted because the sources from which they were gleaned are already cited in this essay and many authors evoke the same metaphors.

I ought to add that instead of providing an interpretation for each metaphor, which would add ten or more pages to an already very lengthy essay, I provide a general interpretation for all of the metaphors within a category at the end of their listing. Doing this, or even providing an interpretation for each metaphor, may not be the most systematic way of analyzing the metaphors. A more empirically scientific approach would require interviewing the writers of the works for their explanations about what they intended their statements to mean. This is impossible to do as some of the writers are no longer alive and the others cannot be easily reached. Thus, instead of cherry-picking which metaphors to present, it is preferable to present all of them and allow the reader to make his/her own interpretations based on the semantic, pragmatic and theoretical criteria thoroughly discussed in the research methodology section.

Furthermore, it behooves me to posit here that the non-linguist would interpret the predicates for the metaphors that follow such as ˝self-determination,˙ ˝authoritarian,˝ ˝religious fundamentalist,˝ ˝corrupt,˝ ˝incompetent,˝ ˝teaching university,˝ ˝producer of knowledge,˝ etc. as merely ˝literal statements˝ or ˝phrases˝ or ˝words.˝ The non-linguist would also interpret predicates for metaphors in quotation marks such as ˝Expert scholar˝ and ˝Historically White University˝ to designate that the writers have already stated them in the form of metaphors as not meriting the designation. This is a misinterpretation of how metaphors are derived from texts. As discussed in detail in the research methodology section, and need not be belabored

here, the metaphors were delineated by employing semantic triadic, pragmatic polyadic, and Levinson's suggested three theoretical steps. Since it is impossible to replicate even one of the texts, much less all of them (which is necessary as some of the metaphors appear in more than one text), that served as the corpus of the data for this essay, the reader interested in verifiability can consult them.

Abobo: the social, economic and cultural origins of the phenomenon of "enfants microbes"

Academician Metaphors

These metaphors chronicle education and scholarship with their institutions. According to Mehmet Firat and Isil Kabakçi Yurdakul, academici metaphors are an outgrowth of universities being exposed to two basic transformations throughout history: (1) "from the university-oriented towards research-oriented and (2) from research-oriented to university-oriented," which were due to the "educated people and high living standards [that] occurred during the Cold War as well as the current social environment ready to reach the information necessary to increase industrialization after the 2nd World War."[30] They also note that:

> "In addition, as in other fields, globalization has had important effects on universities in the new century. These new effects of globalization could be said to include governments' decreasing budgets allocated to higher education, pragmatism at universities, technology-supported instruction, the increasing number of students all over the world and the sanctions imposed on educational institutions. Non-governmental organizations also have potential for globalization. Non-governmental organizations are an important instrument of the countries, for upholding the government efforts to achieve globalization of universities."[31]

What emerges are the academician metaphors delineated from the texts investigated with their meanings:

1. *Producer of knowledge:* a person who makes facts, information, and skills acquired through experience or education.

2. *Neo-radical scholar:* a specialist in a particular branch of study who advocates new ideas about thorough or complete political or social reform.

3. *More relevant academic:* a greater teacher or scholar in a college or institute of higher education.

4. *Disciplined academic:* a teacher or scholar in a college or institute of higher education who shows a controlled form of behavior or way of doing his/her work.

5. *Irresponsible academic:* a teacher or scholar in a college or institute of higher education who does not show a proper sense of duty to deal with something or of having control over someone.

6. *Know-all civilized elite academic:* a well-mannered and superior teacher or scholar in a college or institute of higher education who behaves as if s/he knows everything.

7. *Arrogant academic with no link to the community:* a superior teacher or scholar in a college or institute of higher education who has no connection to a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common.

8. *Decent academic:* a superior teacher or scholar in a college or institute of higher education who conforms with generally accepted standards of respectable or moral behavior.

9. *Neo-Marxist scholar:* a specialist in a particular branch of study relating to forms of political philosophy that arise from the adaptation of Marxist thought to accommodate or confront modern issues such as the global economy, the capitalist welfare state, and the stability of liberal democracies.

10. *Liberal scholar:* a specialist in a particular branch of study who is open to new behavior or opinions and willing to discard traditional values.

11. *Post-something scholar:* a specialist in a particular branch of study who reacts to anything that is unspecified or unknown.

12. *Post-modernist scholar:* a specialist in a particular branch of study who reacts to the assumed certainty of scientific or objective efforts to explain reality.

13. *Migrant academic:* a teacher or scholar in a college or institute of higher education who tends to move from one area or country to settle in another, especially in search of work.

14. *Organic intellectual:* a person of, relating to, or derived from living matter possessing a highly developed intellect.

15. *Radical scholar:* a specialist in a particular branch of study who advocates ideas about thorough or complete political or social reform.

16. *Committed scholar:* a specialist in a particular branch of study who is dedicated and loyal to a cause, activity, or job.

17. *˝Expert˝ scholar:* a specialist in a particular branch of study with a comprehensive and authoritative knowledge of or skill in a particular area.

18. *˝Great figure˝/senior academic:* a significant/more advanced age specialist in a particular branch of study.

19. *˝Bearer of meanings˝:* a person or thing that carries or holds what words, texts, concepts, or actions convey.

20. *Former lecturer turned zealous Minister:* a person having previously been a member of a college or university faculty becoming a fervent member of a parliamentary cabinet.

21. *˝Death of the Intellectual, Birth of the Salesman˝ (title of an article about scholars who no longer determine their own research agendas, whose research agendas are determined by those who pay for their writings and skills):* a person who ends the highly developed intellect s/he possesses and decides to engages in selling or promoting commercial products.

22. *˝Open university˝ (post-apartheid policy for all South African universities to have student bodies that represent the entire population):* an educational institution designed for research, instruction and examination of students in many branches of advanced learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges and similar institutions, and allows access to all those who meet its admission standards.

23. *"Historically white" universities:* educational institutions designed for research, instruction and examination of students in many branches of advanced learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges and similar institutions that throughout time were reserved for people belonging to or denoting a human group having light-colored skin (chiefly peoples of European extraction).

24. *"Teaching university" (limited knowledge production):* an educational institution designed principally for instruction and examination of students in many branches of advanced learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges and similar institutions.

25. *Full blown professor and academic housekeeper (administrator):* a thoroughly developed teacher of the highest rank in a college or university who also manages a household relating to education and scholarship.

26. *Minding his own business:* a man who respects other people's privacy or stops meddling in what does not concern him, etc.

27. *"Academically correct":* an aspect relating to, or associated with, an academy or school especially of higher learning that is free from error.

28. *"Gender blindness":* adherence to not distinguishing people by their state of being male or female (typically used with reference to social and cultural differences rather than biological ones).

29. *Male dominant paradigms:* typical examples or patterns of something whereby men are treated as being the most important, powerful, or influential.

30. *"Old boyism":* support of or participating on an old boys network: i.e. an informal system of support and friendship through which men use their positions of influence to help others who went to the same school or college as they did or who share a similar social background.

31. *"Staff spies":* all the people employed by a particular organization that secretly collect and report information on the activities, movements, and plans of perceived enemies or competitors.

32. *Good sergeant majors in the university barracks:* tip-top noncommis-

sioned officers of the highest rank, above master sergeants and below war-rant officers, in a building or group of buildings used to house soldiers in an educational institution designed for instruction, examination, or both, of students in many branches of advanced learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges and similar institutions.

33. *"Sticking to the praxis of the masses":* adhering or clinging to the practic-es of the majority of a population.

34. *"Showpiece" of the "Third-Worldist" and "Developmentalist" academic cir-cles:* an attraction of a group of people with shared professions, interests, or acquaintances in education and scholarship who believe in the economic theory which states that the best way for Third World countries to develop is through fostering a strong and varied internal market and to impose high tariffs on imported goods.

35. *"Black box mode":* a way or manner in which something occurs or is ex-perienced, expressed, or done like a complex piece of equipment, typically a unit in an electronic system, with contents that are mysterious to the user.

36. *Rectors as representatives of the government:* heads of certain universi-ties, colleges, and schools behaving like persons chosen or appointed to act or speak for members of the governing body of a nation or state.

37. *Imperial educational affairs:* events or sequences of events of a specified kind intended to educate or enlighten people about an empire.

38. *Suitable type of education for "natives":* the process of giving systematic instruction by making use of clever and indirect methods to persons born in a specified place or associated with a place by birth, whether subsequently resident there or not.

39. *White education for labor on European estates and other establishments:* the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction, especially at a school or university, to people belonging to or denoting a human group hav-ing light-colored skin (chiefly used of peoples of European extraction) for them to work on European properties and other business organizations, public institutions, or households.

40. *"Politics of subversion through textbooks majoring in violence":* activities

associated with overthrowing the government of a country or other areas through books used as standard works for the study of a particular subject specializing in behavior involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something.

41. *Gender studies as "pedestrian, common knowledge and non-scientific":* the field of interdisciplinary study devoted to gender identity and gendered representation as central categories of analysis as lacking inspiration or excitement, something known by most people, and not involving or relating to science or scientific methods.

42. *Vice-Chancellor turned garrison commander:* a deputy chancellor of a university acting like a person in authority over a body of troops stationed in a fortress or town to defend it.

43. *Ethnic ghettos:* parts of a city, especially slum areas, occupied by minority groups of or relating to population subgroups (within larger or dominant national or cultural groups) with a common national or cultural tradition.

44. *"Ali-Must-Go" crisis (call for a removal of Vice-Chancellors):* a time of intense difficulty, trouble, or danger that the Arab Caliph (the son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad—PBUH) or a best friend should depart.

45. *Son of the soil syndrome:* a characteristic combination of opinions, emotions, or behavior relating to a boy or man in relation to either or both of his parents in a territory of a particular nation.

46. *"I am the Law" (pronouncement of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Abuja):* a law enforcement agent, especially the police.

47. *"Mined" campuses (forced exile, attempted murder, and illegal suspensions):* quarried grounds and buildings of universities or colleges.

48. *Muzzled staff:* all the people employed by a particular organization prevented from expressing their opinions freely (akin to closing the projecting part of the face, including the nose and mouth, of an animal such as a dog or horse).

49. *Shadow budgets (university budgets that exist only on paper):* shady estimates of incomes and expenditures for set periods of time.

50. *Brain drain:* the emigration of highly trained or intelligent people from a particular country (akin to causing the organ of soft nervous tissue contained in the skull of vertebrates to run out, leaving it empty, dry, or drier).

51. *"Ninjas" (student militiamen from the Nibdek in the Bacongo): persons skilled in ninjutsu:* i.e. the traditional Japanese art of stealth, camouflage, and sabotage, developed in feudal times for espionage and now practiced as a martial art.

52. *Works that threaten the public security or the "higher" values:* productions that cause functions of governments which ensure the protection of citizens, organizations, and institutions or the greater principles or standards of behavior to be vulnerable.

53. *Division of students into "strikers" and "non-strikers" in Conakry:* separating persons who are studying at a school or college in the capital of Guinea into those who refuse to work as called for by a body of individuals as a form of protest, typically in an attempt to gain a concession or concessions from authorities, and those who do not engage in such action.

54. *Division of students into "nationalists" and "traitors" in Conakry:* separating persons who are studying at a school or college in the capital of Guinea into those who advocate political independence for the country and those who betray the country.

55. *Secondary schools and universities in Sudan as hunting ground and sometimes as killing ground:* institutions of education after the primary level and before higher education and educational institutions designed for instruction and examination of students in many branches of advanced learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges and similar institutions becoming terra firma for hunting wild animals or game, especially for food or sport, and acts of causing death, especially deliberately..

56. *Arabization and Islamization of knowledge (what the Sudanese government calls the "revolution" in higher education):* to provide facts, information, and skills through education to cause people to acquire Arabic customs, manners, speech, or outlook and to influence a society to shift towards Islam.

57. *"Why don't you go out and waste your time at the freedom square—this is not a class on politics or economics; it is about education" (remarks made to stifle critical thinking in Botswana classrooms):* to use or expend carelessly at the place where one has the power or right to act, speak, or think as s/he wants without hindrance or restraint, which is germane to the academic study of government and the state, or the branch of knowledge concerned with the production, consumption, and transfer of wealth, but not during the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction.

58. *"Le a bo le reng ne?" ("What is this Botswana National Front or People's Party member saying?" These were the opposition parties in Botswana):* what words are being uttered by an individual belonging to a political group so as to convey information, an opinion, a feeling or intention, or an instruction.

59. *Secondary schools as the "nurseries" for future university students and citizens of Burkina Faso:* institutions of education after the primary level and before higher education as places where young children are cared for during the working days to prepare them for educational institutions designed for instruction and examination of students in many branches of advanced learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges and similar institutions, and to become legally recognized subjects or nationals of Burkina Faso.

60. *Establishment school (University of Liberal being closed to the lower social layers of the society in the mid-20th Century):* a public institution at which instruction is given in a particular discipline.

61. *Deans of colleges and professors as political cronies and sycophants:* heads of educational institutions and teachers of the highest rank in those institutions acting as government confidants and obsequiously toward someone important in order to gain advantage.

62. *Pledges of "good behavior" (to be allowed to resume classes after suspension):* solemn promises or undertakings of the ways in which one acts or conducts oneself to be desired or approved by others.

63. *"Bantu education" (to prepare Black children for the medial role in society under apartheid):* the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction, especially at a school or university, targeted at students from a group of Niger–Congo languages spoken in central and southern Africa, including

Swahili, Xhosa, and Zulu.

64. *Separate universities exclusively "for Bantu persons":* educational institutions designed for instruction and examination of students in many branches of advanced learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges and similar institutions designed for people from a group of Niger–Congo languages spoken in central and southern Africa, including Swahili, Xhosa, and Zulu as units apart or by themselves.

65. *Tribal college:* an educational institution for a social division in a traditional society consisting of families or communities linked by social, economic, religious, or blood ties, with a common culture and dialect, typically having a recognized leader.

66. *An expensive education for a woman is a "waste":* the process of giving an adult human female systematic instruction, especially at a school or university, costing a lot of money is careless, extravagant, or serves no purpose.

67. *"Unhealthy preoccupation with the philosophies and objectives of the ANC" (statement by Swaziland's Commission of Inquiry into Student Affairs):* an insensible or imbalanced state or condition of being engrossed with the thoughts and aims of the African National Congress (ANC).

68. *"Disaffected with policies of their home country" (statement by Swaziland's Commission of Inquiry into Student Affairs referring to South African students on campus):* dissatisfied with the courses or principles of actions adopted or proposed by a government, party, business, or individual in the nation where they were born.

69. *"Calculated malice to damage the good name of the consultant and the university" (comment by Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University):* an ill will with full awareness of the likely consequences to cause physical harm to the person who provides expert advice professionally and the educational institution designed for instruction and examination of students in many branches of advanced learning, conferring degrees in various faculties, and often embodying colleges and similar institutions in such a way as to impair their values, usefulness, or normal functions.

70. *"Africanization and indigenization" (pressure to appoint and promote indigenous academics):* a process to replace the European or White staff of (an

organization in Africa) with Black Africans and to bring institutions under African, especially Black African, influence or to adapt to African needs.

71. *"Positive schools for democracy":* a good, affirmative, or constructive institution of education for a system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.

72. *Negative right (professors' right to freedom from interference):* a moral or legal entitlement to have or obtain something or to act in a certain way that is not desirable or optimistic.

The preceding metaphors can be subsumed under five thematic rubrics. The first theme comprises of productive attributes: i.e. metaphors that signify behaviors that lead a person to achieve significant results by being "disciplined," "committed," etc. The second theme is the unproductive attributes: i.e. metaphors that indicate behaviors that inhibit a person from achieving significant results such as being "irresponsible," "arrogant," etc. The third theme is made up of ideological attributes: i.e. metaphors indicating beliefs based on or relating to a system of ideas and ideals, especially concerning economic or political theory and policy; examples are "neo-radicalism," "neo-Marxism," and "liberalism." The fourth theme concerns the types of institutions: e.g., metaphors characterizing "open," "historically white," and "teaching" as opposed to research institutions. The fifth theme is composed of metaphors that point to bureaucratic malaise which propels administrative angst: e.g., "staff spies," "good sergeant majors," and "rectors as representatives of governments."

Personhood Metaphors

These metaphors reflect the quality or condition of being an individual person. Amia Lieblich and Ruthellen Josselson[32] inform us that metaphors of personhood comprise the quandary of progression and change over the life course and the episodes of meaning-making. They add that these metaphors are "fuzzy" and free-flowing and symbolize, albeit they do not inhibit, the ways in which people perceive their experiences and situate themselves in society and in time. The personhood metaphors in the texts studied and their meanings are the following:

1. *Emir hero:* a Muslim (mainly Arab) ruler, typically a man, who is admired or idealized for courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities.

2. *"Friend of the people":* a person who the men, women, and children of a particular nation, community, or ethnic group know and with whom they have a bond of mutual affection, typically exclusive of sexual or family relations.

3. *"New" enemy:* a person who is actively opposed or hostile to someone or something but did not exist before.

4. *Local Machiavelli:* named after Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli, the Italian historian, politician, diplomat, philosopher, humanist, and writer, who is recognized as the founder of modern political science and political ethics, this person is a cunning, scheming, and unscrupulous, especially in politics or in advancing his/her career, belonging or relating to a particular area or neighborhood, typically exclusively so.

5. *Power wielder:* a person who exercises his authority or influence to get people to do things or act in a particular way they would not otherwise do.

6. *"Jurislator" (legislator who pretends to establish new rules instead of verifying the constitutionality of existing laws): a judge who legislates from the bench. Note:* The word "jurislator" is derived from the French jurislateur, referring to the vision of law propounded by theorist, author, and lawmaker Jean Carbonnier (1908–2003) based on his own philosophy that includes empiricism, Protestantism, realism, and skepticism undergirded by open-mindedness.[33]

7. *"Petit blanc zitataire" ("little white agitator"; oragitateur is pronounced zitataire):* a petty person belonging to or denoting a human group having light-colored skin (chiefly used of peoples of European extraction) who urges others to protest or rebel.

8. *Crony:* a close friend or companion.

9. *Loyalist:* a person who remains devoted to the established ruler or government, especially in the face of a revolt.

10. *Overt party politician (a person identifies with a political party by wearing party attire, displaying party slogan on the body, addressing a public party rally,*

or openly talking in favor of a party in Botswana): a person who openly belongs to a formally constituted political group, typically operating on a national basis, that contests elections and attempts to form or take part in a government.

The above-mentioned metaphors suggest three types of qualities of being an individual person. One type of quality is *being admired* denoted by the metaphors "emir hero" and "friend of the people." Another type of quality is *being dictatorial* indicated by metaphors such as "local Machiavelli" and "petit blanc zitataire." The other type of quality is that of *the opportunist* intimated by metaphors such as "crony" and "overt party politician."

Activist Metaphors

Activist metaphors recount campaigns for some kind of social change. For Jennifer McGee,[34] activist metaphors mirror a rhetorical shift that occurs early in a radical person's career. The shift can divulge how the person struggles with the same issues that attract other radical activists. These issues include personhood, victimization, and the faculty or power to utilize one's will. These are the activist metaphors discerned in the texts studied with their meanings:

1. *Human rights activist:* a person who acts to promote or protect some variation of aspects that are morally good, justified, or acceptable which are believed to belong justifiably to every person.

2. *African militant:* a person from Africa who is combative and aggressive in support of a political or social cause, and typically favoring extreme, violent, or confrontational methods.

3. *Self-determination:* the process by which a country determines its own statehood and forms its own allegiances and government, or the process by which a person controls his/her own life.

4. *Misguided chauvinistic nationalism:* a faulty judgment or reasoning for feeling or displaying aggressive or exaggerated patriotism.

5. *"Inciting a break of the peace":* to encourage or stir up violent or unlawful behavior in order to interrupt quietness and tranquility.

From the foregoing metaphors, two features of activism can be gleaned. One feature is militant activism indicated by metaphors characterizing an insistent and overbearing attitude in support of a cause. Individuals engaged in such activism frequently do not cooperate with rival groups and prefer to stage protests and use extreme methods to transmit their messages. Examples of these metaphors are "African militant" and "misguided chauvinistic nationalism." The other feature is social activism manifested in metaphors that show an intentional action with the goal of bringing about social change: examples are "human rights activist" and "self-determination."

Religious and Spiritual Metaphors

Metaphors of religion and spirituality relate to belief in and worship of a Supreme Being controlling power, especially a personal god or gods, and those affecting the human spirit or soul as opposed to material or physical things. According to Will Kurzweil, religious and spiritual metaphors deal with "experiential domains beyond the physical, or at least on the ethereal side of materiality."[35] He points out, however, that despite this reality, "the ways people think about 'other-worldly' subjects are decidedly bodily."[36] The Universe Spirit captures the quintessence of religious and spiritual metaphors when it states the following:

> "When one tries to spiritually describe an infinite and absolute Ultimate Reality with relative and partial terms many paradoxes result. This is because since the first spiritual ideas were formulated humanity has used all kinds of spiritual myths and metaphors (often called religious doctrine, dogma, belief, faith, revelations, etc.) to describe in partial relative terms, that which is not relative or partial, but absolute, ultimate, infinite and whole. Because of these seemingly forever unknowable mysteries of absolute and infinite Ultimate Reality, all of our efforts to know and define it always will be, at best, partial and incomplete views and descriptions...And, as we continue learning our spiritual metaphors, myths and temporary scaffolding will evolve and continually be released, remade and upgraded with each major step we make in achieving greater understanding of new aspects of the previously unknown Ultimate Reality."[37]

These type of metaphors in the texts examined and their attendant meanings are as follows:

1. *Religious fundamentalist:* one who devoutly believes the statements in the Bible (some would now include all religious texts) are literally true.

2. *Quicksand of religion:* a bad or dangerous belief in and worship of a super-human controlling power, especially a personal God or gods, from which it is hard to escape.

3. *Sheikh hero:* a leader in a Muslim community or organization, typically a man, who is admired or idealized for courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities.

4. *Imam hero:* a person who leads prayers in a mosque, typically a man, who is admired or idealized for courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities.

5. *Western Christianized education:* the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction, especially at a school or university, of, relating to, or professing Christianity or its teachings and originating from the West, in particular Europe or the United States.

Three categories of metaphors can be discerned from the preceding list. The first category comprises Christianized metaphors: "religious fundamentalist" and "Western Christianized education." The second category can be characterized as fanaticism, which is exemplified by the metaphor "quicksand of religion." The third category is composed of Islamized metaphors: "sheikh hero" and "imam hero." In sum, these metaphors are reflective of the prominent roles Christianity and Islam play in Africa.

Animal Metaphor

Excluding human beings, these metaphors are telling about other living organisms that feed on organic matter, typically having specialized sense organs and nervous systems and being able to respond rapidly to stimuli. Robert Palmatier asserts that animals have served as the basis for more metaphors than any other non-human source.[38] He then goes on to provide a comprehensive and historical list of animal metaphors in contemporary American English. Robert and Barbara A. Sommer observe that, "the human need for metaphorical expression finds its greatest fulfillment through reference to the animal kingdom."[39] Arthur Shelley also makes the following points about animal metaphors:

"Animal metaphor is very common in most cultures. So much so, we hardly even notice they are there. Animals have been used as a source of inspiration and derision since early civilization…Most people will relate to the use of animal metaphors without question and readily identify themselves and others with animals…Commercial enterprises have long known of the power of using people's identification with animals which explains why so many brands and logos feature animals. Animal metaphors have been used to explore our psychology and reasoning, our ability to network with others and our relationships. They even infiltrate our language without us even realizing we are using them."[40]

What follows is the animal metaphor that was found in the texts investigated and its meaning:

1. *Let sleeping dogs lie:* to not discuss matters which have caused problems in the past, or to not try to change a situation because it might cause problems (akin to allowing a domesticated carnivorous mammal that typically has a long snout, an acute sense of smell, and a barking, howling, or whining voice or a person regarded as unpleasant, contemptible, or wicked to be in or assume a horizontal or resting position on a supporting surface).

The sole metaphor here is akin to the proverb that some people (in this case, those in the African academe) avoid interfering in a situation that is currently causing no problems but might do so as a result of such interference.

State Metaphors

State metaphors reflect particular structures of a nation or territory considered as an organized polity under one government. Plutarch, for example, explains the structures of the state in terms of a patriarchal family structure metaphor whereby the citizens as children obey their king as their father (1992 edition:65). The proceedings are the state metaphors teased out of the texts studied and their attendant meanings:

1. *Uganda is no longer "The Sick Man of Africa":* the country of Uganda not experiencing a time of economic difficulty or impoverishment. Note: the term is akin to the "The Sick Man of Europe," first used in the mid-19th Century to describe the Ottoman Empire, but has since been applied at one time or

another to nearly every other major European country; even China was once referred to as "The Sick Man of Asia."

2. *"No-party" or "movement" system:* a framework with no a formally constituted political group, typically operating on a national basis, that contests elections and attempts to form or take part in a government or a group of people working together to advance their shared political, social, or artistic ideas.

3. *State House turned "market":* the building where a state legislature meets or a head of state in Africa lives becoming an area or arena in which commercial dealings are conducted.

4. *The Algerian enigma:* a person or an aspect from Algeria that is mysterious, puzzling, or difficult to understand.

5. *"Manic culture that "angelized" the society" and "demonized the rest":* a frantic way of life that portrays the aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community as exemplary or virtuous but portrays everything and everyone else as wicked and threatening.

6. *Ivorianized French law:* the French system of rules that Côte d'Ivoire recognizes as regulating the actions of its citizens and may enforce by the imposition of penalties.

7. *Authoritarian one-party system:* a practice whereby only one political party exists, and the forming of other political parties is forbidden, and favoring or enforcing strict obedience to authority, especially that of the government, at the expense of personal freedom.

8. *Restrictions for "public order":* limiting conditions or measures, especially legal ones, to create conditions that ensure the absence of widespread criminal activities and political violence.

9. *Restrictions for "public morality":* limiting conditions or measures, especially legal ones, to ensure ethical standards enforced in a society by law or police work or social pressure.

10. *Restrictions for "public security":* limiting conditions or measures, especially legal ones, to promote the functions of government which ensure the

protection of citizens, organizations, and institutions against threats to their well-being, and to ensure the prosperity of their communities.

11. *Restrictions for reasons "justifiable in a democratic society":* limiting conditions or measures, especially legal ones, for causes, explanations, or justifications for an action or event that is right or reasonable within an aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community that favors equal rights, freedom of speech and a fair trial and tolerates the views of minorities.

12. *"Breakdown of public order":* a failure of the conditions that are to ensure the absence of widespread criminal activities and political violence.

13. *State machinery:* the structures and systems of a nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government.

14. *Military dictatorship:* a form of government in which the members of the armed forces have authoritarian control.

15. *Visitor (Head of State):* a guest, or a person with the right or duty of occasionally inspecting and reporting on a college or other academic institution.

16. *Emergence of "liberal" conditions or "slackening authoritarianism":* the process of the state of openness to new behavior or opinions and willingness to discard traditional values coming into view or the relaxation of the way of governing that values order and control over personal freedom.

17. *"Kongo group" (generic ethnic community):* a number of the members of an indigenous people inhabiting the region of the Congo River in west central Africa that are located close together or are considered or classed together.

18. *"Ethnic approach" (division of "North" and "South" Congolese):* a way of dealing with something based on the interests of a population subgroup (within a larger or dominant national or cultural group) with a common national or cultural tradition.

19. *"Political ground" (ethnically cleansed quarters in Congo supervised and controlled by private militia challenging public authorities):* the solid surface of the earth relating to the government or the public affairs of a country.

20. *Government dismissals based on "public interest":* the governing body of a nation, state, or community ordering someone to leave on the grounds of safeguarding the welfare or well-being of the people as a whole.

21. *"Transitional democracy" (Zaire's 400 political parties):* a process of changing over to or an interim system of government by the whole population or all the eligible members of a state, typically through elected representatives.

22. *Kafkaesque nature of the Malawian system:* a Malawian characteristic that is reminiscent of the oppressive or nightmarish qualities of Franz Kafka's fictional world. Note: Franz Kafka (1883-1924) was an Austrian-Hungarian (now Czech Republic) who wrote novels and short stories in the German language and was considered as one of the most influential writers of the 20th Century.

23. *"Operational zone" (constant presence of soldiers and police on Black campuses in South Africa):* an area or stretch of land having a particular characteristic for the actions of the armed forces, police, or emergency services.

24. *"Forgive and forget" solution (Tanzanian government blaming both the authorities and the academics aggrieved):* a means of solving a problem or dealing with a difficult situation by pardoning and holding no resentment concerning past events.

25. *"Trying to put wrong ideas in people's heads" (Togolese authority's comment on professors):* attempts to place incorrect thoughts or suggestions in the upper parts of the human bodies typically separated from the rest of the bodies by necks, and containing the brains, mouths, and sense organs of those human beings in general or considered collectively.

26. *"Distributing subversive leaflets" (Togolese authority's comment on students):* giving out printed sheets of paper containing information and usually distributed freely intended to disrupt an established system or institution.

27. *"Make our little friends dance a little" (Togolese authority's comment on students):* to cause small persons who one knows and with who one has a bond of mutual affection, typically exclusive of sexual or family relations, to slightly move in a quick and lively way.

28. *"Benevolent state" (state intervention for institutional autonomy):* a well-meaning and kind nation or territory considered as an organized political community under one government.

Evident in the preceding metaphors are five kinds of states. The first kind is the *state that promotes economic growth* characterized by metaphors like "Uganda is no longer 'The Sick Man of Africa'" and "benevolent state." The second kind is the *failing state* denoted by metaphors such as "no party or movement system" and "breakdown of public order." The third kind is the *corrupt state* reflected in metaphors like "state house turned 'market'" and "make our little friends dance a little." The fourth kind is the *neo-colonized state* exemplified by the metaphor "Ivorianized French law." And, the fifth kind is the *authoritarian state* as represented by the metaphors "restrictions for 'public order'" and "military dictatorship."

Political Leadership Style Metaphors

These metaphors, following Turo Virtanen, mirror the power attributes of leadership, i.e. agitation, competing positions, negotiations, orthodox ideologies, and victories. Thus, according to Virtanen, political leadership metaphors reflect the "connections that make leadership dynamic, dependent on other people and unexpected circumstances."[41] He goes on to suggest the following types of political leadership style metaphors: (a) Arbitrator—calms down the surfs, settles the situation; (b) Counsel—helps you when people keep charging you; (c) Preacher—leads the way to future, agitates; (d) Sectarian Fundamentalist—does not approve of heretics; (e) Super Salesman—capable of making people to believe anything; and (f) War Hero—victorious and prestigious fighter.[42] The following are the political leadership style metaphors identified in the texts examined and their meanings:

1. *Authoritarian:* a leader favoring or enforcing strict obedience to authority, especially that of the government, at the expense of personal freedom.

2. *Corrupt:* a leader having or showing a willingness to act dishonestly in return for money or personal gain.

3. *Incompetent:* a leader not having or showing the necessary skills to do something successfully.

4. *Dirty brown envelopes (the mobilization of money: Kasiimo in Bantu languages; mich in the Luo language):* flat paper containers with sealable flaps—of a color produced by mixing red, yellow, and black—used to enclose letters or documents that are covered or marked with an unclean substance.

5. *"We brought you peace" (the mobilization of fear):* ushering people with freedom from or the cessation of war or violence.

6. *"Stayism":* to remain in power for life.

7. *"Givee" and "giver" approach (recipient and donor of bribes):* the person who accepts the possession of something from someone who freely transfers it.

8. *"Institutionalized corruption" through dirty brown envelopes:* the established practice or custom of dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power, typically involving bribery through the use of flat paper containers with sealable flaps—of a color produced by mixing red, yellow, and black— used to enclose letters or documents that are covered or marked with an unclean substance.

9. *"Fountain of Honor":* similar to the British crown designed as the origin of all dignitaries, honors, justice, peerages, privileges, and titles.

10. *Quasi-fascist:* being partly or almost authoritarian.

11. *Tyranny of the old bureaucracy:* the cruel and oppressive rule of an aged system of government in which most of the important decisions are made by state officials rather than by elected representatives.

12. *"Order of the real":* an authoritative command of the actually existing.

13. *Punitive expedition:* a journey or voyage undertaken by a group of people with the particular purpose of inflicting or intended as punishment.

14. *Dictatorship through the presidency:* absolute rule via the office of president.

15. *Military authoritarianism/dictatorship:* absolute rule by the armed forces of a country.

16. *Powerful technocrat:* a member of a technically skilled elite who has the capacity or ability to direct or influence the behavior of others or the course of events.

17. *Kleptocratic and authoritarian regime:* a government, especially an authoritarian one, of thieves with absolute rule.

18. *"Pauperization of the middle class":* reducing the social group between the upper and working classes, including professional and business workers and their families, to poverty.

19. *The President and the big stick (forcing professors into "compulsory" retirement for their political opinions):* the elected head of a republican state with a thin piece of wood of considerable size, extent, or intensity that has fallen or been cut from a tree.

20. *Corruption as a "management technique":* dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power, typically involving bribery, as a skillful or efficient way of dealing with or controlling things or people.

21. *Upstream structural dysfunctionments (Congolese leaders taking pride in having one of the highest illiteracy rates in Africa):* deviation from the norms of social behavior in a way regarded as bad in terms of the arrangement of and relations between the parts or elements of a complex whole nearer to the source.

22. *Japanese cars approach (government silencing Zairian campuses and classrooms by donating Japanese cars to professors):* a way of dealing with an issue by giving people Japanese road vehicles, typically with four wheels, powered by internal combustion engines and able to carry small numbers of people.

23. *"Effective measure to maintain good order and discipline" (cutting university subsidies):* successful plans or courses of actions to sustain desired authoritative command, direction, or instruction, and making people to obey rules or a code of behavior by using punishment to correct disobedience.

24. *Sending students on "unscheduled vacation" (Zambian leaders' way to quell student demonstrators on campus):* dispatching persons who are studying at a school or college on an unplanned extended period of recreation.

25. *Social engineering and authoritarian control:* the application of sociologi-cal principles to specific social problems and the power to influence or di-rect people's behavior or the course of events by favoring or enforcing strict obedience to authority, especially that of the government, at the expense of personal freedom.

26. *"Cooperative governance" and "steering":* the action or manner of gov-erning involving mutual assistance in working toward a common goal and guiding or controlling the movements of people.

The aforementioned metaphors reflect six leadership styles. Number one is the *autocratic* which is denoted by metaphors that characterize individual control over all decisions with little input from members of the entity. Exam-ples of these metaphors are "quasi-fascist" and "tyranny of the old bureau-cracy." Number two is the *strategic* represented by the metaphor that por-trays a vision for the political entity and to motivate and persuade others to acquire that vision: "cooperative governance and steering." Number three is the *transformational* exemplified by the metaphor that reflects the desire to encourage, inspire and motivate people to innovate and create change that will help grow and shape the future success of an entity: "We brought you peace." Number four is the *transactional* indicated by metaphors that point to practices geared toward promoting compliance by followers through both rewards and punishments. Examples are "dirty brown envelope" and "Japa-nese cars approach." Number five is the *charismatic* signified by metaphors that indicate methods of encouraging particular behaviors in others by way of eloquent communication, persuasion and force of personality. Examples include "foundation of honor" and "stayism." Number six is the *visionary* exemplified by the metaphor of leading others: "powerful technocrat."

Summary of the Findings

From the preceding analysis and Table 1, it is evident that of the 147 meta-phors teased out of the texts examined, an overwhelming majority of them are the academician type (72 metaphors or 49%), followed by the state (28 metaphors or 19%) and political leadership style (26 metaphors or 18%) types at distant second and third places, respectively. At fourth place are those of personhood (10 metaphors or 7%). Activist and religious and spir-itual metaphors (5 or 3%) are tied for fifth place, while the single animal

metaphor (1 metaphor or 1%) is in last place. Table 1 also reveals that there are quite significant variations (t-statistic = 2.135; p = 0.067) among the metaphorical categories, with a mean of 21, a standard deviation of about 25, a variance of 618, and a range of 71. These findings are not surprising since the debate on academic freedom focuses mainly on the academics themselves, the nature of the African state, and the leadership styles of the heads of state.

Table 1: Frequency Statistics

Type	N	%
Academician Metaphors	72	49%
State Metaphors	28	19%
Political Leadership Style Metaphors	26	18%
Personhood Metaphors	10	7%
Activist Metaphors	5	3%
Religious and Spiritual Metaphors	5	3%
Animal Metaphors	1	1%
Total	147	100%
Mean	21.00	
Standard Deviation	24.860	
Variance	618.000	
Range	71	
t-Statistic	2.235	
Sig. (2-tailed) / P-value	0.067	

Source: Self-generated by the author using SPSS
Note: Percentages are rounded off to the nearest tenth

Also reflective of these findings is what I pointed out in my review of CODES-RIA's *The State of Academic Freedom in Africa* 1995 that the issue of academic freedom in Africa is studied within a broader context of national and international economic, political and social processes. Thus, the following themes are covered: (a) the dynamics and socio-political processes in which professors and researchers work, (b) the root causes and violations of intellectual freedom, (c) the impact of the economic crises on academic freedom, (d) the trajectories of various scientific communities, (e) the difficulties academics encounter in their attempts to read and interpret the world from an African perspective, (f) the various difficulties African universities encounter in the fulfillment of one of their major missions that has been defined by some observers as being "to produce new knowledge and reproduce the produc-

ers of knowledge," and (g) the positive developments towards an enhanced protection of academic freedom.[43]

Moreover, I noted that four issues are prominent in the discourse on academic freedom in Africa. The first issue is contextual; a fairly comprehensive picture of the research environment is presented. The second issue is conceptual; there is no consensus on what academic freedom is and is not. The third issue is the economic crises and political transitions on academic freedom; in some countries, democratic transitions have not yielded new opportunities for research and teaching institutions. The fourth issue is the particularly negative impact of certain actors, specifically international financial institutions, military and religious groups inside and outside Africa.[44]

All this leads me to suggest the following conceptual framework to explicate the nexus between the metaphors of academic freedom and conflicts in the academe in Africa. As shown in Figure 1, academician, state, political leadership style, personhood, activist, religious and spiritual and animal metaphors are hypothesized to induce conflicts in the academe in Africa; the conflicts in turn lead to more of these metaphors—a sort of reciprocal cycle. The hypothesized relationship is a conceptual *framework* because, following Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias, it is a "third level of theorizing [in which] descriptive categories are systematically placed in broad structure of explicit propositions, to be accepted or rejected."[45] It is therefore different from an ad hoc classificatory system, the first and lowest level of theorizing which "consists of arbitrary categories constructed in order to organize and summarize empirical observations"; a *taxonomy*, the second level of theorizing in which "a system of categories is constructed to fit empirical observations in such a way that relationships among the categories can be described"; and a *theoretical system*, the fourth and highest level of theorizing which "combines taxonomies and conceptual frameworks by relating descriptions, explanations, and predictions in a systematic manner."[46]
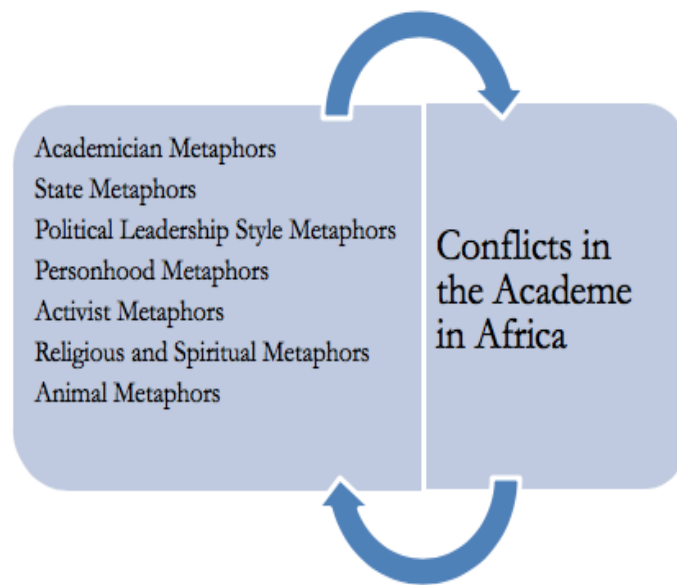
Figure 1: A Conceptual Framework of the Metaphors of Academic Freedom and Conflicts
in the Academe in Africa
Source: Self-generated by the Author

Conclusion

From the preceding findings, it is obvious that the African academic are-
na appears as a muddled and combative landscape. And, the battle lines
have been indiscriminately multiplying into the intersecting web of the strife
we have today. The debate over academic freedom has been divided by in-
terests and convictions. Within our vessels, passions swell, making heads
throb, vision hazy, and reason confounded.

It is therefore imperative that we temper down these Darwinian type met-
aphors that permeate our discourses in the academe as one way to pro-
mote more peaceful relations. Indeed, as suggested earlier, we ought to be
horrified by these metaphors, since some of them lead to the loss of lives,
employment, gender equity, benefits, prestige, etc.

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