Legal Education in Africa: What Type of Lawyer Does Africa Need?*

Samuel O. Manteaw**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 905
   A. African Legal Education .......................................................................................... 905
      1. The Beginning .................................................................................................. 905
      2. Policy Shift ........................................................................................................ 908
   B. Scope and Structure of Discussion .......................................................................... 909

II. OVERVIEW: AFRICA’S LEGAL EDUCATION SYSTEM .............................................. 910
   A. Historical Development ......................................................................................... 910
      1. Pre-Colonial Era .................................................................................................. 910
      2. Colonial Era ........................................................................................................ 912
         a. Early Developments: Nigeria and Ghana as Examples .................................... 912
         b. Lack of Local Legal Training Facilities .............................................................. 914
         c. Journeying to London for Legal Education ......................................................... 915
         d. Trained in London to Practice in Africa: Inadequacies ....................................... 916
      3. Post-Independence Era ........................................................................................... 917
         a. The Denning Committee .................................................................................... 918
         b. Legal Education in the “Heady Days” of Independent Africa ................................ 919
   B. The Present Process of Legal Education in Africa .................................................... 920
      1. The Law Degree: Program and Duration .............................................................. 920
      2. Routes to Legal Education: South Africa and Ghana as Examples ................................... 921

* Dean Elizabeth Rindskopf Parker, University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law, commissioned this inquiry into the development, structure, and reform needs of African legal education curricula. Pacific McGeorge generously funded this research for the purpose of assisting the development of international legal education.

** Samuel O. Manteaw is a Ghanaian attorney and a lecturer at the University of Ghana Faculty of Law. He holds an LL.M. degree in Intellectual Property from the George Washington University Law School (2005), an LL.M. degree in Transnational Business Practice from the University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law (2003), a Barrister/Solicitor’s Certificate (BL) from the Ghana School of Law (2002), an LL.B. degree from the University of Ghana (2000), and an ‘A’ 3-Year Post Secondary Teacher’s Certificate from Ghana’s Presbyterian Training College (P.T.C.) (1994). He would like to extend special acknowledgement to Professor Kojo Yelpaala, supervising professor, for his insightful comments and instructive directions. Also deserving of special mention are Dean Elizabeth Rindskopf Parker and Professors Charles Kelso and Eric McElwain of Pacific McGeorge School of Law for their very useful comments. The author would also like to express sincere appreciation to Dean Parker for her abiding spirit of generosity and warmth and her amazing support for this project.
III. AFRICAN LEGAL EDUCATION CURRICULA ........................................ 925
   A. Curricula Examples from Select African Countries .................. 925
      1. Nigeria .............................................................................. 926
         a. Law Faculties (Academic Training) .................................. 926
         b. Law Schools (Professional Training) ................................. 926
      2. Ghana ..................................................................................... 927
         a. Law Faculties (Academic Training) .................................. 927
         b. Law Schools (Professional Training) ................................. 928
      3. Malawi: Law Faculties (Academic Training) ......................... 929
      4. Tanzania: Law Faculties (Academic Training) ...................... 929
      5. Zambia: Law Faculties (Academic Training) ......................... 929
      6. Uganda: Law Schools (Professional Training) ....................... 930

IV. AFRICAN LEGAL EDUCATION: GLOBALIZATION AND LOCAL NEEDS...... 931
   A. Core Curricula Strengths .......................................................... 931
   B. Curricula Weaknesses ............................................................... 932
      1. Pupillage: A Systemic Weakness ......................................... 933
      2. Statutory Curricula: Another Systemic Weakness .................. 934
   C. Internationalizing Core Curricula: Local Realities ................. 935
   D. Confronting Challenges .......................................................... 936
   E. Meeting Reform Needs ............................................................ 940

V. RETHINKING CURRICULA REFORM ............................................... 940
   A. Reforming African Law Faculties .............................................. 941
      1. Research and Development-Oriented Courses ....................... 941
      2. Lecture, Tutorials, and Analytical Skills ............................... 941
      3. Course Structure ..................................................................... 945
      4. Skills Training ......................................................................... 946
      5. Information and Communications Technology ..................... 946
      6. Partnerships and Exchanges ................................................... 947
   B. Reforming African Law Schools ................................................. 948
      1. Practical Skills Training ........................................................ 948
      2. Legal Clinics ........................................................................... 950
      3. Teaching Methods .................................................................. 950
   C. Planning and Priorities in the Reform Process ....................... 952
      1. Collaboration: Proposing an Association of African Legal
         Training Institutions ............................................................... 953
      2. The Need for a Development Plan .......................................... 955
      3. Restructuring Relationships and Forging Partnerships ............ 955
      4. Legal Aid Board: An Illustration ........................................... 955
      5. The Legal Profession: Another Illustration ......................... 956
VI. SUMMARY OF KEY RECOMMENDATIONS .............................................................. 957
A. Reforming African Legal Education ................................................................. 957
1. African Jurisprudence ...................................................................................... 957
2. Sensitivity to Public Service Responsibilities .............................................. 957
3. Specialization in Law ....................................................................................... 958
4. Information Technology .................................................................................. 958
B. Planning and Priorities .................................................................................... 958
2. Building a Consensus Among Key Stakeholders ........................................ 959
3. Strengthening Relations: The Legal Profession and Legal Training Institutions ................................................................. 959
4. Stimulating the Exchange of Ideas and Intellectual Activity of African Legal Scholars ................................................................. 959
C. Reforming African Law Faculties ................................................................. 960
1. Directed Research .......................................................................................... 960
2. Teaching Methods .......................................................................................... 960
3. Course Structure ............................................................................................ 961
4. Skills Training ................................................................................................ 961
D. Reforming African Law Schools ................................................................ 961
1. Practical Skills Training .................................................................................. 961
2. Legal Clinics .................................................................................................... 961
3. The Pupillage System ...................................................................................... 962
4. Teaching Methods .......................................................................................... 962

VII. CONCLUSION ................................................................................................. 962

APPENDIX I ........................................................................................................ 964
APPENDIX II ......................................................................................................... 970

I. INTRODUCTION

A. African Legal Education

1. The Beginning

In the era immediately following independence,¹ there was significant scholarship on the need, processes, and character of legal education in Africa.²

¹ The post-colonial or independence era loosely refers to the period following the late 1950s and early 1960s when the British government withdrew from Africa. G. Pascal Zachary, Black Star: Ghana, Information Technology and Development in Africa, FIRST MONDAY, Mar. 2004, at 131, 135-36.

² A bibliography of the early scholarship on legal education in Africa during the independence era might include: PHILIP G. ALTBACH & GAIL P. KELLY, EDUCATION AND COLONIALISM (1978); CENTRE FOR AFRICAN LEGAL DEV., HAILE SELLASSIE I UNIV., PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON LEGAL EDUCATION IN AFRICA HELD IN ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA OCTOBER 20-24 (Jacques Vanderlinden ed., 1968) (hereinafter
2008 / Legal Education in Africa: What Type of Lawyer Does Africa Need?

Policymakers, politicians, and academics all saw the need for training legal professionals who could assist in the transformation of African legal systems and aid in the development of Africa. They made various inquiries into the state of

African legal education. More importantly, they recognized the pressing need for adequate legal training. Many viewed law as a critical instrument in Africa’s
development, and the training of legal professionals formed a cornerstone in the scholarship on Africa.  

2. Policy Shift

In the civil unrest and political instability that followed independence, Africa’s focus shifted towards, among other issues, personal security, political stability, constitutionalism, and economic development. As Professor Muna Ndulo stated, “the dreams of prosperity following independence and self rule became a nightmare of insecurity and poverty.” Most African nations have not experienced the social equilibrium, respect for human and civil rights, or economic development that the citizens hoped would flow from independence. Consequently, little attention has been paid to the idea of using legal education as an instrument for transforming African societies, particularly in African common law jurisdictions. It would not be surprising if Africa’s civil law jurisdictions and Arabic regions follow a similar pattern, as they experienced similar instability.

6. See GOWER, supra note 2, at 102-04; see also Seidman, Law and Economic Development, supra note 3, at 999 (“[T]he Rule of Law is a dynamic concept . . . which should be employed not only to safeguard and advance the civil and political right of the individual in a free society, but also to establish social, economic, educational and cultural conditions under which his legitimate aspirations and dignity may be realized . . . .” (quoting Declaration of Delhi of the International Congress of Jurists (1959))).

7. Okechukwu Oko, Confronting Transgressions of Prior Military Regimes: Towards A More Pragmatic Approach, 11 CARDozo J. INT’L & COMP. L. 89, 89-90 (1999) [hereinafter Oko, Confronting Transgressions] (“For the better part of the last century, civil wars, ethnic unrest and political instability raged throughout most of Africa. Conflicts in Africa are traceable to several factors, including ethnic rivalries, religious intolerance, ideological differences, social and economic imbalances and weak and ineffective institutions.” (footnotes omitted)).


9. See Joshua Hammer, A Generation of Failure, NEWSWEEK, Aug. 1, 1994, at 32 (“A generation ago, Africa seemed on the brink of a triumphant new era. As one country after another shook loose from colonial rule, new leaders roused their jubilant countrymen with visions of prosperity and democracy. But while Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia have moved toward those goals, in Africa the hopes of the early 1960s have collapsed into ethnic violence, corruption, poverty and despair.”); see also Oko, Consolidating Democracy, supra note 8, at 576-80.


11. Id.

12. See generally GEORGE B. N. AYITTEY, AFRICA IN CHAOS (1998) [hereinafter AYITTEY, AFRICA IN CHAOS]; Makau wa Mutua, Conflicting Conceptions of Human Rights: Rethinking the Post-Colonial State, 89 AM. SOC’y INT’L L. PROC. 487 (1995); Oko, Confronting Transgressions, supra note 7. See also Zachary, supra note 1, at 161 (noting that most parts of Africa suffer from “the persistence of HIV/AIDS, the lack of foreign investment, the continuing outflow of talent, the frequent civil wars, the poor transportation infrastructures,”
This shift in attention led to the current paucity of scholarly discussion on the role of law and lawyers in African societies. With the notable exception of South Africa, not much inquiry has been made into the adequacy of Africa’s current legal framework or the training of its lawyers. The hope of this article is to initiate a discussion of the complex issues surrounding African legal education reform.

B. Scope and Structure of Discussion

This article makes a general argument for legal education reform in Africa. It provides a broad framework for understanding the development and needs of African legal education and sets a two-pronged reform agenda. First, it suggests reforming African law faculties. Second, it proposes reforming African law schools.

Any reform agenda must consider two questions: What type of lawyer does Africa need? And, do these institutions produce the type of lawyer Africa needs? Without answers to these fundamental questions, the reform goals might be cheated of a richer discussion. This article seeks to initiate a discussion of these

---


14. Law faculties are university institutions that provide academic training for a Bachelor of Laws degree (LL.B.). Berthan Macaulay, Students for Law Schools and Faculties in Africa, 6 J. AFR. L. 81, 81 (1962).

15. Law schools are professional law training institutions that provide practical legal skills after law faculty education. Id.
questions by raising general issues. Other articles that look at specific aspects of legal education reform may offer detailed proposals for what is to be done and how.\textsuperscript{16} Hopefully, this article will intensify academic and policy discourse on reforming African legal education.

Given the focus and continental scope of this inquiry, this article uses a comparative study model.\textsuperscript{17} Section II traces the historical development of African legal education, and Section III examines the curricula at select African institutions. Section IV seeks to identify the type of lawyer Africa needs. First, it offers a survey of the strengths, weaknesses, and needs of African legal education. Second, it considers the type of lawyer Africa needs and analyzes whether the current legal education process produces such a lawyer. To do this, the article considers the global demands and local realities, challenges, needs, and aspirations. Section V analyzes the need for curricula reform and makes specific suggestions for implementing reform. Section VI summarizes key recommendations, and Section VII offers concluding remarks.

II. OVERVIEW: AFRICA’S LEGAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

A. Historical Development

1. Pre-Colonial Era

Prior to the Europeans’ arrival in Africa, there appeared to be no formal system of legal education that produced “legal professionals”\textsuperscript{18} as the term is presently understood.\textsuperscript{19} Even with no formal legal education system, traditional African culture attached great importance to the law and legal education.\textsuperscript{20}


\textsuperscript{17} This article does not examine the legal education systems of all of Africa’s fifty-five countries. Instead, the article focuses on common law Africa and uses a comparative study model to identify general persistent patterns of legal education processes and needs. Essential similarities exist in both the structure and the substance of legal education at most African institutions with merely a few local variations.

African countries are grouped into five regions and may be further divided into North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. Such groupings over-simplify issues, as regional and inter-country differences exist in legal education processes, conditions, and needs.

\textsuperscript{18} This term, as used, refers to lawyers, judges, and paralegals.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{See generally} GEORGE B. N. AYITTEY, \textit{INDIGENOUS AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS} (2006) [hereinafter AYITTEY, \textit{INDIGENOUS AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS}].

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Id.}
Learning of customary laws and practices was generally an informal life-long process.21 According to one author, “[i]nheritance, ownership of movable or immovable property, status of individuals, rules of behaviour and morality, were matters irrevocably settled by the customary law, with which every one was familiar from childhood, and litigation regarding such matters was . . . almost inconceivable.”22 Further, chiefs and elders in some African societies were even formally taught customary laws—customs, norms, and practices—of their communities.23

Traditional legal systems and customary laws in African polyethnic societies formed “part of a functioning, coherent, and consistent totality” of the African way of life.24 Those who would be regarded as legal professionals in present times traditionally would have been seen as merely performing their social duties. The role of legal professionals was not litigation.25 Rather, legal professionals performed public interest services and used mediation to resolve disputes and maintain balance and harmony between parties and in the community.26 Such legal professionals included chiefs, elders, and people with particular law-related responsibilities or functions, such as the tendaana of the Dagaaba in Ghana.27 Many others were instrumental in establishing the rule of law by upholding societal values and helping in dispute resolution. Linguists, for example, performed various functions during disputes.28 They interfaced between the chief, sub-chief, or head of family (or lineage) and the disputants.29 They were—and still are—adroit in the linguistic use of proverbs and apt aphorisms, which are regarded as customary law legal maxims, and used frequently in traditional dispute settlement processes.30

21. Id.
22. RATTRAY, supra note 3, at 286 (emphasis added); see also AYITTEY, INDIGENOUS AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS, supra note 19, at 30-42.
23. For the chiefs, this was usually done when they were being installed (i.e., during the enstoolment process (for the chiefs who sit on stools) or enskinment (for the chiefs who sit on skins)). For instance, among the Akan ethnic group of Ghana, as part of the enstoolment process, a number of weeks are set aside for the chief to be specially taught the norms and customs of the people. See AYITTEY, INDIGENOUS AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS, supra note 19.
25. See AYITTEY, INDIGENOUS AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS, supra note 19.
26. Id.
27. Yelpaala, Circular Arguments and Self-Fulfilling Definitions, supra note 24, at 368-70 (noting that among the Dagaaba, the tendaana or custodian of the land was an instrumental witness to the acquiring of land and that it was his duty to establish boundaries, keep mental records, and recall them in land disputes).
28. ELIAS, supra note 3, at 241 & n.3.
29. See CASELHY HARVEY, GOLD COAST NATIVE INSTITUTIONS 68-72 (1903).
30. See ELIAS, supra note 3, at 272; see also AYITTEY, INDIGENOUS AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS, supra note 19, at 30-35, 45.
Legal representation was not necessary in traditional adjudications because the parties to any dispute were required to appear in person to present their case. In limited instances, there was some form of representation. For example, a relative or other “champion-at-law” occasionally represented disputants at a customary adjudication. Essentially, however, the traditional legal system trained and expected people to speak for themselves in legal proceedings without any representation.

2. Colonial Era

Colonization changed this state of affairs significantly. It introduced formal legal education and legal representation, and compounded Africa’s plural legal systems. Though it provided useful juridical patterns for contemporary African legal systems, colonization and the legal education it introduced focused on litigation to the detriment of other useful roles that lawyers could perform. The colonial legal system offers useful lessons that might be instructive for African law curriculum reform initiatives.

a. Early Developments: Nigeria and Ghana as Examples

Around 1862 in Nigeria (then Lagos Colony), a quasi-legal profession began to develop when the British colonial administration introduced a system of courts, patterned after the British system. An organized legal profession able to apply English laws and procedures thus became necessary.

In 1876, the Supreme Court Ordinance was enacted to regulate the legal profession and to define those who could engage in the practice of law in the colony. According to this Ordinance, a person was entitled to practice law if he was a duly authorized husband or wife, guardian or servant, the master or inmate of the household of a plaintiff or defendant.

31. See Ayittey, Indigenous African Institutions, supra note 19.
32. Elias, supra note 3, at 97-98 (“There was a widely-prevalent practice in African societies according to which a member of a family or extended family who shows aptitude in that capacity is deputed to act in law-suits in which other family members may happen to be involved from time to time.”).
33. A “champion at law” was a person well versed in the customary legal issue at stake or the facts of the matter, or one who had the legal right to give evidence in the dispute settlement process. See Elias, supra note 3, at 274. The tendaana was, for example, perfectly cast in the champion-at-law mold for his community. This is particularly poignant in the tendaana’s role as the custodian of Dagaaba land and his instrumentality as a witness to the acquisition of land, as well as his duty “to establish boundaries,” “keep mental records,” and “to recall them in land disputes.” See Yelpaala, Circular Arguments and Self-Fulfilling Definitions, supra note 24, at 370 (discussing the role of the tendaana among the Dagaaba of Northern Ghana).
34. See Elias, supra note 3, at 274 (noting that champions at law include any duly authorized husband or wife, guardian or servant, the master or inmate of the household of a plaintiff or defendant).
35. See Kimble, supra note 3, at 68.
36. Gower, supra note 2, at 104-05.
37. Ironically, the indigenous system did not focus on litigation; it used mediation systems that are now being advocated for worldwide. See Ayittey, Indigenous African Institutions, supra note 19.
39. Id.
the colony. The Ordinance provided that those who had already been admitted as barristers or advocates in Great Britain or Ireland, or as solicitors or writers to the signet, in any of the courts at London, Dublin, or Edinburgh were to be allowed by the Chief Justice to practice as barristers and solicitors in the [Lagos] colony.  

Educated Africans deemed sufficiently knowledgeable in the law by virtue of their close contact with practitioners were also allowed to practice as attorneys.  

“In 1945, the Supreme Court (Civil Procedure) Rules ended the era of ‘self taught attorneys’ who, although not professionally qualified, were allowed to function as barristers and solicitors.”  

From that time, only those “entitled to practice as barristers in England or Ireland or as advocates in Scotland could be admitted to practice in Nigeria.” Accordingly, formal legal education became an essential enterprise. Moreover, the lack of qualified persons in the colonies compelled the fusion of barristers—those who appear in court—and solicitors—those who are confined to office work—and “marked the beginning of a fused legal profession in Nigeria.”  

Similarly, in 1853, Ghana (then known as the Gold Coast Colony) passed laws to formalize legal proceedings. Even though there were no barristers or solicitors in the Gold Coast at that time, “some educated Africans began to specialize in the presentation of cases.”  

In 1864, a court order mandated these individuals to obtain licenses. This semi-professional practice provided the beginnings of “Ghanaian lawyering.” Of course, these practitioners were not qualified lawyers. They were, nevertheless, “an important intermediary between the formality of the courts and their illiterate [clients].” In 1874, these intermediaries were required to “pass a simple examination before the Chief Magistrate.” The examination was designed to test their “knowledge of court

40. Id.  
41. Id.  
42. Id.  
43. Id. (citing Order 16, Rule 1 of the Supreme Court Ordinance No. 43 of 1943).  
44. Id.  
45. See KIMBLE, supra note 3, at 68. Gold Coast was the former name of present day Ghana. The Gold Coast colony, however, “formed only a small fraction of what Ghana is today,” and it included the Lagos settlement, which is no longer part of Ghana. See A. N. E. Amissah, The Supreme Court, A Hundred Years Ago, in ESSAYS IN GHANAIAN LAW 1 (W. C. Ekow Daniels & G. R. Woodman eds., 1976).  
46. See KIMBLE, supra note 3, at 68.  
47. Id. (noting that some chiefs criticized the practice of using attorneys “‘when the natives had better speak for themselves’)”) (quoting LONDON SELECT COMMITTEE ON AFRICA (WESTERN COAST) ¶ 55 (1865)).  
48. Id.  
49. Id.  
50. Id.  
51. Id. (commenting that these semi-professional lawyers “probably attempted to make English legal procedure acceptable to Africans”).  
52. Id. at 70 (referring to Dispatch No. 124 from Lord Camarvon, Sec’y of State, British Colonies, to
procedure, and of the broad general principles of civil and criminal law."  

However, heightened prejudices between the colonial administration and the African educated elites brought an end to testing.  

Eventually, the legal system in Ghana became more formal and advocate qualification became a prerequisite to legal representation.  

Formal legal education thereafter became necessary.

b. Lack of Local Legal Training Facilities

Despite the need for legal education institutions, virtually no steps were taken to establish local training facilities for legal education in Africa during the colonial period.  

According to Professor Muna Ndulo, “[a]s a matter of policy, legal education was discouraged.” W. L. Twining suggests this was not an accident; colonial policy deemed it “more important to train engineers, doctors, and agriculturalists than lawyers” because “Africans who wished to read law were regarded as preparing for a career in politics,” and “it would be self-destructive for a colonial government to encourage the production of politicians.” “Yet emphasis on these other fields was not apparent . . . .” For example, at the end of British rule in 1964, “Zambia had a mere one hundred university graduates, of whom only two were medical doctors and one was an engineer; the rest were graduates in the field of education.” In 1959, Malawi had “only twenty-three Malawians with university degrees.” In Ghana, the colonial administration abandoned the plan, proposed and initiated by Sir Gordon Guggisberg, then governor of the Gold Coast Colony, aimed at training Africans.
to man medical, engineering, and other important positions. Thus, legal education, like most other fields of study, suffered from lack of local attention.

The lesson to be drawn from this state of affairs for our inquiry on curricula reform is not so much the lack of training facilities. Rather, the issue of importance to our inquiry is the way in which African students in these African countries with no local legal training institutions managed to read law to become attorneys and practice. We now look at that issue.

c. Journeying to London for Legal Education

Since there was no form of legal education in the colonized African countries, the only way an African could become a lawyer was to journey to London, join an Inn of Court, and acquire English professional qualifications. Only the rich could embark on such a quest to attain legal education. As a result, in the colonial era, British expatriates and Asians heavily patronized and dominated the legal profession in the African colonies. Of the one hundred lawyers in Tanganyika (now Tanzania) in 1961, only one was African. There

63. Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg was Governor of the Gold Coast (Ghana) from 1919 to 1927, where he implemented a ten-year development plan to provide socio-economic infrastructure. In eight years, he constructed a harbour, a college (Achimota), schools, a hospital (Korle-Bu), clinics, improved road transportation, railways, telephone and communications, encouraged agriculture, indirect rule, and African advancement in the colonial service. Even though Guggisberg’s eight-year administration is considered as “the most revolutionary in the development of [Ghana] in the colonial days,” there were certain crucial aspects of Guggisberg’s plans that were never implemented by the colonial administration after the expiration of Guggisberg’s term as governor. For example, Guggisberg planned that the Korle-Bu hospital complex, which he built in 1923, should become the medical college for all British West Africa for the training of doctors, nurses, technicians, and other health professionals, but this never materialized. It was about 40 years later, after independence under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s presidency, that the University of Ghana Medical School was established at Korle-Bu. See Ghana.co.uk, Colonial Rule: Governor Guggisberg and Ghana, http://www.ghana.co.uk/history/history/colonial_rule_govenor_guggisberg_part1.htm; see also, H.B. Goodall, The Beloved Imperialist, http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa5391/is_200611/ai_n21402021/print (on file with the McGeorge Law Review).

64. For lessons from lack of local facilities, see Manteaw, Reforming African Legal Education, supra note 16.

65. With hardly any exception, all of these African lawyers were trained as barristers (advocates), not solicitors. See GOWER, supra note 2, at 108, 113 (noting that these African barristers (or advocates) “had no training at all in how to conduct the affairs and offer the services of a lawyer to whom a lay client had direct access”).

66. See Ndulo, Legal Education in Zambia, supra note 13, at 445-46. However, there existed some African institutions that offered some form of legal education. DENNING COMMITTEE REPORT, supra note 2, ¶ 24 (discussing two of the local facilities—the Institute of Administration at Zaria in Northern Nigeria and the Royal Technical College at Nairobi in Kenya—and noting that they lacked teaching facilities and, therefore, students who enrolled there had to rely on private study, often aided by correspondence course from England; moreover, they offered only Part I of the Bar examination, and thus the students still had to go to England to complete the course); see also GOWER, supra note 2, at 112, 129; Johnstone, American Assistance to African Legal Education, supra note 2, at 657-58; Lumumba, supra note 13.

67. DENNING COMMITTEE REPORT, supra note 2, ¶ 6; see also GOWER, supra note 2, at 113; Ojwang &Salter, supra note 13, at 79.

68. DENNING COMMITTEE REPORT, supra note 2, ¶ 6.
were less than ten Africans out of the over three hundred qualified lawyers in Kenya.\textsuperscript{69} Out of about one hundred and fifty lawyers in Uganda, only twenty were African.\textsuperscript{70} West Africa also lacked a significant number of African lawyers.\textsuperscript{71}

The African legal profession, composed largely of wealthy foreigners, had little interest in public interest law (as opposed to the practice in pre-colonial times).\textsuperscript{72} The profession’s focus, as influenced by British legal education curricula, was on private practice, representing rich and commercial clients, and litigating cases.\textsuperscript{73} This seemed to have facilitated the profession’s loss of touch with local realities and with the needs and aspirations of the poor majority. More importantly, there were grave inadequacies in the London legal training that prepared these lawyers for practice in Africa.

d. Trained in London to Practice in Africa: Inadequacies

According to Ndulo, “although a call to the English Bar was . . . considered sufficient for admission to practice in most African countries [during the colonial era], the legal education provided by the Inns of Court was—and is not today—in itself adequate training for practice in Africa.”\textsuperscript{74} The legal training “paid no attention to the problems of practicing in an underdeveloped country with multiple systems of law.”\textsuperscript{75} In fact, “English-trained lawyers did not study the [c]ustomary [l]aws of [African countries] as part of their education even though [c]ustomary law was and still is a very important part of the [African] [l]egal system.”\textsuperscript{76}

Also, with hardly any exception, all the African lawyers were trained as barristers (advocates) and not solicitors.\textsuperscript{77} This presented a problem that still affects African legal education and the legal profession. According to L. C. B. Gower, because African lawyers were trained exclusively as barristers, the focus

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{69} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{70} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{71} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{72} Jessup, \textit{supra} note 13, at 387 (“The law courses of early curricular design did not reflect the needs of the society, and the training of lawyers was based on doctrinaire teaching geared to an adversary setting catering to litigation for the fortunate few at the cost of social injustice to the deprived many.”).
  \item \textsuperscript{73} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{74} Ndulo, \textit{Legal Education in Africa, supra} note 10, at 490; see also \textit{DENNING COMMITTEE REPORT, supra} note 2, ¶ 27; GOWER, \textit{supra} note 2, at 108, 113; Hedges, \textit{supra} note 2, at 75-76.
  \item \textsuperscript{75} Ndulo, \textit{Legal Education in Africa, supra} note 10, at 490 (noting that in the context of former British colonies, the Denning Committee Report drew attention to the need for local education and practical training in local law and procedure); see also GOWER, \textit{supra} note 2, at 108, 113.
  \item \textsuperscript{77} See GOWER, \textit{supra} note 2, at 112.
\end{itemize}
in African law was, and continues to be, litigation. Not even the dramatic increase in local legal training initiatives during the independence era could change the profession’s fixation on litigation and private practice.

3. Post-Independence Era

The rising fervor for independence in the 1950s and 1960s increased interest in establishing local training facilities for legal education in Africa. According to Professor Johnstone, as emerging independent African countries began to establish “higher educational training facilities in particular professions and disciplines, the student flow abroad [began to fall] off markedly in those fields for which training [was] available at home. Law [was] no exception to this.”

African legal education progressed dramatically immediately after independence. Many new African nations began establishing law faculties. For example, in 1956, the Council of the University of Ghana (formerly the University College of Gold Coast) accepted a proposal to establish a Department of Law in the college. The university admitted its first law students in 1959. “Out of the 26 students admitted, 18 completed the program and graduate[d] in 1963.” Other legal training institutions were also established, and, by April 1972, there were “43 African universities with faculties of law, twelve of them in South Africa, nine in Arab countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and the remaining 22 in the great middle belt of the continent.” The number has grown steadily over the years to more than one hundred. The legal training, at least in Ghana, was structured according to suggestions provided by the Denning Committee in 1961.

78. Id.
79. Id. at 117-29.
80. See Johnstone, American Assistance to African Legal Education, supra note 2, at 662-63; see also GOWER, supra note 2, at 117-29; FED’N NIGERIA, REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE FUTURE OF THE NIGERIAN LEGAL PROFESSION (1959); HUGHES PARRY REPORT, supra note 2.
81. See supra Part IA.1.
82. See Brief History on the Establishment of Department/Faculty of Law, NEWSLETTER (Univ. of Ghana, Faculty of Law), 1998, at 5 [hereinafter Brief History of Ghana Faculty of Law]; HUGHES PARRY REPORT, supra note 2.
83. Brief History of Ghana Faculty of Law, supra note 82, at 5.
84. Id. at 4; see also da Rocha, supra note 13, at 1 (noting that the first locally trained lawyers were enrolled on 22 June 1963 in Ghana).
85. Johnstone, American Assistance to African Legal Education, supra note 2, at 657-58. Of those twenty-two faculties in the great middle belt of the African continent, “twelve . . . provide[d] instruction predominantly in English, eight in French, one in Italian, and one in Arabic.” See id. at 658-59; see also id. at 658 n.2 (listing the forty-three faculties).
87. See generally DENNING COMMITTEE REPORT, supra note 2.
a. The Denning Committee

The British Government created the Denning Committee in October 1960 to examine legal education in Africa and to make recommendations for a suitable scheme of training. The role of the Denning Committee was defined as follows:

(a) ... [T]o consider, and report as soon as possible, what facilities ought to be made available to provide any additional instruction and training, either in the United Kingdom or elsewhere, which may be required to ensure that those members of local bars in Africa who obtain their legal qualifications . . . possess the knowledge and experience required to fit them for practice in the special conditions of the territories in which they are to practice, with special reference to the following:

(i) the acquisition of the practical experience in addition to academic qualifications . . .

(b) . . . [C]onsideration should also be given . . . to the means to be adopted in the educational sphere to give the . . . [African countries] assistance which they may require in whatever provision they make for the education in Africa of local inhabitants seeking legal qualification.

After extensive hearings and discussions, the Denning Committee recommended that African countries not admit lawyers to local practice merely on the basis of British qualifications. It suggested requiring additional practical training in local law and procedure. “The Committee further recommended the establishment of local training facilities, and specifically recommended the establishment of a law school in Dar-es-Salaam to serve East Africa.”

The Denning Committee’s recommendations were largely adopted and have influenced the system of legal education in Africa. Of particular significance was the proposal that the normal pattern of legal education in the African territories should be a degree in law at an African university followed by one year of practical training at a school of law. This recommendation formed the basis for common law Africa’s two-tiered legal education system: academic legal education in a university’s law faculty for a Bachelor of Laws degree and

89. Id.
90. GOWER, supra note 2, at 110.
91. Id.
92. Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 490; see also DENNING COMMITTEE REPORT, supra note 2, ¶ 51, 57.
93. GOWER, supra note 2, at 110.
94. See id. at 110, 118, 125-27; see also DENNING COMMITTEE REPORT, supra note 2, ¶ 68 (“[I]n the future . . . the normal pattern of higher legal education in the African territories will be a degree in law at a university in Africa followed by one year’s practical training at a school of law in Africa.”); Ojwang & Salter, supra note 13, at 80.
subsequent professional legal training in a law school for a “call to the Bar” (a Barrister/Solicitors’ Certificate).95

b. Legal Education in the “Heady Days” of Independent Africa

When local institutions were established in the newly independent states of Africa, most countries faced an urgent need to train lawyers to run the courts and various government departments.96 Consequently, African countries adopted the English system of law as an undergraduate course.97 With slight local variations, the British legal education curriculum was introduced wholesale in African countries.98 This curriculum ensured a smooth transition to local legal training as virtually all the lawyers in the Anglophone African countries had been trained in England or other countries in the British Commonwealth.99 Invariably, the policy was to substantially continue with the legal education traditions of the British, to which the then African legal professionals were accustomed.100

Apart from the focus on training lawyers to run the courts and government departments, the law curricula were heavily influenced by a private practice approach to juridical relationships.101 The curricula focused on private commercial activity and private affairs rather than the problems of the public.102 According to Grady Jessup: “The law courses of early curricular design did not reflect the needs of the society, and the training of lawyers was based on doctrinaire teaching geared to an adversary setting catering to litigation for the fortunate few at the cost of social injustice to the deprived many.”103

This initial focus on litigation still permeates the legal system. Rarely is it regarded as a lawyer’s duty to settle cases out of court or to use the law as a tool

95. The law school professional legal training is akin to the Bar Review program in the United States.
96. See ABKU KORSAH, LAW IN A CHANGING COMMUNITY (1960) (“In the public field, it is of first importance to the success of the government’s policies that the law should provide for the efficient organization and functioning of the civil service and other public services, armed forces, local authorities, state corporations and other instruments of administration.”); Twining, The English Law Teacher in Africa, supra note 2, at 81.
97. See Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 488-89; see also Twining, The English Law Teacher in Africa, supra note 2, at 81 (noting the situation in Sudan where of the first seven Sudanese lawyers trained locally one became the Chief Justice, three became judges of the High Court, one was Attorney-General, one was a Minister of Commerce, and, finally, one became Foreign Secretary).
98. See DENNING COMMITTEE REPORT, supra note 2, ¶ 30-39.
99. See Harvey, Comments on Legal Education, supra note 2; Jessup, supra note 13, at 403.
100. See GOWER, supra note 2, at 144-45 (commenting that too many African lawyers are typical Englishmen). “We [the English] have stamped our mark on the law and on the lawyers of these [African] countries. Whether we or they like it or not, the mark is probably indelible, but it can be reshaped without too drastic plastic surgery. The trouble is that most African lawyers like it as it is . . . .” Id. at 144. This is reflected in the African legal profession which, though fused and not divided like in Britain, the terms barrister and solicitor are nevertheless still used. See id. at 104-05.
101. See Jessup, supra note 13, at 387.
102. Id.
103. Id. (suggesting a development clinic model of legal education in Africa) (emphasis added).
for public interest services and socioeconomic engineering. As a former Director of Legal Education in Ghana noted:

Most people think of the legal profession in terms of the lawyers practising [sic] before the courts. Indeed, it is not unusual to hear some of our country folk expressing doubt whether a person is a lawyer simply because they do not see him in court. Even some lawyers think that the lawyer who practises [sic] before the courts is somehow a creature who is superior to the one who does not.

B. The Present Process of Legal Education in Africa

1. The Law Degree: Program and Duration

Legal education in Africa begins at the university level, and, in most parts of Africa, it is an undergraduate course of study. In a few law faculties, legal education is a graduate program akin to the practice in the United States, Canada, and India. An example is the University of Ghana, where legal education was changed from an undergraduate program into a graduate program in 2000. In contrast, law was a postgraduate program in South Africa but was changed to an undergraduate program in 1998.

The undergraduate law degree is the Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.). The duration of an LL.B. program varies among the different African law faculties. It is four years in Malawi, Kenya, Zambia, and most South African law faculties. In other faculties, such as the University of Dar-es-Salaam law
faculty in Tanzania, the program is three years.\textsuperscript{113} It is two years in other faculties, such as the University of Ghana law faculty, which introduced a two-year graduate LL.B. program in 2000.\textsuperscript{114} Usually, each academic year consists of thirty weeks divided into two equal semesters of fifteen weeks.\textsuperscript{115}

Some countries have experimented with different variations to their law degree programs.\textsuperscript{116} With the introduction of the graduate LL.B. degree program, the University of Ghana shortened the duration of its law faculty to two years, with each year of study divided into two equal semesters.\textsuperscript{117} Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) Law Faculty offers a three-year post-first degree LL.B. program (four years for part-time students) and a four-year undergraduate LL.B. program.\textsuperscript{118} These reforms and experiments suggest that African countries, at least those mentioned above, are looking for the best legal education model.

2. Routes to Legal Education: South Africa and Ghana as Examples

In Africa, a law degree does not alone qualify one to practice as a lawyer.\textsuperscript{120} A further period of post-graduate practical training is required.\textsuperscript{121} While Ghana’s academic legal education structure and the practical training program epitomizes the situation in common law sub-Saharan Africa, the South African program presents some essential contrasts that might be useful to the curricula reform inquiry.

\textsuperscript{113} See University of Dar es Salaam, The Faculty of Law, http://www.lawafrica.com/LegalEducation/go.asp?sectionID=DAR_FAC (last visited Apr. 2, 2008) [hereinafter Dar Es Salaam Faculty of Law] (on file with the McGeorge Law Review). The LL.B. course is normally completed in three consecutive years of full-time study, with examination at the end of every year.

\textsuperscript{114} See Proposal for the Conversion of the Current Law Programme, supra note 13. However, Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) Law Faculty has a three-year post-first degree LL.B. program (four years for part-time students) and a four-year undergraduate LL.B. program. KNUST Regulations for Bachelor of Law, supra note 108.

\textsuperscript{115} See Nairobi Bachelor of Law, supra note 112.

\textsuperscript{116} See Proposal for the Conversion of the Current Law Programme, supra note 13.

\textsuperscript{117} Id.

\textsuperscript{118} Thus, law students spend a total of four semesters in the faculty. See UOG Admission Requirements, supra note 108. To be eligible for admission, an applicant must have obtained an undergraduate degree, which is predominantly a four-year program in Ghana.

\textsuperscript{119} KNUST Regulations for Bachelor of Law, supra note 108.

\textsuperscript{120} Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 493.

\textsuperscript{121} Id.
a. South Africa

In South Africa, the LL.B. degree is essentially a four-year undergraduate program. Practical training is required after the LL.B. degree. While the practical training aspect was traditionally the province of the profession’s articles of clerkship program (of at least a two year duration), the system is changing. First, skills training in both law school curricula and post-graduate practical training programs has increased. Second, the articles of clerkship period is now shorter. Third, community apprenticeships have been created to facilitate practical training in public interest law. South Africa has nine Practical Legal Training Schools (PLTS) approved by the provincial law societies. They supplement an LL.B. graduate’s training with a required five-week practical training course before clerkship. If a law graduate undertakes an additional five months training at a PLTS, he or she “need only serve one year of articles [of clerkship], instead of two.” Articles of clerkship might be undertaken at private law firms, university law clinics, justice centers run by the Legal Aid Board, or public interest law firms, such as the Legal Resources Center. After the clerkship, the law graduate must pass the attorney’s admission examination in order to apply for admission as an attorney.

Of special interest in this process is the community service apprenticeship in public interest law clinics. Law clinics enroll candidate attorneys and law students and provide them with opportunities to attain practical legal skills through their community service programs. By employing a principal attorney (with a minimum of three years practical experience) to supervise law graduates, these clinics enable the candidate attorneys to appear in district courts, while the principals appear in the regional and High Courts. Most of these clinics are

122. See Mcquoid-Mason, The New Four Year Undergraduate LL.B. Programme, supra note 107.
123. Id.
125. Id.
126. Id.
128. See Mhlungu, supra note 124, at 1009.
129. Id.
130. Id.
131. Id. at 1012.
132. See id. at 1026 (citing Attorneys Act 53 of 1979 § 14). The examination includes Estates, Ethics, Bookkeeping, and Court Procedure. Id.
133. Id. at 1022.
134. Id.
university based.\textsuperscript{135} The Association of the University Legal Aid Institutions (AULAI) represents twenty such clinics that provide free legal services to indigent clients and provide law students and graduates training in the “skills and values required to practice law.”\textsuperscript{136} They also “expose law students and candidate attorneys to . . . economic and social disparities,” and even “recruit [some of] them to practice public interest law after admission.”\textsuperscript{137} Candidate attorneys interview clients, provide representation, give advice, prepare documents, and participate in community outreach programs and street law activities.\textsuperscript{138} They are also required to attend monthly staff forums where representatives brief members on their work, thereby building confidence and broadening perspectives on law and development.\textsuperscript{139} At the end of the training, both candidate attorneys and law students have been exposed to real-life problems of the poor and disadvantaged, and to different types of public interest legal practice.\textsuperscript{140}

\textit{b. Ghana}

With its diverse programs, Ghana is an interesting comparative study because it offers instructive parallels to other countries’ programs. Ghana offers legal education through four routes.\textsuperscript{141} These include undergraduate and post-graduate LL.B. programs.\textsuperscript{142} Some programs are two years, others are three years, and there are even four-year programs.\textsuperscript{143} First, a person may begin formal legal education by enrolling at the University of Ghana’s law faculty for a two-year post-first LL.B. degree and thereafter proceed to the Ghana School of Law for the two-year professional law certificate program.\textsuperscript{144} Second, one might opt for a similar program at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) Law Faculty, where the post-first degree LL.B. program is three years (or four years for part-time students) and then go to the Ghana School of Law.\textsuperscript{145}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{135} \textit{Id.} (noting there are twenty university-based law clinics).
  \item \textsuperscript{136} \textit{Id.} (citing Stephen Golub, \textit{Battling Apartheid, Building a New South Africa, in MANY ROADS TO JUSTICE: THE LAW-RELATED WORK OF FORD FOUNDATION GRANTEES AROUND THE WORLD} 19, 39 (Mary McClymont & Stephen Golub eds., 2000)).
  \item \textsuperscript{137} \textit{Id.}
  \item \textsuperscript{139} Mhlungu, \textit{supra} note 124, at 1024.
  \item \textsuperscript{140} \textit{Id.} at 1024-25.
  \item \textsuperscript{141} \textit{COMMONWEALTH LEGAL EDUC. ASS’N, DIRECTORY OF COMMONWEALTH LAW SCHOOLS 2003/2004}, at 127 (John Hatchard ed., 2003) [hereinafter CLEA DIRECTORY].
  \item \textsuperscript{142} \textit{Id.}; KNUST Regulations for Bachelor of Law, \textit{supra} note 108.
  \item \textsuperscript{143} CLEA DIRECTORY, \textit{supra} note 141, at 127; KNUST Regulations for Bachelor of Law, \textit{supra} note 108.
  \item \textsuperscript{144} See CLEA DIRECTORY, \textit{supra} note 141, at 127.
  \item \textsuperscript{145} See KNUST Regulations for Bachelor of Law, \textit{supra} note 108. KNUST is a relatively new law faculty, which commenced teaching in the 2003-2004 academic year and offers courses leading to the LL.B. degree. \textit{See also} Ghana News Agency, \textit{Universities Must Design Market-Driven Courses}, GHANAWEB.COM,
Third, the KNUST Law Faculty offers a four-year undergraduate LL.B. program, after which the students may proceed to the Ghana School of Law. Fourth, the Ghana School of Law offers a Post-Call law course. The Post-Call course is a three-month course designed for qualified lawyers of common law countries outside Ghana. It covers two main subjects: Constitutional Law of Ghana and Ghana Customary Law. Candidates who successfully pass the requisite final examinations are enrolled as lawyers to practice in Ghana. Most African countries offer programs similar to Ghana’s.

3. Admission to Practice

Apart from law faculties, there is also a large miscellaneous group of non-university institutions that provide professional legal education in Anglophone African countries. Typically called law schools, these institutions include the Ghana School of Law, Kenya School of Law, Nigeria School of Law, Law Practice Institute of Zambia, Law Development Center of Uganda, and the College for Arabic and Islamic Studies in Omdurman (Sudan). Akin to bar review programs in the United States, these institutions prepare students for, and conduct, bar examinations after a student has obtained the requisite academic qualification (usually, the LL.B. degree) from the law faculty of an accredited or recognized university.

Admission to the study of law in a university in most African countries is by written examination. Depending on the country, a regional or national examinations body, a law faculty, or a law school may administer such an examination. In a few African countries, like Ghana and Malawi, passing the...
examination does not ensure automatic admission. Successful applicants are required to attend an interview for further screening.

III. AFRICAN LEGAL EDUCATION CURRICULAE

A. Curricula Examples from Select African Countries

As previously mentioned, legal education in common law Africa follows the English approach. It is two-tiered: academic (LL.B. degree) and professional (bar course). Students usually obtain “a law degree at a university [law faculty] followed by . . . training in professional skills at a separate law school.” Usually, the law faculties have specialty departments. Typical departments include International Law, Business Law, Public Law, Private Law, Jurisprudence, and Human Rights. Some institutions also offer post-graduate programs, such as a Master of Laws degree (LL.M.), a Master of Philosophy in

the entrance examinations for prospective law students who must have a good first degree from an accredited university. UOG Admission Requirements, supra note 108.

157. UOG Admission Requirements, supra note 108.
158. Id. Interviews, however, have the potential for unintended abuse; interviewers may deny admission to otherwise qualified candidates for reasons that have no bearing on their ability to practice as ethical lawyers. Also, such interviews have the potential for perpetuating elitism and favoritism of established families of lawyers. Others might even perceive it as an insidious form of class and ethnic manipulation. Due to the possibility of subjectivity in the interview process, it may have to be abolished and only written or oral tests used instead. Such a special entrance examination should be designed to test the student’s facility in written communication and his or her ability to analyze arguments and restate them concisely in his or her own language.

A test with higher selection standards, like the LSAT in the United States, limits admissions to very good students, reduces the incidence of academic failure, enhances the legal education process, and helps maintain a high quality legal profession. A test might nevertheless have drawbacks in that it might “reduce[] opportunit[ies] for those whose early academic experience did not ready them for . . . law school entrance exam success.” See Elizabeth Rindskopf Parker, A Dean’s Dilemma or Lessons in Diversity, 37 U. Tol. L. Rev. 117, 119 (2005). But interviews do not fix this problem and might even worsen it because the interview process screens successful examination candidates and might not favor brilliant, poor students. Increasing minority and disadvantaged student participation in a standardized testing regime requires a long-term solution of early preparation for minority students. See id. at 121. For example, McGeorge is collaborating with a neighborhood high school to reach back into “the earliest times in students’ academic career” to “increase the numbers of academically competitive minorities.” Id. (emphasis in original).

159. Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 492.
160. See id. at 493.
161. GOWER, supra note 2, at 118.

In America, where nearly all legal education is undertaken by the universities, the term law school is generally taken to mean the “law faculty” in a university. . . . In England [and Africa], the position is different. . . . [T]he term “law school” is taken to mean a non-university institution for the professional training of lawyers. The term “law faculty” is reserved for the university institution which gives legal instruction. Macaulay, supra note 14, at 81.

163. See id.
Law degree (M.Phil.), a Doctor of Philosophy degree (Ph.D.), or a Doctor of Laws degree (LL.D.).  

1. Nigeria

a. Law Faculties (Academic Training)

Nigeria has over thirty university law faculties that offer LL.B. programs. These universities produce law graduates who then proceed to the Nigerian Law School for a minimum of one year of professional training. The curriculum’s core courses include: Criminal Law, Contracts, Evidence, Torts, International Law, Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, Nigerian Land Law, and Commercial Law. The elective courses include Family Law, Islamic Law, Wills and Succession, Banking, Insurance, Labor Law, Mineral Law, Industrial Law, Revenue Law, and Criminology.

b. Law Schools (Professional Training)

In Nigeria, “[t]he [law] school admits only persons holding a law degree from an approved university or persons who passed the Solicitors’ final examination of Great Britain and Ireland.” The program is one year for students with law degrees from Nigerian universities and two years for those with law degrees obtained outside Nigeria. Students with law degrees obtained outside Nigeria are required to pass the following subjects in the Bar Part I examination: Nigerian Legal system, Nigerian Land Law, Nigerian Criminal Law, and Nigerian Constitutional Law. “Holders of law degrees from Nigerian universities are exempt from the Bar Part I course.” The Bar Part II offers the following courses: Civil Procedure, Criminal Procedure, Legal Drafting and Conveyancing, Commercial Law, Law and Practice of Evidence, and General

---


165. Jurist, Legal Education in Nigeria, supra note 38.

166. Id.


168. See Oko, Legal Education in Nigeria, supra note 13.


170. Id.

171. Id. “The Bar Part [I] course . . . introduced[s] foreign-trained students to the general principles of Nigerian Law.” Id.

172. Id. “Also exempt from the Bar Part I are graduates from other common law jurisdictions who have taught law for a minimum of five years in a Nigerian faculty of law and graduates from non-common law countries that have so taught for not less than 10 years.” Id.
Paper, comprised of Legal Practitioners’ Accounts, Income Tax Law, Office Management, and Professional Ethics. 

2. Ghana 
   
a. Law Faculties (Academic Training) 

At the University of Ghana Law Faculty, the LL.B. program lasts two years with a total of forty-eight courses offered. The first year curriculum has twelve required courses and four elective courses. The second year has four required courses and offers twenty-eight elective courses. All these courses are three credits each. Students are required to attend lectures and participate in tutorials for a minimum of eighteen credits and a maximum of twenty-one credits each semester. In each year, students take thirty-six (minimum) to forty-two (maximum) credits. To graduate, a student must fulfill all the course unit requirements by obtaining a minimum of seventy-two credits.

As shown in Appendix II, the required courses offered in the first year are Ghana Legal System, Legal Method, Law of Contract I and II, Constitutional Law I and II, Torts I and II, Immovable Property I and II, and Criminal Law I and II. Each of these courses is a year-long course, with the first part offered in the first semester and the second part in the second semester. The four first-year elective courses are Public International Law I and II and Comparative Law I and II. The second-year core courses are Jurisprudence I and II, Equity, and the Law of Succession. The elective courses offered in the

---

173. Id.
174. See Proposal for the Conversion of the Current Law Programme, supra note 13 (as amended by the UG HANDBOOK FOR THE BACHELOR’S DEGREE (HUMANITIES), ch. 14, at 236-40 (2007)).
175. For a list of the courses, see infra App. II.
176. See id.
177. See id.
178. See Proposal for the Conversion of the Current Law Programme, supra note 13 (as amended by the UG HANDBOOK FOR THE BACHELOR’S DEGREE (HUMANITIES), ch. 14, at 236-40 (2007)).
179. Id.
180. Id.
181. Constitutional Law I studies constitutional theory, and Part II studies the Constitution of Ghana. See infra App. II.
182. Part I of the Law of Torts studies intentional torts, and Part II studies negligence and defamation. See infra App. II.
183. Part I of the Law of Immovable Property studies customary land law, and Part II studies general immovable property principles and theory. See infra App. II.
184. Part I of Criminal Law studies general principles, and Part II studies specific offences. See id.
185. See id.
186. Comparative Law I studies legal traditions. Comparative Law II studies comparative constitutional law. See id.
187. See id. (providing a list of courses). All five elective courses are available in both the first and second year. See id.

b. Law Schools (Professional Training)

In Ghana, after obtaining an LL.B., a student enrolls in the professional bar certification program at the law school. This program is known as the Professional Law Course and lasts two years. The course is divided into two parts: Professional Law Part I and II. As shown in Appendix II, the courses that are offered during the Part I program are Criminal Procedure, Company Law, Law of Evidence, Legal Accountancy, Interpretation of Deeds and Statutes, and one of three elective courses. The elective courses are Industrial Law, Law of Insurance, and Legislative Drafting. The Professional Law Part II program entails the study of Civil Procedure, Conveyancing and Drafting, Family Law and Practice, Law of Taxation, and Advocacy and Legal Ethics.

Also, the Ghana School of Law offers a second program called the Post-Call Law Course, which is a three-month course designed for persons who have qualified as lawyers in common law countries outside Ghana. The two main subjects that form the basis of the course are Constitutional Law of Ghana and Ghana Customary Law. Again, as Appendix II shows, other common law African countries offer similar courses.

188. Commercial Law I is on sale of goods and hire purchase. Commercial Law II is on agency and banking. See id.
189. See id.
190. See Professional Law Course (LI) 1296 of 1984; see also da Rocha, supra note 13, at 5.
191. See id.; see also Professional Law Course (LI) 1296 of 1984. LI 1296 requires that a person pass the final examination (held by the University of Ghana, or by any other university or institution approved by the General Legal Council) in the subjects of Law of Contract, Law of Tort, Criminal Law, Constitutional Law, Ghana Legal System and History, Equity and Succession, and the Law of Immovable Property before proceeding to pursue a professional law course in the Ghana School of Law. See da Rocha, supra note 13, at 5.
192. da Rocha, supra note 13, at 5.
193. Id.
194. Id.
195. Id.; Professional Law Course (LI) 1296 of 1984; see also Ghana School of Law, Guidelines for Prospective Applicants (noting that successful candidates who pass through the Part I and II are enrolled as Barristers at Law and Solicitors of the Supreme Court of Ghana).
196. See Ghana School of Law, Guidelines for Prospective Applicants, supra note 195.
197. Id.
198. See infra App. II.
3. **Malawi: Law Faculties (Academic Training)**

In Malawi, the first-year curriculum includes Legal Systems, Legal Methods, Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, Criminal Law, Law and Society, and Torts. In the second year, students are required to take Trusts, Land, Contracts, and Family Law. During the third year, students take Business Organizations, Commercial Law, Conflicts of Laws, Public International Law, Jurisprudence, and Wills and Succession. In the fourth and final year, students complete the program with Civil Procedure, Criminal Procedure, Evidence, Advocacy and Ethics, Legal Accountancy, Taxation, and Dissertation (extended essay).

4. **Tanzania: Law Faculties (Academic Training)**


5. **Zambia: Law Faculties (Academic Training)**

In Zambia, the students spend the first year in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Zambia and may take any subjects in the arts and social sciences. “Students then spend three years in the law [faculty],” officially known as the School of Law. The first year consists of five core

---

199. Faculty of Law, Chancellor Coll., Univ. of Malawi, Faculty of Law Course Outlines, http://www.sdnp.org.mw/ruleoflaw/lawfaculty/CourseOutline.html (last visited May 6, 2008) [hereinafter University of Malawi Law Faculty] (on file with the McGeorge Law Review).

200. Id.

201. Id.

202. Id.

203. See Dar-es-Salaam Faculty of Law, supra note 113.

204. Id.

205. Id.

206. Id.

207. See Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 491-92.

208. Id. at 492. In Zambia, it is the School of Law, one of the schools of the University of Zambia,
courses: Legal Process, Law of Contract, Torts, Criminal Law, and Constitutional Law. In the second year, students have to take core courses in Commercial Law, Family Law, Evidence, Administrative Law, and Land Law. They also “participate in a moot court program based on appellate briefs and arguments.” The third and final year students take compulsory courses in Jurisprudence and Company Law. A student is required to select an additional three subjects from International Law, Labor Law, International Trade, and Criminology.

6. Uganda: Law Schools (Professional Training)

In Uganda, before a student graduates from the Law Development Center after passing the twelve-month Bar Course, the student must undergo four types of assessments. First, there is Individual Continuous Assessment, which is done weekly for a total of thirty-two weeks, spread over four terms. Second, in the first and second terms, a student must complete research and practical exercises (both oral and written) in Domestic Relations, Commercial Transactions, Criminal Proceedings, Civil Proceedings, and Land Transactions. Third, in the third term, students must complete a mandatory clerkship or obtain practical work experience with a legal institution, such as a law firm, a court, or a judge. Fourth, a final examination is administered at the end of the fourth term and covers six compulsory subjects: Commercial Transactions, Civil Proceedings, Criminal Proceedings, Domestic Relations, Land Transactions, and the General Subject. The General Subject is comprised of Legislative Drafting, Professional Conduct, Accounts/Solicitor’s Accounts, Judicial Conduct and Art of Advocacy, and Revenue Law and Taxation.

which oversees the academic legal education (LL.B. degree) program. See id. at 491 (citing UNIV. OF ZAMBIA, LAW SCHOOL HANDBOOK 1 (1970)).

209. Id. at 492 (citing UNIV. OF ZAMBIA, LAW SCHOOL HANDBOOK 19 (Law. Prac. Inst. (1983)).
210. Id.
211. Id.
212. Id.
213. Id. The curricula in the law faculties in Kenya also follow a similar pattern. See Lumumba, supra note 13.
215. Id.
216. Id.
217. Id.
218. Id.
219. Id.
IV. AFRICAN LEGAL EDUCATION: GLOBALIZATION AND LOCAL NEEDS

A. Core Curricula Strengths

The law school curricula in Africa have unique strengths. By a stroke of historical luck and necessity, Africa was one of the first continents to internationalize law curricula, and it continues to preserve and enhance that advantage.\(^220\) The curricula essentially consist of a broad-scoped pedagogy sensitive to different legal systems. Like the pervasive inclusion strategy being considered in American law schools, such as University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law and New York University School of Law,\(^221\) the curricula in African law schools expose students to public and private international law and comparative law materials.\(^222\) British common law and juridical principles permeate almost every course, and American cases and principles on constitutionalism, separation of powers, and human rights form an essential core of African law school curricula.\(^223\) In fact, the core courses offered at the various levels are very relevant and seem to be similar to those offered in many other jurisdictions, including the United States.\(^224\) Also, legal history and jurisprudence are often core courses, designed to develop in students a sensitivity to various legal approaches.\(^225\) African law students are thus exposed to a proper

\(^{220}\) Ironically, law schools in various developed countries, including the United States, are now debating strategies for internationalizing law school curricula. McGeorge School of Law is playing an active role in the AALS and ABA International Law Section’s initiatives on Internationalizing Law School Curricula. See Franklin A. Gevurtz et al., Report Regarding the Pacific McGeorge Workshop on Globalizing the Law School Curriculum, 19 PAC. MCGEORGE GLOBAL BUS. & DEV. L.J. 267 (2006) [hereinafter Gevurtz et al., Globalizing the Law School Curriculum]; see also Franklin Gevurtz & Elizabeth Rindskopf Parker, A Curricular Core for the Transnational Lawyer (2004), http://www.aals.org/international2004/Papers/Parker Paper.pdf (unpublished article) (on file with the McGeorge Law Review).


\(^{222}\) See, e.g., Dar Es Salaam Faculty of Law, supra note 113 (offering courses in International Law, Islamic Law, and Legal Aspects of International Trade and Investment, among others).


\(^{224}\) Compare, for example, the courses offered in the first year at the University of Ghana Faculty of Law (Ghana Legal System, Legal Method, Law of Contracts I and II, Constitutional Law I and II, Torts I and II, Immovable Property I and II, and Criminal Law I and II) with those offered in the first year at the University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law (Civil Procedure I and II, Contracts I and II, Criminal Law, Legal Process, Property I and II, and Torts I and II). See infra App. II; McGeorge Sch. of Law, First Year Courses (Required), http://www.mcgeorge.edu/Documents/catalog/2007_fall/2008_Course_Descriptions.pdf (last visited May 6, 2008) (on file with the McGeorge Law Review).

\(^{225}\) See, e.g., University of Malawi Law Faculty, supra note 199 (requiring students to take Jurisprudence in the third year).
understanding of many legal traditions—common law, customary law, civil law, Arabic and religious law—and other countries’ approaches to certain legal issues. Law curricula effectively present ways to resolve conflicts that arise under different legal traditions.

The curricula also benefit from professors trained in countries outside Africa. African law professors often have graduate training in foreign countries, which results in an international and comparative approach to teaching. Also, in the “heady days” of the independence era, African law schools benefited from the assistance of highly qualified legal scholars and educators from the United States, Britain, and other developed countries. These law professors taught a wide range of core courses, which they greatly influenced with their American law, civil law, and other expertise. They also studied African customary law, developed case books and, for a couple of decades, gave African students the opportunity to learn from the best comparative law experts. In their subsequent roles as law professors, these African law graduates maintained this comparative approach to legal education. African law students continue to benefit from the generosity of many American and other developed countries’ law schools. Schools such as Pacific McGeorge offer tuition waivers, financial assistance, and other resources and material support to enable African students to pursue graduate study, summer programs, long distance learning, and student and faculty exchanges. In spite of these strengths, however, many weaknesses and challenges remain.

B. Curricula Weaknesses

Weaknesses in African legal education include a lack of legal clinics to teach skills and sensitize students to local needs and aspirations, limited course offerings, over-reliance on lecture, scarce legal aid support services, and a lack of perspectives on African juridical and philosophical value systems as they relate to the global legal system. Also, law schools lack adequate learning resources, such as well-stocked libraries, electronic information retrieval databases, information and communications technology, and computers.

226. See infra App. II (listing curricula at select African law faculties and law schools).
227. Indeed, until recently, “Africa’s few lawyers were trained in Britain.” Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 488.
228. See id. at 493.
229. Id.
230. See supra note 3 (listing sources).
232. See Manteaw, Reforming African Legal Education, supra note 16, for a detailed inquiry into the weaknesses and challenges confronting African legal education and proposed reforms.
Other factors negatively impact the curricula. Overcrowding and disproportionate student-faculty ratios might impede effective teaching. Inadequate remuneration for faculty might compel moonlighting in second or third jobs and, thereby, affect faculty preparation and delivery. Dysfunctional institutions, lack of a broad-based continental administrative structure (like the AALS or ELFA) to enhance the legal education process, corruption, poverty, lack of facilities, and scarce resources are all challenges confronting African legal education curricula reform. In addition to these broad challenges, there are a number of specific weaknesses to African legal education.

1. Pupillage: A Systemic Weakness

Pupillage is the final part of the practical training program in law school. It is supervised by the Council for Legal Education. In Ghana, for example, the pupillage is done after the law student has completed law school and has been enrolled as a lawyer. Pupils appear in court during their pupillage since they are already qualified and enrolled lawyers. The pupillage is served in the chambers of a senior lawyer for a minimum period of six months. In most of the other East African countries, like Kenya, pupils do not appear in court by themselves to present or argue cases because pupillage takes place while the pupils are still in law school and not yet lawyers.

The need for pupillage arises because the training students receive in a law school is not sufficient for plunging straight into legal practice. The problems with this aspect of the legal training process lie in its structural deficiencies. First, there is no placement system to assist law students in getting accepted in an established law office. Second, even if a student gets into a law office, there is no system to guarantee him or her the opportunity to become involved in office...
routine and practice, such as the actual handling of cases, assisting in case preparation, and trial advocacy. Third, there is no assurance of performance review, such as discussions between the pupil and his or her superior.

An effective pupillage requires “well-organized [sets of] chambers, well equipped with tolerably good law libraries and senior lawyers who are willing to undertake the guidance of new lawyers.” Since this is lacking in most parts of Africa, any curricula reform initiative might have to seriously review and restructure the pupillage program. Pupillage seems to be a legal education policy that assumes law graduates and, in some instances, law students, will go to work in law firms for fairly low wages (maybe for free). In return, the firm is supposed to teach the craft of the law, thus complementing the legal education process to effectively complete the graduate or law student’s education. The structural deficiencies in the pupillage program seem to indicate its failure to effectively meet the policy assumptions placed on law firms. The drawbacks of pupillage and the increasing number of law school graduates going into solo practice suggest a need to reform the pupillage system and to reinforce it with legal clinic opportunities.

2. Statutory Curricula: Another Systemic Weakness

In some African law schools, the curriculum was fixed by statute or other enactment when the schools were established in the 1960s and 1970s. Many of these curricula have not seen any significant changes since their introduction and have become ossified and have fallen behind current trends in a globalized world. In Ghana, for example, the 1960 Legal Profession Act mandated the General Legal Council to make arrangements for the establishment of a system of legal education, including courses of instruction for students to obtain practical experience in law. The course structure of the Ghana School of Law, as discussed above, has been set out in the Professional Law Course Regulation. Restricting law school curricula to subjects specified by statute limits professional legal education. It might, however, be argued that these statutes are permissive and set broad guidelines only. In which case, introducing new courses, such as clinical legal education courses, might be a question of statutory
interpretation since these statutes do not necessarily forbid new or additional subjects.

C. Internationalizing Core Curricula: Local Realities

The history and complexities of the African situation, while enabling African law schools to use a comparative and international pedagogy, have also created legal pluralism.\textsuperscript{251} Africa is home to thousands of ethnic groups,\textsuperscript{252} “each with its own history and way of life.”\textsuperscript{253} Customary law is consequently an integral part of the African legal system.\textsuperscript{254} Colonization and religion, in turn, have affected the indigenous African legal and cultural institutions, resulting in social, cultural, and legal pluralism in Africa.\textsuperscript{255} Thus, “the central characteristic of Africa, largely the heritage of the long night of colonialism, is an economic[, legal,] and cultural dichotomy.”\textsuperscript{256}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{252} Ayittey, Africa in Chaos, supra note 12, at 43 (noting that there are over 2,000 ethnic groups in Africa). This appears to be more than the ethnic groups (Serbs, Greeks, Romanians, Bulgarians, etc.) living in the Balkans. For a discussion on the ethnic groups living in the Balkans, see Regents Prep, Global History: Change and Turning Points: Nationalism, http://regentsprep.org/Regents/global/themes/change/nat.cfm (last visited Mar. 30, 2008) (on file with the McGeorge Law Review).
  \item \textsuperscript{253} See Elias, supra note 3, at 2 (quoting Hilda Kuper, Cultures in Transition, Listener, Aug. 1952, at 293).
  \item \textsuperscript{254} See generally Rattray, supra note 3; Symposium, Customary Law in African Legal Systems, 9 J. Afr. L. 82 (1965).
  \item \textsuperscript{255} See Seidman, On Teaching Jurisprudence in Africa, supra note 2, at 145.
  \item \textsuperscript{256} See generally Daniels, supra note 3; Antony Alloitt, Essays in African Laws (Butterworths 1960).
\end{itemize}
Attempts have been made to address this dichotomy. For example, the African Law Institute (ALI) is organized to simplify, clarify, and harmonize laws on the continent.\(^{257}\) Also, the Organization for the Harmonization of Business Law in Africa (OHADA), an African international organization, has enacted Uniform Acts on various aspects of business law.\(^{258}\) These Uniform Acts, which are directly applicable throughout member states, have rapidly modernized and harmonized business laws in the current sixteen member states.\(^{259}\) On the local front, however, many multi-faceted challenges remain. Although African legal education is progressively dealing with legal pluralism and internationalization, many domestic challenges hamper effective legal training in Africa.

D. Confronting Challenges

The challenges facing African legal education are multi-faceted and require a broad reform framework involving all stakeholders, including policymakers, law deans, and legal professionals.\(^{260}\) First, African lawyers are not trained to deal with local realities. Clinical legal education, for example, might teach practical lawyering skills and train lawyers to be more sensitive and responsive to local needs and aspirations.\(^{261}\) It might also make legal services more accessible.\(^{262}\) Yet, most African law school curricula have no clinical programs\(^{263}\) and continue to rely heavily on the lecture pedagogy.\(^{264}\) Change is needed. Given that a

\(^{257}\) The African Law Institute (ALI) is a new organization dedicated to the “clarification, simplification, and harmonization of law, regulations, and law-related matters in Africa.” See AFRICAN LAW INST., CONSTITUTION OF THE AFRICAN LAW INSTITUTE, at art. II (enacted 2003), http://www.africanlaw.org/constitution.pdf (on file with the McGeorge Law Review). ALI is currently working on a Model Investment Law in collaboration with the Commercial Law Development Program (CLDP) of the U.S. Department of Commerce. See Kojo Yelpaala, In Search of a Model Investment Law for Africa, 1 AFRICAN DEV. BANK L. FOR DEV. REV. (forthcoming 2008) (manuscript at 6). McGeorge School of Law Professor Kojo Yelpaala is a member of the Board of Governors of ALL. Id. at n.2.

\(^{258}\) See BORIS MARTOR ET AL., BUSINESS LAW IN AFRICA: OHADA AND THE HARMONIZATION PROCESS 16 (2d ed. 2007) (“Eight Uniform Acts have now entered into force . . . relat[ing], respectively, to general commercial law, commercial companies and economic interest groups, securities, simplified recove[ries] and enforcement measures, collective insolvency proceedings, arbitration, accounting law and carriage of goods by road.”).

\(^{259}\) See id.; see also id. at 2 (listing Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, Congo, Côte d’Ivoire, Equitorial Guinea, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo as current members of the OHADA); OHADA, Treaty and Implementing Regulations, http://www.ohada.com/trait.php (last visited Mar. 30, 2008) (on file with the McGeorge Law Review). By its Treaty for the Harmonization of African Business Laws and the Common Court of Justice and Arbitration, the OHADA promotes economic integration and development. See MARTOR ET AL., supra note 258, at vii. It has created a secure legal framework for the conduct of business in Africa and has harmonized commercial, company, insolvency, securities, and arbitration laws. Id. at x.

\(^{260}\) See infra Part V.C.

\(^{261}\) See generally Manteaw, Clinical Legal Education in Africa, supra note 16.

\(^{262}\) Id.; see also Amy E. Sloan, Erasing Lines: Integrating the Law School Curriculum, 1 J. ASS’N LEGAL WRITING DIRECTORS 3 (2002).

\(^{263}\) See generally Manteaw, Clinical Legal Education in Africa, supra note 16.

\(^{264}\) See Mhlungu, supra note 124, at 1008 (describing the teaching methods at the University of Natal
“lawyer’s role is culture-bound, determined by the way in which he or she is taught and conditioned to perceive him [or herself], and the way in which he or she is perceived by the non-legal professionals among and for whom he [or she] works.”  

Africa should put a premium on practical legal training and reform law school curricula. Besides traditional classes, African law schools could introduce simulation and clinical programs that teach law students practical skills such as working directly with clients in community legal services, trial and appellate advocacy, drafting, public interest law, and Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR). Law clinics might also improve systemic problems such as court delays, undue adjournments, high costs of representation, complex procedures, legal aid services, and access to justice.

Second, African legal education reform might have to focus on local challenges, beginning with extensive reform of domestic law schools, curricula, and administration. Any reform should meet domestic development needs, stimulate vibrant interest in perspectives on African law as it relates to the global legal order, and fix basic structural problems. For example, except for regional initiatives in South and East Africa, Africa has no established organizational structures that compare with the Association of American Law Schools (AALS), the European Law Faculties Association (ELFA), the European Law Students’ Association (ELSA), and similar bodies that invest time and resources to develop and enhance legal education in other countries. A reform of African law curricula must necessarily confront these issues and address structural problems in the legal profession, the relationship between law schools and the legal profession, a consensus on the needs, cost, and methods for legal education, and the type of lawyer Africa needs.

Third, perspectives on African law as it relates to the present global order are critical. Do international politics and international law have an African angle?

and Fort Hare University, both in South Africa, as “highly formalistic classroom lectures in which the lecturer delivers the content of the course with usually little or no participation from the students”).

265. See Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 503.


269. See Kojo Yelpaala, Owning the Secret of Life: Biotechnology and Property Rights Revisited, 32 McGEORGE L. REV. 111, 213-19 (2000) [hereinafter Yelpaala, Owning the Secret of Life] (discussing the essence and policy justification for property rights in biotechnological inventions, discoveries, or processes, and arguing for a regime reassessment and a return to first principles). Professor Yelpaala argues that one solution Congress might consider that would guarantee an easier and wider range of access to patented ideas . . . is to apply the usufruct to patents.

Elegant as its Roman law origins might be, the usufruct seems to have evolved independently in non-western collectivist societies with emphasis on developing techniques for managing access to common property, communal resources, or private property. . . . [T]he usufruct appears to have
Do African values systems drive African legal education? Is African legal education influenced by the peculiar African demand for ordered change and development? Africa has always been part of the world economy, but it is usually the recipient of benefits or affected by events—it seldom is the author of major events. For legal education to be relevant to Africa’s peculiar socioeconomic and geopolitical needs, Africa might have to deepen its comparative pedagogy. Law curricula should seek to adapt indigenous philosophical jurisprudence and values to African needs, the global economy, and international issues.

The curricula should realign or even reform and apply African values to problems of modernity, dispute resolution, and institution building.

It is imperative for Africa to develop institutions that enhance indigenous values and facilitate democratization, good governance, development, modernity, and rule of law, however defined. For example, an ADR strategy like mediation is a core African value that could be revived through mediation clinics. In Ghana, the World Bank, the Ghana Judicial Service, and the National House of Chiefs have initiated a project that seeks to re-empower chiefs to settle domestic disputes. The Ghana Arbitration Center, ADRCoalition-Ghana, and other private ADR service providers also resolve disputes, educate on and publicize ADR, and confront access to justice problems. Africa has to deal with its indigenous cultural past, colonial past, and current connection with the world in order for its legal systems to meet old and new challenges.

Fourth, a lawyer’s job is largely seen as litigation. However, a legal profession that sees litigation as its mainstay invariably misconceives the function of the lawyer. With very few exceptions, the law as applied in Africa focuses on the rules of the “litigation game” and not the ordering of norms for

---

270. See Manteaw, Indigenous African Jurisprudence, supra note 16 (noting that inquiries on indigenous African philosophical and jurisprudential ideas should inform, but not necessarily dictate, policy considerations or choices that might have to be made on any issue that affects Africa); see also Yelpaala, Owning the Secret of Life, supra note 269, at 213-19; AYITTEY, INDIGENOUS AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS, supra note 19; Manteaw, Patents and African Concept of Property, supra note 269.


274. Africa is part of the globalization process as the continent is linked to the world and its various demanding legal systems. See Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 495 (“In an effort to promote economic development, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have imposed on African countries Structural Adjustment Programs . . . to integrate African countries into the world economy.”).
social life. A legal profession that sheds the law of its “value-content” and finds solace in litigation is a failed model of law and legal practice. As Gower said, African countries ought to convert the legal profession “from one that regards litigation as its objective rather than its failure.”

African law curricula might have to consider inculcating a better sense of public interest services among lawyers. The private practice approach to African legal education seems to be an elitist policy perpetuating the colonial legacy of protecting markets, receipts of revenues, and the interests of businessmen and traders. However, in a developing continent like Africa, any system of legal education should aim at producing the lawyers Africa needs: well-trained lawyers who have the highest levels of competence and responsibility, who are alive to demands of globalization with a globally competitive posture, and who are in touch with local realities, needs, and aspirations.

Finally, African legal education should produce the different types of lawyers Africa needs. This calls for specialization and cultivation of substantive and practical legal skills in various areas of law. Africa needs experts in mediation, arbitration, health, environment, natural resources, joint ventures, and project finance. African law schools need rich curricula for students to sample a wide array of course and clinic options. Students can then design a program of study that fits their individual interests, expertise, or career plans. For example, Pacific-McGeorge and the George Washington University Law School offer over 240 elective courses. Yet, all courses offered by the University of Ghana Law Faculty total less than fifty. Administrative, constitutional, and customary law experts might fix corruption and dysfunctional institutions. Public interest law demands clinical attention to social engineering needs and policy demands. Globalization requires deepening African comparative curricula. Students might better understand domestic law and indigenous values, and appreciate international differences through a deepened, pervasive approach to teaching

---

275. See GOWER, supra note 2, at 131-32.
Legal education [in Africa] must be restructured to offer programs that sensitize lawyers, early in their careers, to their public service responsibilities. Law faculties must teach prospective lawyers that public service is a vital component of professional practice. The most effective approach would be to introduce programs and courses that expose prospective lawyers to the legal needs of the poor and the legal problems frequently encountered by the poor.

Oko, Consolidating Democracy, supra note 8, at 635.

276. See Jessup, supra note 13, at 403; Seidman, Law and Stagnation in Africa, supra note 3; Amissah, supra note 45, at 3; HARVEY, LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN GHANA, supra note 3.

277. See da Rocha, supra note 13, at 7-8.


traditional courses. As information technology leapfrogs Africa into an era of accelerated development, a need also exists for lawyers with specialization in the evolving field of information technology and intellectual property.

E. Meeting Reform Needs

Given the need to train lawyers to confront transnational challenges and local demands, African legal education must deal with crucial policy issues regarding curricula reform, structural problems in the legal profession, and the legal profession’s relationship with the legal training institutions. Law schools and the legal profession should not isolate themselves in their search for an appropriate paradigm of legal education; stakeholders such as the government, policymakers, the legal profession, and deans of African legal training institutions should forge a consensus on the needs, cost, and methods of legal education. Presently, Africa lacks a broad-based approach that involves all stakeholders in the legal education process. It is imperative for legal training institutions, the legal profession, and policymakers to collaborate, confront the inherited systems, adjust to the present global order, and reform African legal education so that it can adequately meet Africa’s development needs. This article initiates the discussion with a critical focus on curricula and structural reform.

V. RETHINKING CURRICULA REFORM

Considering the weaknesses and challenges facing African legal education, a question seems to suggest itself: Is it not time to change, or at least re-examine, the law curricula model? Given the need to train African lawyers to confront transnational challenges and local needs, the African legal education system must deal with crucial policy issues regarding curricula reform. Such issues might include specialization, acquiring practical skills, using legal clinics to teach skills, and sensitizing students to local needs and aspirations, reducing over-reliance on lecture, increasing public interest sensitivity, changing the litigation and private practice focus of African legal education, increasing the number of courses offered, addressing geopolitical needs, pupilage inadequacies, dysfunctional institutions, and globalization needs, stimulating a vibrant interest in perspectives on African law as it relates to the global legal order, and improving learning resources, such as libraries, electronic information retrieval databases, computers, and information and communications technology. The need also exists to offer continuing legal education to

281. See da Rocha, supra note 13, at 7-8.
282. Reforming the curricula and structure of legal education would inevitably require a corollary expansion of human and material resources. For a discussion of the need for funding, resources, and facilities, see Manteaw, Reforming African Legal Education, supra note 16.
lawyers in private practice, establish more legal institutions and organizations, and encourage public service. Training judges, legal support, paralegals, and administrative staff is also critical.

As noted earlier, the curricula reform needs of African legal education are multi-faceted and not limited to mainstream legal education institutions. However, any reform scheme must involve both the law faculties and law schools using a two-pronged reform agenda that focuses first on reforming law faculties and second on reforming law schools. The law faculties and the law schools have the same objective: to train the type of lawyer Africa needs. The fundamental question is what is the best way to achieve that objective.

A. Reforming African Law Faculties

1. Research and Development-Oriented Courses

Should the curricula be modified at the law faculty level? If so, in what way? It seems “research-oriented courses would enable graduates to conduct independent research on the tasks they face in practice and write meaningful and informative papers” for use by policymakers. Potential areas of research include stagnant development programs, land tenure and land acquisition practices, funding for improvements in transportation, health delivery, education, and provision of social services. Stamping out corruption in the civil service, reforming some customary practices, curbing the scourge of HIV/AIDS, and many other topical issues serve as illustrative problem projects that African legal research can, and might have to, focus on. African law faculties, therefore, need to introduce research-oriented courses. Such courses are likely to emphasize the skills and perspectives a lawyer needs to discharge both domestic and international obligations, and could take into account local needs and the challenges of practicing law in an increasingly globalized world.

2. Lecture, Tutorials, and Analytical Skills

Is the goal of law faculties to produce graduates who can solve problems using analytical reasoning? If so, law faculties need to introduce curricula that emphasize the reasoning, analytical skills, and perspectives a lawyer needs to discharge his or her many responsibilities in this era of globalization. The academic side of the law is what creates great analytical minds that are essential for the practice of law. It is certainly not by accident that some of the great legal practitioners are also great minds. Law school graduates need a theoretical

284. Id. (noting that the long-term needs of African countries will not be met by routine training of a purely technical kind, but only by imaginative programs).
perspective to evaluate law and legal arguments because, increasingly, they will be required to handle theory in practice. Legal analysis and reasoning might be obtained through a syllogistic approach to legal problems and a heuristic method for expressing legal arguments where students are encouraged to investigate, explore, and seek answers to legal problems. Such an approach to teaching legal skills compels law students to analyze and critique the law and apply it to different facts.

The curricula in African law faculties appear to aim at achieving this goal. As mentioned previously, the Denning Committee’s recommendations for law schools in Africa specifically state that the normal pattern of legal education in the African territories should be a university degree in law at a law faculty followed by one year of practical training at a school of law. The Denning Committee couched its reason for a practical training program in the following language:

In some parts of the world, a university degree in law is considered by itself to be a qualification to practice. We do not take this view. We think that practical training is a necessary part of the equipment of a lawyer just as it is of a doctor. After a man has taken his degree at the university, he should have a period of one year’s practical training at a school of law where he can be taught such things as the drawing of pleadings, trust accounts and bookkeeping, practical conveyancing, etiquette and professional conduct.

While the Denning Committee clearly intended law school to be a practical training experience, this has not been the case. African legal training institutions use the lecture as the predominant means of instruction. As the main method of teaching law in Africa, lectures are heavily magisterial and commonly involve conveying knowledge to a large, passive audience. “The weight of numbers and the very size of lecture venues make it difficult to engage
in any dialogue.\textsuperscript{294} The lecture seems to be an inapposite training approach in law school and also runs counter to the law school curricula as originally envisaged.\textsuperscript{295}

Since law faculties are supposed to teach theory, it might be argued that their use of the lecture is understandable. After all, “lectures, supplementary material, and outside student reading [are] needed” to teach positive law.\textsuperscript{296} Also, according to economist Paul Samuelson, a 1970 Nobel Memorial Prize recipient, “as law professors [gain] ever more knowledge to impart to students, they [are] compelled” to rely on the lecture method.\textsuperscript{297} Dean Cooper sums it up as follows: “It seems likely that as faculty attempt to convey theory to students, they are relying more and more on lectures.”\textsuperscript{298} Thus, although lectures are widely deemed “as the least effective teaching method because they involve passive rather than active learning[, t]hat may not [necessarily] be correct if the goal is merely to convey information.”\textsuperscript{299} However, such a goal seems to focus on short-term knowledge.\textsuperscript{300} Lectures do not develop or enhance the ability to analyze cases, statutes, and legal principles, and to apply them to new facts.\textsuperscript{301}

This article does not claim that the lecture pedagogy has no utility. The lecture method provides a sound framework for teaching legal subjects\textsuperscript{302} and has produced great lawyers in Africa.\textsuperscript{303} The argument is that the lecture pedagogy is most effective when complemented by other teaching methods like tutorials.\textsuperscript{304} Through lecture and tutorials, law students gather information on legal issues, principles, and concepts, and analyze, critique, and apply them to other contexts.\textsuperscript{305} As already noted, “lectures, supplementary material, and outside student reading is needed” to teach positive law.\textsuperscript{306}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{294} Id. at 946-47 (1993). Similar to the situation in England, “[t]he lecturer may choose to put forward challenging views or criticisms, which stimulate . . . debate.” Id. at 946. Also, many lecturers “invite questions at natural pauses in the presentation.” See id. at 946-47.
\item \textsuperscript{295} Id. at 944 (“As originally envisioned, the method of instruction was to be as practical as possible with few formal lectures.”).
\item \textsuperscript{296} See Cooper, supra note 286, at 60 n.44; Llewellyn, Case Method, infra note 306, at 251 (“[K]nowledge of the positive law is won under case discussion only at a heavy cost in time.”).
\item \textsuperscript{297} Paul A. Samuelson, The Convergence of the Law School and the University, 44 AM. SCHOLAR 256, 270 (1974); Cooper, supra note 286, at 54 & n.23 (citing and quoting Samuelson, supra, at 297).
\item \textsuperscript{298} Cooper, supra note 286, at 54-55.
\item \textsuperscript{299} Id. at 55.
\item \textsuperscript{300} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{301} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{302} Walker, supra note 293, at 946; see Ephraim A. Vordoagu, The 50th Anniversary of the University of Ghana: An Occasion for Stocktaking and Redirection of Policy Objectives, NEWSLETTER (Univ. of Ghana, Faculty of Law), 1998, at 7 (discussing the problems that current overcrowding poses to students and lecturers in the University of Ghana).
\item \textsuperscript{303} But, in almost all the African legal training institutions, the lecture method is never used exclusively; rather, it is often complemented by discussions, questions, tutorials, etc.
\item \textsuperscript{304} See Walker, supra note 293, at 946-47.
\item \textsuperscript{305} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{306} Cooper, supra note 286, at 60 n.44; Karl N. Llewellyn, Case Method, in 3 ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
\end{itemize}
Tutorials are used to complement the lecture in most Anglophone African countries.\textsuperscript{307} “Having compiled a written commentary on the law through lectures and lecture-directed research, the student is then expected to delve further into selected areas of the syllabus by way of ‘tutorials’ . . . .”\textsuperscript{308} Unlike lectures, “tutorial[s] [are] meant to be interactive,” and “[t]he student is expected to derive a sophisticated understanding of particular legal areas via a written programme of directed reading and questions produced by the tutor.”\textsuperscript{309} The exchange of ideas and the discussions that ensue during tutorials aid students’ appreciation of the law and its application to solve problems.\textsuperscript{310} Attendance at tutorials is usually compulsory, and the tutorials are used to monitor the progress of students.\textsuperscript{311} Obviously, tutorial groups do not involve large student numbers.\textsuperscript{312} With the current congestion in these African universities, however, tutorials have turned into lecture sessions, and, in many cases, they are not organized at all.\textsuperscript{313} The lecture, therefore, remains the predominant mode of instruction at law faculties.

With the problems affecting the effective use of tutorials,\textsuperscript{314} it might be time to review the pedagogical model of law faculties. “[T]eaching theory is a challenge, in part because theory itself usually entails significant practice components such as microeconomic analysis, social research methods, techniques of literary criticism, or historical method.”\textsuperscript{315} Africa’s academic and practical two-tiered legal education system seems to offer a useful structure for teaching legal theory. Since African law schools are set up to deal mainly with practical legal skills, African law faculties have ample room to deal with legal theory. Complex legal theory can, therefore, be dealt with extensively enough to make it useful to the students.

Also, the tutorial system can effectively complement the lecture method in training students in analytical skills, and it should be reviewed and enhanced.\textsuperscript{316} “[T]oo much lecturing is likely to encourage in students the tendency to privilege

\textsuperscript{307} See Walker, supra note 293, at 946. This is similar to the traditional pattern of teaching law in British universities, which “rel[y] heavily upon a mixture of lectures and tutorials.” Id.; see also Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 492.

\textsuperscript{308} Walker, supra note 293, at 947 (discussing the legal education process in England and Wales). Though the discussion focuses on England and Wales, it nevertheless fits the lecture/tutorial pedagogy that was introduced in the law faculties in common law Africa.

\textsuperscript{309} Id. (“In a good tutorial, the student will be prepared to discuss the area of law being addressed and to ask questions where areas of doubt persist.”).

\textsuperscript{310} Id.

\textsuperscript{311} Id.

\textsuperscript{312} See id.; Ndulo, Legal Education in Zambia, supra note 13, at 452 (noting that there is the need to offer some courses as seminars; this would entail small groups studying specific problems in law on an intensive basis, giving students a chance to develop their writing skills and perspective about law).

\textsuperscript{313} See Vordoagu, supra note 302, at 7 (discussing the situation at the University of Ghana).

\textsuperscript{314} See id. and accompanying text.

\textsuperscript{315} Cooper, supra note 286, at 54.

\textsuperscript{316} See Walker, supra note 293, at 947.
the instructor’s views.”

Lecturers might put forward challenging views or criticisms, which stimulate debate and invite questions at natural pauses in the presentation. Also, not having a right answer to write down can be extremely frustrating when trying to take notes. Law students want certainty. African law faculties should teach students that they cannot have certainty in law. The less certainty, the better the training and the more students have to think for themselves. Tutorials facilitate such a process as they enhance analytical skills and are an important aspect of the teaching/learning process. Factors affecting the smooth utilization of tutorials in the law faculties must be addressed.

3. Course Structure

The course structure of African law faculties needs to be reviewed. Some of the courses offered on a full-year basis should be evaluated to determine whether course content or the volume of the subject matter warrants such treatment. Some of these courses might have to be reduced into half-year courses. If the instruction periods of some courses are appropriately reduced, more courses can be added to the curriculum. Courses that African law faculties need to introduce include health and the evolving field of information technology, such as e-commerce, computer, and Internet law. Also, with the establishment of law schools, it seems law faculties have abandoned some core subjects, such as Evidence, Civil Procedure, and Criminal Procedure to the law schools. Substantive knowledge and analytical skills are of course needed in such subjects before any effective practical legal skills can be acquired.

Obstacles to introducing new courses include time constraints, the rigid structure of law faculties’ curricula, and faculty availability, expertise, and incentive. Any curricula reform initiative should consider and address these issues. However, new courses can be introduced without any reduction in the coverage of materials by using outside reading. Also, reform efforts might have to consider ways of introducing course materials that substitute rather than add. All these changes can be introduced if law schools and law faculties are

317. Cooper, supra note 286, at 55 (“[S]tudent curiosity will for the most part be limited to trying to identify what is most likely to turn up on examinations.”).
318. Walker, supra note 293, at 946-47.
319. See Ndulo, Legal Education in Africa, supra note 10, at 501-02.
320. See infra App. II (listing courses).
321. See Ndulo, Legal Education in Zambia, supra note 13, at 452.
322. See Karl Llewellyn, The Current Crisis in Legal Education, 1 J. LEGAL EDUC. 211, 215 (1948) (noting that to save time, we need to encourage students to turn to outside reading).
323. See generally Gevirtz & Parker, supra note 220 (suggesting approaches to resolving the dilemma of enhancing curricula without adding too many materials to the already expanded existing courses); see also Ndulo, Legal Education in Zambia, supra note 13.
given more autonomy, and if law teachers are given more flexibility in designing courses.\footnote{Ndulo, Legal Education in Zambia, supra note 13, at 452-53 ("Law schools will have to fight for more power as African universities are often autocratic, overcentralized, and run by administrations insensitive to the changing needs of various academic disciplines.").}

4. Skills Training

The discussion that follows focuses on African law faculties, but it also applies to law schools.\footnote{However, regarding the law schools, further recommendations for reform are provided. See infra Part V.B.} African law faculties might have to introduce a modest number of clinical programs into their curricula and current learning pedagogy. Presently, the clinical aspect of legal education appears to be the sole prerogative of the law schools or practical institutes, but even they have sadly failed to live up to that responsibility.\footnote{See REPORT OF THE ORMROD COMMITTEE ON LEGAL EDUCATION ¶ 102 (1971) [hereinafter ORMROD COMMITTEE REPORT]; see also Walker, supra note 293, at 949.} Clinical opportunities might include legal research and writing programs, such as student and faculty law journals and moot court programs.\footnote{See ORMROD COMMITTEE REPORT, supra note 328, ¶ 102.} Such programs might help impart lawyering skills to complement theoretical knowledge.\footnote{See DataCenta, Towards a Better Legal Information Culture, http://www.datacenta.com/dc_about.htm (last visited Apr. 16, 2008) (on file with the McGeorge Law Review).} Though the goal of the law faculties is primarily academic training in legal theory, such clinical programs might introduce law students to some practical skills and equip them to ascertain and apply the law.\footnote{As far back as 1965, some foreign jurisdictions were actively considering the uses of computers for lawyers. See Colin Tapper, The Uses of Computers for Lawyers, J. SOC’Y PUB. TEACHERS L. 261 (1965) (observing that “the most promising use of computers is likely to lie in the field of information retrieval”). In the United States, legal retrieval systems are effectively used in the process of legal education. See LexisNexis, http://www.lexisnexis.com/lawschool (last visited Apr. 16, 2008); Westlaw, http://www.westlaw.lawschool.com; Findlaw, http://www.findlaw.com (last visited Apr. 16, 2008); Hieros Gamos, http://www.hg.org (last visited Apr. 16, 2008).}

5. Information and Communications Technology

Computer-assisted, student-directed learning and legal retrieval systems are virtually unavailable in most African law schools and law faculties.\footnote{A typical instance is the Ghana School of Law. It is, however, worthy of note that through the} This state of affairs is an anomaly in the present global, information-based society and economy.\footnote{331. As far back as 1965, some foreign jurisdictions were actively considering the uses of computers for lawyers. See Colin Tapper, The Uses of Computers for Lawyers, J. SOC’Y PUB. TEACHERS L. 261 (1965) (observing that “the most promising use of computers is likely to lie in the field of information retrieval”). In the United States, legal retrieval systems are effectively used in the process of legal education. See LexisNexis, http://www.lexisnexis.com/lawschool (last visited Apr. 16, 2008); Westlaw, http://www.westlaw.lawschool.com; Findlaw, http://www.findlaw.com (last visited Apr. 16, 2008); Hieros Gamos, http://www.hg.org (last visited Apr. 16, 2008).} The lack of electronic data—both in legal and other fields—is not the only information technology limitation in African law faculties and law schools. Some of these institutions do not even have a single computer for the general law student body to use.\footnote{A typical instance is the Ghana School of Law. It is, however, worthy of note that through the} Others have started introducing the use of
computers, a phenomenon that was hitherto, in the very recent past, unavailable in many African law faculties and law schools.\footnote{See generally Zachary, supra note 1.}

Law faculties and law schools need to adopt corrective measures so that information technology can be fully utilized in the African legal training process. In Ghana, for instance, the Law Students’ Union, in collaboration with the law faculty administration, embarked on a successful drive to provide law students with computers and some necessary accessories in 2000.\footnote{An interview conducted by Mrs. Emma Pimpong in February 2003 revealed that a modest number of twenty computers have been procured through the instrumentality of Professor Akua Kuenyehia, Dean of the Ghana School of Law at the time, working in collaboration with the Law Students’ Union. See Interview Conducted by Emma Pimpong in Accra, Ghana (Feb. 2003) [hereinafter Pimpong Interview] (notes on file with author). The respondents include Mr. Kisseih (the registrar of the faculty), Professor Ofori Amankwaah (a professor on the faculty at the time of the interview but currently the Dean of the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology law faculty in Kumasi, Ghana), and some of the administrative and clerical staff of the faculty. \textit{Id.}} The project is ongoing and support is urgently needed.\footnote{\textit{Id.}} In Uganda, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) teamed up with the faculty of law at Makerere University and, in 2002, established “a successfully operational Legal Informatics Center and a body in the Law Faculty which will develop computer applications for teaching and improve teaching materials.”\footnote{See USAID, Uganda: Activity Data Sheet 617-005, http://www.usaid.gov/pubs/cbj2002/afr/ug/617-005.html (last visited Apr. 18, 2008) (on file with the \textit{McGeorge Law Review}).} The drive for computer and Internet facilities must continue with great speed, as well as the efforts to store legal information on computer/Internet-assisted retrieval systems.

6. \textit{Partnerships and Exchanges}

African legal training institutions—both law faculties and law schools—need to establish partnerships and collaborations aimed at facilitating the exchange of ideas, stimulating intellectual activity among African legal scholars, and enhancing comparative studies within Africa. Continental exchanges and collaboration must also be forged among the legal training institutions, the legal profession, policymakers, and other stakeholders in the legal development process. Such exchanges and partnering programs must seek to bring together domestic legal luminaries and legal professionals to discuss topical issues of national or educational importance.

Such exchanges might be done through teaching appointments in sister African countries or through the funding of conferences and workshops on legal and developmental issues, including legal education. Collaboration might also be done through subregional or regional structures like the Economic Community of
West African States (ECOWAS)\(^{337}\) and similar organizations. Another approach may involve domestic collaboration, as in South Africa, where all of the twenty-two law faculties have organized themselves under umbrella organizations such as the Association of the University Legal Aid Institutions (AULAI).\(^{338}\) Through such collaboration and partnerships, time and resources can be effectively invested in developing and enhancing legal education in Africa. The African Union,\(^{339}\) the Economic Commission for Africa,\(^{340}\) the Association of African Universities,\(^{341}\) and other development partners could and should be instrumental in African legal education reform.

B. Reforming African Law Schools

1. Practical Skills Training

It may be recalled that the Denning Committee, in recommending the establishment of law schools, stated that “one year’s practical training should be provided for students after they have taken their degrees in law and law schools should be set up for this purpose.”\(^{342}\) African law schools, however, have not lived up to the task of becoming centers of practical legal experience.\(^{343}\) In Zambia, for instance, the Law Practice Institute provides a course of post-graduate study for law graduates wishing to enter the legal profession which is supposed to use a practical method of instruction with few formal lectures.\(^{344}\) “The intention was to produce an atmosphere of a practitioner’s office.”\(^{345}\) Using a series of exercises in each subject, the students were to receive practical experience over “a far wider field than is covered by most clerks.”\(^{346}\) Unfortunately, the only practical experience that students of the Law Practice Institute receive is through work at the various law firms attached to the
According to Ndulo:

[t]he trouble with such arrangements is that the practical skills the students acquire depend on the enthusiasm and commitment of their supervisor within the firm or government department. . . . Generally, the experienced lawyers are too busy to assist in the development and training of the young lawyers. Moreover, in some cases, being apprenticed to members of the existing bar may merely perpetuate the relatively low standards of the old.  

In Ghana, the pupilage serves as the main period of practical training. But, just as Llewellyn asked of U.S. law schools in 1935, “How many get it? And with whom? And under what conditions favorable to learning? Do you know? Does anybody?” Due to structural deficiencies, the pupilage program failed to meet the policy assumption that law firms will complement the legal education process. The drawbacks of the pupilage, the increasing number of law school graduates going into solo practice, and lack of effective mentoring for new associates suggest a need for reforming the pupilage.

Moreover, law schools are statutorily obligated to inculcate practical legal training in their curricula. But, like the Ghana School of Law, African law schools are currently poor versions of law faculties. During a year-long program, “[s]tudents attend lectures in various subjects.” “[C]ourses are increasingly taught as academic subjects,” with very few in-class assignments or practical lessons. For the legal training at the law schools to be in sync with professional certification, practical training might have to be revisited, reviewed, and revived. Clinical legal education opportunities should be considered, as

348. Ndulo, Legal Education in Zambia, supra note 13, at 450.
349. Id. at 450-51.
350. The pupilage program is, however, being bogged down with a compendium of problems and limitations, and is therefore not living up to its objectives. See supra Part IV.B.1.
352. See supra Part IV.B.1 (discussing the pupilage as a systemic curricula weakness).
353. See, e.g., Legal Profession Act 32 of 1960 § 13-15 (mandating the General Legal Council to make provisions for the training and qualification of professional lawyers and requiring them to make arrangements for establishing courses of instruction for students to read and to obtain practical experience in law). The Ghana School of Law is the result of that statutory mandate, but the school is failing to live up to its full responsibility.
355. Id.
356. Id.
357. The Qualifying Certificate that the General Legal Council of Ghana issues under section 13(3) of the Legal Profession Act 32 of 1960 provides in relevant part: “[The person named therein] has attained the necessary standards of proficiency in the law, that he [or she] has obtained adequate practical experience in the law and that he [or she] is otherwise qualified to practise [sic] as a lawyer and accordingly that he [or she] is
they might effectively integrate theory, doctrine, and practice in African law schools.

2. Legal Clinics

African law schools need to introduce legal clinics with experienced full-time instructors. Clinical legal education imparts practical skills to law students. The approach to legal education in African law schools should be practical and multi-disciplinary, drawing intellectual strength and clinical skills from many sources such as philosophy, history, social sciences, and the study of developmental and societal problems. In particular, African law schools need to provide vigorous practical training programs that both introduce the relevant courses and enhance the student’s ability to handle practical problems. Such programs might teach practical skills in the following areas: counseling, advocacy, negotiation, mediation, arbitration, dispute resolution, law office management, computer applications, legal drafting, construction of documents, and use of law as an aid to development. This means that in addition to the normal lecture pedagogy in African law schools, some of the courses should be packaged and delivered via clinical and practical means.

3. Teaching Methods

In addition to effectively utilizing the clinical approach in law schools, the use of lecture should be reduced. Lecture has its effectiveness, particularly when teaching theory, but, as noted earlier, the concern here is the almost exclusive use of the lecture in most African law schools.

African legal training institutions, particularly law schools, need to revisit the traditional clinical and practical teaching/learning pedagogy that has served indigenous African societies so well for thousands of years. In the olden days in Africa, education was undertaken by practice. Whatever degree of
proficiency a person wanted to attain in a vocation, craft, or trade, he or she had to undergo varying periods of practical instruction and training within the complexities of his or her own familial and social system.\textsuperscript{365} According to Nana Annor Adjaye:

\begin{quote}
[T]he son of the fisherman spent his mornings by the seashore, swimming in the surf until he became proficient in swimming and diving as in walking and running. With a miniature net he practised [sic] casting in imitation of his father . . . . The son of the farmer accompanied his father to the farm and gradually acquired the father’s lore. He studied when the planting should be carried out, right times for clearing and growing crops, and when the harvest was ripe and ready for gathering. In like manner, the girl trod in the footsteps of the mother . . . . As she grew older she took part in the household offices and was taught apprenticeship by mothering the younger members of the family . . . .

[T]he education of the African child by the African system is a preparation and practical training for the life that lies before it.\textsuperscript{366}
\end{quote}

Unfortunately, this education is deemed informal, and usually discarded by the “revered” formal education, which is predominantly literary.\textsuperscript{367} Students’ heads are being “filled with stuff which they [do] not understand, much less apply.”\textsuperscript{368}

The above sentiments—expressed over seventy years ago—still hold true in the present African legal education process. Apart from South Africa, where clinical legal education has its deepest roots,\textsuperscript{369} the universities and law schools in most African countries do not have a clinical program.\textsuperscript{370} For example, in West Africa, Sierra Leone is the only country with a functional clinical legal education program.\textsuperscript{371} There is a need for the reintroduction and effective utilization of the traditional clinical, research, and practical pedagogy in African legal training institutions. “The principal goal of a clinical legal education program is to

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{365} Id.
\textsuperscript{366} Id. (quoting NANA ANNOR ADJAYE, NZIMA LAND ch. vi (1931), and discussing education and African leadership).
\textsuperscript{367} See id. (noting that the word education has been used in a rather restricted sense to mean only the formal instruction in European-type schools).
\textsuperscript{368} Id. (quoting ADJAYE, supra note 366, at ch. vi).
\textsuperscript{369} See Justice Initiative, Clinical Legal Education in Africa, supra note 359 (noting that “there are over 20 clinics operated by law schools in South Africa”). Law students at the University of Cape Town established the first university law clinic in 1972. \textit{Id}. In 1973, the faculty at the Universities of Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) and Natal (Durban) started a similar initiative. Id. Most of South Africa’s 21 law schools followed suit, and they “have run independently-funded law clinics for at least 20 years,” some of which attract course credit. \textit{Id.}; see also McQuoid-Mason, Legal Aid Services in South Africa, supra note 127.
\textsuperscript{370} Justice Initiative, Clinical Legal Education in Africa, supra note 359.
\textsuperscript{371} Id. “Clinic [is] at Fourah Bay College (FBC) in Freetown, Sierra Leone.” \textit{Id}. It “was founded in December 2000 by a group of FBC students and human rights activists supported by the Open Society Institute (OSI), and working in cooperation with students from Yale Law School,” New York University, and Columbia University. \textit{Id}.
\end{flushleft}
provide students the opportunity to obtain a comprehensive legal experience, which encompasses the theoretical foundations of the law and practical legal skills training.372 An important tenet of clinical legal education is affording students the opportunity to learn from practical experience: “Knowledge of practice cannot be acquired by any other method.”373 Thus, lecture might have to be reduced and the use of practical teaching methods increased.

In sum, African law schools should consider the issue of practical skills training and equip students with competent legal “craftsmanship.”374 Law schools should treat the law as “a craft to be mastered” and ensure legal training “evokes[s] some of the more positive characteristics of a guild: pride in work, recognition of the importance of the work to society, [and] routine acceptance of obligations to meet the needs of society without profit as the overriding concern.”375 Law graduates will then be able to knowledgeably, skillfully, and ethically fulfill their roles as lawyers. For African legal education to produce the type of lawyer Africa needs, clinical legal education might have to play an integral part in the law school training process. Any African legal education curricula reform initiative must consider and address this issue.

C. Planning and Priorities in the Reform Process

The proposed reforms may seem overly ambitious. However, the necessary commitment, collaboration, and resources can be mobilized incrementally to develop the process of African legal education.376 If African law faculties improve their resource base, it might aid the development of university legal education.377 Africa also needs local collaborators to support the drive to stock law libraries with adequate books, provide law library consulting services, install computer and internet facilities, store legal information on retrieval systems, assist in the expansion of law faculty (and law school) physical campuses, and provide material and other logistical support. As Akua Kuenyehia urged, “there is a need . . . to ensure that the [African legal] training institutions are adequately financed so that they will be able to have the needed resources to provide the required training for lawyers.”378 A search for new sources of funding and new

372. Jessup, supra note 13, at 400.
374. See Cooper, supra note 286, at 62 (“Unfortunately, there is no synonym [for craftsmanship]. Skills is too narrow; competence from its use in malpractice and disciplinary proceedings sets too low a standard; professionalism is close, but has become too much associated with behavior and ethics.”).
375. Id. at 64.
376. For a comprehensive discussion on the need for funding and improvement of resources and facilities, see Manteaw, Reforming African Legal Education, supra note 16. See also infra Part V.A.3.
378. Kuenyehia, supra note 13, at 300.
partners in the education process is imperative. For a long time, the search for funding has focused on foreign sources. It might be time to explore the major assistance of local collaborators in enhancing African legal education reform.


Obviously, the proposed reform initiatives will require significant funding and cannot be undertaken all at once. But even the incremental implementation of the reforms suggested here will require considerable funding and support. A successful implementation of the proposed reforms calls for the collaboration and assistance of all stakeholders in the legal education process. The reform process might have to begin with the creation of a collaborative network among the deans of the African legal training institutions. There should be collaboration among the deans at the domestic, sub-regional, and continental levels. Since Africa has over one hundred law faculties and many other law schools, it should not be difficult to form a coalition of law deans who would work towards the development of African legal education.

A network of deans and administrators would be an invaluable asset to African legal education. It could be formed under an umbrella of African legal training institutions. Currently, there is no such association in Africa. The principal forum that brings African legal educators together to deliberate on legal education and its development is the Commonwealth Legal Education Association (CLEA). This is inadequate, and a dynamic association of African law deans is long overdue. Through periodic meetings, conferences, workshops, and joint initiatives on legal education in Africa, the deans might achieve some significant gains. The most probable gain would be building a consensus among key stakeholders in the legal education process, particularly the policymakers and

379. Id.
380. See, e.g., GOWER, supra note 2, at 134-45.
382. For a comprehensive discussion on the need for the funding and improvement of resources and facilities, see Manteaw, Reforming African Legal Education, supra note 16 (discussing the challenges that African legal education faces, particularly the shortcomings of finance, facilities, books, human, and material resources as well as inadequate opportunities for graduate study and specialization).
383. Sixth All-African Human Rights Moot Court Competition, supra note 86.
384. Interview with Raymond Atuguba, Lecturer, Univ. of Ghana, in Ghana (Dec. 2003) (on file with author); see also Pimpong Interview, supra note 334.
the legal profession, as to the reform needs of African legal education. Clearly, a vibrant coalition of law deans and administrators would be able to spearhead such a consensus-building effort.

Collaboration could also reduce costs and facilitate access to legal education among the various states. While there are more than one hundred law faculties, and many other law schools, geographical distribution of the law faculties on the continent is highly skewed with twenty-three faculties in Nigeria,\textsuperscript{386} twenty-one in South Africa,\textsuperscript{387} two in Ghana,\textsuperscript{388} and some African countries with none.\textsuperscript{389} Moreover, an African student attending school in an African country other than his home state is deemed an international student and charged high international student rates.\textsuperscript{390} An association of African Legal Training Institutions, if established, could collaborate with governments and policymakers to fashion an appropriate scheme to enhance access to legal education. One feasible approach would be to confront the problem on a regional basis. Another approach would be a legal based system, but this alone would not encourage continent-wide access to education.

Other gains that could be achieved through collaborative efforts might include broad based reform of legal education, courting governmental policy recognition of legal issues, and winning the committed support of the legal profession, foundations, foreign sister legal training institutions, other domestic and foreign institutions, and even philanthropists. An active commitment to the development of African legal education by the deans, policymakers, and legal profession might induce foundations, governments, and other institutions to be more forthcoming in providing additional funds and support for African legal education. A parallel may be drawn from South Africa, where such collaboration exists. There is, for example, the South African Association of University Legal Aid Institutions, which provides accreditation to the university law clinics. It also supports and organizes colloquia and other activities on clinical legal education.\textsuperscript{391} A more apposite example is the Association of American Law Schools and the infrastructure that exists between it, the American Bar Association, and other stakeholders in the American legal education process.


\textsuperscript{387} See Mcquoid-Mason, The New Four Year Undergraduate LL.B. Programme, \textit{supra} note 107.

\textsuperscript{388} See CLEA DIRECTORY, \textit{supra} note 141, at 127-28.


\textsuperscript{390} See Manteaw, \textit{Reforming African Legal Education}, \textit{supra} note 16.

\textsuperscript{391} See Justice Initiative, \textit{Clinical Legal Education in Africa}, \textit{supra} note 359; see also McQuoid-Mason, Legal Aid Services in South Africa, \textit{supra} note 127.
2. The Need for a Development Plan

To meet the demands of the expansive and expensive reforms that African legal education needs, even a vibrant network of deans will have to set out priorities. Through workshops, meetings, and conferences a multi-year development plan could and should be developed. In addressing questions of priority and planning order, the deans might first have to work out an effective system of collaboration. Committees might also have to be created within the network of Africa law deans. The committees should be tasked with the design and possibly the supervision of various aspects of the reform initiatives, such as curricula reform, clinical legal education, facility development, research and publication, electronic data and information retrieval, fundraising and outreach, specialization and graduate programs. In executing their tasks, the committees will have to collaborate with the legal profession, policymakers, and other “structures and institutions” that have resources—even if limited—that African legal education could utilize.

3. Restructuring Relationships and Forging Partnerships

A planning order might also consider the relationship between the legal profession and the legal education process. The legal profession seems isolated from the search for an appropriate paradigm of legal education. The legal profession, along with many other structures and institutions, could facilitate the process of legal education. Considering the role that the existing structures and institutions could play in the African legal education process, at least through sponsorship and clinical work, it becomes obvious that the legal training institutions are presently underutilizing them. If existing structures are properly utilized, the reform process might not need a complete restructuring of the law faculties and schools.

4. Legal Aid Board: An Illustration

The Legal Aid Board is a typical example of an institution that can aid the initiation of clinical legal education in Africa. Since 1994, the South African Legal Aid Board has partnered with many universities and has established law

---

392. These include the legal profession (the Bar, Law Societies, the Judiciary, and Paralegals), Law Chambers, Legal Department of Companies and Institutions, Non-Profit Organizations engaged in a variety of law and development related work, as well as state and para-statal institutions involved in law related work (such as Police Service, Prison Service, Legal Aid Board, Social Welfare, Commissions overseeing matters such as Human Rights, Administrative Justice, Law Reform, Reconciliation, etc.). Further, there exist a plethora of foreign institutions that can support such reforms (i.e., international and multilateral institutions, governments, foundations, foreign sister legal training institutions, philanthropists, etc.).

393. See id. (providing a list of some of these structures and institutions).
clinics in most of South Africa’s twenty-one law schools. These Legal Aid Board law clinics handle over 25,000 cases a year. However, in many parts of Africa, the resources of the Legal Aid Board have not been harnessed. The Legal Aid Boards of many African countries are underutilized and usually disconnected from legal education. They generally become part of the process during the pupillage period. Though this is beneficial, more could be done to make the Legal Aid Boards active collaborators in clinical legal education initiatives in Africa. The present situation needs to be reviewed so that the Legal Aid Boards can become active partners in the African legal education process.

5. The Legal Profession: Another Illustration

The legal fraternity, i.e., the Bar and law societies, can play very active and instrumental roles in the legal education process. However, at present, there seems to be a disconnect between legal education institutions and the legal profession as to the needs, costs, and methods of legal education. If the infrastructure or relationship between the legal profession and legal training institutions is strengthened, the profession might become more active in its support of initiatives in legal training institutions. Such an active infrastructure between the legal training institutions, the legal profession, and other existing structures and institutions could form the basic source of support for some aspects of reform initiatives, particularly the funding and support of clinical legal education. In Ghana, for instance, the Legal Resources Center could be an instrumental collaborator in any clinical legal education process. It might be

394. See McQuoid-Mason, Delivery of Civil Legal Aid, supra note 138, at 124-25.
395. See id.
396. See generally id. at 117-21(discussing the Legal Aid Board of South Africa).
397. Id.
398. Id.
399. See da Rocha, supra note 13, at 10-12.
400. See Jessup, supra note 13, at 400-01.
401. The Legal Resources Center (LRC) was established in 1997 by some visionaries who were then students of the Ghana School of Law. Legal Res. Ctr., About LRC, http://matrix.msu.edu/~numbou/lrc/about.html (last visited May 3, 2008) (on file with the McGeorge Law Review). LRC is organized into three main departments. Legal Res. Ctr., Departments, http://matrix.msu.edu/~numbou/lrc/departments.html (last visited May 3, 2008) [hereinafter About LRC] (on file with the McGeorge Law Review) (noting the Legal Resources Center operates under five departments). First, there is the public education department whose primary target groups are individuals and communities most vulnerable to human rights abuses due to a variety of reasons including poverty, illiteracy, and discrimination. Id. This program is called the “Human Rights and Democracy Public Education Programme,” and it involves educating the communities on human rights issues and aspects of good governance. The second department is the legal aid clinic. Id. The services provided by the clinic include free legal advice and counseling as well as representation in court. The clinic also runs an Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Centre and prefers to settle disputes through that mechanism. The third department is the parliamentary advocacy department, which investigates policies, laws, and practices that relate to a variety of social issues that adversely affect members of certain communities or constituencies. Id. The department then advocates for the reform of these policies, laws, and practices. Legal Res. Ctr., Parliamentary Advocacy, http://matrix.msu.edu/~numbou/lrc/parliament.html (last visited May 3, 2008) (on file
very useful for the coalition of law deans to consider how the resources of the existing structures and institutions could be utilized in the legal education process. The reform initiative remains with the legal training institutions, particularly the deans, faculty, and law students.\textsuperscript{402}

VI. SUMMARY OF KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Reforming African Legal Education

1. African Jurisprudence

Africa needs a legal education process that is driven by a pragmatic jurisprudence based on core African value systems, examples, and models, and is primarily concerned with the practical problems of using law as a tool of socio-economic engineering. Legal education might have to realign, reform, and apply African values to problems of modernity, dispute resolution, institution building, etc., and address the question of how much training is necessary for African lawyers to deal with the many complex international law questions from an African perspective.\textsuperscript{403}

2. Sensitivity to Public Service Responsibilities

The legal profession’s fixation with private practice is compromising its ability to use the law as a tool for socio-economic engineering. Absent a change of focus, the legal profession will confront growing public cynicism and outright disrespect. In training lawyers in Africa, a critical focus must be the development of lawyering skills that are necessary to practice within the context of social justice. Because there is a need for lawyers who are sensitive to their public service responsibilities in Africa, legal training institutions must introduce programs and courses that expose prospective lawyers to the legal needs and problems frequently encountered by the poor. It is imperative for the legal education process to pay attention to the social engineering needs and the policy demands in Africa, and to socialize lawyers to use the legal system to serve underrepresented clients’ interests, as well as the interests of corporate and other paying clients.\textsuperscript{404}

\begin{flushleft}
with the McGeorge Law Review. So far, the department has been investigating some issues at the systemic level as they relate to the New Town and Nima/Maamobi communities in Ghana.\textsuperscript{402} Law students initiated some of the clinical legal activities in Ghana, Sierra Leone, and South Africa. See, e.g., About LRC, supra note 401.\textsuperscript{403} See supra Part IV.D.\textsuperscript{404} See id.
\end{flushleft}
3. Specialization in Law

It is critical for African legal professionals to have the opportunity to specialize in legal areas such as complex joint venture transactions, privatization, debt management, international arbitration, commercial negotiations, international finance, intellectual property and technology transfer agreements, health, administrative justice, the environment, and natural and water resources. Globalization and the present information economy necessitate training for current geopolitical, business, trade, and information technology needs. Though lawyers may well-serve the community as general practitioners, there is an urgent need for hard-core specialist lawyers. Legal training institutions need to consider critically the current lack of opportunities for specialization and institute programs that will produce the different types of lawyers Africa needs. Obviously, the establishment of such programs requires human, financial, and material resources. African legal training institutions have to explore innovative means of mobilizing resources to undertake graduate and specialized programs.\(^{405}\)

4. Information Technology

Computers, Internet, and computer-assisted, student-directed learning and legal retrieval systems are virtually unavailable in most African law schools and law faculties. This state of affairs is an anomaly in the present global information-based society and economy. Corrective measures need to be adopted so that information technology can be fully utilized in the learning process in African legal training institutions. Some legal training institutions have initiated projects aimed at remedying the situation by making information technology common and accessible. Support should be extended to facilitate the drive for computer and Internet facilities, and to store legal information on computer/internet-assisted retrieval systems.\(^{406}\)

B. Planning and Priorities

1. A Vibrant Network of African Law Deans and Administrators

In addressing questions of priority and planning, the deans of the African legal training institutions first need to create an effective system of collaboration among themselves. The reform process should begin with a collaborative network (domestic, sub-regional, and continental) among the deans and the legal training institutions. Through periodic meetings, conferences, and workshops,

\(^{405}\) See id.
\(^{406}\) See supra Part V.A.5.
deans and administrators could and should develop a multi-year development plan and create joint initiatives. Committees might also be created within an association of African legal training institutions to design and, possibly, supervise various aspects of the reform initiatives, including curricula reform, clinical legal education, facility development, research and publication, electronic data and information retrieval, fundraising and outreach, and specialization and graduate programs. A dynamic network of African law deans under the umbrella of an association of African legal training institutions is long overdue. An association of African legal training institutions should be established for this purpose.  

2. Building a Consensus Among Key Stakeholders

Consensus is needed among key stakeholders in the legal education process, particularly deans, policymakers, and the legal profession, as to the reform needs of African legal education. Clearly, a vibrant coalition of law deans and administrators would be able to spearhead such a consensus-building effort and, thereby, court governmental policy recognition of the issues and win the committed support of the legal profession. An active commitment by deans, policymakers, and the legal profession to the development of African legal education might even induce foundations, governments, and other domestic and foreign institutions to be more forthcoming in providing additional funds and support for African legal education.  

3. Strengthening Relations: The Legal Profession and Legal Training Institutions

In the search for an appropriate paradigm of legal education, the disconnect between legal training institutions and the legal profession needs urgent review. The legal profession, and many other governmental and non-governmental organizations already exist in most African countries that could facilitate the process of legal education, particularly in the area of clinical legal education. The infrastructure that should exist between the legal profession and the legal education process needs to be considered.  

4. Stimulating the Exchange of Ideas and Intellectual Activity of African Legal Scholars

African legal training institutions need to establish partnerships and

407. See supra Part V.C.1.
408. See id.
409. See supra Part V.C.3.
collaboration aimed at facilitating the exchange of ideas and stimulating intellectual activity of African legal scholars, as well as enhancing comparative studies. This may be done through foreign teaching appointments in Africa or through the funding of conferences and workshops on legal and developmental issues and legal education. Such exchanges should not be focused on international (sub-regional, regional, and global) discourse only, but should additionally bring together domestic legal luminaries and legal professionals to discuss topical issues of national and academic or educational importance.410

C. Reforming African Law Faculties

1. Directed Research

Increased legal research and writing courses might have to be initiated in the African law faculties. “[R]esearch-oriented courses would enable law students to conduct comprehensive independent research projects [under the supervision of a faculty member, resulting in scholarly,] meaningful[,] and informative papers for use by those charged with decision making.”411 Potential areas of research include evaluating ongoing development programs, evaluating land tenure and land acquisition practices with proposals for reform, designing new arrangements for investment, funding improvements in transportation, health delivery, education, and creating provisions for social services. Stamping out corruption in the civil service, reforming some customary practices, curbing the scourge of HIV/AIDS, and many other topical issues serve as illustrative problem projects with substantial field study inputs. Such research and publication efforts must be supported, and consideration might even be given to the establishment and adequate funding of institutes of legal research in African law faculties and universities.412

2. Teaching Methods

Although lecture is still required to teach theory, it needs to be modified by occasional questioning and debate. Lecturers should increasingly put forward challenging views or criticisms, which stimulate debate and invite questions at natural pauses in the presentation. Tutorials can effectively complement the lecture method in training students in analytical skills. Thus, law faculties should be reviewed and enhanced to include the tutorial teaching method. 413

410. See supra Part V.A.6.
412. See supra Part V.A.1.
413. See supra Part V.A.2.
3. Course Structure

The course structure of legal training institutions in Africa needs to be reconsidered. Some of the courses that are offered on a full-year basis should be evaluated to determine whether the course content or the volume of the subject matter warrants such time commitment. Some of the courses taught on a full-year basis might have to be reduced to half-year courses. If the instruction periods of some courses are appropriately reduced, more courses can then be added to the curricula, particularly in the law faculties (while in the law schools, more clinical programs can be introduced). In addition to the courses already mentioned above, African law faculties might have to introduce courses on health, public interest law, and the evolving field of information technology, particularly e-commerce, computer, and Internet law.

4. Skills Training

African law faculties also need to introduce some clinical programs into their curricula. Such clinical opportunities might include legal research and writing courses, vibrant student and faculty law journal programs, and expanded moot court programs, as well as opportunities for concentration in specialized areas of law.

D. Reforming African Law Schools

1. Practical Skills Training

Law schools need to provide vigorous practical training programs by introducing relevant courses and programs that enhance students’ ability to handle practical problems. There might have to be programs that practically address skills in areas such as counseling, advocacy, negotiation, dispute resolution, arbitration, law office management, computer applications, legal drafting, and the construction of documents, as well as the use of law as an aid to development. Some of the courses should be packaged and delivered via clinical and practical means.

2. Legal Clinics

The law schools should revisit the traditional clinical method of teaching and apply it in various legal and social matters. The approach to legal education in

---

414. See supra Part V.A.3.
415. See id.
416. See supra Part V.A.4.
417. See supra Part V.B.1.
African law schools must be practical and multi-disciplinary, drawing upon intellectual strength and clinical skills to address development and societal problems. Law schools in Africa need to become centers of professional and practical legal training. The clinical approach must be effectively utilized in the law schools, in addition to a reduced use of the current teaching (or lecturing) pedagogy. Law schools in Africa might have to introduce legal clinics with experienced full-time instructors. Such clinics might need to build networks and seek collaborators, particularly the support of the legal profession, to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of such clinical programs and projects.418

3. The Pupillage System

Pupillage is an integral part of the legal education process in some African countries. But the problems affecting its implementation necessitate a critical review. Reliance on pupillage as a means of acquiring practical skills should be reduced and clinical programs at the law schools increased. If law school curricula and pedagogy are reformed, and take on a clinical and practical approach with skilled instructors and collaborators, the pupillage program might become less relevant.419

4. Teaching Methods

African law schools need to revisit the traditional clinical and practical teaching/learning pedagogy that has served indigenous African societies so well for thousands of years. Clinical work might have to become an integral part of the legal education process in Africa, and academic credit should be given to participating students. Law schools can use externships, in-house or live-client simulated projects, mediation clinics, and advocacy clinics, including moot court and public education programs, street law clinics, legal aid clinics, as well as legal research and publication. These might have to be combined with tutorials or seminars and a reduced use of the lecture pedagogy. Not only would such clinics help students develop lawyering skills that are necessary in practice, but they would also advance social justice, help improve access to legal services, address the problems of the poor, and contribute to initiatives aimed at entrenching the rule of law in Africa.420

VII. CONCLUSION

Legal education in Africa should, at its core, be driven by African value
systems and by the peculiarly African demand for ordered change and development. It also needs to be made relevant to the socio-economic and geopolitical needs of Africa. Evaluating ongoing development programs, designing new arrangements for funding improvements in transportation, health delivery, education, provision of social services, evaluating land tenure and land acquisition practices with proposals for reform, stamping out corruption in the civil service, reforming some customary practices, curbing the scourge of HIV/AIDS, and many other topical issues serve as illustrative problem projects with substantial field study inputs that African legal research can and might have to focus on. The reasoning and analytical skills needed for such tasks can be enhanced in the law faculties. The law schools, through practical training, can complement these skills with practical experience in ADR, public service, and other practical lawyering skills.

Instructed by the needs of Africa in this millennium, this article presents a broad conceptual framework for understanding the development, structure, processes, strengths, and weaknesses of African legal education so as to facilitate informed discussions on curricula and other reforms. In seeking a legal system that is sensitive and responsive to the needs of Africa, the legal training institutions have to reconsider the structure and content of the curricula for legal education in Africa. This article suggests many areas for reform, including legal clinics, increased course offerings, pervasive perspectives on African law and juridical value systems as they relate to international law and the global legal order, collaboration, and development planning. African legal education might continue to fall short in many respects, and no effective reform can be implemented unless there is greater collaboration among the legal profession, academics, and policymakers. Consensus among these stakeholders regarding the reform needs of African legal education might enable them to take effective action. Ultimately, Africa needs well-trained lawyers who have the highest levels of competence and responsibility, are alive to the demands of globalization with a global competitive posture, and are in touch with local realities, needs, and aspirations. This paper has initiated a discussion on the complex issues surrounding African legal education reform, not only as a matter of academic discourse, but also as policy issues to be considered, analyzed, refined, and implemented.
APPENDIX I

BRIEF SURVEY OF U.S. AND BRITISH LEGAL EDUCATION: KEY LESSONS

1. Legal Education in the United States

As of 1776, the United States trained lawyers through apprenticeships.421 In 1779, the College of William and Mary established the first law school in the United States.422 Twenty law schools existed by 1860.423 In 1878, the American Bar Association (ABA) created a Committee on Legal Education and Admission to the Bar and, in 1900, the Association of American Law Schools (AALS) was created to regulate law schools.424 The U.S. law degree is offered as a postgraduate degree,425 and, unlike the distinction in the United Kingdom between solicitors and barristers, the U.S. legal profession is fused.426 Like the American model, the African legal system does not make such a distinction. In some African countries, such as Ghana, the LL.B. program resembles the U.S. program. Although the American law school curricula differ from state to state, the curricula are very multidisciplinary with a wide array of course and clinic options.427

Except in a few states, bar admission requires graduation from an accredited law school, and apart from special arrangements between some states, the bar examination must be taken in each state in which a person wants to practice.428 "Bar exams are designed to screen out people who are not qualified in terms of knowledge or communicative ability or time management (or some combination) to practice law. The exam involves essay and multiple-choice questions."429


422. Id.; see William & Mary School of Law, About the School of Law: Quick Facts, http://www.wm.edu/ law/about/quickfacts.shtml (last visited Oct. 7, 2006) (on file with the McGeorge Law Review) (noting that the first Bachelor of Law degree in the United States was awarded by William and Mary in 1793). The school, founded in 1793, is located in Williamsburg, Virginia. Id.

423. See Ogilvy, supra note 421.

424. Id.

425. See Gregory S. Crespi, Comparing United States and New Zealand Legal Education: Are U.S. Law Schools Too Good?, 30 VAND. J. TRANSNAT’L L. 31, 36 (1997). The law degree is referred to as the Juris Doctor (J.D.). Id. at 35. It is generally a three-year program. Id. at 36.

426. See Marilyn J. Berger, A Comparative Study of British Barristers and American Legal Practice and Education, 5 NW. J. INT’L L. & BUS. 540, 544 (1983) (“Lawyering in England is a divided profession. One must choose to be either a barrister, a ‘courtroom lawyer,’ or a solicitor, an ‘office lawyer.’”); GOWER, supra note 2, at 104-05.

427. See, e.g., UNIV. OF THE PAC., MCGEORGE SCHOOL OF LAW, CATALOGUE 49-94 (2005-2006) [hereinafter MCGEORGE SCHOOL OF LAW CATALOG] (offering over 200 course and clinic options); see also UOG Admission Requirements, supra note 108.


429. Lumumba, supra note 13. Moreover, one has to get past the Character and Fitness Committee,
many states, one also has to pass the Multi-State Professional Responsibility Examination.\textsuperscript{430} This test, which is offered in at least twenty states, consists of fifty multiple-choice questions about professional ethics under the ABA’s Model Code of Professional Responsibility and Model Rules of Professional Conduct.\textsuperscript{431} The purpose of the test is to ensure basic familiarity with these ethics and codes. Some states, including Alaska, Colorado, and California, have adopted a performance component in their bar exams.\textsuperscript{432} The performance component varies in content, but the California Bar Exam includes two drafting assignments based on simulated cases.

In American law school curricula, clinical legal education programs are prominent.\textsuperscript{433} Although only “a handful of [U.S.] law schools had a clinic” in 1969, “[t]oday, no [U.S.] law school is without a clinic, with most having several.”\textsuperscript{434} Such programs enable students to develop lawyering skills while facilitating their transition from law school to legal practice. Clinical legal education as a facet of American legal education is a “relatively recent phenomenon.”\textsuperscript{435} However, “a few, scattered programs [existed] earlier, [and] clinical legal education” became a pervasive aspect of American legal education in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{436}

The Ford Foundation played a key role in the pervasive initiation of legal clinics in U.S. law schools.\textsuperscript{437} From 1959 to 1965, “[t]he National Council on Legal Clinics (NCLC)[,] funded by the Ford Foundation[,] . . . made grants totaling some $500,000 to nineteen [U.S.] law schools for clinical programs.”\textsuperscript{438} In 1968, the “Ford Foundation announce[d] a commitment of $12 [million] over a ten year period to ‘incorporate clinical education as an integral part of the curriculum of [American] law schools.’”\textsuperscript{439} In the same year, with funding from the Ford Foundation, the Council on Legal Education for Professional

which evaluates moral character. Id. In most states, the state’s highest court appoints a Character and Fitness Committee that collects reams of data from bar applicants, checks numerous references, and interviews each candidate individually. Id. The Character and Fitness Committee advises whether the candidate should be admitted. Id.

430. This is known as the MPRE. See ABA Overview, supra note 428.

431. There are also a few questions about the American Bar Association’s (ABA) Code of Judicial Conduct. See id.


433. See MACCRATE REPORT, infra note 442.

434. Ogilvy, supra note 421, at 15.

435. Id.

436. Id.

437. Id. at 17.

438. Id.

439. Id.
Responsibility (CLEPR) was created.\textsuperscript{440} By 1970, in CLEPR’s first two years, “[c]redit-bearing clinical programs grew from 25 to 80.”\textsuperscript{441}

The MacCrate Report also significantly contributed to the enhancement of legal clinics in U.S. law schools.\textsuperscript{442} In 1989, following rising discomfort as to the quality and competency of the law students preparing for law practice in America, Robert MacCrate formed the Task Force in Law Schools and the Profession for the purpose of studying and improving the process of preparing new members of the profession for law practice.\textsuperscript{443} The MacCrate Report clearly emphasized incorporating clinical (practical) approaches to legal education.\textsuperscript{444} It also enumerated certain fundamental lawyering skills and values of the profession that every law school should endeavor to impart in its legal training.\textsuperscript{445} The four core values discussed were: (1) providing “competent representation;” (2) “striving to promote justice, fairness, and morality;” (3) “striving to improve the profession;” and (4) “professional self-development.”\textsuperscript{446} Ten lawyering skills were also discussed: (1) problem solving; (2) legal analysis and reasoning; (3) legal research; (4) factual investigation; (5) communication; (6) counseling; (7) negotiation; (8) litigation and alternative dispute resolution procedures; (9) organization and management of legal work; and (10) recognizing and resolving ethical dilemmas.\textsuperscript{447} The MacCrate Report and other initiatives by legal organizations, including the AALS, the ABA, and Association of Legal Writing Directors (ALWD), have enhanced law school legal clinics in the United States.\textsuperscript{448}

Presently, American law schools are exploring the issue of creating a curricular core to train transnational lawyers.\textsuperscript{449} Recognizing the need to train all lawyers for transnational challenges, the AALS is debating strategies and approaches to provide such education. With the leadership and coordination support of top U.S. law schools, such as University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law, New York University School of Law, and New England School

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{440} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{441} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{443} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{444} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{445} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{446} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{447} Id. For example, with regards to skill one, problem solving, the MacCrate Report states: [I]n order to develop and evaluate strategies for solving a problem or accomplishing an objective, a lawyer should be familiar with the skills and concepts involved in: identifying and diagnosing the problem, generating alternative solutions and strategies, developing a plan of action, implementing the plan, and keeping the planning process open to new information and new ideas.
\item \textsuperscript{448} See generally id.; Sloan, supra note 262.
\item \textsuperscript{449} See Gevurtz & Parker, A Curricular Core for the Transnational Lawyer, supra note 220, at 1.
\end{itemize}
of Law, various inquiries are being made on this issue.\textsuperscript{450} The University of the Pacific, McGeorge School of Law, playing an active role in the AALS and ABA International Law Section’s initiatives on Internationalizing Law School Curricula,\textsuperscript{451} initiated a project preparing casebooks and supplements containing both international and comparative materials to be integrated into core courses in U.S. law schools.\textsuperscript{452}

Such U.S. initiatives on initiating, coordinating, funding, and implementing projects to improve legal education provide useful lessons for African legal education. In reference to the internationalization of law school curricula, the breadth of core curricula in most parts of Africa are pervasively broad-scoped, incorporating comparative and international materials.\textsuperscript{453} African countries should maintain, develop, and enhance this historical heritage. Additionally, U.S. law schools offer a wide array of courses and many clinical options to students.\textsuperscript{454} Such clinical options, although useful, are unavailable in many African law schools;\textsuperscript{455} therefore, it might be useful to explore ways to reform the African law curricula by drawing lessons from the U.S. legal education development efforts.

2. Legal Education in the United Kingdom

"In England, the [legal] profession is divided into solicitors and barristers,"\textsuperscript{456} "Solicitors are organised [sic] into firms of varying size from sole practitioner to large multinational practices."\textsuperscript{457} They provide “all legal services and instruct barristers.”\textsuperscript{458} Their professional organization is called the Law Society.\textsuperscript{459}

On the other hand, barristers are primarily advocates, with the exclusive right of audience before all superior courts.\textsuperscript{460} "Barristers represent clients in the courts on the instruction of solicitors, although their exclusive rights of audience in the higher courts have been eroded in recent years."\textsuperscript{461} “Barristers are organised [sic]...
into sets of Chambers, but are essentially self-employed."462 Their professional organisation [sic] is called the Bar.463

To qualify as a solicitor or a barrister, a student must complete both an academic and professional course of training.464 To enroll in the professional programs, one must have a law degree with at least lower second class honors.465

U.K. law degrees are undergraduate degrees and take three years to complete.466 Aspiring solicitors and barristers with a degree in a subject other than law must complete a one-year qualifying course, known as the Common Professional Examination (CPE), in the core subjects of law to be eligible for the qualifying courses.467 Professional training for both solicitors and barristers is provided at the postgraduate level.468

a. Solicitors

A student desiring to progress to the solicitor’s vocational training stage is required to pass seven subjects known as “The Seven Foundations of Legal Knowledge.”469 After successful completion of the law degree, CPE, or Diploma in Law, a solicitor in the United Kingdom must take the Legal Practice Course (LPC) for one academic year, or two years if taken part-time.470 The LPC provides professional training for solicitors.471 The student enters into a two-year
training contract, known as an apprenticeship, with a firm of solicitors or a practicing solicitor. A statutory committee composed of senior members of the Law Society, specially chaperoned by the Master of the Rolls, supervise the conduct of admitted solicitors. A solicitor’s role is that of a general legal adviser, but he can also be an advocate with limited access to the superior courts.

b. Barristers

Aspiring barristers must complete the law degree, CPE, or Diploma in Law. Additionally, an aspiring barrister must also register as a student member of one of the four Inns of Court: Gray’s Inn, Lincoln’s Inn, Inner Temple, or Middle Temple. Barristers must then pursue the one-year Bar Vocational Course (BVC), a highly practical course in nature. After passing the BVC, their respective Inns call the barristers to the Bar. “The Inns form the Council of Legal Education and the Inns of Court School of Law,” which are concerned with examination and training of students in their preparation for Call to the Bar. The Inns of Court have “control over barristers’ education and requirements for Call to the Bar” and “concentrate on the development of law practice skills,” while “[t]he universities primarily are responsible for academic and theoretical development of legal principles and institutions.” After a Call to the Bar, newly enrolled barristers must train for another year with senior counsel. This process is called pupillage.

c. Pupillage

“Pupillage is the final stage of the route to qualification at the Bar . . . .” It enables a pupil to gain “practical training under the supervision of an experienced barrister.” Pupilage involves understudying a senior counsel in his or her day-

472. Id.
473. See Carter, supra note 456.
474. Id.
476. Id.
477. Id.
478. Id.
479. Berger, supra note 426, at 570.
480. Id. at 562-63.
481. See id. at 565.
482. Id.
484. Id.
to-day practice for a period of twelve months. “Pupillage is divided into two parts: the non-practicing six months during which pupils shadow their supervisor, and the second practicing six months when pupils, with their approved pupil supervisor’s permission, can undertake to supply legal services and exercise rights of audience.”

Legal education as it exists in most parts of Anglophone Africa is patterned after the British model, though the fused profession in Africa gives it a semblance of the American model. Legal education curricula in most common law African countries follow the U.K. model. African countries should consider strategies for making this structure useful to local challenges and global needs. Legal clinics and enhancement of the comparative approach to legal education offer useful lessons.

APPENDIX II

A SAMPLE OF COURSES: SELECT COUNTRIES

University of Ghana Law Faculty (LL.B. Degree)

At the University of Ghana Law Faculty, the LL.B. program lasts two years with a total of forty-eight courses offered and seventy-two credits minimum to graduate.

I. First Year Curriculum

A. First Semester (Students are required to have a minimum of eighteen credits and twenty-one maximum.)

**Required Core Courses (All courses are three credits)**
- Ghana Legal System
- Law of Contract I
- Constitutional Law I (Constitutional Theory)
- Torts I (Intentional Torts)
- Immovable Property I (Customary Land Law)
- Criminal Law I (General Principles)

**Elective Courses (All courses are three credits)**
- Public International Law I
- Comparative Law I (Legal Traditions)

---

485. *Id.*
486. *Id.*
487. GOWER, supra note 2, at 104-05.
488. *See infra* App. II.
B. Second Semester (Students must have a minimum of eighteen credits and twenty-one maximum.)

**Required Core Courses (All courses are three credits)**
- Legal Method
- Law of Contract II
- Constitutional Law II (Constitution of Ghana)
- Torts II (Negligence and Defamation)
- Immovable Property II (General Immovable Property Principles and Theory)
- Criminal Law II (Specific Offences)

**Elective Courses (All courses are three credits)**
- Public International Law II
- Comparative Law II (Comparative Constitutional Law)

II. Second Year Curriculum
A. First Semester (Students must have a minimum of eighteen credits and twenty-one maximum.)

**Required Core Courses (All courses are three credits)**
- Jurisprudence I
- Equity

**Elective Courses (All courses are three credits)**
- Long Essay
- International Trade and Investment Law I
- Natural Resource Law I
- Environmental Law I
- Intellectual Property Law I
- Conflict of Laws I
- International Humanitarian Law I
- International Human Rights Law I
- Gender and the Law I
- Family Law I
- Taxation Law I
- Company Law I
- Commercial Law I
- Criminology I
- Administrative Law

B. Second Semester (Students must have a minimum of eighteen credits and twenty-one maximum.)

**Required Core Courses (All courses are three credits)**
- Jurisprudence II
- Law of Succession

**Elective Courses (All courses are three credits)**
- International Trade and Investment Law II
- Natural Resource Law II
Environmental Law II  
Intellectual Property Law II  
Conflict of Laws II  
International Humanitarian Law II  
International Human Rights Law II  
Gender and the Law II  
Family Law II  
Taxation Law II  
Company Law II  
Commercial Law II  
Criminology II

**The Ghana School of Law (Professional Training)**

It is known as the Professional Law Course and is of two-year duration.

I. Professional Law Course: Part I  
**Core Courses**  
Criminal Procedure  
Company Law  
Law of Evidence  
Legal Accountancy  
Interpretation of Deeds and Statutes  
**Elective Courses** (Students are required to take one elective course.)  
Industrial law  
Law of Insurance  
Legislative Drafting

II. Professional Law Course: Part II  
**Core Courses**  
Civil Procedure  
Conveyancing and Drafting  
Family Law and Practice  
Law of Taxation  
Advocacy and Legal Ethics  
*(No Elective Courses)*

III. Post-Call Law Course  
This program is a three-month course designed for persons who have qualified as lawyers in common law countries outside Ghana.  
**Core Courses**  
Constitutional Law of Ghana
Ghana Customary Law  
*(No Elective Courses)*

**University of Malawi Law Faculty (LL.B. Degree)**

At the University of Malawi Law Faculty, the LL.B. program lasts four years with eighty-four credits minimum or ninety-six maximum to graduate. The courses include the following:

**I. First Year Curriculum**
- Legal Systems
- Legal Methods
- Constitutional Law
- Administrative Law
- Criminal Law
- Law & Society
- Torts

**II. Second Year Curriculum**
- Trusts
- Land
- Contracts
- Family Law

**III. Third Year Curriculum**
- Business Organizations
- Commercial Law
- Conflicts of Laws
- Public International Law
- Jurisprudence
- Wills and Succession

**IV. Fourth Year Curriculum**
- Civil Procedure
- Criminal Procedure
- Evidence
- Advocacy & Ethics
- Legal Accountancy
- Taxation
- Dissertation (extended essay)
**Tanzania: University of Dar-es-Salaam Law Faculty (LL.B. Degree)**

At the University of Dar-es-Salaam Law Faculty, the LL.B. program lasts three years and the courses include the following:

**I. First Year Curriculum**
- Constitutions and Legal Systems of East Africa
- Criminal Law and Procedure
- Law of Contract
- Legal Method
- Development Studies and Communication Skills

**II. Second Year Curriculum**
- Administrative Law
- Law of Evidence
- Land Law
- Law of Torts
- Development Studies

**III. Third Year Curriculum**
- Jurisprudence
- Civil Procedure
- Research Paper and Research Methodology
- Civil System
- Commercial Law
- Conflict of Law
- Constitutional Law
- Criminology and Penology
- Family Law
- International Law
- Islamic Law
- Labor Law
- Legal Aspects of International Trade and Investment
- Public Enterprises and Cooperatives
- Succession and Trusts
- Tax Law
- Law and Development and Development Studies

**University of Zambia School of Law (LL.B. Degree)**

This is a four-year program. The first year is spent in the school of Humanities and Social Sciences, and the remaining three years are spent in the Law School. The courses include:
I. First Year Curriculum
   Students are free to take any subjects they choose in the arts and social sciences at the school of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zambia.

II. Second Year Curriculum
   - Legal Process
   - Law of Contract
   - Torts
   - Criminal Law
   - Constitutional Law

III. Third Year Curriculum
   - Commercial Law
   - Family Law
   - Evidence
   - Administrative Law
   - Land Law
   - Moot Court (Appellate briefs and arguments)

IV. Fourth Year Curriculum
   - Jurisprudence
   - Company Law
   - International Law
   - Labor Law
   - International Trade
   - Criminology

*The Nigerian School of Law (Professional Training)*

The program is one year (Bar Part II only) for students with law degrees from Nigerian universities and two years for those with law degrees obtained outside Nigeria.

I. The Bar Examination: Part I (All courses are required for only those with law degrees from outside Nigeria.)
   - Nigerian Legal System
   - Nigerian Land Law
   - Nigerian Criminal Law
   - Nigerian Constitutional Law

II. The Bar Examination: Part II (Students are required to take all courses.)
   - Civil Procedure
Criminal Procedure
Legal Drafting and Conveyancing
Commercial Law
Law and Practice of Evidence
General Paper (Legal Practitioners’ Accounts, Income Tax, Office Management, and Professional Ethics)

Uganda: The Law Development Center (Professional Training)

The program is a twelve-month Bar Course and lasts for four terms.

I. First and Second Term (All courses are required)
   Individual Continuous Assessment
   Domestic Relations
   Commercial Transactions
   Criminal Proceedings
   Civil Proceedings
   Land Transactions

II. Third Term (All courses are required)
   Individual Continuous Assessment
   Mandatory Clerkship or Practical Work (attachment to a law firm, court, or a judge)

III. Fourth Term (All courses are required)
   Individual Continuous Assessment
   Commercial Transactions
   Civil Proceedings
   Criminal Proceedings
   Domestic Relations
   Land Transactions
   General Subject (Legislative Drafting, Professional Conduct, Accounts/Solicitor’s Accounts, Judicial Conduct and Art of Advocacy, and Revenue Law and Taxation)