



RETURNING MATERIALS:
Place in book drop to
remove this checkout from
your record. FINES will
be charged if book is
returned after the date
stamped below.

DATE 1900 USE ONLY		
-------------------------------	--	--

A HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF ADULT
EDUCATION IN TANZANIA SINCE THE POLICY
DECLARATIONS OF 1967
(ARUSHA DECLARATION AND EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE)

By
Doris Gallimore Rucks

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Adult and Continuing Education

1983

ABSTRACT

A HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF ADULT
EDUCATION IN TANZANIA SINCE THE POLICY
DECLARATIONS OF 1967
(ARUSHA DECLARATION AND EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE)

By

Doris Gallimore Rucks

The purpose of this work is to demonstrate the relationship between national development, for a newly developing nation, Tanzania, and adult education. The methodology used is basically historical, archival and field work on-site observations by researcher.

The study traces the origins of African education in Tanzania through its earliest informal beginnings to the initial efforts by foreign missionaries whose primary aim was to Christianize a mainly Moslem people. Historically Tanzania's formal educational roots begin with the efforts by German colonizers in the 1880s. After Tanganyika became a British mandate, following World War I, the British wove onto the fabric of education formally begun by the Germans. Their purpose for colonial education was to create subordinate civil servants to serve the colonizers. The need for these subordinates was imperative because the environmental conditions in Tanganyika proved inhospitable to most colonizers.

This work critically analyzes the Tanzanian policy statements (the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self Reliance) that

have had the greatest impact on adult education since independence. This investigation looks at ways the documents were implemented as they became public policy and were then applied in the course of three mass literacy campaigns which are described. These implementation responses finally introduce the field work on-site observations made by researcher in July and August, 1981 and 1982.

The evaluation segment of this work presents the views of those practitioners and administrators most intimately concerned with the three mass literacy campaigns. The observations of Msekwa and Malimyanko, two Tanzanian scholars, follow as another evaluatory mechanism. Finally the critical assessment of the UNESCO/UNDP team that jointly co-sponsored with Tanzania, the experimental work-oriented literacy campaign in the Lake Victoria region, concludes this portion of the work.

The study concludes with an assessment of the success or failure in adult education, as it relates to, or departs from, the national development goals within the framework of social change. Such an evaluation involves a review of the factors which had an impact on the adult education endeavors in Tanzania since the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self Reliance document in 1967.

DEDICATION

To David

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout the time that it took to complete this work, my dissertation advisor, Dr. Melvin Buschman, and the other members of my committee played a critical role in helping me organize, clarify and refine my thoughts and my writing. Their tough but constructive criticism has been supportive and helpful and I am deeply grateful for their constant support, good judgment and generous assistance. Committee members: Dr. Melvin Buschman, Chairperson, Dr. Ruth Useem, Marylee Crofts-Wiley, Dr. Stanley Wronski and Dr. John Hanson, Advisor Emeritus. In addition to the support and encouragement of my doctoral committee I am indebted to my relatives, friends and colleagues who have supported me throughout this endeavor.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Figures.	vi
 CHAPTER I A HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN TANZANIA SINCE THE POLICY DECLARA- TION OF 1967 (ARUSHA DECLARATION AND EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE).	3
Statement of Purpose	3
Sub-Topics	4
Significance of the Study	5
Hypothesis	8
Basic Assumptions	8
Methodology	9
Limitations	11
Definitions of Terms and Glossary.	12
 CHAPTER II NATIONAL AND PRE-NATIONAL CONTEXT (SOCIO- ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF TANZANIA.	21
Sub-Topic I	21
 CHAPTER III COLONIAL EDUCATION.	29
Sub-Topic II.	29
Education Activities at the Time of German Colonial Rule	33
British Colonial Education	35
 CHAPTER IV DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF ARUSHA DECLARATION (AD) AND EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE (ESR). .	43
Sub-Topic III	43
Arusha Declaration (AD)	43
Education for Self Reliance (ESR).	53

	Page
CHAPTER V	
IMPLEMENTATION RESPONSES TO ARUSHA DECLARATION AND EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE.	62
Sub-Topic IV	62
CHAPTER VI	
EVALUATION OF TANZANIAN ADULT EDUCATION ACTIVI- TIES.	130
Sub-Topic V	130
CHAPTER VII	
FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS	163
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A.	184
APPENDIX B.	196
APPENDIX C.	202
APPENDIX D.	226
APPENDIX E.	229
BIBLIOGRAPHY	231

List of Figures

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Tanzania in Africa.	22
2	Tanzania	23
3	Regions of Tanzania	24

"An adult is one of the most neglected national resources in underdeveloped countries."

G. L. Ilagi
"Primary Schools Operating as Adult Education Centers in Tanzania",
University of Dar es Salaam, 1977
(unpublished document)

"First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years."

Julius K. Nyerere, President,
The First Five-Year Plan (1964-1969)
May 1, 1964
United Republic of Tanzania

"I have said adult education is of paramount importance to national development; it would be more true to say that the two are inseparable."

Rashidi Kawawa
Second Vice President
United Republic of Tanzania 1973
Speech at University of Dar es Salaam
1973

"It is not the children who today hold the present destiny of Africa in their hands, it is the adults. So it is only by establishing effective communication with the adult population, by helping them to adjust to a rapidly changing world, that an immediate impact can be made on the urgent problems of society and essential progress be brought about. Africa cannot wait a generation to mobilize its rich human resources for tasks of national development."

Amadou - Mahtar M'Bow
Director General, UNESCO
Education Conference, 1964

"The total wealth available to be spent by all the people of Tanzania during one year is less than the amount which the government of the United States spends on its military forces in one week."

J. K. Nyerere, President
United Republic of Tanzania
"After the Arusha Declaration"
Presidential Address to the TANU
National Conference,
October 17, 1967

CHAPTER I

A HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN TANZANIA SINCE THE POLICY

DECLARATION OF 1967

(ARUSHA DECLARATION AND EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE)

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of the proposed investigation is to trace the development and growth of adult education in Tanzania since the two major policy declarations of 1967 which had a direct bearing on educational endeavors within the United Republic of Tanzania. A descriptive analysis of the growth patterns is further proposed with a view to evaluating the results achieved against the back-drop of the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance document. An effort will be made to discover where congruence with and departures from the enunciated goals occur. A further aim of the study is an attempt to identify and account for these congruences and departures. "To have a full comprehension of the ideals to be achieved through the educative process in a given society, is also to understand the substance and historical perspective of the evolution of that society, in a given spatial and temporal context."¹

Sub-Topics

Sub-Topic I

To trace the historical, geographical and political development of Tanzania, thus providing the background for what is to follow specifically as it relates to the analysis and evaluation of adult education in Tanzania. Appendix A contains a fuller cultural, historical, geographical and political summary than will be found in the body of this investigation.

Sub-Topic II

To survey the origins and early development of the system of education under the colonial influences experienced by Tanganyika as they have an impact on current adult education policy. The early missionary efforts progressed to the more organized formalization of education on a state level by the Germans to the more comprehensive efforts of the British. The historical period covered is approximately 1600 to 1980.

Sub-Topic III

To examine the two 1967 documents of national policy which the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance statement that provided the rationale for and the direction of the developments which occurred in the field of adult education following their enunciation by President Julius K. Nyerere.

Sub-Topic IV

To describe and analyze the implementation responses in adult education programs that followed the enunciation of the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance policy in Tanzania from 1967 to 1980.

Sub-Topic V

To describe the evaluations of the adult education programs, as seen by President Nyerere and international adult education specialists, with a view toward future policy formation in this area in line with stated national goals. An attempt will also be made to include within this evaluation component the criteria used by UNESCO in its evaluation of adult education efforts in its Experimental Work-oriented Literacy Projects in Tanzania and countries sharing socio-economic characteristics similar to those of Tanzania. A view of contemporary Tanzanian educators complement this evaluation component.

Sub-Topic VI

To summarize the findings of this work and present the conclusions from those findings.

Significance of the Study

For those concerned with national development in general and rural development in particular, Tanzania's experience in adult education warrants careful consideration. Adult educators, development planners, educational researchers, economists, development

analysts, as well as students of educational theory and those concerned specifically with social change and history, should find this study significant because an attempt will be made to chart the Tanzanian government's response, early in its post-independence efforts, to emphasize adult education as being central to national development. Tanzania's commitment to comprehensive adult educational goals were made soon after independence.

This emphasis on adult education attracted world-wide attention from the educators in the international adult education community, as well as those individuals and organizations interested in the national development of newly independent states. The designation of Mwalimu (teacher) Nyerere as international president of the International Council on Adult Education followed vigorous adult education efforts in Tanzania. In 1978, the international literacy award was given to Tanzania for instruction that linked literacy to productive work for embracing efforts to achieve national development plans.² Critically positive articles on the adult education efforts in Tanzania have appeared both in foreign educational journals and in educational journals of more limited coverage, such as the organ of the Tanzania Education Society. Detailed reports are also made of adult education efforts in Tanzania in United Nations publications from UNESCO and the United Nations Development Program on Tanzania's experience in its literacy projects. Further, Tanzanian adult education efforts are noteworthy because they represent direct implementation of a national policy which did not languish in the rhetorical

stage. Certainly, on this basis alone, the post-Arusha Tanzanian experience in adult education merits scholarly consideration.

The major significance of this study is a determination of the contribution adult education has made to the achievement of national goals in one developing country. Further, Tanzania puts great emphasis on research due to the belief that this approach may increase the efficiency of literacy programs through observation of scientific methods, thus speeding up the realization of Tanzania's national goals.

John Lowe, of the University of Edinburgh, writing in "Convergence" concludes that it is important that methods for predicting and assessing the value of programs must be devised. There is a need for straightforward descriptive studies of nations and their programs. A written summary of past history is needed to acquire a sense of perspective. Studies of the relationship between social change and adult education, including the effects of migration, urbanization and industrialization are sorely needed, as are studies of organization and administration of particular adult education programs and their effectiveness.³ This work attempts to view adult education as a subsystem under the larger rubric of social change. Social change in this context is taken to mean any significant alteration in the social structure including new values, new norms and new cultural products of a material or symbolic kind⁴ (Coser, 1983).

Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that the formalization of goals for adult education and their implementation grew out of Tanzania's need to enunciate and develop an educational posture that was both a departure from colonial education toward philosophy that would facilitate the realization of the national development goals of socialism stated in the Arusha Declaration. It is further hypothesized that the resulting content, structure and organization are congruent with the goals of a socialist society. This study makes the statement that vigorous, well planned adult education programs can make a significant contribution toward realization of national goals of a developing country, Tanzania.

Basic Assumptions

Although no two countries experienced exactly the same colonial history of education, Tanzania's precedent and attendant problems have some universality. Tanzania, like many developing nations, operates under the constraint of very limited resources and competing priorities. Tanzania, a nation with limited resources must make decisions that will insure that the aims of schooling in Tanzania are based on a definition of education intended to include all people. Schooling was designed in Tanzania to be universal, objective and descriptive. President Nyerere also called for expansion and emphasis in educational policy, more specific to Africa and to the task of the liberation of mankind.⁵

In Africa particularly, other newly developing nations may find of interest the steps which Tanzania has taken to achieve its national goals once the decision was made to pursue a given political course.

Considering the fact that most of the countries in the Third World have similar problems of poverty, illiteracy, and economic dependency, the procedures outlined might be adopted by other nations depending on time, political support, leadership and social awareness of the need for self-help. These Third World countries also need manpower reform and training to provide local personnel; they need a uniform pattern of education to equitably solve regional imbalances and they need to overcome the factor of heritage in the provision of educational opportunities. Decentralization of the education system may inevitably increase the participation of the masses.

Methodology

This study uses different methodologies. It utilizes the historical methodology of inquiry, archival research, documentary analysis, and qualitative field work. It is also interdisciplinary in weaving together the major threads of historical, political and socio-economic research. The main sources for the collection of data include Tanzania's development plans, the legislation on education, issues of the Tanzania Education Journal, reports of agencies on adult education, articles of President Nyerere's speeches and writings of scholars on various aspects of adult education, issues of the

"Tanzania Education Journal", reports of various aspects of the adult education delivery system in Tanzania. The researchers' experience in Tanzania served as an additional basis for understanding and providing an opportunity for interviews and observations during July and August, 1981 and 1982.

In terms of procedure, the study addresses the problem under the five sub-topics. Thus, each chapter of this investigation focuses upon the historical evolution of a single phenomenon in the history of adult education in the United Republic of Tanzania. Each chapter is taken from the sub-topics which are delineated in the statement of purpose and each sub-topic will provide that part of the framework within which the total hypothesis can be examined. The methodology further employs field work on-site observations in Tanzania in the summers of 1981 and 1982. During this time visits were made to adult education sites, and interviews were arranged with those in Tanzania who were responsible for much of the adult education activity. Louis Gottschalk, in his Primer of Historical Method, suggests that the historical method utilized in such an investigation address itself to answering four questions:

(1) What part of the world are we speaking about? (Sub-topic I); (2) What group of people is our concern and how large a group is under consideration? (Sub-topic II); (3) What time-frame are we examining? (Sub-topic III); (4) What sphere of human activity or concern is our focus? (Sub-topic IV).⁶

This study attempts to answer the above four questions in detail through the use of primary and secondary sources, with a view

to making a contribution to the study of the effectiveness of adult education in Tanzania, as social change.

This study is mainly historical and archival; it examines, among other works, department reports from the Tanzanian Ministry of National Education, the Institute of Adult Education, the University of Dar es Salaam, Moshi Adult Education Center and the Folk Development College in Dar es Salaam were undertaken. An interview with one employer (Himatal Shah), who facilitates adult education efforts at his leather industry in Moshi, Tanzania, is included. It is recognized that the answers secured from these random interviews do not represent scientific selection; therefore, additional evidence from other sources will be introduced, such as, UNESCO and UNDP. Field work on-site observations of adult education will be evaluated in terms of the stated aims and goals of adult education enunciated specifically in the Education for Self-Reliance document. Evaluative criticism by those professionals most directly concerned with carrying out the mandates of these documents in Tanzania and the statements of President Nyerere will be reviewed. An evaluative guideline from UNESCO will be consulted in order to arrive at objective assessments of the effectiveness of adult education work being undertaken in Tanzania.

Limitations

For the purpose of this investigation, the following delimitation is made:

The major emphasis of this study will be the analysis and history of adult education in Tanzania from the time of the Arusha Declaration (1967) to 1980. It is to be recognized that one cannot completely divorce adult education from other educational experiences (and no attempt to do this has been undertaken) in Tanzania either pre- or post-Arusha Declaration, but this work takes the position that adult education efforts in Tanzania represent a unique adaptation to the experience of independence and the pronouncement of Tanzania's political ideology. The ideology and its relation to the adult education efforts after 1967 in Tanzania will be explored post 1967. Tanzania in this work does not include a consideration of adult education activities in Zanzibar as at the present these activities are not conducted under the same legal framework.

Definitions of Terms and Glossary

Adult Education

The process whereby persons who no longer or never did attend school on a regular, full-time basis undertake sequential and organized activities with a conscious intention of bringing about changed information, knowledge, understanding or skill, appreciation and attitudes; or for the purpose of identifying and solving personal or community problems.

UNESCO states,

the term adult education denotes the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges, and universities as well as in apprenticeships, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications and bring about changes in their attitude or behavior in

the two-fold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development.⁸

In the Tanzanian context, President Nyerere also defines adult education as a highly political activity and in Tanzania adult education is also a high status priority as it encompasses a sizeable portion of the Tanzanian population.

Arusha Declaration

It is a Declaration which defines what socialism means in the context of Tanzania. It sets out qualifications which were to be fulfilled by all in leadership positions in politics and public service, and it demands a serious commitment to self-reliance in national development. It was adopted in the Tanzanian city of Arusha in January, 1967, hence its name--The Arusha Declaration. This document instructed the government to implement policies which would make Tanzania a socialist and a self-reliant nation. It was a declaration that proclaimed a socialist ideology coupled with a policy of self-reliance as the means for achieving socialism. It was designed to mark the beginning of a new socialist philosophy in the country. The intent was to begin a reformation of elitist attitudes of inherited self-interest which were so patently inappropriate to the development needs of Tanzania as expressed by the socialist leadership of the country. "The Declaration is the beginning, not the end, of a very long and probably extremely hard struggle. It is a commitment to a particular quality of life."⁹

"Chakula Ni Uhai"

Literally translated, "food is life." The name is given to the second mass literacy campaign described in this work.

Education for Self Reliance (ESR)

ESR is a white paper or manifesto on education which represents a search for new guidelines on the future purposes of education to match the proclaimed policy of socialism and self-reliance posited in the Arusha Declaration enunciated less than two months earlier. The ESR statement, an attempt to revolutionize the country's educational system, called for specific changes to be made in the educational structure inherited by the Tanzanians from British colonists at the time of independence. It is the philosophical basis of the educational system of the country. In essence, the Arusha Declaration set the stage for revolution to occur within and via the social institution of education. The ESR can be viewed as a derivative of Tanzanian socialism and as an application in the field of education of the socialist principles which give purpose and direction to life, and to education and development in Tanzania.¹⁰

Functional Literacy

Functional literacy is education for illiterate adults for the purpose of social and economic development. It gives working illiterates the knowledge and skills required to increase productivity and thus foster their own and thereby, national advancement. If based on well-defined learning needs, it is likely to be more effective.

Literacy is functional when it arouses in the individual a critical awareness of social reality, enabling him or her to understand, master and transform the reality. Functional literacy means more than the ability to function economically. To be effective, functional literacy should deal with political, cultural, economic, and social aspects of development.¹¹

Functional literacy programs have shown that learning is faster, more enjoyable, and better retained and applied when skills, content and teaching methods grow from the milieu of the learner.

Illiterate

"A person who cannot with understanding read and/or write a short simple statement about his everyday life." Numeracy, the ability to deal with numbers at a primary level is considered part of literacy.¹²

Mtu Ni Afya

Literally translated "Man is Health," the name given to the third literacy campaign described in this work.

Mwalimu

Swahili word for "teacher." President Nyerere resigned from his teaching post to accept the position of prime minister¹³ and, consistent with his original profession, he has given educational needs of his country the highest priority. He is often referred to as "Mwalimu" as a term of endearment. The term appears less formal than "President" and is used by Tanzanians more often than the word

President. This may be accounted for partly by the fact that Mwalimu is a Swahili word and Swahili is the language spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of Tanzania. As a former teacher, Nyerere has always seen his President's role as an educational role.¹⁴

Non-Formal Education

Defined by the International Council for Educational Development as "any organized educational activity outside the established formal system--whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity--that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives."¹⁵

Swahili

Abbreviated form of the Kiswahili, having exactly the same meaning. Swahili, an Arabic word meaning coast, has come to mean the people indigenous to portions of the east coast of southern Africa who speak Kiswahili,¹⁶ proper term for the first or second language spoken by 95 percent of the Tanzanians. Medium of instruction through primary cycle.

TANU

Tanzania African National Union (party which obtained power at the time of independence--Tanzania is a one party nation.) The present single party is the CCM, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, which was formed in 1977, following the merger of TANU with the Afro-Shirazi Party of Zanzibar.¹⁷

Tanzania

"Neologism coined to denote the mainland of Tanganyika* and the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia which united to form a new republic in 1964."¹⁸ This work uses "Tanzania" for both the post-independence period and the post revolution in Zanzibar. Because education is not administered on the mainland and the offshore islands jointly, this work confines itself to mainland Tanzania.

Ujamaa

It is a Swahili word literally meaning "Familyhood"--it "brings to the mind of our people the idea of mutual involvement of family as we know it."¹⁹ It is the policy of African "familiness" employed by Tanzania in its effort to carry out its political ideology of socialism. In the agricultural sector, the Ujamaa policy provided for farm families to move scattered holdings of their own farms to Ujamaa villages where water, health and educational services could be provided more efficiently and where land would be farmed collectively. The derivation of the term is the Swahili word jamaa (family).

In the Ujamaa village setting, the socialist political philosophy was easier to communicate than in widely separated village settings. It was anticipated that small village cooperative industries would develop to assist in more rapid overall economic development directly related to the needs of the people in the villages. This improvement in the overall well-being of the people

*Tanganyika will be used throughout this work to denote the name of this geographical area prior to independence in 1961.

was considered important for the long-term national goals of the country.

Ujamaa is African socialism in the evolving system suited to present day needs but with its roots in traditional African structures. According to President Nyerere, Ujamaa is the most practical way of reorganizing the largely agricultural society of Tanzania to take its place in the world as a free nation. This program was slow to be implemented, largely because of its unpopularity. Today over 11 million, out of a total population of almost 20 million, live in Ujamaa villages.²⁰

The Ujamaa movement is perhaps the most dramatic example of adult political learning that has taken place in Tanzania. There have been approximately 1,000 villages established consisting of from 250 to 600 households. Officials hope this accomplishment will promote citizenship organizations in a manner consistent with Tanzania's socialist goals.²¹

Ujamaa Vijijini

Literally means "familyhood villages", and is the term adopted after the unpopularity of "Ujamaa" per se.

Wakati Na Furaha

Literally translated "Time for Rejoicing." The first mass literacy campaign described in this work.

Footnotes Chapter I

¹Joel Millonzi, Citizenship in Africa: The Role of Adult Education in the Political Socialization of Tanganyikans 1891-1961. p. 71.

²"International Adult Education Awards" Convergence Magazine Vol. 10 No. 1, 1978, p. 60.

³John Lowe, "Research Priorities in Adult Education in Developing Countries." Convergence Magazine, Vol. IV #4, 1971, p. 57.

⁴Lewis A. Coser, et al., Introduction to Sociology, p. 453.

⁵Julius K. Nyerere, Presidential Circular #1 of 1961, p. 27.

⁶Louis Gottschalk, Primer of Historical Method, pp. 121-130.

⁷"Adult Education," Encyclopedia of Education, Vol. 1, 1971, p. 92.

⁸"Adult Education," Encyclopedia of Education, Vol. 1, 1971, p. 97.

⁹Julius K. Nyerere, "The President Explains the Arusha Declaration--The Arusha Declaration Teach-in." August 1967, p. 11.

¹⁰Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, (Uhuru na Umoja) Selections from Writings and Speeches 1952-1965, p. 91.

¹¹UNESCO, Functional Literacy--Why and How? (1970), p. 4.

¹²Ken L. Baucom, ABC's of Literacy, p. 14.

¹³William Redman Duggan and John R. Civile, Tanzania and Nyerere - A Study of Ujamaa and Nationhood, p. 33.

¹⁴"Tanzania," Encyclopedia Britannica, p. 139.

¹⁵Theodore Ward, "Handbook for Non Formal Education," p. 11.

¹⁶The American University, Tanzania: A Country Study, Area Handbook Series, p. 4.

¹⁷The American University, Tanzania: A Country Study, Area Handbook Series, p. 6.

¹⁸John Cameron, "Education, Individuality and Community Education for Self Reliance in Tanzania," British Journal of Educational Studies. Vol. 28 #21 (June 1980), p. 108.

¹⁹Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa-Essays on Socialism, p. 186.

²⁰Jane Due, Costs, Returns and Repayment Experience of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania, 1973-1976, p. 54.

²¹Due, p. 78.

CHAPTER II

NATIONAL AND PRE-NATIONAL CONTEXT

(SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF TANZANIA)

Sub-Topic I

This chapter will trace the cultural, historical, geographical and political development of Tanzania which will provide the background for what is to follow, specifically as it relates to the descriptive analysis and evaluation of adult education in Tanzania.

What follows is a brief basic description of Tanzania. A more thorough description of the country and its people is contained in Appendix A for those readers desiring a more complete background. It is within this geographical context that the Tanzanian government has sought, as early as independence (1961), to confront the educational problems of a largely illiterate population (see maps Figures 1, 2 and 3).

The physical environment of Tanzania is poor and harsh. Due to a shortage of water, soil erosion, and unreliable rainfall, the population of the country (19.9 million) is concentrated around the periphery of the country. Tanzania, with few natural resources, is considered environmentally hostile.

Agriculture and cattle raising are the principal occupations. The national income fluctuates with climatic conditions because

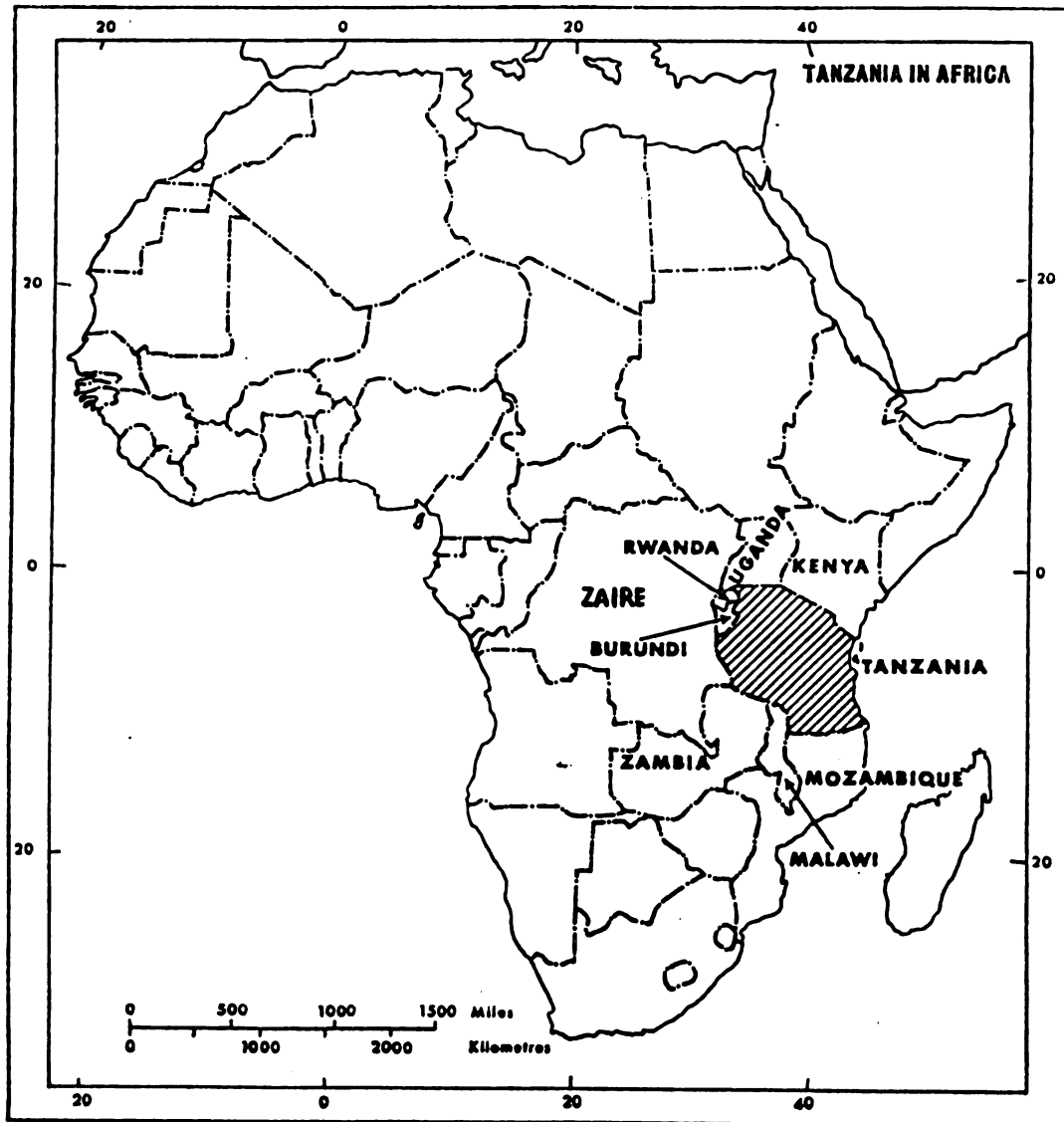


Figure 1.--Tanzania in Africa.

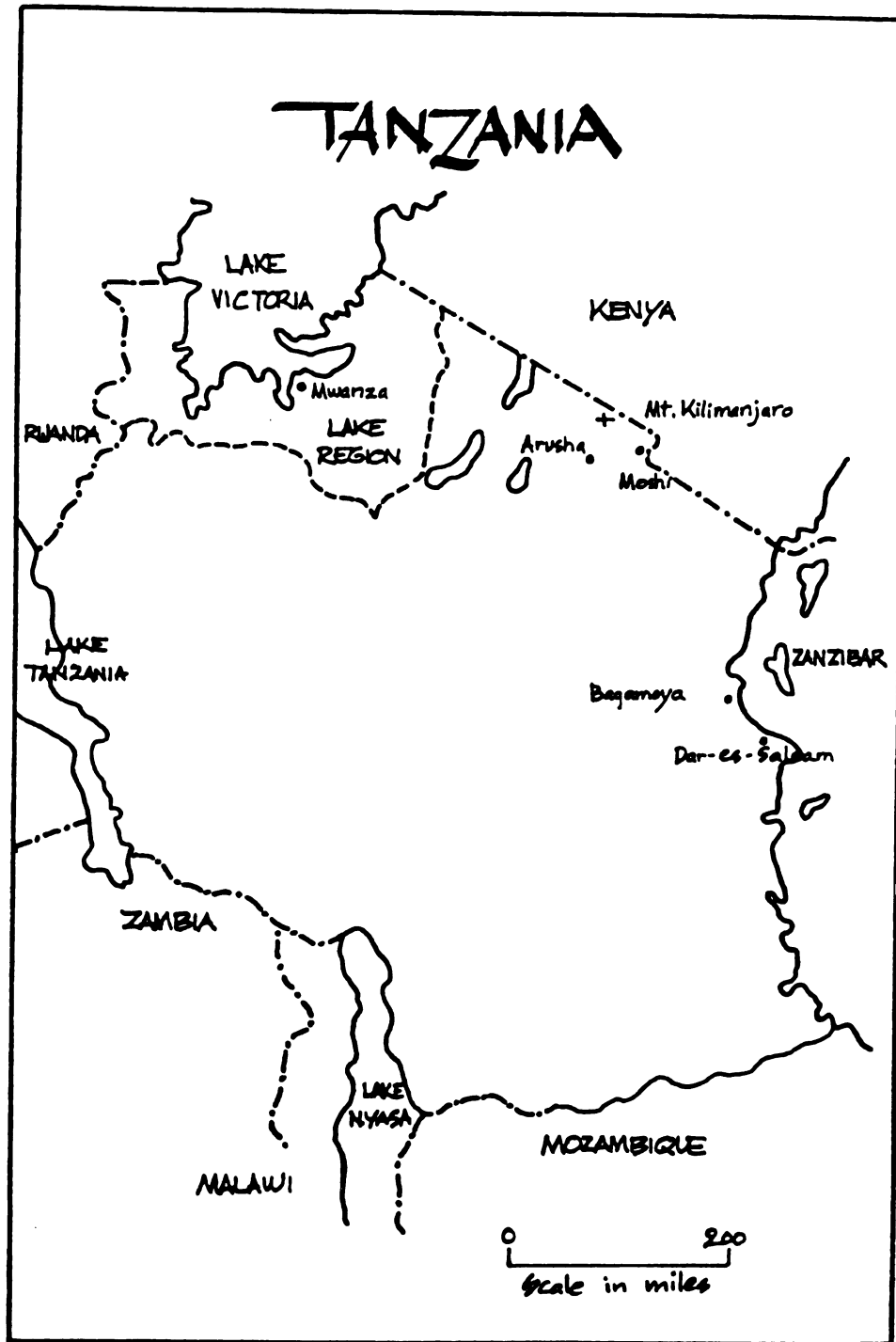


Figure 2.--Tanzania.



Figure 3.--Regions of Tanzania.

Tanzania's export earnings come primarily from agricultural products (sisal, cloves, tea, coffee, and cashews). Approximately 98 percent of the people of Tanzania are Africans, about 1 percent are Arabs and Asians and approximately 0.1 percent are Europeans or Americans. Less than five percent of the Tanzanians reside in urban areas and life expectancy is about 40 years of age. Half of the total population is under 16 years of age causing the adult population to carry a much greater dependency burden of young than many adults carry in some more highly developed countries.

Tanzania lies on the east coast of Africa covering an area of 364,900 square miles. Lakes and rivers occupy an additional 20,650 square miles. This combined square mile area also includes the offshore islands of Mafia, Pemba, and Zanzibar. Tanzania is bordered on the West by Zaire and Burundi on the North by Kenya and Uganda; on the South by Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique; and on the East by the Indian Ocean. The most conspicuous physical features in the country are the Great Rift Valley which runs through Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika branching northwards to Kenya and Ethiopia finding its way to the Dead Sea. Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest mountain in Africa (19,340 feet), is in the northeast section of Tanzania.

The climate and natural vegetation vary from one area of the country to another depending on the altitude and the distance from the sea. The well inhabited coastal belt is hot and humid and the growing of cashews and coconuts is well suited for these climatic conditions. The central plateau is hot and dry with short periods of rainfall. The semi-temperate highlands and the fertile populous

belts around Lake Victoria constitute the best farmlands and are famous for the growing of the nation's most important cash crops, tea and sisal. Over one-half of the country's land is non-productive owing to lack of water and continuing tsetse fly infestation.

Economically, Tanzania is a poor agricultural country. Agriculture provides 38 percent of the Gross National Product and over 80 percent of the foreign exchange earnings. The major agriculture crops are cotton, coffee, tea, sisal, tobacco, cashew nuts, sugar, pyrethrum, maize, and wheat. Her other exports include some gold, diamonds, and mica. She also exports textiles, meat, timber, and salt. In return she imports heavy machinery, trucks, cars, medicine and foodstuffs.¹

In its second year of nationhood, Tanganyika became a republic and Nyerere became its president. Tanganyika remained in the Commonwealth.* At independence (1961) Tanzania had a population of about nine million people. The latest statistical data of 1981 reports that this population has more than doubled to 19,900,000. There are three major ethnic divisions in Tanzania: Africans, Asians, Arabs. The African population falls into more than 120 ethnic groups. The groups, as well as all others (Asians), are unified by the Kiswahili language which is both the official national language of Tanzanians as well as the lingua franca.² Tanzania is divided into seventeen regions, which are subdivided into 60 districts.

*The first Vice-President of Tanzania, Abeid A. Karume, administers the island-republic of Zanzibar.

In terms of its colonial history, Tanganyika was colonized first by the Portuguese, then the Germans, and finally the British. "'Tanzania' is a neologism coined to denote the mainland of Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia which united to form a new republic in 1964."³

Following the Arusha Declaration in 1967, most major industries and banks were nationalized; as were some of the mission schools. There are some industries in the country that have remained private enterprises. Anxiety about the nationalization of these private enterprises continues to be one of the chief areas of concern for the private, individual entrepreneur, such as the leather industrialist interviewed by researcher (complete interview reported in Chapter VI of this work).

An invasion by Ugandan troops in November of 1978 was followed by a counterattack in January, 1979. Tanzanian forces captured Kampala, Uganda on April 11, 1979. This military action drained one million dollars a month of the scarce and precarious finances of the United Republic of Tanzania.⁴

Footnotes Chapter II

¹"Tanzania", World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1983, p. 433.

²"Tanzania", Africa-South of the Sahara, 12th Edition, 1983,
p. 49.

³John Cameron, "Education, Individuality and Community--
Education for Self Reliance in Tanzania." British Journal of Educa-
tional Studies, June 1980, p. 110.

⁴"Tanzania", World Book Encyclopedia Yearbook, 1983, p. 203.

CHAPTER III

COLONIAL EDUCATION

Sub-Topic II

This sub-topic surveys the origins and early development of the system of pre-colonial education and education under the colonial influence experienced by Tanganyika.

The early missionary efforts progressed to a more organized formalization of education on a state level under the Germans. Formalization continued to the more comprehensive and equally goal-oriented efforts of the British. The historical period covered in this chapter is approximately 1600 to 1980. Historically in Tanzania as elsewhere in Africa, knowledge was passed on, training was given and social growth was accomplished by oral tradition. Education was integrated with all other traditionally Tanzanian African patterns of life.

Indigenous African education and Koranic education preceded European Christian mission education. "In the traditional African society, apart from brief periods of intensive initiation education, there was no single institution designed solely for formal education. Neither was there any one type of activity that was regarded as solely or primarily educative. All institutions--the family, the farm, the workshop and so on--and all activities were exploited for educational purposes."¹ The European missionaries and rulers

responsible for mission education were not native to African soil. They considered themselves as temporary residents who ultimately intended to return to their European home. They were in power and in fact, provided the cultural model for the emerging African elite. "The local Africans, separated by tribal (sic) differences, which were carefully preserved by the colonial power, remained at many levels 'strangers' to one another; and though indigenous to the country, they were estranged from the dominant political, economic, and cultural institutions."²

The formal foundation of the educational system was established by missionaries who bore almost the entire responsibility for providing Tanganyikans with education until 1925.³ Their principal aim was the propagation of their faith. In 1884, missionaries began establishing schools seen to be useful to accelerate the rate of conversion, and the first church organization to establish schools was the Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) which opened its first school in Zanzibar. Other missionary efforts which followed were the Christian Missionary Society, and Catholic and Lutheran missionaries. Education given by these organizations was essentially aimed at enabling converts to become literate enough to be able to subsequently read the religious literature dispensed and to spread Christian ideas. Literacy, taught as a means of imparting Christian beliefs, gradually became the principal means of conversion.

As missionaries were a part of the ruling colonial strata, they and their schools existed with the blessings of the colonizers.

Most of the missions and bush schools, were found in remote rural areas, and some few missions had their own village primary schools. Mission education tended to emphasize primary education, for education was viewed primarily as an adjunct to proselytization aimed at the conversion of the people of the area to a "better" religion.⁴

Standards I and II level (Grades 4 and 5, see Appendix B) were considered adequate for a church worker, so the missions were initially hostile to the development of higher education. Part of the reason for this was that the most highly educated and brilliant youth did not usually remain in the mission or with missionary-type activities. Most of them secured employment in government or in industry. An essential part of the proselytization program was based on training African church leaders who later left the mission center to establish schools in the interior of the country, since there was a paucity of foreign missionaries.

The missions also directly contributed to the commercialization of agriculture by providing seeds or seedlings to converts. Such provisions were seen as a means of attracting potential converts. Missions also encouraged modern farm practices and wealth accumulation for their neoconverts. The missions engaged in commercial agriculture and trade in an effort to increase their capital investment. Hence, a capitalist set of social relations developed. In-house competitions, the prefect system, the nature of teacher-student relationships and teaching methodology in mission schools were of a hierarchial, competitive nature.

Loyalties unknown outside the school are now felt to the class, the team, the informal group, the House (which stirs strong feelings of rivalry in interhouse sports and games) and to the school.⁵

The significance of such loyalties is that they separated pupils from "others," those who were not participants in the institutionalized school process. This practice also helped to create a sense of group loyalty upon which class consciousness could be based.

The individual was the basis of this educational system. The structure also reinforced a sense of comradeship and elitism that rose above ethnic differences. Special uniforms and the style of life, characteristics of a boarding school, served to enhance the "superiority" of those students vis-a-vis the rest of the society.

It was therefore inevitable that, in spite of the intentions of the colonial educators, at this time the upper primary schools and later the secondary schools produced a national educated group, with Kiswahili as their unifying language-link. This educated group, was programmed to find little agreement with the national goals and the means for achieving them enunciated later in the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance document.⁶ Rev. Nettleford of the University of the West Indies, Jamaica describes their situation in the following manner: "The master's shroud becomes the vestment of the servant who wears the garb with much style and certitude even when he is using it to play master."⁷

Education Activities at the Time of
German Colonial Rule

Although an educational system had begun under German administration, the disruption caused by World War I made the 1920s the starting point of Tanzania's present system of education. For the Germans, the years of colonial conquest were between the years of 1885 and 1905. These were the years which witnessed in Tanzania the inception of the basic elements of the colonial socio-economic structure.⁸

Fundamentally, the primary interest the Germans had in the African people of Tanganyika was economic because the Industrial Revolution in Europe had created a need for more raw materials to be converted into profits. When Tanganyika was a German protectorate, the German government stepped in to provide education for Tanganyikans. The climate of Tanganyika was not found suitable for much European settlement, so the purpose of the education was specifically to provide petty, indigenous, civil servants who would assist in the functioning of the colonial administration aimed specifically at maximizing the exploitation of Tanganyikan resources for the profit of the ruling country, in this case, Germany.⁹

The government system of education during the German colonial period demanded literate and skilled petty civil servants. The supply could not be completely satisfied by the mission schools and the Koranic schools which were also in operation at that time. In the early years the demand for literate personnel was filled by importing Indian craftsmen from India to meet the needs of the Germans. The

education provided for Tanganyikans was functional and directly related to the jobs the pupils were expected to take up after completing these government schools.

An important feature of the government educational system under the Germans was the contribution of the pupils toward the cost of their education and to the development of the colonial economy in Tanganyika and thereby to the German economy. Education was meant to assist in the process of exploitation and the pupils themselves were a large part of the exploitative process. By 1902 there were about 4,000 pupils attending various government schools throughout the territory. During the entire period of German rule in Tanganyika there was not a single female who studied in any of the government schools. (However, the mission schools provided some meager education for girls.)¹⁰

The German government was not interested in education for the sake of education; rather, its primary purpose was turning the colonies into useful economic dependencies. Hence the emphasis was on vocational education and character building. "Functional education should not be to the exclusion of character training, for colonial schools are the cradle of German culture in Africa."¹¹ Quite naturally these "products" of colonial education were academically, but not psychologically, more qualified to man, to a man, the neocolonial state apparatus when independence did come following Tanzania's mandate and Trusteeship status under the British. According to a study done by Kurtz,¹² the most devastating effect of German colonization was that the ethnocentric Germans were convinced

of their cultural and racial superiority and displayed these attitudes to the Tanzanians. In their primary role as "teacher," the transmission of such attitudes could very easily occur. Most Tanzanians who had any contact with the Germans remember them for the harsh measures of discipline employed to restrain Africans during this period of servitude. As a result of this experience, all Africans lost their political freedom, some developed an inferiority complex, and some even succumbed to passivity.¹³

President Nyerere continues this assessment of the colonial experience as he observes that the number one crime of the colonizer was "the attempt to make us believe we had not an indigenous culture of our own and that we did have, should not be a source of pride."¹⁴

British Colonial Education

The period between 1920 and the early 1940s was not one of discernible progress in either the quantitative or qualitative aspects of the Tanganyikan educational system. The European Depression, following World War I, and World War II, made economically impossible any significant follow-up on government expressions of concern for African education which might have otherwise occurred. There was, however, considerable attention given to strategic war crops (particularly sisal), and to the economic structure necessary for British economic growth and development via their colony.¹⁵

The African formal education system represented the ideological structure of the colonial state. African education under the British colonials influenced the African's willingness to accept his

place in the colonial social structure--witness the demands of the African petty bourgeoisie for higher education of a certain kind after the post-independence bureaucratic bourgeoisie emerged from this stratum. African schools were vocational and used the vernacular as the medium of instruction at the elementary level and Kiswahili for more advanced courses (Standards 4-6) until 1945. The Tanganyikan was the producer of the surplus agricultural products but had little of any control over this surplus. The role, producer of surplus, required a bare minimum of skills; greater knowledge would lead the African to question his place in the set of social relationships into which he was being forced. The African educational system under the British could be characterized as one which was intended to produce submissiveness, a sense of inferiority, and an orientation towards extrinsic rewards and punishments. "The dominant capitalist mode of production and social class relations which exist today developed out of a transformation of culture and relationships that occurred in the colonial period."¹⁶

After World War I, in 1919, Tanganyika was transferred, as a League of Nations mandate, to the British government. Britain defined the mandate in practice as a part of the British Empire. Tanganyika represented a source of raw materials and a market for British manufactured goods. During the early period of mandate administration, uncertainty as to whether the territory would remain under British administration affected its economic and social development.¹⁷

The British applied the principles of indirect rule in Tanganyika. At the local level, "native authorities" were relied upon, either traditional chiefs or headmen, or else individuals selected by the colonial administration to fill the positions. Those selected had generally been exposed to some education. All methods of divisiveness were deliberately encouraged in order to facilitate domination and hamper the growth of militant "natives" who might define themselves as future citizens of a nation, rather than as a member of a separate tribe or clan. The intention was to establish a pattern of Native Authority rule for Africans separate from the colonial territorial government apparatus which later included a Legislative Assembly. The architect of Tanganyika's indirect rule was Governor Sir Donald Cameron.¹⁸

Concurrent with native administration came a so-called native educational system. The educational system reflected the policy of indirect rule. Elementary levels were taught in the vernacular. Special schools were established for sons of chiefs, often the same schools which were begun by Germans, in order to insure the development of a local leadership indoctrinated with British values and at the same time capable of handling the minor administrative responsibilities of local government.¹⁹

Despite statements and memoranda ad nauseam about mass education, the formal educational system never functioned to produce a literate peasantry. The colonial economy depended completely upon the labor of an illiterate, unschooled peasantry, and that is what education under the colonists produced.

Two broad divisions were made in the school, forming a "general side" and a "special side." The first consisted of the sons of sultans, chiefs, and wealthy African land-owners, who received a general all-round training consisting of academic subjects such as English, mathematics, geography and hygiene. The second also consisted of apprenticeship to various trades, i.e., carpentry and tailoring.²⁰

Despite previous events President Nyerere admits that the people of Tanzania owe much to the British colonial authority which administered the country from 1920 to 1961. He cites his own educational background and that of some of the other leaders of Tanzania as evidence that the British sometimes helped in the advancement of the people of the country. He reminds the citizens of the republic that the foresight of Governor Cameron in 1925 was instrumental in preparing Tanganyika for independence in 1961. He points out that the insistence of Mr. Rivers-Smith in developing Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in the schools resulted in a language-link among the 120 language groups of the country, which became a unifying factor in the move toward independence.²¹ Perhaps President Nyerere's address on the occasion of the celebration of the independence of his country, in which he insisted that the Tanganyikan movement toward independence was not a movement which was against anyone, but rather one which was for the Tanzanian people, best typified President Nyerere's attitude toward Tanzania's former colonial administrators. Without criticism of the colonial administrators, he suggested that the aim of education before 1961 was to

inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals. It offended the Tanzania tribal concept of "Ujamaa" and so did not transmit the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next. Colonial education was an attempt to change traditional African society into British colonial society. It produced a small administrative and professional elite with insatiable expectations of material wealth and disdain for their traditional society.²²

Nyerere asserts that "the people of the new republic wish to create a new society based on principles which had been characteristic of Tanzanian society before the coming of the colonists--equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by the efforts of all citizens; and work by everyone and the goal was exploitation by none." Nyerere further asserted that colonial education brought to Tanzania classical forms of European teaching. It brushed aside the indigenous system and created the urban elite. It also fostered rote methods and destroyed pride in everyday indigenous activities such as agricultural work.²³

There appears to have been complete agreement between the German and British colonial offices on the purpose and objectives of education for the native sector. The conclusions drawn by these two administrations was that education should be, primarily, a "civilizing" agent and that it, of course, should be administered in the European mode. In addition, colonial education was not to

prepare Tanganyikans for rebuilding their own society, but rather for, providing services to the colonial community.

The colonial administration was always skillful in manipulating and perpetuating whatever conflicts already existed which developed during the colonial period among the groups under its rule. To set African against Asian and African against African best suited the interests of the colonial state. Therefore at independence the educational system reflected these divisions. The largest allocation for education from the colonial treasury went to education for Asians and the smallest allocation was for Africans.²⁴

The form of education which did develop and the form inherited at independence functioned basically to perpetuate capitalism and therefore capitalist social relations. Consequently in the wisdom of President Nyerere and TANU, both the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self Reliance document represent a response to these pre-independence developments and practices. Tanzania's present aim, therefore, is to create a system structurally geared to the "mass" rather than to elite needs--a society, in other words, which encourages cooperative rather than individualistic behavior.

Footnotes Chapter III

¹Laura S. Kurtz, An African Education (The Social Revolution in Tanzania), p. 11.

²Roland Oliver, "The Missionary Factor in East Africa" in Tanzania Under Colonial Rule, ed. by M. H. Y. Kaniki, p. 13.

³Kurtz, p. 14.

⁴Oliver, p. 17.

⁵Oliver, p. 40.

⁶Louis Francis Dolan, Transition from Colonialism to Self-Reliance in Tanzanian Education, p. 220.

⁷Arthur Gillette, Beyond the Nonformal Fashion: Towards Educational Revolution in Tanzania, p. 14.

⁸M. Schlunk, "German Educational Policy: The School System in the German Colonies," in Traditions of African Education ed. by D. G. Scanlon, p. 81.

⁹M. H. Y. Kaniki, Tanzania Under Colonial Rule, p. 49.

¹⁰Kurtz, p. 30.

¹¹Schlunk, p. 88.

¹²Julius Nyerere, President's Inaugural Address December 10, 1961, 1961, p. 3.

¹³Karim Hirji, "African Education during the British Colonial Period 1919-1961, in Tanzania Under Colonial Rule ed. by M. H. Y. Kaniki, pp. 236-275.

¹⁴Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity (Uhuru na Umajaa) Selections from Writings and Speeches, 1952-1965, p. 68.

¹⁵Marjorie Mbilinyi, "African Education 1919-1961 in Tanzania under Colonial Rule (ed.) M. H. Y. Kaniki, p. 242.

¹⁶Mbilinyi (ed.) M. H. Y. Kaniki, p. 247.

¹⁷Mpogolo, Colonial Administration-Planning and Administration of National Literacy n Case Study, p. 7.

¹⁸Mbilinyi, p. 250.

¹⁹John Illiffe, Modern History of Tanganyika--Tanganyika Under German Rule 1905-1912, p. 178.

²⁰Scott Kelly, The Role of an African University as an Institution for the National Development (Tanzania), p. 72.

²¹Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, p. 74.

²²Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, p. 87.

²³Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, p. 99.

²⁴Ministry of Information, "Torches", p. 7.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF ARUSHA

DECLARATION (AD) AND EDUCATION

FOR SELF RELIANCE (ESR)

Sub-Topic III

This sub-topic examines the two 1967 documents of national policy, the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self Reliance statement (ESR) that provided the rationale for and the direction of the developments which occurred in the field of adult education following their enunciation by President Nyerere.

Arusha Declaration (AD)

This declaration, issued in January, 1967, is the official and most important political document on self-reliance and socialism for post-independent Tanzania. President Nyerere calls the AD a statement of intent and describes it as laying a policy of revolution by evolution.¹ The AD is viewed as the official Tanzanian commitment to a socialist state. President Nyerere laid bare in it the features of the system that were antagonistic to the socialist commitment that nation has made.

The starting point of the Declaration was a concern for the peasants who comprised over ninety percent of Tanzania's population, whose efforts won virtually all of Tanzania's foreign exchange, whose

tax-enforced savings paid for much of the national development, including the educational system which produced the nation's rulers, and yet whose own daily life was still characterized by grinding poverty, ignorance and debilitating disease.

According to Ndugu Z. Mpogolo, Director of Adult Education, "It was a revolution in the structure as well as in the content of the things people were to learn."²

The Arusha Declaration is a concept of political development towards socialism. In this document the very idea of "development" as a function primarily of external intervention, especially in the form of capital, was rejected. The correct notion of development through self-reliant means was reliance on human and non-human resources actually available or capable of being produced locally. In this view, external aid was to be sought provided it was of the type that would serve as a catalyst for self-help and not as a means to welcome and/or perpetuate external dependence. In short, the Arusha Declaration called for a self-reliant, socialistic and democratic type of society. Development would come from the work of the people themselves primarily through increased production in agriculture, rather than from foreign loans, grants and private investments which showed a preference for urban, industrial development.

The kind of socialist nation of which the Arusha Declaration was the theoretical design is to consist only of workers, states President Nyerere. Apart from young children, the disabled and the frail elderly, nobody in good health should be permitted to live on the sweat and toil of others.

Tanzania, after February 5, 1967, (when the Declaration was published) cannot be understood except in relation to the Declaration. It explained that Tanzanian socialism sought a classless society of peasants and workers in which everyone should work and live on his or her own labor with the major means of production controlled by the peasants and the workers. Finally while the Declaration stressed the need for a socialist leadership, equality of opportunity was the purpose of its call for the development of a genuine political democracy. Socialism as defined in the Arusha Declaration, stresses the need to minimize exploitation.

Finally the Declaration stressed the need for socialist leadership. The Arusha Declaration was therefore designed to mark the beginning of a new philosophy in the country, to initiate a vast mobilization of effort and enthusiasm, and, above all, to begin the reformation of the attitudes of self-interest which were so patently inappropriate to the development needs of the young Tanzanian.

The Arusha Declaration was Tanzania's declaration of intent to escape from the imperialistic circle by opting for the political ideology of socialism. Education was expected to play a most important part in the implementation of the principles of the document. The Arusha Declaration reacted against the attitude which was part of a wider dependency ethic which looked to imperialism to provide a "Marshall Plan" for Africa and which stressed Africa's right to foreign aid. The main road to socialism was defined in the Arusha Declaration and this document established, for the first time, a

clear statement of expectations, a specific purpose and direction for Tanzanians. The Arusha Declaration addressed the mistakes and failures of past policies in the following terms:

- a) reliance upon financial resources as a major instrument of development;
- b) emphasis upon industry during the initial stages of development; and
- c) as a consequence of (a) and (b), concentration of resources in urban development.³

The Arusha Declaration argued that

it is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid indeed, it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources.⁴

As previously stated, a significant factor contained in the Arusha Declaration was the strong emphasis placed upon self-identity and the development of internal growth capacity. Internal growth capacity referred predictably to education. Tanzanians, educated and uneducated, rural and urban, were characterized as citizens of a poor nation, and the Declaration criticized the industrial strategy in the following terms:

The mistake we are making is to think that development begins with industries. It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries in our country. We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how.⁵

It is clear that the framers of the Arusha Declaration understood that growth without development perpetuates dependence. When

industry is developed, technical training must at least parallel, if it does not precede, its creation.

The psychological importance of the Arusha Declaration is its focus on the self. In the Arusha Declaration there is a clear call to manhood and womanhood; and self-reliance for a people is seen as dependent upon collective development of the land, sound policies and solid leadership.

Lack of clear direction for African leaders was recognized as a major factor of underdevelopment in Tanzania. To insure sound leadership, TANU in the Arusha Declaration set forth several areas of expectation:

- a) the leader must be either a peasant or worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism;
- b) the leader must own no shares in a capitalist enterprise;
- c) the leader must receive only one salary; and
- d) the leader must renounce landlordship.

The political leader may be described as the embodiment of "tradition" and "political nationalism." Emphasis upon individual wealth and status, a product of the inherited system, would have to be replaced by emphasis upon national development and the compromise of personal gains.⁶

President Nyerere was well aware of the fact that conditions within the country would require change, if the values espoused in

the Declaration were to be supported. Hence, the proposal for salary cuts and the increased total commitment of national resources to Tanzanian rural development. History shows that these measures were incomplete, and manipulation of economics alone was not an adequate approach to development. There was an equal need to revitalize the Tanzanian African culture. Thus, as one of the major instruments in transmitting culture, the educational system would be harnessed to the task of redefining and promoting values which would promote national development both in primary and adult education. Educational concepts would embody a most critical function--the preparation of a people to govern themselves, in accordance with their own dictates, plans and values, and those of the nation. This concept of the purpose of education was revolutionary and bore no similarity to previous colonial education. Education, through the AD became an instrument of liberty, reorganizing the major aspects of the culture, social, political and economic.

The Arusha Declaration articulated a major change in emphasis from private ownership of the means of production to public ownership and operation. The major commercial banks, industries and land were nationalized following its enunciation.

Concurrent with these changes was a major change in direction of the economy in resettlement efforts after the Arusha Declaration in 1967. This Tanzanian socialist political philosophy emphasized the achievement of both growth and equity for all Tanzanians. The Declaration declared that private ownership of industry was to

be abolished and replaced with state ownership; all private ownership and control of agricultural production was to be discouraged and replaced by collective ownership and production within the framework of the Ujamaa village.

Consistent with the goals of AD, by late 1975, 70 percent of the population was villagized in Ujamaa villages. At this time the "Ujamaa" name was deemphasized and the term "development village" used to describe the villages into which families had moved.⁷ The deemphasizing of Ujamaa was related to isolated instances of a preference for "coercion" rather than persuasion, in accomplishing the move by those local officials in charge.

With the inception of the Arusha Declaration, the country was aided in divesting itself of the narrow concepts of the colonial past. Schools discontinued the colonial heritage emphasis and began to adapt to the needs of the communities within which they operated. Thereby, the political and social consciousness of the rural populace --adult as well as youth--was to be activated along egalitarian lines. In this way Tanzania's leaders sought to redirect the goals of their people from capitalism back to the traditional egalitarian ideas of the extended family and self-reliance. Earlier it was realized that self-reliance could not be achieved if the country's internal economy was controlled by foreigners and its administration depended solely upon foreign expertise. It was increasingly obvious that economic self-reliance could not be achieved if the external monetary situation had strong control on the country's economy.⁸

In the case of the rural areas the Ujamaa village was envisaged as a community of families who would move voluntarily from scattered holdings to farms communally held while maintaining their own private plots of approximately one acre per family. The communal living would enable education, health and social water services to be made available much more economically than to widely scattered households, and the socialist political philosophy could be taught more efficiently. Communal production would enable the village to develop much more rapidly for the good of a larger number of Tanzanians.

Under the Ujamaa village system, families pooled their labor on the communal farms, and individuals were paid on the basis of dividing the crop produced according to the number of days worked.

In the Arusha Declaration all human beings are perceived to be equal. The state has the right and obligation to insure economic justice and to assume effective control over the means of production. The state had the right and the responsibility

to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.⁹

Following the Arusha Declaration, combating illiteracy became a political issue which no government institution chose to ignore. Apart from giving the problem of illiteracy political significance and drive, the Arusha Declaration also provided the country with a well-defined philosophy based on mass participation. Concerning the

direction education was to take, this philosophy was specifically expounded in the document "Education for Self Reliance."¹⁰

In sum, it is reasoned in the Arusha Declaration, that in order to avoid exploitation of person by person there ought to be equal educational opportunities for all. There is no room for elitist education in Tanzania, states the AD. Education, starting from the primary stage, must be geared towards the requirements of the community where most of the citizens live--the rural community. In the policy of socialism and rural development, the masses are expected to participate fully, but their chances to do so are severely limited by the fact that they are illiterate; hence the importance of the mass literacy campaign as a key to mass mobilization and the development of leadership potential. After the Arusha Declaration and the publication of Education for Self Reliance, the handling of the literacy problem in Tanzania entered a new phase and became integrated more and more into national development plans.

In President Nyerere's speech in 1971 Ten Years After Independence, he states that:

The importance of the Arusha Declaration is difficult to overestimate. It provided a guideline to the people, the Government and the Party, to which all future policy decisions could be compared. After it, there has been no excuse for decisions which, although good in certain respects, would divert our development from its purpose of serving the whole people.

An equally important result of the Arusha Declaration, however, has been a new consciousness that the development of a nation means the development of its people, rather than the erection of imposing buildings or impressive roads. Of course, in a country like Tanzania, dispersing your effort to benefit the masses of the

people, who live throughout our 360,000 square miles, means that the results of much of the work are not very visible. It is still easier to point to the industrial and business developments which have taken place since the Arusha Declaration than it is to display developments in the rural areas. Indeed, more money has been put into the rural areas in this post Arusha period. Despite much change we have not yet succeeded in making our practice keep up with the change in consciousness.¹¹

As late as 1966, Tanzania, thinking of development principally as economic development, had given little thought to using the educational system for political and social development. Two developments that year made obvious the fact that there was a crisis in the system. The first of these resulted from the decision of the Government to abolish Standard 8. As a consequence, not just the Standard 8 graduates but the Standard 7 as well vied for secondary school places in the spring (see Appendix B for explanation of standards and levels as related to grades).

The second development was the student demonstration against the government's plan to require two years of National Service in occupations related to the students' fields of specialization but at reduced salaries. That demonstration indicated that most of the University College of Dar es Salaam students and graduates were manifestly inappropriate instruments for an egalitarian program.¹²

President Nyerere made an example of the students as a warning to the nation. Underlying President Nyerere's essay, ESR, was a concern with two revolutions. One was a counter-revolution against the education system introduced by the colonial power which had sought to make Tanzania into a subservient society accepting

its position and serving the interests of the occupying power. The other revolution was "compounded of embitterment at the frustration of unrealistic expectations, of alienation from an educated elite, of failure to comprehend the objectives the Government and TANU were trying to attain."¹³

Tanzania's basic problem continues to be how to build a new structure with insufficient craftsmen who understand the blueprints; in other words, how to promote socialist developments without socialists in an environment which would foster egalitarian attitudes as opposed to opportunistic or elitist ones.

The importance of producing socialist leaders and teachers who would themselves be the implementors of the general socialistic propositions outlined in the Arusha Declaration cannot be over-emphasized. Failure to produce such persons could conceivably mean that Tanzania could fail to transform the Arusha principles into reality.

Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)

The concept of self-reliance was first introduced at the national level in 1964 and has changed many of the nation's economic policies. Self-reliance means relying on resources within the nation instead of waiting for some external aid. Self-reliance demands also that resources be used for the benefit of all the people and implies an end of privileges. It is a combination of external and internal reliance but with an emphasis on internal resources.

Many statements and government policy manuals followed the Arusha Declaration, detailing in specialized areas the specific ramifications of the new directions of TANU. The most important of these statements was Education for Self-Reliance, published in March, 1967. This document attempts to show the links between educational policy and the broader policies of national development for Tanzania. It discusses the development of the Education for Self-Reliance policy as it is related to the Arusha Declaration. The Education for Self-Reliance policy cannot be detached from the general directives intended to guide future political and economic patterns in Tanzania. Education for Self-Reliance examines the purpose of the educational system of Tanzania in light of the goals of equality and self-reliance, democracy and socialism.¹⁴

The Education for Self-Reliance document is the "post-Arusha policy directive on education." It calls for an educational revolution--a recasting of the entire educational system in the light of Tanzania's needs and social objectives.

On March 9, 1967, the government of Tanzania published this document which was a synthesis of the educational theory which had been developing since independence, notably 1964. It was an outline of the place of education in the future of the republic. The search for new guidelines on the purpose of education to match the proclaimed policy of socialism and self-reliance in the Arusha Declaration culminated in this policy statement. The purpose of the new guideline was to revolutionize the country's system of education. This

document of sweeping scope may deserve to be ranked among the very finest state papers on education because of the way in which it projects the prospective role for education in this nation. Its basic goal was to establish equality of educational opportunity and to change the fundamentally elitist orientation of the inherited system of schooling in Tanzania. Further, Education for Self-Reliance is an attempt to forge a sense of common community and joint commitment to the nation's goals via school and work.

The Education for Self-Reliance statement contains President Nyerere's prescriptions for significant educational reforms directed toward the creation of an educational system appropriate to an independent, socialistic, rural, and poor African nation. Perhaps the Education for Self-Reliance document is best viewed as a social document, one which attempts to outline the role that education should play within the developing society of Tanzania.

The document is written in a simple, eloquent, compact style. In it President Nyerere advocated a systematic change of education in practically all essential areas. These included the purpose of education, its curricular content and organization, the internal relations and management of the school, academic evaluation processes and structure, the school's relations with and within the community, and its essential work activity functions. Tanzania is committed to the transformation of the socio-economic structure of the nation according to the country's policy of socialism and self-reliance.

Accordingly, specific attention has been given to educational change in order to insure that the educational system does not operate in opposition to the changes proposed in the rest of the society via the Arusha Declaration.

Because of its breadth and complexity, the Education for Self-Reliance statement is difficult to summarize both as a document and as a governmental policy response. It is the intention of this study to examine only those sections of Education for Self-Reliance which are pertinent to an examination of adult education in Tanzania. As President Nyerere admits, certain critical events of 1966 precipitated the issuance of the Education for Self-Reliance document. One was the debate in the National Assembly about the primary school leavers. This debate pointed up the critical situation of the primary school leaver who could not find a place in the limited secondary schools or employment in the urban centers. The other critical event was the demonstration by university students and their boycott of university classes. The demonstration was in response to the demand that university students be required to do three years of National Service. To policy makers this boycott characterized university students as a group unwilling to serve the people who make it possible for them to achieve their education because there is no tuition, room or board charged to students for their university education in Tanzania. As President Nyerere stated, this demonstration was both unpatriotic and a vestige of colonial attitudes for which he did not blame the students. It did point up, however, the

need to restructure education so that as an institution it would become supportive of overall socialistic development in the country. The contents of Education for Self-Reliance express the view of the government of Tanzania because it represents another application of the Tanzanian political philosophy of Ujamaa and the Arusha Declaration to education and thus it provides the theoretical basis for the new Tanzanian system of education.¹⁵

Since 1961, when Tanzania became a dominion in the British Commonwealth, Ujamaa familyhood has been applied to the various facets of Tanzanian society; and its application to education has since produced a system which is uniquely Tanzanian and radically different from the British colonial system of education which formerly existed.

The Education for Self-Reliance document also analyzes the educational system as well as prevalent attitudes and the need for an educational revolution. In justifying the need for Tanzanian educational reform, President Nyerere briefly surveyed post-independence Tanzanian educational development; concluding that, except for a few modifications, education in Tanzania had continued unaltered in the inherited colonial model. He stated in Education for Self-Reliance "that since independence three of the most glaring faults of Tanzania's education inheritance have been tackled: racial distinctions within education were abolished; there has been a great expansion of educational facilities made available to the children of Tanzania; and the education provided in the schools is now much more Tanzanian in content."¹⁶

Education for Self-Reliance deals with three major goals:

1. Because of present limited resources Education for Self-Reliance should provide the means to fight the growth of public expenditure on education relative to other social services; thus the work-study component.
2. Education for Self-Reliance is seen as an important tool in fostering correct values, including cooperation, responsibility and self-dependence which can promote independence and self-reliance.
3. Education for Self-Reliance, when applied, should prepare young people to fit better into their own communities, thus discouraging the migration to the urban centers.¹⁷

Education for Self-Reliance goes beyond limited curriculum tinkering and minor structural modification. The educational system supported integration into the community, application of curriculum and student efforts to community needs, and the teaching of certain values and practices supportive of the development of a self-reliant, democratic, and socialistic Tanzania.

Not unlike the Arusha Declaration, the education directive was designed to dramatically affect change in the residual colonial system which had, essentially, remained intact. The educational system had, in fact, been expanded into the rural areas since independence. Although the educational system had been expanded at all

levels, the elitist value system inherent in the colonial system had not been addressed; nor were skills being enhanced for rural Tanzania, and the rural Tanzanians may have been worse off, in these ways in early 1967, than they had been prior to independence. Tanzania, by continuing the colonial educational system, was in fact exacerbating national problems. Consequently Education for Self-Reliance demanded, among other things, an egalitarian approach in the planning and the content of the educational process for the liberation of Tanzanians.

For educators and the public in general tuned to think in the colonial way, this ESR document, according to Komba¹⁸ was too revolutionary. Despite many seminars and workshops that were organized at various levels to discuss the meaning of the policy directive and to work out the strategies of its implementation, there were many misunderstandings of the policy. As a matter of fact, some critics have gone even further and said that it was perhaps too naive to expect a successful implementation of the policy by a colonially-educated bureaucratic elite aspiring to be capitalists in the midst of and at the expense of the masses of poor peasants. In the view of these critics, it would be naive to attribute the failure in the policy implementation only to a misunderstanding of it without reference to the reality of class struggle which undoubtedly has existed in Tanzania.¹⁹

President Nyerere in Education for Self Reliance then outlined the foremost characteristics of the educational system which Tanzania would construct under his leadership.

Footnotes Chapter IV

¹ Julius K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, Dar es Salaam (Tanzania Government Printer), 1967, p. 1.

² Z. J. Mpogolo, "Literacy Campaigns in the Context of Development" (unpublished Tanzania Ministry of National Education), 1979, p. 3.

³ Nyerere, p. 7.

⁴ Nyerere, p. 17.

⁵ Nyerere, p. 19.

⁶ Nyerere, p. 20.

⁷ Ergas Zaki, "Why Did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fall? - Towards Global Analysis", Journal of Modern African Studies, p. 31.

⁸ Henry Biene, Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development, 1970, p. 81.

⁹ Nyerere, p. 9.

¹⁰ C. Scott Kelly, "The Role of an American University as an Institution for National Development, New York: Columbia University), (dissertation), 1972, p. 9.

¹¹ Julius K. Nyerere, "Ten Years After Independence" Dar es Salaam Tanzania Government Printers, 1971, p. 3.

¹² Julius K. Nyerere, "Education for Self Reliance" Dar es Salaam Tanzania Government Printers, 1967, p. 14.

¹³ C. Y. Mgonia, "Adult Education and Political Development," p. 3.

¹⁴ Nyerere, "Education for Self Reliance", p. 14.

¹⁵ Donatus Albert Komba, The Integration of Education and Work in Tanzania, p. 8.

¹⁶ Nyerere, "Education for Self Reliance", p. 14.

¹⁷Komba, p. 8.

¹⁸Komba, pp. 14-16.

¹⁹Louis Francis Dolan, "Transition from Colonialism to Self Reliance in Tanzanian Education," p. 19.

CHAPTER V

IMPLEMENTATION RESPONSES TO ARUSHA DECLARATION AND EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

Sub-Topic IV

This is to describe and analyze the implementation in adult education the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance policy statement throughout the Tanzanian Republic from 1967 to the 1980s. The methodology and treatment of this sub-topic differs from the treatment of preceding sub-topics in that this sub-topic contributes most heavily to this work; therefore, it will be handled in the following sub-sections:

Section One of this sub-topic includes the official governmental and structural responses to the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance document as they relate specifically to adult education in Tanzania.

Section Two briefly describes "Wakati wa Furaha" (Time for Rejoicing), the "Mtu ni Afya" (Man is Health) and the "Chakula ni Uhai" (Food is Life) campaigns as they sought to perfect radio technology to discover the contributions radio could make to mass literacy campaigns--"Kisomo Kwa Redio" (Literacy through radio).

This section describes application of mass media principles to the actual mass literacy campaigns themselves.

Section Three reports primary sources, by on-site observations of the researcher, (observations were made in July and August, 1981 and 1982).

Section One of Sub-Topic IV

This section contains the official governmental and structural responses to the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance document as they relate specifically to adult education in Tanzania.

Basically the post Arusha-ESR policies were aimed at two things--national integration and self-reliance. After ESR was issued, a series of working parties--involving teachers and educational administrators--was set up to examine the means of implementing the new ideas contained in the documents. At the same time, many schools in the country--particularly the secondary schools--began the work of opening farms, establishing workshops, and undertaking 'nation building' tasks.¹

One of the first tasks was to organize a conference on the implementation of the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self Reliance in Tanzanian education. The conference was held from April 10-14, 1967,² at University College, Dar es Salaam, and was attended by senior members of Tanzania's officialdom, all Regional Educational Officers, heads of all secondary and teacher training

colleges, and the education secretaries of the religious organizations engaged in educational work in the country. If for no other reason than its composition, the Conference on Education for Self-Reliance was significant, for it provided a forum for the educational establishment of Tanzania to respond to President Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance. Its recommendations for implementation of the new policy on education had added significance because the conference participants bore the major responsibility for implementing the manifesto throughout the educational sector of the society. Two recommendations from this conference have pertinence to our investigation. The fourth recommendation of the conference is especially noteworthy: It states,

All teachers and tutors should study the contents of the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance and devise steps to be taken to achieve desired socialistic and self-reliance attitudes. All expatriate candidates for Tanzanian teaching posts should be interviewed by Tanzanians who would also take part in their orientation, both in the country of the expatriate and later in Tanzania.³

Recommendation No. 6 from the conference was directed at the adult education policy:

Schools should become involved in the community with pupils and teachers participating in self-help projects, teaching adult classes during weekends and attending community social activities such as games, concerts, and national festivals. School facilities, such as the library, dispensary and sports facilities, should be open to all members of the neighboring community.⁴

To carry out the large tasks assigned to adult education, a network of supervisory and coordinating personnel has been established.

Four types of adult education programs which operate through the network are functional literacy programs, discussions of national policies, short term mass education programs, and local education programs.⁵

The second Five-Year Plan (1969-1974), sought further to implement ESR. It envisaged changing the primary schools into "community educational centres" which, in addition to functioning as primary schools, would meet the educational needs of out-of-school youths and of adults. In this way the formal and non-formal education would be integrated at the village level through the primary schools cum community educational centres.

In 1969, the Education Act was passed. It provided, with immediate effect, "for the development of a system of education in conformity with the political, social and cultural ideas of the United Republic."⁶ The government took over the responsibility for all schools, employing all teachers as government servants. The Ministry of Education was renamed the Ministry of National Education and had henceforth to coordinate all educational matters on a national level, (a plan of decentralization was later put into operation.)

Under this reorganization plan the new Ministry of National Education enjoyed an enlarged scope of jurisdiction. Under the new organizational chart, a director was appointed whose responsibilities correspond to those of the former Chief Education Officer. The Ministry of National Education created a Directorate for Adult

Education. The director at ministerial headquarters was to coordinate activities for adult education. In 1973, this Directorate was to have a Director of Adult Education whose district was subdivided into wards; in each ward there is a education officer charged with the responsibility of seeing that adult education classes run smoothly. Teachers at primary schools, secondary school pupils, teacher training college students, development officers and TANU officials all are directed to involve themselves in such a way as to ensure that adult education runs cooperatively and successfully.

Adult education was transferred to the Ministry of National Education so that teachers would be better integrated with the people. Earlier the adult education activities were part of the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development. Although literacy was an important goal in adult education, it was not the only goal. The main emphasis was on rural development which the policy makers asserted could be more efficiently reached through the vehicle of education. Literacy was to be included in response to popular demand, as people of the area became aware of its functional importance. A work oriented literacy project was organized with UNESCO's cooperation in 1967-1969 in selected areas.

At this time the decision-making machinery was expanded through the establishment of the National Adult Education Committee of the National Advisory Committee on Education (NACE). Its function was to advise the Minister on policy matters pertaining to adult education.⁷

The basic unit of the adult education network is the community school which serves during part of the day as the primary school for children while operating in the afternoons as an adult education center. The subjects that are taught at each center may vary depending on the interests of the people, the availability of teachers, and the development priorities in the district. To carry out the large tasks assigned to adult education, a network of supervisory and coordinating personnel was established.

The government, with the help of UNESCO, started the Functional Literacy Project in the west Lake region. People within this region were taught not only how to read and write but also how to improve their trades thereby improving their standard of living. Primary readers were written on relevant subjects: the growing of coffee, cotton or banana trees, for example, and those engaged in such activities were helped to learn to read about them. The provision of a basic education for all its citizens, children and adults, as quickly as possible became the major priority in the development of education during the post-Arusha Declaration period.

Adult education was to become an effective reality in every part of the country; teachers engaged themselves in translating the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance in relation to school activities and to the lives of their adult pupils. The use of the ESR guidelines were employed to realize this outcome.

Within the framework of the policy of socialism and self-reliance, encouraging attempts at re-orienting the educational systems

to the realities and needs of the country in accordance with the policy of education for self-reliance were to be undertaken. Emphasis was given to the provision of basic skills and knowledge linked to the developmental needs of the citizens and their community.

Another action which the government took to assure that adult learning received ample attention was the establishment of the post of District Education Officer for Adult Education in each of the nation's educational jurisdictions. By establishing the structure and allocating the increased funds for adult learning, Tanzania modified the administrative network to deal with major problems related to adult education programs. The designation of the primary school teacher as the one responsible for instruction of adults brought with it a substantial increase in status for adult education as well as psychological support for the instructor. Later studies show that this increase in status alone was not sufficient to keep the primary school teacher instructing the adults when their 30^Tz. shillings per month was not forthcoming because of shortfalls in allocations.⁸ Recognizing that 96 percent of the people of Tanzania are rural dwellers, any plan which determines to meet the needs of this segment of the population comes a long way toward meeting the government's goals as these relate to the political, educational and ideological goals of the nation.

In October, 1974, the TANU National Executive Committee, meeting in Musoma, reviewed educational policy and issued a directive demanding that education and work become more effectively integrated

in educational institutions. At this time President Nyerere observed that "the gap between policy and practice is glaring, . . . we in Tanzania have not yet found the right educational policy, or have not yet succeeded in implementing it . . ."⁹

The Institute of Adult Education is designed as the body created for urban adult education needs. Further, it is responsible for training an adult education staff, for research, and for developing a National Correspondence College for isolated, illiterate persons. The Institute was established in 1964 by the Council of the University College and grew out of a Department of extramural studies. A nine-month residential diploma course in Adult Education was started in July, 1969, and continues to the present time. It is headed by Ndrigu Kilindo and information on its function is included in the interviews reported in Section III of Chapter VI. The existence of the network of adult education centers and organizers makes it possible for various types of programs to operate. The fact that the network exists stimulates creative thinking. As part of this network, that Institute of Adult Education functions as an independent "parastatal" organization under the Ministry of National Education. The Institute serves as the focus for professional adult education in Tanzania and operates through several departments, including one related to research.

Another action aimed at integration of the country through education was the designation of Kiswahili as the official language of Tanzania. It was also made the medium for all instruction in the

primary schools. This resolution became effective January 1, 1968.¹⁰ English, though not eliminated as a class subject, was considered less important as an instrument for rural development and integration. The new books introduced since 1967 and the new syllabi of 1969 also incorporate socialist principles.

Courses in African and Tanzanian history are replacing the imbalance of the British Commonwealth and European social studies. Neither children nor adults continue to memorize names of kings and queens of Great Britain as they did formerly. However, the lack of teaching materials in Swahili impedes the introduction of Swahili as a medium of instruction in higher education, but through the Institute for Kiswahili Research at the University, there is hope that this situation will soon be reversed. The impact on adult education is obvious--students are not able to make the progress desired if Swahili reading materials are not available. The national curriculum was adapted to conform with local circumstances. Only arithmetic, English, and Kiswahili remained unmodified. Political education and community studies (natural sciences, domestic science, history, and geography) were modified to suit local circumstances. Agriculture, health care, self-help, and instruction in traditional culture were added as integral parts of the curriculum. The Ministry has been trying to produce new textbooks as cheaply as possible and to schedule their introduction according to their availability and available funds.¹¹

The policies of the post-Arusha era then emphasized self-realization more than any earlier policies did, especially in primary and adult education where they touch the majority of the Tanzanian population. In addition, primary and adult education for illiterates was to receive priority. This represented a departure from the period preceding the Arusha Declaration when primary emphasis was given to the development only of high level managers and technicians who were needed to assume the positions of expatriate managers and technicians who had departed to their native countries following independence. Universal Primary Education was to be achieved within a ten-year period (1977). Eradication of illiteracy among Tanzania's five and a half million illiterate adults by 1975 was another bold objective.¹² Although these objectives were not met by the time planned, Tanzania can today boast of having achieved both objectives.

On December 31, 1969,¹³ the President, in a New Year's speech to the nation, declared the ensuing twelve months as "Adult Education Year" and said we must give this work a very high priority. The second five-year development plan 1969-74¹⁴ which came after the Arusha Declaration was directly aimed at the implementation of socialism and self-reliance. This reliance on mass education to enable the people to become articulate, intelligent, willing agents in the transformation of their own lives was noteworthy.

A distinct feature in the expansion of primary education was the special concern and efforts of the nation to provide education for handicapped children. Education for the handicapped naturally

calls for more efforts and heavier investments but represents the commitment of equality and self-reliance characteristic of post-Arusha Tanzania.¹⁵

The purpose of the decentralization policy of the government of Tanzania, effected in 1972, was to give more direct power to the people and to underscore the fact that the people were essential agents and are central to any development plans. This was as true for policy formulation as well as in the implementation policy. The Tanzanian campaigns were meant to instill the spirit of local interest in national affairs; they were also meant to make the participant central rather than the structures, the administrators and the equipment.

In 1962, Tanzania had recognized, at least in words, that national progress could not wait until school children had been educated and had grown up before the country achieved economic and social development. The immediate education of adults was seen to be essential. In fact, one of the promises of a Tanzanian African National Union member is, "I shall educate myself to the best of my ability and use my education for the benefit of all."¹⁶ Therefore, this spirit of education for self-reliance and its philosophy eventually caused the Ministry of Education to change its name to the Ministry of National Education again embracing the "mass" comprehensive nature of the reform. Soon thereafter all the schools in the country were nationalized. Local authority schools, voluntary agency schools, and private ones were controlled by the state.

Private schools could operate only after approval by the Ministry of National Education which granted registration permits. Tanzanian culture became an integrated part of the national curriculum. Cultural youth movements were formed throughout the schools, and all over the country national games and sports were revived and encouraged. Students involved themselves in adult education activities also, and school councils were formed to run student governments throughout teacher training colleges and secondary schools.

National service became integral to the teacher training system. All students, before admission to university or training institutions, were required to join national service for five months. In national service camps they learn alertness, bravery, national spirit, and self-reliance work in different projects: poultry keeping, cow rearing, medicine and pharmacy, masonry, mechanics, rice or wheat farming, and adult education. They also learn elementary techniques of the People's Militia Army. During this time of national service they are paid only a small allowance, and their expenses are met by the government.¹⁷

There is sincere desire to modernize the country's rural areas. The attempt to do this is through the creation of Ujamaa villages. It has been determined that when people live together in Ujamaa villages, it is much easier for the government to help them and more importantly for them to help themselves. The people form in efforts to get a clean supply of water, build centralized schools for their children, and they provide physical facilities for medical

care. They are also helped with modern farming facilities, such as good seeds and fertilizer. After their daily work, the Ujamaa villagers have less difficulty joining adult education classes in the evenings since they are also able to arrange for joint child care responsibilities.

The Tanzanian system of education does not end after formal school years. It is a continuous process that involves people at all levels, pre-school children, youth and adults. It is an education that emphasizes progress and development, of peoples' minds and their intelligence. It is an education that believes massive development for all the people within the nation must be a cooperative endeavor. To put it in President Julius K. Nyerere's own words:

The education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purposes of Tanzania. It must encourage the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development, which knows the advantages and the problems of cooperation. It must ensure that the educated themselves be an integral part of the nation and recognize the responsibility to give greater service the greater the opportunities they have had.

This is not only a matter of school organization and curriculum. Social values are formed by family, school and society by the total environment in which a child develops. But it is no use to our educational system stressing values and knowledge appropriate to the past or the goals of any other society.¹⁸

While Tanzania was concentrating on the needs of the rural sector there was an apparent need in the urban sector for education that was not being addressed. It was decided to approach this need by the delivery of a circular on Worker's Education. This applied

to the wage earning sector of Tanzania found mainly in more urbanized settings. Thus Tanzania, like other previously colonized nations, was preoccupied with the process of changing old political values through education and work. The changing of these values and attitudes occupied a place of high priority in the activities of leaders and ruling parties. The assumption, which politicians and behavioral scientists share, is that the political values and attitudes of the people directly and significantly affect the survival potential of new nations and the ruling party.

With the expansion of the economy and services after independence, the Tanzanian salaried work force increased. Since the rate of increase in workers was expected to rise, it became necessary to rethink the need to give the Tanzanian salaried workers more opportunities to learn so that they too would help make socialism a reality in their new nation. In 1969, this need to enable the workers to continue to learn was declared a policy by President Nyerere.¹⁹ Although his message dealt with the general aims of adult education, there is no doubt that workers' education was an important component of the adult education program:

The task of building a socialist society could not be clearly advanced without an all-round development of the working population towards acquisition both of the new national identity and ideology and of modern production techniques. Later, in 1973, the Prime Minister, Kawawa, issued a policy statement on workers' education as only a component of overall educational development, and as such is subject not only to coordination, but also to subordination, of the whole education system, and adult education in particular, cognizant of the historical conditions and the desired future social and political system in Tanzania.²⁰

Within the Directorate of Adult Education there is a Workers' Education Section. This section is responsible for:

1. Workers' education in offices, factories, etc., in collaboration with the Department of Workers' Education in the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare.
2. Curricula development for workers' education.
3. Secondary education for the workers as well as the correspondence course.
4. The organization of the certificate and diploma courses in adult education.
5. To keep the statistics of workers' education in the country.²¹

The workers' education program must involve all workers, from the illiterate worker to those who have university degrees or are at the top managerial level. At this point self-employed workers were not included.

The Workers' Education circular also included a six-point guideline to be implemented with immediate effect, by every ministry, institution, parastatal and industrial enterprise. It clearly indicated the importance attached by the state to the success of the worker's education program. The seven-points of this guideline were:

- (i) Any establishment employing workers must have concrete programmes for educating them in various matters, from eradicating illiteracy to technical education;
- (ii) A Workers' Education Officer must be appointed who will be responsible for making programmes of education at the work place. The appointed official should be able and should have full responsibility which will enable him to execute this work;

- (iii) A separate financial vote for workers' education should be budgeted;
- (iv) All reports on workers' education programmes and progress reports should be forwarded to the Regional Labour Officer and the Regional Co-ordinator of Adult Education who will be required to send them to the Regional Adult Education Committee and later to the Ministries of National Education and Social Welfare;
- (v) Workers' education should be conducted during normal working hours for at least one hour every day but institutions are at liberty to use any other time, both outside normal working hours and in excess of one hour per day, for workers' education activities, so long as such liberty does not reduce production and efficiency of the factory or office and is reached by consensus of workers' committee on education.
- (vi) Labour officers in the Ministry of Labour will have the right to inspect the places of work to make sure that workers' education programmes exist and that they are being implemented.²²

Further, it was believed that although a successful permanent workers' education program has to be centrally planned and directed, it must also be a collective responsibility of all the people and their institutions. Hence, elected workers' education committees were to be formed at all levels of the administrative structure. The main functions of the committees was to insure that in their respective jurisdiction workers' education plans were consistent with the national policy. They were expected to mobilize the workers to enroll in the classes. To give these committees the necessary executive and functional powers, the head of the institution or regional area is the chairman of the committee, while the workers'

education co-ordinating officer acts as the secretary. At the national level, the National Advisory Council to the Ministry for National Education is empowered to insure that the Adult Education Committee also handle any matters pertaining to workers' education.

Mwalimu states that

. . . it is essential that work places become places of education as well as of work. Classes must be organized there for literacy, skills, politics and anything else in which a group of workers are interested. Of course this education cannot replace work; but it can and must supplement it, and be part of the working day. At the moment we have, as a new thing, many literacy classes in different factories in Dar es Salaam. But this is not enough. We must go very much further than that. In a country dedicated to change we must accept that education and working are both parts of living and should continue from birth until we die. Then we may begin to deserve the praise that was given to Tanzania by the man who said that our policy is 'revolution'. At the moment, and despite our undoubted achievements, such praise refers more to what we say than to what we do.²³

A directive issued by the Prime Minister, Ndugu Rashid Kawawa, on July 5, 1973, firmly committed the nation to workers' education. This circular stated in clear terms that workers' education was part and parcel of the continuing adult education program and a life-long process for all workers in any field or specialization, at any place of work. Its objectives were the same as those laid down in 1970 for adult education in general, that is: "to liberate Tanzanians economically, mentally and culturally; to teach Tanzanians how to change their environment; to make Tanzanians understand their country's policy of socialism and self-reliance."²⁴ In July, 1973, all private firms, parastatals, ministries and institutions were

requested to organize well-considered and comprehensive workers' education programs involving all their workers:

Workers' education activities in Tanzania now are designed to offset the consequences of restricted access to formal education of a large sector of the working population. This is to be accomplished through the use of conventional teaching methods as well as effective innovatory practices.²⁵

Summarized,

. . . the purpose of workers education activities is to provide for workers of all levels of learning opportunities which will help them to understand the ideology of socialism and to become more productive and effective in their work places, and thus to reduce the education, communication and professional gap which may exist nationally and internationally.²⁶

Admittedly the colonial type of workers' education was designed to adapt the few selected workers to colonial needs, e.g., support of the colonial administration at the middle manpower level. Therefore at independence, civil servants, professionals, middle-level technicians and political activists all had to be familiarized with the new roles and role performance needed for national reconstruction.

By way of a typical example it was reported in the January 1, 1978, Daily News of Tanzania that Tanesco (Tanzania Electrical Supply Company), a parastatal company, was attempting to totally eradicate illiteracy among its workers to conform to the Government's directive on Adult and Worker's Education programs. In 1975 out of 3,700 workers more than 800 were literate and passed into the primary level four stage. Ndugu Mtekani reported that each Tanesco branch has a

special workers' education committee with a secretary who is also a teacher and coordinator of workers' education programs.²⁷

In the Five-Year Development plan drawn up for the years 1976 to 1981, the outline for the workers' education program included:

eradication of illiteracy amongst the workers;

strengthening of the skills of workers who are literate so as to prevent their relapse into illiteracy, or ignorance of modern technological developments;

provision and reinforcement of a workers' education environment and a permanent, lifelong education;

establishment of four zonal workers' education programs by the Ministry of Labour and Social Services.²⁸

Unfortunately the goals of the plan have not been realized although arduous work continues in all areas. Limited funds have not permitted increased efforts on these fronts. Some of the economic reasons referred to will be discussed later in this work.

Considering the instructions given to factories and offices, the different seminars organized for workers and the increasing number of opportunities offered to the workers by educational institutions, all provided by the state free of charge, there is every reason to believe that with the support of the whole society, the program of lifelong education for workers should be able to achieve the goal of increasing the knowledge, skills and capacities of the Tanzanian workers and of reinforcing their convictions and attitudes in a socialistic mode. All of the above would seem to assure success in the Worker's Education Division.

For seven years after the Education for Self-Reliance manifesto, the country grappled with the implementation of this document with varying degrees of success. However, by November, 1974, Mwalimu ascertained that there were glaring areas of noncompliance relative to the Education for Self-Reliance doctrine. TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), at a meeting of the National Executive Committee, issued a document entitled "Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance." It was noted that one of the major failures in the implementation effort was the integration of education with work. Some critics of the Education for Self-Reliance document said that it was perhaps "too naive to expect a successful implementation of the policy by a colonially educated bureaucratic elite aspiring to be capitalists in the midst and perhaps at the expense of the masses of poor peasants."²⁹

Item four of the directive supports an evaluation of the efforts to implement for ESR. "In 1967 we agreed to call this type of education: 'Education for Self-Reliance,' and we decided to implement it. How far have we succeeded in its implementation?" President Nyerere goes on to state in Item seven that "We also stated that the education so provided should be for the benefit of the masses, since we would otherwise have no justification for taxing them in order that only a few may be educated."³⁰

Item 12 of the directive states that

. . . both in our thinking and in our actions, we have been unduly influenced by 'international standards'. It seems that some of us are not ready to accept that a Tanzanian youth has been properly educated if his

educational qualifications or certificates are not recognized by certain foreign countries. That is to say, we have not succeeded in liberating ourselves mentally, nor in having self-confidence, in selecting that which is most suitable to our objective conditions instead of continuing to imitate the system of other people whose economy and mode of life is totally different from ours.³¹

In Item 14 Mwalimu called upon the nation

. . . to rid ourselves of the unfortunate habit of giving more esteem to someone who has high education. In our employment policies, performance in the classroom has been the only yardstick. We have continued to judge a young man's ability only by looking at the examinations he has passed.³²

Mwalimu declared that we must change the existing procedures and practices in our primary education system. We further deplored the practice of introducing students into secondary schools for the sole purpose of preparing students for university entrance. He called for a reexamination of this premise.

In a direct reference to adult education in this directive in Item 21 he states that "It is clear that the tremendous success which has been achieved in our adult education programs has been brought about by the use of revolutionary techniques in the implementation of those programs." This is undoubtedly a direct reference to the practice of permitting secondary school students to teach pupils who are less well educated, for example.

In Item 39 Mwalimu states we reminded "ourselves of the decision we made in 1967 whose aim was to ensure that in all our schools, work becomes part and parcel of the students' learning activities. Work is an integral part of learning activities and study is part of work."

In Item 40 he refers to work-study integration as being "the most appropriate system for a country such as ours. We took steps, [he notes] in this direction when we issued instructions that adult literacy classes should be conducted during normal working hours, and that they should be considered as part of the normal work schedule."

In Item 42 Mwalimu reports that "The National Executive Committee now directs that our educational system be restructured in such a way that everyone attending courses will have to do some work as part of his training. The Committee urges the Government to formulate concrete plans for the implementation of this directive as soon as possible.³³

While the proceedings of the Musoma Conference call for implementing the documents of 1967, the proceedings also serve as an evaluative document. In the proceedings Mwalimu reviews the seven years between the pronouncements of the Arusha Declaration and the ESR document and states areas of successes and failures. The "Directive on Implementation" goes on to make recommendations about what should be done at this stage under a section referred to as "Where We Got Stuck."³⁴

The attitude of privilege accorded to a few was changed by the "Musoma Resolution of 1974" which stated that university education must be regarded as an extension of adult education and hence as a right for the population already working. This position not only elevated the status of adult education; it erased the idea that university education which had traditionally been the domain of the privileged secondary school leavers, was to remain as such. Under the mature-age entrance scheme, workers now have an opportunity to secure places in the university and they are securing these in increasing numbers.³⁵

The strategies for implementing adult education in the rural areas of the country were first spelled-out in the Second Five-Year Plan:

The main emphasis in adult education in this plan period will be on rural development. It will include simple training in agricultural techniques and crafts-manship, health education, housecraft, simple economics and accounting, and education in politics and the responsibilities of the citizen. In rural areas, virtually the whole of this work will be conducted in Swahili. Literacy will be taught on demand, as people become aware of its functional importance.³⁶

In 1979, President Nyerere presented the results of development in Tanzania to the TANU Biennial Conference, a decision-making body of the party. He stressed the importance of adult education as a life-long learning process bound up with living and working:

Just as working is a part of education, so learning is a necessary part of working But learning must become an integral part of working and people must learn as and when they work It is therefore essential that we should stop trying to divide up life into sections, one of which is for education and another, longer one of which is for work with occasional time off for 'courses'. In a country dedicated to change we must accept that education and working are both parts of living and should continue from birth until we die.³⁷

The TANU Biennial Conference then decided that all literate persons must participate in the adult education programs as part of their work by helping another person to become literate as stated in the TANU pledge. The Second Five-Year Plan (1969-1974) also named various institutions that were to be involved in the process of implementing adult education:

The characteristic feature of adult education is that various organizations participate. Among them are government departments, TANU, United Women of Tanzania, the cooperative movement and the churches. Part of the work to be done is the promotion of new activities.³⁸

Decisions concerning adult education at the grassroots were made the responsibility of community leaders and community centers.

The adult education network is seen as just one part, albeit a most important part, of the solution to the goal of national development. To achieve this goal, four different types of adult education programs will operate through the adult education network:

1. Functional literacy programs,
2. Discussions of national policies,
3. Short-term mass education programs,
4. Local education programs.³⁹

In a related method of achieving national development goals, a major adult education role was assumed by Kivukoni College in providing technical assistance to Tanzanian Workers' education organizations, rural training centers, cooperative education agencies, the Tanganyika Library Service and the Institute of Adult Education. The work of the Institute of Adult Education, as its role is central to the work of the Tanzanian network of adult education, will be described later in this work. This will be discussed in the interview with the Director of the Institute.

Of great importance is the fact that the central focus of the Tanzanian development strategy is the priority given to rural areas and agricultural development. The significance of this choice

was expressed by President Nyerere in his "Socialism and Rural Development" speech.⁴⁰ He explained that Tanzania's resources are land, leadership, ideology and people.

In the New Year's message referred to earlier on December 31, 1969, President Nyerere defined the objectives of adult education and declared 1970 as Adult Education Year and further provided guidelines for action. He summarized the aims of adult education as follows:

- 1) To shake Tanzanians out of resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries;
- 2) to learn to improve their lives; and
- 3) to make everyone understand our national policy of socialism and self reliance.⁴¹

Since then both the government and the party have been working hard to educate the masses. Hundreds of thousands of people, men and women, old and young, have enrolled in adult education classes.

From that year, the organization of life-long education with a slightly different emphasis than adult education, on a national level began. A Directorate of Adult Education was established within the Ministry of National Education, thus giving adult education a status equal to all other forms of education such as primary, secondary, technical or teacher training.

In a further effort to more fully implement the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self Reliance document the National Correspondence Institution was established in November, 1970. Since

1964 the Moshi Cooperative Education Center has demonstrated that correspondence instruction provides a relatively inexpensive method of instruction for a very large and widely dispersed student body.⁴²

A Tanzanian/Swedish aid agreement addressed the need for an educational process designed specifically to meet the needs of the rural population. This process then, correspondence education, was seen also as a way of assisting the country in its effort to build an egalitarian society based on the principles of socialism. An important characteristic of Tanzanian egalitarianism was to have equal educational opportunities for every citizen regardless of age, sex, marital status, place of residence, social position or any other external barrier.

Consistent with the second five year plan of Tanzania (1969) the correspondence institution sought to serve the needs of the literate but isolated persons throughout the country who wished to enlarge their knowledge and understanding of subjects deemed of importance for national development. Therefore the courses were geared toward developing a socialist and self-reliant country. They were written in the national language and thereby made a contribution towards the development of a national consciousness. Swahili is used to answer all inquiries and in information publications.

Through the correspondence institution there are mass-oriented courses specifically prepared for those people with little or no formal education. Then there are those manpower oriented or professional courses which are designed to provide training for middle

level management and administration in the form of on-the-job training. Finally there are examination oriented courses for any adult wishing to sit for the Tanzania National Examinations for entrance to a higher level educational experience such as admission to the University of Dar es Salaam.

The curricula is wholly in the hands of Tanzanians. The course manuscripts are edited in consultation with a subject-specialist tutor and a radio tutor. After printing a course is released and the public is notified in the newspaper and by radio broadcasts of its existence. The courses offered at the present time are political education, Swahili, math, English, geography, history, bookkeeping and bean cultivation.⁴³

The correspondence institution also provides for a system of advisement. Counsellors advise students before enrollment and during their course of study. Recorders check on the letters and assignments coming in from students. Assignments are mailed to part-time tutors for correction and marking, and grades are entered on record cards. Part-time tutors are paid a small honorarium for their services. Non-active students are urged to complete courses of study and appropriate letters are sent to them for this purpose. Regional tours are sometimes organized for tutors to distant, isolated correspondence students.

Because of the special needs and priorities of the country all the correspondence education needs have not been realized. A few regional centers have been developed but Dar es Salaam remains

the headquarters for the correspondence institution. The fact that consultants and part-time specialized services (printing) are more readily found in this area makes such practices logistically sound.⁴⁴

Indicating the preoccupation with adult education, the President again took literacy as the theme of his message to the nation on the eve of the new year 1971. After pointing out the achievements which had been made in 1970 in appointing and training adult education officers in each district, he made the point that if illiterates are not to be exploited by those who know how to read and write, and if each adult citizen is to play a complete role in national development, illiteracy must be eradicated.

Ndugu Rashid Kawawa, Second Vice-President, succinctly expressed it in the following manner: "I have said that adult education is of paramount importance to national development; it would be more true to say that the two are inseparable."⁴⁵

Section Two of Sub-Topic IV

Section Two contains a brief description of "Wakati wa Furaha" (Time for Rejoicing) 1971, the "Mtu ni Afya" (Man is Health) 1973 and the "Chakula ni Uhai" (Food is Life) 1975 campaign as they attempted to discover the contributions radio could make to mass literacy campaigns. The Ministry of National Education bought and distributed more than 7,000 radios, and all educational institutions in the country were given radios to be used in adult education activities. Radio discussion group leaders were trained and all radio listening groups were provided with time tables of broadcasts.⁴⁶

The initial campaigns referred to as the Tanzanian National Literacy Campaign were undertaken from 1972 to 1975 as one aspect of a comprehensive adult education effort aimed at mobilizing the human resources of the country for the purpose of rural development and the achievement of personal and national self-reliance.

It is instructive to note the manner in which the adult education administrative policy makers of the country implemented the edicts of the Arusha Declaration and the ESR. A close look at three major mass literacy campaigns provide an opportunity to scrutinize the elements of the campaigns through the use of (1) radio, (2) printed materials and (3) study groups. The success the campaigns achieved could be realized only through the coordination of the large number of cooperating ministries involved in each of these campaigns.

The Institute of Adult Education initiated the mass literacy campaigns and is mandated to organize each literacy campaign for the nation. It is psychologically strategic that the Institute chose Tanzania's tenth anniversary of independence as the natural choice of a subject for the most ambitious radio study-group campaign up to that time--a natural "Time for Rejoicing", "Wakati wa Furaha."

The campaign was designed to combine education with a jubilant celebration as there was great enthusiasm among the Tanzanian people in the wake of "Wakati wa Furaha." One of the objectives of the campaign was the deepening of the Tanzanians' sense of nationhood transcending the divisiveness of the class divisions and the

divisiveness of the 120 ethnic groups of the country. The other goal was expanding educational opportunities to all illiterate adults through the radio study-group method.⁴⁷

The Institute of Adult Education's planning began nearly ten months before the first scheduled broadcast was heard. Study groups were formed in every region of the country. The cooperation of numerous groups was deemed essential--the University of Dar es Salaam, the Ministries of National Education and Rural Development, Tanzanian African National Union and the Cooperatives.

Study materials for group members consisted of a series of radio programs, a Kiswahili textbook and a study guide. The radio programs and accompanying textbook chapters were loosely integrated. The text was designed to serve as a permanent source of background and factual detail and was written to be read aloud. The radio programs, on the other hand, were meant to stimulate discussion.

There were eight half-hour radio programs which began with fifteen minutes of music, answers to questions sent in by groups, and announcements from the campaign organizers. During this gathering time, groups had a chance to assemble, settle down, and tune in literally and figuratively. Contributing to the success of the group was a manual for study-group leaders which covered general questions of leadership and which provided hints (including references to the textbooks and one study guide) for running study group meetings. These aids were designed to guarantee a successful campaign. The following Chapter VI includes evaluation strategies.

At the conclusion of the successful campaign, the next step was to launch a mass literacy campaign that would test the effectiveness of the campaign in its effort to move from abstract learning with little measurable application to action that would directly affect the quality of life in Tanzania. Following considerable discussion among the ministries, organizations, and individuals involved, a new theme was agreed upon--community health, with an emphasis on preventive medicine. Since treatment and curative health services are far from adequate in Tanzania, the rationale seemed to be that efforts by the people themselves to prevent disease could make a dramatic difference in their lives.⁴⁸

Numerous diseases known to Tanzanians were not only dreaded but were extremely debilitating as well as being so widespread. Tuberculosis, malaria, bilharzia, hookworm, dysentery and other water-borne diseases were chiefly responsible for keeping the cycle of poverty and disease in motion. Another point made by the Ministry of National Health was that all the above-mentioned diseases had in common a susceptibility to preventive measures that included some practical, inexpensive, environmental changes that the people might be motivated to effect.

Subsequently, it was agreed that the theme of health education seemed to fit well with the intended emphasis on action. Many of the recommended environmental measures the campaign would focus on, building latrines, for instance, would be ideally suited to group action, particularly in a Ujamaa village setting. In this campaign,

unlike the previous one, action was taken to encourage individuals to make physical environmental changes to foster better community health. Radio was to be exploited to the maximum. Promotion of communal action was to be a fundamental ingredient of not only the radio program, but the printed materials and the training as well.

In this campaign there was also the integration of "Mtu ni Afya, (Man is Health), with national literacy efforts. The Ministry of National Education's literacy campaign had become the major activity of the national adult education network. Thousands of people had become literate but had little in the way of reading material. The texts then for "Mtu ni Afya" (Man is Health) were geared both in terms of format and vocabulary to those who were newly literate.

Seemingly minor details plagued the planners, however, in the campaign timetable. For instance, they had to try to avoid times of planting and harvesting. They also had to complete the sequence of radio programs before Ramadan. During Ramadan, a Muslim religious period, many of the nation's population who are Muslim fast during the day and reduce the number of activities outside the home to a bare minimum.

A campaign on the scale of "Mtu ni Afya" would have been impossible without interministerial cooperation and coordination. No single ministry is equipped to carry out all phases of a mass campaign. A newly created National Coordinating Committee chaired by the director of the Institute of Adult Education decided at its first meeting that its primary duty was to insure the lack of duplication of effort and the omission of gaps.⁴⁹

The pedagogical concern and goal of the Health Campaign study groups was to progress in logical sequence from learning about disease prevention to action. If the information presented to the study group seemed relevant and practical, members of the study groups could be expected to set about determining how best to prevent the discussed disease or eliminate the health hazard in question. By the time of the next meeting or later, the study group could begin acting on their resolutions, either individually within their own homes or collectively in the village at large.

However, there were limitations.⁵⁰ About half the time, groups did not receive the radio programs. The radio reception in some parts of the country was poor, some groups never had radios and some radios occasionally broke down. When listening to the campaign programs was impossible, group leaders usually presented the pertinent textbook material orally in an attempt to keep enthusiasm and motivation from diminishing. The data show an average attendance ratio of 51 men to 49 women for each 100 participants in this campaign. Early in the campaign, organizers feared that the subject of health education would appeal more to women than to men, but their worries were dispelled as the study groups formed.

The ages of study group members ranged fairly evenly; from 16 years to 40 and these accounted for 53 percent of all participants. Data also reveal that people of different educational levels worked together in the study groups and this proved advantageous to all. Experience and the willingness to share rather than formally acquired

knowledge were the essential ingredients of active participation. Ninety percent of the participants were farmers. In the earlier campaigns 25 percent of the participants were teachers. The elitist phenomena had given way from a traditionally "restricted" learning circle concept to the concept of mass campaign. "Mtu ni Afya" was the first radio study group campaign to reach the masses in the rural areas. It reached the target group, farmers of all ages and sexes, in almost all the villages.⁵¹

The "Mtu ni Afya" campaign was the first campaign to focus on action. This time each group was to build some health monument, some physical evidence of environmental change resulting from the campaign. Many study groups took up tasks suggested in the campaign materials. Since malaria was the subject studied for the first two weeks, most of the group action reported related to its prevention. Once the mosquito was acknowledged as the culprit, the next step was to destroy its breeding places. The eradication included clearing away large-leafed plants that grew near houses; destroying broken pots, old tins, and other containers that held stagnant water; even the draining of ponds and of large bodies of water was undertaken as a preventive measure.⁵²

This country-wide campaign for preventive medicine and sanitation was conducted in 1973, and it is difficult to measure the total impact of the "Mtu ni Afya" campaign because the academic requirement of a control group conflicts with the aims of a comprehensive campaign of this nature. When every measure is taken to,

mobilize every person possible, finding someone or an entire group not willing to take part is difficult indeed. In Mtwara the "control group" was swept up by the excitement of the campaign and went on to participate as fully as any of the officially sanctioned study groups. To those with other goals, such as measuring effectiveness, this act itself demonstrated yet another measure of a successful campaign.⁵³

Mass literacy campaigns represent a way of reaching large numbers of people at low per capita cost. The cost of "Mtu ni Afya" was estimated at US four cents per hour of discussion which was much lower compared with the cost per hour of literacy instruction of about US sixty-two cents in the UNESCO/UNDP literacy project. Tanzania, a poor country committed to using non-formal education to involve people in development, can use mass campaigns as a relatively inexpensive strategy to reach the rural population.⁵⁴

The "Chakula ni Uhai" (Food is Life, 1975) was the third Radio Study Group campaign in mass literacy education. This campaign had the following main objectives: to inform adults of diseases caused by malnutrition, to convince them of the necessity of a balanced diet and to teach them how to prepare nutritious foods from resources found in their immediate environment, to encourage peasants and workers to increase and diversify food production in order to make Tanzania self-reliant in food supplies, and to encourage decisions and actions on the basis of self-reliance following the participation of all group members in discussion.⁵⁵

After initiation by the Institute of Adult Education (IAE), the National Coordinating Committee for the "Food is Life" campaign swung into action. There were six ministries represented: The Prime Minister's office, Education, Agriculture, Social Welfare, Health, and Information and Broadcasting. The Institute of Adult Education, the University, Kivukoni College, the Cooperative College, Moshi; the Nutrition Centre, the Tanganyika Women's Union were all represented on the Coordinating Committees as well. All these representatives worked as a team to make their contribution to development through the mass literacy campaign.

At this planning phase integration was essential. The training teams reflect an integrated approach. For a mass campaign of the magnitude of "Food for Life," 70,000-80,000 trained group advisors or animators were needed.⁵⁶ In the "Food for Life" campaign, 20 regional teams were required to come to the Institute for Adult Education for two-day orientation seminars. Each regional team was made up of members of the Regional Administration: Health, Education, Community Development, Institute of Adult Education, Agriculture, Nutrition and the Tanganyika Women's Union. Another latent effect of bringing together members and officers from different departments is that it sometimes becomes the beginning of longstanding cooperation among people and offices which could work together to benefit the goals of national development.

In spite of unpredicted difficulties, the groups took steps to improve their living conditions by starting thousands of projects.

Many groups cleared land for gardens and started growing vegetables. In many places participants decided to undertake poultry-keeping in order to get protein in the form of eggs and meat. Both types of projects were to supply the people with the protein and vitamins needed for a balanced diet. In parts of the country where it is difficult to secure sugar, some villagers started beekeeping. Many day-care centers for children and canteens for workers were opened or planned. Most of these projects are now running on a self-help basis to intensify and integrate the concept of self-reliance. Some have United Nations support.

In addition to these direct visible projects, knowledge of the prevention of diseases like marasmus and of the necessity to have a balanced diet and how to prepare it was improved. The realization of the aim to make Tanzania self-reliant in food crops and to further enhance the production of cash crops was urged in "Chakula ni Uhai." It was hoped that the improvement of economic well-being would be another important latent effect of the campaign.

Educational integration does not stop there. There were also evaluation and supervision teams in the regions and districts composed of a galaxy of people from various ministries and organizations, and such a structure requires a high degree of coordination to make it work. Fortunately, Tanzania has been blessed with the unifying force of the Party and the verbal, oft-stated commitment of the public authorities to adult education as a national concern for national development.

Father D. Mbunda, first Director of IAE, relates that the "Food is Life" campaign was a simple, relevant, down-to-earth campaign. "Chakula ni Uhai" was a child of popular demand. Its message was basic, and the delivery system had to be worked out properly to maximize its impact. A specially prepared booklet on food production, preservation, and nutrition was carefully written by experts from Agriculture, Health, Nutrition and the Institute of Adult Education. The target group was average Tanzanians most of whom were recent graduates of the nation literacy campaign. It was hoped that with this reading material in hand student literacy skills would be reinforced. The direct message was printed in bold letters and in easy, readable, uncomplicated sentences.⁵⁷

The planners knew that such a campaign required mass mobilization for action and should be designed to give basic, functional information on health, agriculture, public security, politico-social duties or burning issues that touch the life of the nation as a whole. Mass literacy campaigns are fundamentally adult education programs that again serve to meet the general objectives of national development. Since campaigns require participants to share ideas on equal terms, they can inculcate the sense of equality and socialism while they incorporate aspects of both formal and non-formal education blurring rigid distinctions in learning or teaching styles.

As President Nyerere has stated "the primary purpose of education is the liberation of man" (woman).⁵⁸ The liberation referred to is also demonstrated by women participants. TANU and

President Nyerere's new Tanzanian society plan to provide a more favorable place for women, and women have responded by giving President Nyerere their allegiance. Long before independence their status had been deteriorating with the introduction of the money economy and Western education. Cash crops have now become the domain of men, and in all schools, boys vastly outnumber female enrollees. As a result, women are most often economically dependent on fathers, brothers, and husbands, while formerly they enjoyed some economic, thus social independence.

Women suffered a double exploitation under colonialism and under men who always made decisions for them. Tanzanian women need to go through a process by which they discover that they have power, that they have creativity and that there are some alternatives that they themselves may initiate which may affect their lives positively.

Sufficient numbers of women are not in the forefront of development activities anywhere in the developing world. But recently planners have realized that it will be difficult to meet development objectives without first integrating the previously forgotten half of the population. This is particularly true for the attainment of literacy goals if these are meant to propel the society nearer national development.

Women are rarely on the cutting edge of decision-making in any nation of the world, and the prospects are dim for their immediate entry into the highest echelons of decision-making in significant numbers. It is predicted that women will move into the decision-making mainstream in small, incremental steps.⁵⁹

Offering increased educational opportunities to women will disadvantage some men. Moreover, an illiterate population cannot hold its leaders accountable to the same extent that a literate population can. Literate women will demand more information, follow arguments more closely, and present more challenges to politicians than will illiterate women. Currently, male literacy rates in almost every country in the developing world are significantly higher than those of women, so the problem of involving women in literacy activities in higher numbers continues to be a high priority.

Decision-making inevitably respects three things: money, power, and education. A review of world leaders indicated that women hold little political power.⁶⁰ On the economic fringes, with low wages and low skills, the chances for least developed country women acquiring significant wealth individually or collectively are minimal. Obviously, the logical way open to women to acquire power is through the vehicle of adult education.

Why should adult education efforts pay particular attention to women? Philosophically because education is a basic human need and the unanimous agreement is that education is a basic human right. Further, an illiterate woman is more likely to be dependent. There is little doubt that literacy helps in storage and retrieval of information and the comprehension of new concepts.

In the government's drive to improve the standard of living for all people, there has been a steady concentration on improving the situation of women in Tanzania. Women's participation in mass

literacy campaigns seems to increase with each successive literacy campaign. The first two campaigns did not attract many women. The "Wakati wa Furaha" campaign of 1971 had 38 percent women and 62 percent men. "Mtu ni Afya" had 48 percent women and 52 percent men. Participation in the "Chai ni Uhai" nutrition campaign of 1975 was 50 percent women and 50 percent men. Women appear to be naturally attracted to subjects that are directly related to their problems. Therefore, any educational programs designed for women must relate to their problems and concerns as identified by them.⁶¹

Women have been active in non-formal education in the rural areas especially in the last three campaigns including the functional literacy campaigns. The functional literacy classes have been dominated by women. Participation by women presents a challenge to the non-formal educators to extend their efforts in order to provide rural women with appropriate education that prepares them for their changing roles in a developing society. Since it is impossible to reach all rural women through formal education and the programs set up by the various ministries and organizations, mass literacy campaigns offer a great potential for reaching rural women and providing them with the required education. Facilities and infrastructure now exist to make this a reality. There is strong national political commitment, inter-ministrial cooperation at all levels, an adequate non-formal education field staff, and, of course, the radio. Mass literacy campaigns as educational strategy have characteristics which make them more effective in reaching rural women than other strategies which have been tested and mass literacy campaigns can be

effective instruments for raising consciousness about and stimulating participation in development.⁶²

Although there was not an official statement of policy regarding enrollment of girls in formal or non-formal education, it is clear from enrollment statistics that girls have always been heavily outnumbered by boys. Earlier education authorities held an unstated preference for boys over girls in the selection of students for further education. This was especially clear in the selection for technical and administrative training. An African saying is "If your sister goes to school your next meal may be your fountain pen."⁶³ The problems were compounded by parents in many parts of the country who refused to send their daughters to school or to allow them to continue beyond a certain level. This attitude was especially strong among coastal Muslim parents.

In response to this attitude, any new secondary school built after 1970 must, as a matter of policy, be either a girls' school or a co-educational school. Since the mid 60s, girls have been encouraged to enroll in technical courses in agriculture, veterinary science, and medical laboratory technology. Statistics of enrollment in schools and teachers' colleges from 1961 to 1974 show a progressive increase in the intake of girls at all levels year by year. Since the mid 60s the enrollment of women students into the university has increased also, although at no time has it equalled the enrollment of men.⁶⁴

Their position remains fairly strong even though they are expected to be subservient to men. They are not only mothers and

wives but producers. They do the major part of the cultivating tasks, and they feed the family. They earn small amounts of cash by selling the surplus of their food and perhaps some handicrafts at local markets. Generally they can dispose of this money as they wish.

President Julius K. Nyerere has said, "Women who live in villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania."⁶⁵

The following observation sheds some light on the traditional role of women in Tanzania. In 1980 on the mainland (but not on Zanzibar) a new marriage law was introduced designed to ameliorate the situation of women. It superseded African customary and Islamic laws. According to this law a first wife has to officially register her approval in court before a husband can take a second wife. She is entitled to inheritance in case her husband dies, which formerly she was not. The minimum age for marriage is set at fifteen (eighteen for men); a woman may no longer be forced into a marriage. Uniform rules are to be applied in case of divorce. Formerly all a Muslim man had to do was to say three times, "I divorce thee." Cases of divorce must first be discussed before a marriage conciliatory board and no longer before elders or village headmen, as was the previous custom.⁶⁶ Suffice it to say that this departure from tradition is being welcomed by many women.

Tanzanian women's group leadership on the local level has been neglected. The existing leaders of the various women's groups could be trained as group facilitators for women's educational programs.

It was noted that the incidence of illiteracy was some 10 per-cent higher among women than it was among men. Since women were homemakers, this is an important observation. Homes are microcosms of a bigger community, the nation; hence the urgent need to give special attention to attacking illiteracy among women and preparing relevant reading materials capable of inducing them to continue reading and avoid lapsing into illiteracy. Since the number of women is so large and their role is so vital, it would be hopeless to expect to transform the society without their participation. It is difficult to think of a better place to begin combating illiteracy than in the home, but this will not be possible if parents themselves, especially mothers, are illiterate. "Social benefits accrue to families with educated mothers. Children with literate mothers stand a higher chance of attending school."⁶⁷

"The Tanazaian experience in mass campaigns has exploited greatly the craze of our lady-folk for a textile called 'khanga' and 'vitenge'." Men have also taken up the wearing of special vitenge shirts on special occasions, and our textile firms have sure markets with such produce. It was first tried in the "Mtu ni Afya" "Man is Health" campaign. In this campaign we improved over previous experiences. We co-opted designers in the 'Chakula ni Uhai' Coordinating Committee so that we could have our own design to preserve the purity and simplicity of the message in symbols. We also had members of the textile company to make sure that the distribution system did not fail the peasant in the remotest areas of Tanzania."⁶⁸

The designed khangas and vitenge came out in excellent finish: simple, but conveying the exact message both to literate and non-literate. The colors chosen were brightly attractive. There was a scramble for those materials and we became worried whether after the 2nd June--the date when the campaign was officially launched at State House by Mwalimu, J. K. Nyerere, the rural population would have any 'Chakula ni Uhai' khangas and vitenge. In north Tanzania--Mwanza and Musoma and in more than six districts, some of the Tanzania-Kenya border--there were women wearing the Chakula ni Uhai khangas silently delivering the message as they walk down to the communal farm or to the well, selling vegetables at the market, or going to church service or to a wedding feast. It was really great to hear one businessman in a small commercial centre in Musoma region comment--'those vitenge are gone and the demand is still on!'

Mwatrix, the firm that made the khangas and vitenge, has been requested to print more because of public demand. The vitenge and khangas publicity technique has also been adopted to popularize the current International Conference on Adult Education for Development.

The delivery system of the 'Chakula ni Uhai' message made it sure to involve all the possible influences. We requested the Chairman of the United Women of Tanzania to open the training seminars of the team of trainers. The National Executive TANU Secretary was requested to close the seminar. This mechanism in itself was a very important element in our delivery system for this involvement of crucial personalities goes a long way to committing themselves to the objectives of the campaign. In this way the projects born out of the campaign and the assignments that derive from the campaign are counted to be part and parcel of the Regional District Plans.

A crucial factor in the 'Chakula ni Uhai' delivery system was the study groups themselves. The staged training seminars at national, zonal, regional, district, and divisional levels had these objectives: (a) to train a sufficiently large number of study group advisors; (b) these advisors were local people and were trained close to their place of operation in order to cut down on expenses and make the training more relevant; (c) more days were planned to train the group advisors than the teams of trainers to ensure the competence of the grassroot, but crucial,

group advisors. Unfortunately, due to financial constraint we could not do so. Most of the advisors had only a day's orientation and this fault had its repercussion in the group formation and handling. The group advisors were supposed to enroll potential 'Chakula ni Uhai' participants on voluntary basis. The group should have consisted of 10-20 members to allow participants ample opportunity to actively participate during a session of one or two hours. While the inability to do this reduced the effectiveness of the campaign, it was still a successful mass campaign effort.⁶⁹

The next campaign executed which hoped to utilize the structure described was the "Forests are our Wealth" campaign. The aim of this campaign was to awaken consciousness concerning the value of forests, bush fires, overgrazing, and unwise utilization of natural resources in general.

A further recommendation is that the next mass literacy campaign address itself to the equality of women in the Tanzanian society. The United Women of Tanzania are mounting pressure to influence the adoption of this recommendation in the very near future. A corollary to this suggestion is that the literacy campaign, when initiated, include economic incentives through special scholarships for women and that the adult literacy curricula should include items which are designed to encourage parents to send their daughters to school.⁷⁰

Other parts of the literacy infrastructure include a monthly newspaper. There is no end to education which focuses on issues of interest to the new literate. Book production committees have been formed and Tanzanian writers are encouraged to produce materials for use in rural areas and throughout the country. Tape recordings of traditional stories have been used as the basis for developing more reading materials.⁷¹

Section Three of Sub-Topic IV

In addition to archival and historical research, an attempt has been made in this work to employ other methodological approaches. Some qualitative ethnographic research has been utilized. Qualitative observations of significant segments of the adult education network were made to discover how these persons saw their role and interpreted and understand it in light of the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance document. As Rosalie Wax suggested, obtaining something of the understanding of an insider was only the first step. From there it was necessary to gain a position from which one could perceive and describe relationships, systems and patterns which an inextricably involved insider is not likely to be consciously aware of.⁷² Another advantage in pursuing the methodology of field research is that when a researcher is not dedicated to traditional research methodology, amusing and amazing contretemps may occur, which lend depth to the undertaking.⁷³ These field research observations were made during the months of July and August, 1981 and 1982.

In order to complete the understanding gained of the adult education network or the "literacy infrastructure," starting with the Ministry of National Education seemed not only logical but consistent with the structure for adult education which had been delineated. The Director of Adult Education, Ndugu* A. Z. Mpogolo, was not

*Ndugu - freely translated as "comrade." The term literally means brother but it is used as a form of address to indicate a sense of solidarity with a connotation of "one of us."

willing to grant an interview because researcher had not secured the necessary formal research permit from the Research Council of Tanzania. It appears that such a permit is difficult for an American to obtain without being sponsored by a religious organization or one of the United Nations organizations. The researcher with a permit promises to share said research with the Research Council. From the Tanzanian point of view, relations between the United States and Tanzania are somewhat strained. One of the reasons given for this is that the United States has held views contrary to fundamental views held by Tanzania, i.e., independence for Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and apartheid in South Africa. Tanzania also failed to allow the participation of some American Peace Corps workers in that country; only since 1979⁷⁴ has Tanzania readmitted the Peace Corps into the country to perform some "non-critical" tasks, such as conservation and reforestation. Critical occupations include teaching, and American Peace Corps workers are not permitted to teach in the schools of Tanzania at the present time.

Through cooperation of the Research Council office, researcher was able to secure from Mr. Mpogolo, materials that outlined in great detail the structure of the adult education network in Tanzania. The materials secured were speeches Mr. Mpogolo had given in Tanzania in previous years, and the materials contained some statistics on the eradication of illiteracy that made Mr. Mpogolo's pride in his work plausible. One of the points made in his speeches cautions against misinterpreting figures. According to statistics, contained

in Mpogolo's report the rate of illiteracy has not declined dramatically. However, this is probably explained by the following facts:

- (a) The reorganization of rural communities into permanent villages made the identification of illiterates hitherto unknown, easy.
- (b) In some cases adult education officers felt that earlier enumerations of illiterates were not accurately undertaken. In view of this, better planned and intensified surveys of the illiterate adults were carried out.
- (c) Youths not attending school and entering the illiterate adult age group, that is 10 years and above, during the period between 1975 and 1977 might have been a contributing factor.⁷⁵

Within the Ministry of National Education, under the Director of Adult Education, is the Department of Research and Evaluation. This researcher spent two mornings with Ndugu Hilary Nchimbi, a researcher in that department.⁷⁶ During that time Ndugu Nchimbi explained the role of the Department of Research and Evaluation against the backdrop of the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance doctrine. The Research and Evaluation Department acts as a trouble shooter primarily for mass literacy campaigns. If a given region was alleged to be unresponsive to the overtures of the mass literacy campaign workers, for instance, or if the residents failed to come out in record numbers for either the literacy classes or the subsequent examinations, the Department of Research and Evaluation is directed to attempt to discover the reasons for such non-compliance. If such a determination is made, the Research and Evaluation Department goes into that particular geographical area and attempts to study it to ascertain the reasons for the areas'

lack of responsiveness. The Research and Evaluation Department does not initiate any research. They conduct the research assigned to them by senior administrators within the Ministry of National Education. Ndugu Nchimbi indicated that they operated under severe constraints because of a shortage of staff. The entire department is run by three persons. At the moment two of those staff persons were attending a workshop sponsored by the World Bank, in Washington, D.C. The purpose of the workshop was to teach researchers and evaluators in Third World countries how to record the data needed by the World Bank in such a way that it could be used in the computers now being used for this kind of data processing.

Ndugu Nchimbi feels that the work of the Department was most significant. He feels that the nation's overall goals to eradicate illiteracy should be a number one priority. He states that unless there is a way to determine which regions are not responding to literacy campaign efforts, some regions will surpass others. This, of course, will retard the nation in gaining the goal of illiteracy eradication. He further states that the goal of intelligent self-reliance is impossible with an illiterate populace. He equates being ruled by someone else, an alien power, as a more natural condition for illiterates and since native ruling must continue, adult potential leaders and all other Tanzanians must be educated now.

The Department of Research and Evaluation also works closely with the University of Dar es Salaam. When there is too much demand on the department's time, they customarily ask the adult education

students from the university to assist them in their research. They are also able to make suggestions to the adult education department on areas in which there is a need for more research. When students are able to assist the department in this way, it is sometimes credited as "self-reliance" work. This label is accurate as it describes students being of service to the nation in a volunteer capacity. The students are learning as they contribute their national service. So far, working with this department has not been a part of official National Service work, but Ndugu Nchimbi thought this might be a good idea if a way can be found to logistically work this in with the needs of this department. In response to a question, Ndugu Nchimbi felt that the primary reasons for non-participation in the mass literacy campaigns included shortage or lack of materials and the fact that examiners fail to report at assigned centers promptly and reliably. Also, some adults do not clearly understand the value of literacy and some potential participants are ashamed to participate in literacy activities thus publically defining themselves as illiterates. The heavy rains, the problems of eyesight, old age, and transportation are also reasons for lack of participation. Fortunately, spectacles are now being received from abroad; having spectacles will probably reduce the poor eyesight reason for non-compliance.

The next rung in the literacy infrastructure is the Institute of Adult Education at the University of Dar es Salaam. Professor Mbise of the College of Education⁷⁶ introduced the researcher to

persons at the Institute of Adult Education and to faculty professors who were responsible for adult education at the university.

Although Professor Mbise was not a part of the adult education network, his close affiliation with the college of education at the university and his interest in education in general, seemed worth probing to specifically assess his thinking about adult education in Tanzania. In his view there was no way for the nation to realize its goal of self-reliance without literacy for all people in Tanzania. Logically, then, with so many adults being unable to read and write, it seemed natural to him that government would make provisions to see to it that adults did learn to read and write. It was natural that small children, because of their age, were not literate but it was unnatural for adults to be illiterate, he stated. In his thinking, the eradication of illiteracy was a high priority item for a country with goals of self-governance and self-reliance.

In response to a question, he saw some shortcomings of the mass literacy campaigns. He related an incident from the area of Tanzania where his wife's parents reside. In this area the trainers or "animators", as they are called, and those working with the adults in the study group seemed poorly prepared for the job and this had had the effect of alienating some of the people who had been prepared for a successful learning experience. Professor Mbise was not able to relate how widespread this phenomenon was, but he did feel that it should be corrected. He also has faith in the adult education system and feels that this and any other major educational or logistical problems will be corrected.

Professor Mbise introduced the researcher to Dr. Yosiah Bwatwa⁷⁷ who is the person in charge of the adult education offerings at the university. Dr. Bwatwa, a graduate of Indiana University, was enthusiastic about the role the course offerings played in preparing students to go out and fill the role of adult educator. The courses which elicit the most enthusiasm are adult psychology and methodology for teaching adults. His students were engaged in what he referred to as "field work." They are assigned to an area of the country to develop plans for adult education literacy activities. He explained that students are usually sent into an area that has had less success in adult education examination performance than other areas. The student, or a team of students, are asked to do a study of the area. This study reveals cultural, geographic, agricultural, political and demographic characteristics. After a profile of the area is completed, the students are asked to prepare a written prescription for the area that will address the unique characteristics described in the study. After the plan has the approval of Dr. Bwatwa, the students are asked to return to the area with the plan. At this point they are instructed to go over the plan with the District Education Officer to see if it is possible to gain his compliance on the plan. If the District Education Officer has some objection to the plan, this is noted and an attempt is made to revise the plan so that it is more agreeable to the leaders of a given area. If the student and the local leaders cannot work out a solution, Dr. Bwatwa reviews the plan and attempts to confer with the

local political and educational leaders. Every effort is made to secure the cooperation of the local leaders, because it is only in that way that Dr. Bwatwa can have any assurance of the plans being executed. If they are executed as designed, the likelihood of success is enhanced.

"Adult education is the key to self-reliance", Dr. Bwatwa states with assurance. It is his feeling that he and his department are playing an invaluable part in achieving the development goals of the nation. An important point made by Dr. Bwatwa was that unless illiterates become literate through the means provided by the government, they would never be able to help the rest of the citizens achieve a self-reliant society.

Dr. A. G. Ishumi⁷⁸ is an instructor in the College of Education. He sees himself as a professor, a writer and a social critic. He views education as a social tool, a tool which must be used in Tanzania from this point on. He is convinced of the efficacy of lifelong education and feels that every effort should be made to eradicate today's illiteracy now. He, however, is most depressed about the plethora of economic and social sectors in Tanzania that need development. Worse than the number of sectors that need development is the scarcity of resources to enhance development in all these sectors and the difficulty of prioritizing needs. In discussion, he referred to President Nyerere's observations about the reliance on money and outside aid. He indicates complete agreement with this point of view, and in conjunction with this idea stated

that the worst hindrances in Tanzania are the non-economic factors. These non-economic factors bear "a lasting imprint on the economic outlook of the country and the conduct of the people."⁷⁹ A non-economic factor is belief in some traditional ideas and values. Some traditional beliefs have merit, he states, such as the Ujamaa concept, but many of the old traditional ideas support superstitions and discourage a scientific view of developments within and outside the society. These non-economic hindrances retard realization of national goals. Another example cited in this regard was the traditional inferior position assigned to women in Tanzanian society.

Dr. Ishumi of the College of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam contends that "education must be seen as a part of the whole national strategy for social and economic development and not be seen as an end in itself."⁸⁰ Some of the evidence of failure to meet goals may arise from competing ministries not seeing education as a part of the whole picture of national development and not necessarily the most important priority. "Some people in these ministries have narrow vision and yield to competitive urges, a colonial inheritance",⁸¹ he states.

Dr. Ishumi feels his most important role is to comment on the social scene. As an author and educator, he feels he may find a way to communicate his displeasure with the slow pace at which the society is moving to accomplish its national goals. However, he cautions against his own impatience.

Professor Mbise introduced the researcher to Ndugu K. Kilindo⁸² who is Acting Principal Academic Officer of the Institute of Adult Education. The role of the institute is to plan all literacy campaigns. It is also a center for study and experimentation in the field of adult education. It decides on the dates for campaigns, prepares the literature, synchronizes the radio material and educates the educators for the campaigns. The Institute is located on the campus of the University of Dar es Salaam and is an integral part of the educational community, thereby granting a high degree of respectability to adult education efforts.

Ndugu Kilindo feels that the role played by the institute is crucial to the realization of the national goals for Tanzania. He states that the institute plays a central role in coordinating all the adult education activities in the country. He expressed the opinion that it would not be difficult to duplicate some of the work of the Adult Education Division of the Ministry of National Education, but to date there had been no difficulty in working together. There is a healthy cooperation between the two bodies, and neither agency feels threatened by the other; and each has separate and distinct areas of responsibility.

Ndugu Kilindo did express the fact that sometimes deadlines appear to be unrealistically set by the Adult Education Division of the Ministry. In order to do all the things that are necessary to have a successful literacy campaign sometimes requires more time than allotted. At times it is impossible to avoid these pressures

and sometime for very good reasons it is necessary to go along with a deadline that seemed arbitrarily set. Ndugu Kilindo also expressed some concern about subordinating universal primary education to adult education. At this point he does not feel that this has happened; but some people, in their enthusiasm for adult education, seem willing to allow it to happen. With a shortage of resources it is difficult to set priorities. He shares Mwalimu's feeling about the fact that it may be 20 years before those starting primary school now will contribute to the country's development but his feeling is that if we do not start with these students now they may never be able to contribute to the development of the country. They may, in fact, drain off the precious few resources Tanzania has by retarding developing through their poor health and poverty.

Professor Mbise arranged for the researcher to meet Ndugu Mbuna,⁸³ the acting director of the Adult Education Center, in Dar es Salaam. The acting director was Professor Mbise's former student and graciously granted an interview. Ndugu Mbuna felt that the role of the Adult Education Center in Dar es Salaam was a very important one because their task was the task of educating any literate adult in the city of Dar es Salaam who desired continued education beyond acquisition of literacy skills. He conceded the importance of the Director of Adult Education at the Ministry of National Education and the Institute of Adult Education. Their functions did not minimize the role of the Center. He considered the Center's role as crucial because it was here that the plans were made real. After a tour of

the three-story building which houses the Center, the visit to the Center was concluded by Ndugu Mbuna reiterating the importance of working with the actual student who had the desire to continue his/her education and giving that student a positive learning experience. He admitted that his work at the center is made easier by the quality of adult educators sent to the center by the University after they had concluded their studies there. The center has a close working relationship with the University. Like Dr. Omari, he feels that education should be a national project not a project for individual evaluation.⁸⁴

Another part of the literacy infrastructure of adult education network is the Folk Development College. The Folk Development College idea is a Scandinavian import and has been generously supported with Scandinavian aid. These are residential colleges which enroll new literates who have successfully completed stage IV of the literacy programs. They are enrolled for a short course of three months or a longer course of nine months' duration. The courses taught at most Folk Development Colleges are political education, home economics, economics of rural development, agriculture, handicraft, leadership and national culture. They are most often staffed with professional teachers experienced in adult education. At the present time there are 52 Folk Development Colleges in all 108 districts in the country so that the newly literate learners can conveniently further their education.⁸⁵

The researcher visited the Arnautogola Folk Development College in Dar es Salaam. This interview was arranged by Mr. Ben Kasege, mayor of the city of Dar es Salaam. Mrs. Bernadette Fumuko⁸⁶ was the director of the Folk Development College. She took researcher on a tour of the Folk Development College facilities which consisted of two small buildings. There were eight female students present all of whom were working on individual sewing projects. Most were working on shirts, pants and dresses for preschool children. The home economic and handcraft classes should aid the adults in becoming self-reliant, since buying ready-made garments is very expensive.

The other course being taught at this Folk Development College at this time was a course in politics entitled "Politics of Your Country." Mrs. Fumuko said that she was learning a tremendous amount about politics through the course, which was taught by one of the members of the party who has been assigned this task.

The response of Mrs. Fumuko was that this teaching was very important because most of the women were apathetic about politics. She felt that this grew out of the fact that they knew little about politics. So far there had been little enthusiasm about political issues, but the women enjoyed the political holidays, she felt, mainly because it was an opportunity to express themselves through their cultural dances, songs and dress.

Mrs. Fumuko felt that it would take a while for the women to thoroughly understand the politics of their country, but she felt they should learn all about their nation's goals because she sees it as the way for the nation to achieve its goals.

Although UNESCO is not part of the Tanzanian adult education network, the researcher talked to Dr. Mvungi,⁸⁷ Secretary General of the Ministry of National Education of the UNESCO National Tanzanian Commission because UNESCO and UNDF had played a large part in the functional literacy program in the Lake Region of the country. Dr. Mvungi felt that the best way to achieve literacy for the adults of the country was to interest them in learning about their respective occupational responsibilities, and this was the thrust of the functional literacy program. She felt that the assistance of international agencies was crucial, because without this outside help Tanzania could do very little with its limited resources. She also felt that the Tanzanian adult education infrastructure was helpful in UNESCO's being able to have such a successful, experimental, work-oriented literacy program in Tanzania. Further, she felt the nation's leaders and national goals complemented the efforts of UNESCO and UNDP. Dr. Mvungi's role, as she describes it, is primarily a liaison person between UNESCO, UNDP, the Ministry of National Education and the Director of Adult Education; a vital role if misunderstandings were to be kept to a minimum and avoided whenever possible.

The adult education network naturally extends outside of Dar es Salaam. Researcher visited the Adult Education Center in Moshi which is comparable in function to the one visited in Dar es Salaam. It is a smaller facility. Ndugu Lema,⁸⁸ Director, informed researcher that this Center by design did not address itself to the problems of adult literacy, per se. Other parts of the adult education structure

worked with illiterates. Their Center was for persons who had achieved literacy but wanted to continue their education for professional or personal reasons. Recently, a law component had been added to their regular offerings of English, political education and accountancy. Some prospective students had to be turned away for two reasons. One, because the Moshi Center is small and could not accommodate all the potential enrollees for the courses in law and two, because of a lack of competent teaching personnel.

Ndugu Lema felt that it was important for centers like this one to be established throughout the country so that those persons who were serious about furthering their education could secure more education without having to move to urban centers like Dar es Salaam. For most Tanzanians such a move is quite unrealistic. If the country, Ndugu Lema felt, wanted to discourage feelings of elitism based on education then education had to be made available to all interested persons wherever they lived in Tanzania. His role in serving as director of the center certainly went a long way toward the fulfillment of the national goals of the country. He felt that if more centers were not established soon, there would be alienation among those who already had some education, feeling that they were having to take a back seat to illiterate adults and primary school children.

Worker's Education is also a part of the adult education network. the workers education code states;

Workers' education should be conducted during normal working hours for at least one hour every day but

institutions are at liberty to use any other time, both outside normal working hours and in excess of one hour per day, for workers' education activities, so long as such liberty does not reduce production and efficiency of the factory or office and is reached by consensus of workers' committees on education. All workers must attend classes organized by their institutions as part of their duties. Any worker who fails to attend these classes without a valid reason will be regarded as absent from work and disciplinary action will be taken against him. This will also be applicable to any worker assigned to teach in these classes.⁸⁹

Through an instructor at Moshi Cooperative College, researcher was introduced to Himatel Shah,⁹⁰ part owner of Shah Industries (Shah Industries specializes in leather goods). Shah was enthusiastic about the concept of workers' education. He admitted that when it was first proposed by the government he and the other family owners of Shah Industries felt that this activity would detract from their business. On the contrary, he found the workers were better workers because of these literacy activities which are conducted at his place of business a half hour before work and a half hour after work. The teacher for the literacy classes is assigned by the government and half her salary is paid by the government and half by Shah Industries. Because she does an outstanding job, Shah Industries has doubled their portion of her salary, so that she receives 50 percent more than the government's mandated salary.

Shah felt that instituting on workers' education was one way to reach some persons who might not on their own seek out educational opportunities. The workers' education is going well at his industry,

and the owners plan to continue it as long as it functions as well as it is at the present time.

The opportunities for these interviews as well as the privilege of visiting these adult education parts of the literacy infrastructure provided researcher with a cross-section of informed opinion that reinforced the fact that adult education appears to be a top priority in Tanzania among those who administer the programs. It may not be because adult education per se is viewed as the most essential activity on the part of the Tanzanian leadership.

What appears to be at work is the conventional wisdom that without education there is no development in the urban or the rural areas. The consensus, among those interviewed by researcher, appears to be that the Tanzanian key to national development, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency is through adult education. Enthusiasm for all parts of the adult education activity, however, is not universal. Although there appears to be pride in the educational accomplishments achieved, this pride is sometimes overshadowed to some degree by the omnipresent realities of inflation, corruption and shortages of basic necessities. In most interviews there was some veiled reference to these difficulties, but faith in the leadership and the system prevail as the dominant tone of all interviews. One can only speculate about the reasons for such observations. However it is reasonable to suppose that the persons interviewed view themselves as being more highly favored than many of their native brothers and sisters. This did not seem to blind them to the fact that there may be shortcomings in their country which they were not willing to discuss freely.

Footnotes Chapter V

¹Tanzanian African National Union, Report of the Education Conference on the Implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the New Policy in Education for Self Reliance, 1967, p. 5.

²Tanzanian African National Union, 1967, pp. 7-10.

³Z. J. Mpogolo, "Planning and Administration of National Literacy Programmes," (International Institute for Educational Planning), p. 17.

⁴Mpogolo, p. 19.

⁵Rodney J. Hinkle, "Educational Problems and Policy in Post-Independence Tanzania" (unpublished dissertation Columbia University, 1970), p. 71.

⁶Julius K. Nyerere, "Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self Reliance" African Review, Vol. 6 No. 1, 1976, p. 17.

⁷Z. J. Mpogolo, "The Tanzanian Mass Literacy Campaign 1971-1981" (Ministry of National Education), p. 19.

⁸Mpogolo, "The Tanzanian Mass Literacy Campaign 1971-1981", p. 27.

⁹Julius K. Nyerere, Adult Education Year - New Year's Eve Broadcast, December 31, 1969, p. 13.

¹⁰UNESCO, Adult Education Information Notes, 1976, p. 4.

¹¹Joel Millonzi, Citizenship in Africa: The Role of Adult Education in the Political Socialization of Tanganyikans 1891-1961, p. 111.

¹²TANU, Second Five Year Development Plan (Government Printers), 1969, p. 2.

¹³Nyerere, Adult Education Year - New Year's Eve Broadcast, December 31, 1969, p. 18.

¹⁴TANU, p. 17.

¹⁵Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Documents on Adult Education, p. 14.

- ¹⁶TANU, p. 4.
- ¹⁷Mpogolo, "The Tanzanian Mass Literacy Campaign 1971-1981", p. 17.
- ¹⁸Julius K. Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education (Government Printers), 1966, p. 17.
- ¹⁹Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education, 1969, p. 21.
- ²⁰Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education, p. 17.
- ²¹Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education, p. 17.
- ²²Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education, pp. 21-22.
- ²³Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education, p. 24.
- ²⁴Rashid Kawawa, Prime Minister, "Worker's Education", 1973, p. 19.
- ²⁵Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education, p. 27.
- ²⁶Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education, p. 28.
- ²⁷Kawawa, p. 23.
- ²⁸TANU, Third Five Year Development Plan, p. 34.
- ²⁹TANU, "Directive on Implementation of Education for Self Reliance", p. 9.
- ³⁰TANU, "Directive on Implementation of Education for Self Reliance", p. 31.
- ³¹TANU, "Directive on Implementation of Education for Self Reliance", p. 33.
- ³²TANU, "Directive on Implementation of Education for Self Reliance", p. 9.
- ³³TANU, "Directive on Implementation of Education for Self Reliance", p. 17.
- ³⁴TANU, "Directive on Implementation of Education for Self Reliance", p. 27.
- ³⁵Nyerere, Circular on Workers' Education, p. 42.

³⁶TANU, Second Five Year Plan (1969-74) (Government Printers), p. 5.

³⁷Julius K. Nyerere, Report to the Tanzanian African National Union Bi-annual Conference (Government Printers), p. 7.

³⁸TANU, Second Five Year Plan (1969-74), p. 10.

³⁹Julius K. Nyerere, Socialism and Rural Development, p. 2.

⁴⁰Nyerere, Socialism and Rural Development, p. 10.

⁴¹Nyerere, Socialism and Rural Development, p. 10.

⁴²E. M. Chale, "Correspondence Education in Tanzania" in The Tanzanian Experience--Education for Liberation and Development (eds.) H. Hinzen and V. H. Hundsdoerfer, p. 202.

⁴³Chale, p. 205.

⁴⁴Chale, p. 207.

⁴⁵Prime Minister Rashid Kawawa, "Workers Education", 1973, p. 17.

⁴⁶Mpogolo, "Planning and Administration of Literacy Programs", p. 17.

⁴⁷Budd L. Hall, Mtu ni Afya - Evaluation of the 1973 Mass Health Education Campaign in Tanzania, Studies in Adult Education, Report No. 12, June 1974, p. 74.

⁴⁸Hall, p. 76.

⁴⁹Hall, p. 77.

⁵⁰"Mtu ni Afya Has Problems" Daily News of Tanzania, September 7, 1973, p. 4.

⁵¹Budd L. Hall, Wakati Wa Furaha - An Evaluation of a Radio Study Group Campaign Research Report No. 13, (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies), p. 13.

⁵²UNESCO, The Experimental Work-Oriented Literacy Programme - A Critical Assessment, p. 31.

⁵³UNESCO, p. 32.

⁵⁴UNESCO, p. 44.

- ⁵⁵Budd L. Hall and C. Zikambone, Mtu ni Afya: An Evaluation of the 1973 Mass Health Education Campaign in Tanzania, p. 14.
- ⁵⁶Mpogolo, "Planning and Administration of Literacy Programs", p. 22.
- ⁵⁷Ndugu D. Mhunda, "Chakula ni Uhai", p. 30.
- ⁵⁸Jilius K. Nyerere, "Our Education Must be for Liberation," The Tanzania Education Journal, 1974, p. 8.
- ⁵⁹Ann Berrard and Margaret Gayfer, "Women Hold up Their Half of the Sky," (International Council on Adult Education), p. 27.
- ⁶⁰Hilda Kokuhirwa, "Reaching Rural Women - The Promise of Radio Mass Campaigns" (unpublished paper, University of Massachusetts, 1978), p. 11.
- ⁶¹Kokuhirwa, p. 22.
- ⁶²Kokuhirwa, p. 27.
- ⁶³Louise Formann "Peasants, Officials and Participation in Rural Tanzania", Experience with Villagization and Decentralization, p. 69.
- ⁶⁴Formann, p. 161.
- ⁶⁵Julius K. Nyerere, Quotations from President Nyerere collected from Speeches and Writings, p. 10.
- ⁶⁶"New Divorce Law," Daily News of Tanzania, August 3, 1980, p. 1.
- ⁶⁷Kokuhirwa, p. 90.
- ⁶⁸Father Mbuna, Chakula ni Uhai Mass Radio Campaign (Institute of Adult Education), p. 4.
- ⁶⁹Father Mbuna, pp. 17-19.
- ⁷⁰Kokuhirwa, p. 59.
- ⁷¹Mpogolo, "Planning and Administration of Literacy Programs", p. 34.
- ⁷²Rosalie Wax, Doing Fieldwork (Warning and Advice), p. 42.
- ⁷³Wax, p. 57.

- ⁷⁴Tanzania Africa - South of the Sahara (London: Europa Publishing, Ltd.), 1982.
- ⁷⁵Z. J. Mpogolo, "Tanzanian Mass Literacy Campaigns 1971-1981", p. 13.
- ⁷⁶Personal interview with Ndugu Hiliary Nchimbi, July 25-26, 1982.
- ⁷⁷Personal interview with Ndugu A. S. Mbise, August 1, 1981.
- ⁷⁸Personal interview with Ndugu Yosiah Bwatwa, August 10, 1981.
- ⁷⁹Personal interview with Ndugu A. G. Ishumi, August 15, 1981.
- ⁸⁰Personal interview with Ndugu A. G. Ishumi, August 15, 1981.
- ⁸¹Personal interview with Ndugu A. G. Ishumi, August 15, 1981.
- ⁸²Personal interview with Ndugu Kilindo, August 15, 1981.
- ⁸³Personal interview with Ndugu Mhuna, August 19, 1981.
- ⁸⁴C. K. Omari, Strategy for Rural Development, p. 41.
- ⁸⁵Tanzania Ministry of National Education Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania (mimeo), p. 4.
- ⁸⁶Personal interview with Mrs. Bernadette Fumuko, August 3, 1981.
- ⁸⁷Personal interview with Dr. Mvungi, August 1, 1982.
- ⁸⁸Personal interview with Ndugu Lema, August 10, 1982.
- ⁸⁹TANU, Workers' Education Circular, p. 7.
- ⁹⁰Personal interview with Himatel Shah.

CHAPTER VI

EVALUATION OF TANZANIAN ADULT
EDUCATION ACTIVITIES

"Mass campaigns have their drawbacks; they have achieved noticeable success and there is every reason to believe that given more thought and more precise planning they can be greatly improved."¹

Sub-Topic V

This subsection attempts to evaluate the adult education efforts in Tanzania. These activities are to be evaluated against the stated goals of the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance documents. This evaluation is undertaken with a view toward future policy formation in education consistent with stated national goals for countries sharing some of Tanzania's characteristics. The UNESCO/UNDP independent assessment of the functional literacy activities in Tanzania, 1968-1973, will also be explained.

This chapter is divided into three parts. Section I evaluates the mass literacy campaigns of Tanzania through the eyes of those who have participated in the organization, work and evaluation of the campaigns. Section II utilizes evaluative expertise of Tanzanian educators Pius Msekwa and T. L. Maliyamkono. Their book The Experiments-Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration evaluates Tanzania's mass literacy campaign activities

and education pursuits in general. Section III critically assesses a specific functional literacy effort in Tanzania by UNESCO/UNDP and the Institute of Adult Education. The Experimental Work-Oriented Literacy Programme: A Critical Assessment is a look at functional literacy in Tanzania and ten other countries in 1973.

Section I.--At the TANU National Conference held in Dar es Salaam in September, 1971, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere stated "Our failure to implement fully this policy of education for the young is, however, nothing as compared with the extent of our failure in the field of education for adults. As early as 1962 we recognized in words that national progress could not wait until school children had been educated and had grown up to take their places as active citizens. And we said then that this meant that education for adults was essential. Yet despite the words, very little practical emphasis was given to adult education by Government until recently."²
(Recently is a reference to the "Adult Education" year 1970.)

According to Ndugu A. Z. Mpogolo, Adult Education Director,

We have had our own share of problems in carrying out the campaigns. One of the problems pertains to administrative matters. It has not always been a smooth path to secure the cooperation of other ministries in carrying out adult education programs. Some ministries and/or government bodies have failed to get involved in the task of adult education.

Another problem has been the strong urge and enthusiasm that the people have developed in adult education has not always been matched with our readiness to supply the needed material or personnel for helping learners. The pace has been so fast that our capacity to produce enough reading materials and teachers to handle post literacy classes has not been quite satisfactory.

We have had problems of transport facilities for adult education coordinators and supervisors at all levels as well as transportation of reading materials and literacy equipment to the villages. We had the problem of funds for printing literacy materials, transport, honoraria as well as for training literacy teachers and supervisors. It is our hope that as we keep on progressing we shall be in a position to overcome these problems.³

National and international hazards, such as the Amin war, cholera, drought, famine and inflation adversely affect our efforts. At the other extreme so few villages have electricity or biogas lighting.

With a diverse literacy infrastructure it has been possible to sustain the retention of skills and knowledge by the new literate graduates as they interact with environments supported with various learning programs. One senses the need to integrate such learning programs into a single package. As long as the learning programs reinforce each other, the learners have the advantage of learning and comprehending so much more. If this integration can be effected it will have a positive effect on the strong urge observed to continue learning.⁴

There has been a change in the attitudes and behavior of some. Some have lost their state of marginality, alienation and fear and have become more self-confident and assertive. In larger social terms, the most important influence of the mass literacy campaign and of adult education in general is the political culture of Tanzania. The campaigns have also led to Universal Primary Education and by 1981 the enrollment was 97 percent of all the primary school-going age children.⁵

The authors of the Young Child in Tanzania have observed that the policy of ESR has set the pace, but more practical aspects have got to be injected into it to make education a real liberator. Father Mbunda, the first director of the Institute of Adult Education, states that as far as the study groups are concerned, reports have shown that the initial plan to have eight to fifteen members in each group was not adhered to. Some groups had 30 or even 60 members.

One reason was that many of the groups were literacy classes--not surprisingly, since about 80 percent of the adults in Tanzania were then in literacy classes --and it was felt difficult to separate members who had been used to each other for a long period. This obviously had an impact on the discussion style in the groups; often enough participation in the discussion was rather limited, and the group advisor actually became a traditional Western styled lecturer.⁶

At the Annual TANU Conference in 1971, it was observed by way of evaluation that the "Mtu ni Afya" campaign suggested that, after the radio broadcast and the reading, there were supposed to be discussions, and the groups were expected to make decisions on what they could do to combat diseases in their area. In practice, in some regions there were almost no discussions and no communal action since measures for sanitation were believed to be the task of the local authorities. In these areas "Mtu ni Afya" was accepted as a slogan to be raised whenever the garbage collectors or the cars emptying the pit latrines or the health inspectors of markets did not provide services according to schedule. Issues which would have required the voluntary action of individuals or groups taking the classes received less attention.⁷

The morale of the more committed villages was constantly threatened by a social and economic environment inimical to communal progress. When prices fell, when a village was unable to market its crops, when essential assistance was denied and when bureaucratic measures from outside weakened the village leadership, educational endeavors were usually among the first activities to be discontinued perhaps temporarily.

Nduga Kilindo, acting director of the Adult Education Center in Dar es Salaam, states in a later interview with researcher that--

The function of providing vocational education for primary and secondary school leavers and adults is one of the most difficult jobs, especially when one attempts to integrate this with functional literacy activities. The problem [he asserts,] appears to be the 'colonized mind'. The attitudinal change has not taken place in the minds of many of the people. They continue to perceive education as the way to be freed of vocational and technical responsibilities. Education, to many, is seen as the way to insure more education and finally an occupation that gains for the receiver a white collar job.⁸

An unnamed campaign worker observed that--

. . in rural districts the main problem was the lack of coordination between the national campaign and the activities of local departments concerned with health and community development. In Moshi district, for instance, locally proposed schemes for the introduction of improved latrines, water protection and mosquito eradication had to be shelved due to the lack of funds for some of the materials needed. All the while the national campaign continued to reiterate the need for sanitation and cooperation in the same abstract manner as the numerous health campaigns previously conducted by district officials.⁹

A non-native researcher, Budd Hall of the International Council of Adult Education, states that--

the collective action that mass campaigns foster has far-reaching implications. As experience with mass campaigns indicate, behavioral change need not wait until attitude alters. Everyone need not, for example, understand germ theory in order to perceive a need for latrines and to help build them. Social pressure may be used to prompt latrine building while logic and convenience promote use of the finished product.¹⁰

The one scheme in Moshi district which was a success was a special scheme in an Ujamaa village dealing with only one illness, bilharzia, which the residents had identified as a major problem, and for whose eradication they were provided with all the necessary material. The lesson to be drawn from this and a number of other examples is that health campaigns are most successful (1) when they are based on investigations identifying a particular local problem, (2) when they deal with one disease at a time, (3) when they mobilize people who have already learned to cooperate in some other context and (4) not only provide health education, but provide access to the materials or facilities necessary for action.¹¹ A general nation-wide campaign conducted from the center which does not involve either the local experts or the local population in the planning, and which provides only words and not drugs and/or construction materials, is unlikely to be of much use to the people to whom it is addressed. Further, and perhaps of major importance, such a process erodes the people's confidence in their ability to effect changes in their lives.

By way of evaluation, it was observed that participants for the study groups were expected to attend literacy sessions twice a week, listen to the radio and read the text. As non-attenders were

threatened by heavy fines in Ujamaa villages,¹² most of these people assembled at least for the first few sessions until discipline and fear of sanctions were relaxed. At the session after the broadcast and the reading there were supposed to be discussions, and the groups were expected to make decisions on what they could do to combat diseases in their areas. During these follow-up sessions it is reported that leadership for some of these sessions did not adhere to the procedures for effective group discussions.

The primers were criticized for containing some sections that included too many technical terms which had sometimes not been translated into simple Swahili and were therefore too difficult to understand. Also the initially estimated number of study group members was one and a half to two million; exactly 1.5 million books were printed and distributed. Thus, in many parts of the country, not every participant of a group received a book. In some regions the books arrived only weeks after the launching of the campaign, leaving the groups frustrated without sufficient study materials. Where this coincided with a bad reception of the radio programs, the groups experienced difficulty learning. (Earlier 7,000 radio sets had been distributed by the Ministry of National Education.)¹³

The 15-minute radio program, on the air on Mondays and repeated on Wednesdays, combined some planned repetition with new information on the campaign content; in addition there were general announcements about the literacy campaign, music, and interviews with participants and organizers from around the country. On the whole

the radio program was liked by the participants who called it entertaining, informative and educational, and stated that it had a desirable motivating effect.

Some advisors did not appear to have control of the group discussion method as anticipated; some of them seemed to be simply dictating without caring about participatory procedures in asking and answering questions related to the given topic. In addition, most women if mixed with men tended to be shy; therefore, men dominated the discussions for primarily cultural and traditional reasons.

Another problem observed was the need for integration with other major national activities. For instance, "Chakula ni Uhai" interfered with the national literacy examinations, the election campaign, and the villagization; launching the campaign a few months later would have solved that problem but might possibly have run into Ramadan activities.

In Ndugu Mbunda's view the "Chakula ni Uhai" campaign did not really measure up. First, not as many books were printed as intended, probably due to shortage of paper. The ones that were printed arrived rather late, so that the launching of the campaign had to be postponed one month. The "Chakula ni Uhai" campaign was more complex because food habits and agricultural growing patterns vary from location to location. Therefore, this campaign was less responsive to the central planning at the Ministry of National Education.

From the reports obtained and some crosschecking by the evaluation section, it is obvious that many study groups were not visited by teams during the campaign period or after, so that these groups were left without any assistance. In some cases this was due to either lack of transportation or commitments in other projects, e.g., the national literacy examinations or the election campaign. Findings indicated that, where a study group was visited and given further help, the output was greater than in study groups that were not visited throughout the whole campaign.

Another administrative problem, caused by frequent changes of representatives from ministries or parastatals, was that of continuity in planning and organizing. This problem presented far-reaching complications in terms of planning.¹⁴

The training of study group advisors prior to the official launching of the campaign was another problematic element in the planning of the campaign. A training system in stages was developed at national, zonal, regional, district, and divisional levels, and started five months before the beginning of the campaign. In those training seminars the history and objectives of the campaign, the content of the textbook, group leadership and other matters related to the campaign were taught. According to the reports from the districts and regions, and to observations made by the members of the evaluation section, the major problem in conducting these seminars was that instead of having three days for training, especially needed at the levels, in many cases the seminars on the

divisional level lasted only one day because the funds had been almost entirely spent at the district level. This was not enough time for proper training, and quite a few of the problems in the groups stemmed from this lack of training.¹⁵

An additional area of concern was the issue of inter-ministerial collaboration. While the designation of the Ministry of Education as overseer of adult programs is potentially a unifying force for adult learning, it must be observed that collaborating ministries such as Health, Agriculture and Rural Development have their own priority lists in the nation building process and that lack of manpower and resources may delay their service to local primary school teachers. Even when able to respond, officials sometimes discover at the last moment that the manpower and the material designated to an adult program have had stipulations put on their use by national central authorities or by a foreign donor.¹⁶

The study group advisors were to be supported by visiting teams from the respective divisions and districts. The members of these teams were drawn from the Ministries of Agriculture, Health and National Education, from United Women of Tanzania, TANU and other agencies involved in the training seminars for the study group advisors. During the campaign they were instructed to visit the groups in their areas to provide additional motivation and much-needed help in running an effective study campaign at their respective level.

A final limitation of the system is a structural one.

In the membership of the Institute Council and the Executive Committee, there has been no representation of the 'consumer' or of teachers. That is, regional and district education officers charged with the actual running of the adult education schools have not been involved with those who are making changes in the campaign procedures. Those planning and their lack of perception or lack of motivation in these circumstances might limit the effectiveness of the campaign.¹⁷

The literacy campaigns have shown that radio and other media can be used to raise people's awareness, that they themselves have control over many of the common health problems and that groups of people working together can change many of the least healthy aspects of the village environment.

The literacy campaign, whatever the shortcomings of the Institute of Education may be, represents a concerted effort to marshall the resources of a poorly developed nation to support the vital occupation of teaching and eradicating adult illiteracy in Tanzania (Mbunda).¹⁸ The campaign was a great success vis-a-vis the odds it had to face. Whereas Tanzania has institutional resources that many countries can not match, other countries have transportation and communication infrastructures superior to those in Tanzania. Appropriately modified, Budd Hall asserts, these methods used in Tanzania could work any place and on any scale.¹⁹

The Chakula ni Uhai evaluation system helped up assess the appropriateness of our structures, organization, delivery systems, our objectives, the campaign facilitators, as well as our campaign obstacles and problems.

Instead of starting in April, we started in June when some of the would-be participants had lost the initial

force and impetus of the campaign. Some groups had despaired and given up due to the delay experienced in the delivery and distribution of books. Then we had the drought in many parts of the country. While the campaign was stressing the importance of increased food production and the importance of balanced diet, some people were on the verge of starvation and yet the campaign survived.²⁰

One observation made by Ndugu Mpogolo as recently as 1982 relates to the waning interest in literacy campaigns. When asked to explain this phenomenon, Mr. Mpogolo stated that the literacy campaigns started formally in 1970. They reached fever heat in 1975. When this occurred, the feeling throughout Tanzania was that the task was over. There was less enthusiasm regarding campaigns and the reasons for the decline were also psychological. So much attention was given to the success of the campaigns that many felt that the illiteracy problems had been solved.²¹ There was also a little of the nine-day wonder phenomenon that had the people searching for something new in the way of problems to be solved.

The logistical problems experienced in Tanzania in executing mass literacy campaigns undoubtedly grew in large measure from the fact that Tanzania's decision to eradicate illiteracy is hampered more by economic constraints than from a lack of agreement with the goals enunciated in the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance. Msekwa and Maliyamkono's observation in Part II support this assessment.

Section II.--Evaluation by Tanzanian adult education specialists. In their book, The Experiments, Pius Msekwa and

T. L. Maliyamkono discuss factors that shaped education policy in Tanzania before and after the Arusha Declaration. They characterize the post-Arusha Declaration time--

. . . the time of the new policy that committed Tanzania to socialism and self-reliance. The Education for Self-Reliance was subsequently launched and rural development in the framework of Ujamaa was defined. Guidance on workers' involvement and participation in all forms of management were announced. Decentralization of government infrastructure was effected to allow the masses to participate in decision-making for development. This period they identify as a period of awareness and reorganization.

The acquisition of political independence laid the basis for the development of a Tanzanian nation--an integrated, cohesive society. With it emerged a national consciousness; this process took nearly a decade. [Now in the mid-seventies, Msekwa and Maliyamkono state], that Tanzania was entering a new phase in the history of Tanzania--the period of evaluation.²²

The educational policies involved include education for self-reliance, adult education, decentralization of educational administrative system, and the new period of evaluation of the education sector.

Msekwa and Maliyamkono assert that in spite of the difficulties in understanding the requirements of the Education for Self-Reliance policy, schools have, on their own, shown some progress towards the fulfillment of at least some aspects of that policy.

However, the process of introducing adult literacy (teaching and learning) was unsystematic and was unrelated to the adults' life experience and work orientation. It was not functional. As a result, many adult literacy graduates of the sixties quickly

reverted back to total illiteracy. This experience provided the motivation for the joint sponsorship of the work-oriented literacy program.

The official view in Tanzania and in adult education circles is that mass literacy campaigns have succeeded in spite of the problems encountered in the process. In spite of undeniable achievements, however, the policy still must be seen as a partial failure.

A partial failure, because only one quarter of the defined illiterate population is now literate. The optimistic 1975 target was not reached. The latent achievement worthy of note was the rising consciousness among unschooled people that ignorance is undesirable. This intangible success indicator is not easily measured, nor can its influence be projected, but optimistic projections abound.²³

Looking at possible reasons for literacy campaign failure, Msekwa and Maliyamkono assert that the lack of reading materials and follow-up literature, as well as low motivation among some unpaid teachers, contributed to the partial failure. (Primary school teachers who taught the adult education classes were the lowest paid civil servants in Tanzania.)

The scattered residences of the adult learners and the lack of adequate transportation for teachers and coordinators have posed a problem ever since the beginning of the adult education program in 1970. In some areas economic and social activities have clearly taken priority over adult classes.

A major problem noted by Msekwa and Maliyamkono is the difficulty of striking a balance between local and central control in the planning of literacy campaigns. The need for both are conceptually

of equal importance. Tanzania has not resolved this difficult problem. Localization of education alone is problematic. Centralization alone is unworkable.

Another major problem pointed out by Msekwa and Maliyamkono is the problem of expatriates. "Direct applicability of education is hampered by borrowed ideas in the form of foreign experts, foreign language, foreign ideologies, foreign books and foreign materials of other kinds.²⁴ Various other indicators illustrate the failure arising out of the lack of attempt to orient education to specific, relevant needs of the people of this country.

This concern also relates equally to failures in the academic and technical spheres to direct application of the material learned to the real needs of the citizen and the country. This observation is at the core of the attempt to make a reality of functional literacy in a bold attempt to move Tanzania closer to the goals enunciated in the now famous Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance manifesto. Unless some method is found to orient education to specific and relevant needs of the people of this country, Tanzania will be delayed in realizing her goal of self-reliance.

In this connection it is important to remember President Nyerere's statement coming out of the Musoma Resolution of 1974 which can be viewed as an evaluative document also. In Item 10 of the Resolution, President Nyerere reminds the TANU Executive Committee that--

. . . those students who entered Standard I in 1967 are only now completing their primary education, and

similarly those who entered Form I have only recently completed their secondary education; hence it may be too early to pass judgement as to how much we have succeeded or failed. Nevertheless, we must accept that most of our objectives have not been achieved. We have not liberated ourselves from the inappropriate system of education which we inherited. [Later in Item II of that same document he states], . . . we have succeeded in making substantial changes with regard to the syllabus which is used in our schools and colleges. In the present school syllabus emphasis is placed on those aspects which reflect a Tanzanian perspective.²⁵

In view of this paradoxical assessment and the many different agents at work in adult education programs, evaluators find it difficult to claim categorically that adult education programs in particular have played a major role in changing, say, occupational skills in growing cotton or maize. Ways and means are being sought out to better evaluate the total impact of all adult education programs and other supporting programs.

Section III.--The Experimental Work Oriented Literacy

Programme.--A critical assessment by United Nations Development Programme and UNESCO, bring to this investigation the scientific objectivity called for in this investigation.

The UNDP and UNESCO in 1976 embarked on a major effort to develop a successful approach to overcoming the problem of illiteracy, particularly in Third World countries. With the cooperation of twelve member states of the United Nations, the following approach was implemented and tested. The new thrust was termed "functional literacy activities."

The underlying assumption of the functional literacy program and its sister projects around the world is that adults will become more effectively engaged in a program which relates literacy aims to practical tasks. A participant in a cattle-raising area, for example, would learn literacy as well as cattle-raising skills presumably more precisely from lessons that focus on the manner of daily living, than he would by concentrating on grammatical rules and literacy skills in general. The program's primary method of learning is personal instruction with a notable effort placed on group participation. Planners attempt to support this work by developing follow-up materials which are often used in conjunction with local radio broadcasts. Planners hope that functional literacy programs will be effective against the problem of rising expectations and related concerns. It should assist participants to be more realistic about the demands they make of themselves and their nation.

In 1965 the Tanzanian government had decided to adopt a selective and intensive approach to the eradication of illiteracy. It was their intention to employ the concept of functional literacy. Functional literacy is defined as literacy training which is more directly linked to production than other literacy training methods. Functional literacy is basically aimed at the development of the total citizen, not just the citizen as producer or consumer, but citizen as reader and thinker and actor!

For this experiment the preparatory phase took one year. The UNESCO/UNDP team, along with the Tanzanian team from the Institute of

Adult Education at the Division of Adult Education from the Ministry of National Education, embarked on the second phase of the campaign for functional literacy. The second phase began in 1968 with the functional literacy classes taught in Swahili. The experimental, work-oriented functional literacy classes were concluded in 1973, at which time the national adult education literacy infrastructure of Tanzania took over the full responsibility for literacy activities. These activities continued with UNDP financial assistance.²⁶

Four regions around Lake Victoria were selected for the experiment. The reasons for the choice were as follows:

- (a) densely populated;
- (b) illiteracy very high;
- (c) increasing importance of cotton as foreign capital earner;
- (d) communication and transportation links established (water, air, road)
- (e) established institutions for training and education already in place;
- (f) existence of farmers' cooperatives in area.²⁷

The narrow goals of the campaign linked literacy with increased productivity through attitudinal and behavioral change, but functional literacy was not limited to this concern. The project's specific objectives included the following:

1. Teaching illiterate men and women basic reading and writing, also solving simple problems of arithmetic, using basic vocabularies--the words employed in current agricultural and industrial practice.

2. Helping them apply the new knowledge and skills to solve their basic economic and social problems.
3. Preparing them for more efficient participation in the development of their village, region and country.
4. Integrating the adult literacy and adult education programmes with the general agricultural and industrial development of the country.
5. Providing the necessary reading materials, imparting the knowledge of community and personal hygiene, nutrition, child care, home economics, which would help improve family and community life, providing opportunity for a continuing education and avoiding relapse of illiteracy.²⁸

The actual instruction books were produced by an eight-person writers' workshop.

One of the criticisms most often heard by students and teachers alike was a criticism about the shortage of reading materials. This criticism speaks to the heart of the program because it was designed to assist people to become literate. There was a similar complaint in this campaign also about the fact that there were too few follow-up reading materials available. This continues to be a problem for the newly literate person. The printing facilities were simply inadequate to deal with the demand for materials. Perhaps some method could have been devised to deal with this problem before it arose.

A final observation of the Expert Evaluation Group of the Experimental Work-oriented Literacy Program (EWLP) was that costs indicate that there was a considerable attrition of participants. This was determined on the basis of the fact that it took 58 percent

more money to produce a final participant than to accommodate an enrollee. There were considerably more enrollees than final participants. The holding power of the program could be strengthened.

No attempt was made to gain precise measurements concerning the impact of functional literacy on various aspects of Tanzanian social and economic development. However, the studies that were conducted indicated that the functional literacy program was successful in terms of the following criteria:

- (1) the increased technical knowledge and application of such knowledge.
- (2) the adoption of modern hygiene and nutritional practices, and
- (3) the observation of wider consumption habits among the participants.³⁰

One sample study demonstrated, however, a need for higher literacy instruction standards. A number of graduates were found to have reached an insufficient literacy level in the time allowed (see Appendix B for levels). Some limited before-and-after studies of three groups of participants seemed to show that the functional literacy classes had a direct influence on participants' behavior. There was a noticeable increase in student participation in formal organizations. Student knowledge of modern technology, their adoption of modern methods, their knowledge and their level of socio-aspirations were higher.³¹

Unfortunately, it is reported that, in the category of literacy instructors alone, the attrition rate was high and the reliability of teacher participants was low.³² This had the effect

of placing great financial and logistical strain on the supply of teachers and the morale of the teachers, resulting in increased costs for training and recruiting, since both had to be repeated over and over again.

Consistent with theory on literacy campaigns, this project demonstrated again the importance of high level government commitment. There is little doubt that national commitment is responsible for the high degree of success noted. The favorable background of the treatises (AD and ESR) issued by the President, coupled with the wide discussion issuing from these pronouncements, were indeed favorable national factors. Among other things AD and ESR treatises stressed a strategy of gradual development toward self reliance and self-sufficiency. The participants undoubtedly identified with this. According to President Nyerere, self reliance was to be accomplished through the upgrading of rural productivity and it is to this end that the solid functional literacy infrastructure was directed.

Despite successes, the EWLP project operations met with some failures and problems. There were evaluation failures, lack of a coherent in-service training scheme for literacy teachers, weaknesses in the field supervisory machinery, inadequate teaching materials for literacy classes and field demonstrations, lack of sufficient competent personnel to conduct agricultural demonstrations to ensure that a proper functional approach was maintained, breakdowns in production and distribution of rural newspapers, and lack of proper follow-up reading materials for rural libraries. Some of these

problems could not be avoided, considering that work-oriented adult literacy and its evaluation were innovations in this country.

The original goals fixed for the evaluation of the Experimental Work-oriented Literacy Programme were not completely met by the project. Subject to the availability and analysis of more data, as well as the limitations placed upon the evaluation, preliminary findings indicate the following:

- (1) A positive response among the learners observable, particularly to the practical aspects of the programme.
- (2) The standard of living of participants appeared to be positively affected by the programme's impact, particularly that part represented by health and nutrition.
- (3) A trend towards the shaping of attitudes concerning education and economic improvement appeared to be taking place. The acquisition of technical information on questions concerning some agricultural, health and nutrition practices appeared to be taking place.
- (4) Some participants did manage to acquire certain levels of literacy skills particularly in the fields of arithmetic and reading, less in writing. However, the project's objective of bringing its participants to the level of four years of primary schooling could in most cases not be achieved. The majority of the participants who showed measurable literacy skills attained the level of two years of primary schooling.³³

There were other factors which affected the project results:

- (1) indication that the training of approximately two years was not enough for the majority of the participants to become functionally literate;
- (2) indication that the training cycle was affected by high drop-out rates and drop-in rates, relatively low attendance rates and faulty time utilization.

- (3) indication that although the majority of participants in most programmes were women, it was they who dropped out more than the men;
- (4) indication that individual deficiency in the knowledge of the Swahili language acts as a stumbling block in the learning process.³⁴

A number of socio-economic and cultural factors also emerged to account for most of the class instability observed. Such factors include social and cultural obligations, domestic problems, ill health, scarcity of basic necessities, and poor leadership at the grassroots level.

Several problems have been identified as having caused partial enrollment. They include weak participation by leaders, especially at the grassroots level, lack of trained literacy teachers, insufficient teaching materials, poor transport facilities, implementation of other national projects, vacant adult education officer posts, especially from the district level downwards, and higher priority given to such important timely occupations as farming and population movements, mostly to planned Ujamaa villages.

Adult literacy, an essential element in overall development, must be closely related to economic and social development priorities as well as to present and future manpower needs of the country. Therefore, this provides the rationale of having literacy efforts emulate functional literacy methodology in which literacy is not regarded as an end in itself. Functional literacy should be seen as a way of preparing men and women for their social, civic and economic roles presently and in the future.³⁵

As a result of the experience gained in Tanzanian radio study group campaigns, there are some valuable findings open to generalization. Uniquely the Tanzanian study groups were designed to reflect Tanzania's overall policy on adult education and its relationship to the national goals of the country. With each succeeding campaign this relationship could be more easily identified.³⁶

One of the basic assumptions presented in the introductory chapter of this work was that, although no two countries in Africa are the same, Tanzania's precedent and attendant problems may be of interest to other African nations seeking to achieve their goals of national development. In the light of that assumption, some of the suggestions growing out of the Experimental Work-oriented Literacy Program seem to have meaning for nations sharing some of Tanzania's developmental characteristics.

For those nations which may be thinking of introducing radio study group campaigns for adult education policy, the following tentative suggestions may have some merit:

- (i) With respect to the overall (nationwide) adult education policy, it will be extremely useful if some policy statement clearly linking adult education to the overall national goals.
- (ii) A clearly defined target group should be identified--for most African countries at this stage of their development--that target group will be the masses of the country's illiterates who reside primarily in the rural areas of the country.
- (iii) A public, widely discussed, identification of their educational needs and an understanding of

the way their needs affect the realization of national goals for everyone in the country.

- (iv) An administrative structure that is designed to provide adult education programs. This structure should be designed to execute adult education programs in the largest, most accessible city to the smallest and most remote village.
- (v) If radio study group campaigns are foreseen, a small experimental pilot project may be advisable. It is necessary to develop local personnel for responsibilities such as administration, book production, radio programming, training of adult leaders and teachers, to insure fewer complications when the mass campaigns are undertaken.
- (vi) That some agency start planning at least a year before the first radio program is to be broadcast. Time must be scheduled to allow for contact to be made with various bodies that should be involved--training, material preparation for the study groups and the radio production staff.
- (vii) The materials produced should relate as closely as possible to the needs, cultural background and occupational life-style of the target population. This may mean customizing materials for regional significance. Such materials should be both educative and entertaining.
- (viii) Publication of the forthcoming campaign should begin rather early to get some early feedback as to conflicts, duplications of effort, etc.
- (ix) It is important to make use of local resources of all kinds--personnel as well as materials.
- (x) Group advisors should possess as many group leadership skills as possible to assist them in stimulating lively group discussion, preferably directed toward practical implementation of the newly acquired knowledge obtained in the learning experience.
- (xi) It is advised that a systematic follow-up be built into the actual project.

- (xii) Finally, the evaluation process should be planned for early in the campaign, because it is through this process that there will be chance of improving the program both at convenient points during its operation as well as the conclusion of the campaign.³⁷

Finally Kinunda warns,

that evaluators and experimentors in each country who develop instruments relevant to the needs of their own projects or programs develop them in their own cultural and social context. External evaluation, although it can act as a check against the possibility of bias, may seriously be hampered by a lack of intimacy of the political, cultural and social interactions prevailing in the society.³⁸

Hence the burden of evaluation of the educational system and programs lies primarily on the country itself. He also suggests that sometimes political and social pressures cannot sustain a vigorous evaluation.³⁹

The above discussion leaves little doubt that Tanzania is one of the few countries to have undertaken more than a rhetorical commitment to a socialist transformation through the vehicle of education in general and adult education specifically.

More recent examination of patterns of implementation of the Education for Self Reliance document reveals several tangible barriers to full implementation of the manifesto. Those most frequently noted are:

- (1) shortage of educational materials (textbooks and equipment for school use);
- (2) intellectual limitations of many primary school teachers; and
- (3) attitudes of significant number of teachers in Tanzanian primary schools who view their work as a poor second choice when compared to their first choice profession (accountants,

bankers and engineers), for which there are few openings.⁴⁰

In concluding this section on the implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self Reliance document, Hinkle's observations seem pertinent. He states that the problem of the primary school leaver is basically not an educational problem but rather a problem of agricultural economics. What is critical, he maintains, is visible evidence of the growing economic potential of life in rural Tanzania which is clearly discernible to parents as well as pupils. He defines the present disinclination on the part of primary school graduates to enter agriculture as being based on the fact that the economic returns of such agricultural activity yields few economic rewards that make the "better life" possible. Hinkle feels that the leaders of Tanzania are not unaware of the critical role that noneducational factors play in solving the problems of educational reform in Tanzania.⁴¹

Adding to the argument, regarding non-economic factors, is the observation from the Young Child study states, "So long as peasant agriculture remains uncertain and educational credentials remain the key to wage employment, the people's perceptions of the 'meanings' of education cannot change."⁴² President Nyerere's direction in the interest of rural development appears to be valid because without education in the predominantly rural sector of Tanzania there is little in the way of real development in Tanzania. It is not possible to conclude this evaluation without some directed observations regarding the relationship of adult education to social change.

Coser defines "social change as any significant alteration in a social structure which includes new norms, new values, and new cultural products of a material or symbolic kind, but not minor changes such as fads and/or fashions"⁴³ Since adult education does not exist in a vacuum (Wronski, 1968)⁴⁴ it is both an instrument of social change and the result of social change. It is structured, in Tanzania, in order to achieve particular political goals. Therefore the creation of the form which adult education takes in Tanzania grows directly out of Tanzania's desire for egalitarian society. Such a society will, in the eyes of the policy makers, come about largely through the work that is done in adult education activities. Consistent with these observations is the more inclusive view of educational change in Tanzania viewed within the larger context of the process of social change.

Further, in that social change takes place through some medium, organization or group, adult education can be viewed also as an agent of social change. This view recognizes adult education as a type of institution or organization that tends to promote directed change. Adult education, as institution or organization, includes governmental, non-governmental and parastatal agencies. Consequently adult education can be conceptualized both as a derivative of social change and a director of social change.

Consistent with this analysis it is of interest to note that the objectives of adult education in Tanzania are expressed in a manner indicating the role of adult education in the political

context of the country. Along with the stated aims of keeping up with new knowledge and filling the education gap, the political leaders of Tanzania state specifically that adult education "is to be a basis for social change and for the mobilization of the people for development."⁴⁵

Hely states that changes in society and its needs, will eventually result in changes in the nature, scope and pattern of education in schools. Adult education is a response to such change and is then an instrument of social change encouraging increased participation by all citizens who thereby gain a greater measure of political control and confidence in their ability to define reality. Solutions to negative realities cannot be effected by a population which is predominately illiterate as illiteracy as seen as a major obstacle to rapid progress.⁴⁶

Reginald Green observes that in the last decade (1960s to 1970s) there has been a major shift in emphasis in the thinking regarding adult education. His assessment is that presently there has been an awareness that adult education is a developmental process and therefore a political process which must interact with other elements in social, political and economic change.⁴⁷

Basically the major thrust of adult education is to change parameters. It is to allow men, women and the community which have previously been isolated from development to take part in mobilizing land, labor and natural resources.

Jane Thompson's view of adult education is as an instrument of social change. In her book she argues for a more politically conscious approach to adult education which would empower citizens to change directions of the society toward the ends which they perceive to be advantageous.⁴⁸

Whereas several theories have been postulated on the causes of social change, Tanzania's experience in the field of adult education and its relation to social change is not precisely explained by any of the existing models. Moore suggests that "there is no singular, sovereign cause for social changes in social systems or subsystems (Moore, 1968)."⁴⁹ The classical theories of social change begin with an attempt to identify so-called "universal laws" governing the growth and the development of man as a social being. The second theory draws from the Darwinian school of thought and states that a society moves in the direction of a "better" society as it becomes increasingly complex and specialized. The third theory of social change is functionalism which postulates that each society has a mechanism for self-equilibrium and that dysfunctional behavior is rejected by the body politic. The Tanzanian experience with adult education does not fit any of these models exactly and yet utilizes parts of all. Therefore this suggests ways in which social change can be initiated in a social system are variable, multifaceted and complex.

Footnotes Chapter VI

¹Budd L. Hall and C. Zikambone, Mtu ni Afya: An Evaluation of the 1973 Health Education Campaign in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, 1972), p. 37.

²TANU National Conference, 1971 (Dar es Salaam), p. 15.

³Z. J. Mpogolo, "Literacy Campaigns in the Context of Development" (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1979), pp. 7-10.

⁴Mpogolo, p. 19.

⁵Mpogolo, p. 34.

⁶Mpogolo, p. 18.

⁷Mpogolo, p. 4.

⁸Personal interview with Ndugu Kilindo, August 15, 1981.

⁹"Worker Critical of Campaign", Daily News of Tanzania, p. 2.

¹⁰Budd L. Hall and Paul J. Mhaiki, "Integration of Adult Education in Tanzania" (Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, 1972), p. 11.

¹¹Ndugu Joseph Mbunda, "Chakula ni Uhai", p. 10.

¹²Budd L. Hall, Mtu ni Afya, p. 17.

¹³Z. J. Mpogolo, "Planning and Administration of National Literacy Programmes" (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1980), p. 30.

¹⁴Ndugu Joseph Mbunda, "Chakula ni Uhai", p. 30.

¹⁵Ndugu Joseph Mbunda, "Chakula ni Uhai", p. 14.

¹⁶Budd L. Hall, Mtu ni Afya, p. 14.

¹⁷Mpogolo, "Planning and Administration of National Literacy Programmes", p. 40.

- ¹⁸Ndugu Joseph Mbunda, "Chakula ni Uhai", p. 44-48.
- ¹⁹Budd L. Hall, Wakati Wa Furaha: An Evaluation of a Radio Study Group Campaign (Uppsala: Scandanavian Institute of African Studies, 1973), p. 42.
- ²⁰Ndugu Joseph Mbunda, "Chakula ni Uhai", p. 17.
- ²¹Ndugu Joseph Mbunda, "Chakula ni Uhai", p. 17.
- ²²Pius Msekwa and T. L. Maliyamkono, The Experiments: Educational Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration, p. 70.
- ²³Pius Msekwa, p. 73.
- ²⁴Pius Msekwa, p. 100.
- ²⁵Julius K. Nyerere, "Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self Reliance", p. 4.
- ²⁶Adult Education Information Notes (Paris, UNESCO, 1976), No. 1, p. 3.
- ²⁷UNESCO, The Experimental Work-oriented Literacy Programme: A Critical Assessment,
- ²⁸UNESCO, p. 9.
- ²⁹UNESCO, p. 90.
- ³⁰UNESCO, p. 32.
- ³¹UNESCO, p. 41.
- ³²UNESCO, p. 51.
- ³³UNESCO, p. 87.
- ³⁴UNESCO, p. 91.
- ³⁵UNESCO, p. 102.
- ³⁶UNESCO, p. 111.
- ³⁷UNESCO, p. 114.
- ³⁸M. J. Kinunda, "The Place of Evaluation in the Tanzania System of Education", p. 11.

³⁹Kinunda, p. 111.

⁴⁰UNESCO, p. 36.

⁴¹Rodney J. Hinkle, "Educational Problems and Policy in Post Independence Tanzania" (New York: Columbia University, 1970), p. 112.

⁴²Paul Mhaki, Young Child in Tanzania (age 7-15) (n.p.: Tanzania National Scientific Research Council, 1977), p. 178.

⁴³Wilbert Moore, "Social Change", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 14, p. 367.

⁴⁴Stanley Wronski, "Implementing Change in Social Studies Programs", p. 199.

⁴⁵Lewis A. Coser, Introduction to Sociology, p. 199.

⁴⁶A. S. M. Hely, New Trends in Adult Education (Paris: UNESCO, p. 47.

⁴⁷Reginald Green, Adult Education in National Development (Toronto: International Council on Adult Education, 1977), p. 101.

⁴⁸Jane Thompson, "Adult Education and Social Change", p. 88.

⁴⁹Wilbert E. Moore, "Social Change", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, p. 366.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Court and Kinyanjui observe that the "high idealism and sheer eloquence of Tanzania's policies make hard-nosed analysis seem almost sacriligious, yet gaps between policy and practice must be noted."¹

Tanzania is a shining model in Africa and Third World countries for unique literacy programs with well-defined objectives and systematic and scientific implementation. The success of the literacy efforts were enhanced by political commitment, organizational structure, concrete programs and popular participation.

In summarizing a work this nature there are, in addition to the obvious facts, two overriding considerations. One is the recognition of the fact that Tanzania is not the most favored of the African nations in terms of geographic location or natural resources. One of the consequences of this reality is that there is a great deal of poverty and disease in this nation. Another consideration is the fact of colonial "over-rule" that resulted in cultural and economic exploitation, because of the very structure of colonialism and the dynamics of underdevelopment. For any country which had to start its independence with such a low economic base and untapped human resources as Tanzania, it would be extremely difficult to achieve

the desired efficiency in management and administration of literacy campaigns in so short a period. However, in designing the strategy for the development of the country many lessons have been learned.

While Altbach and Kelley feel that Tanzania has achieved some measure of success, they also feel it is difficult to predict long-run effect.² Few studies exist that have attempted to delineate the relationship between non-formal education and the broader social structures of individual African states. Fewer efforts are apparent that have attempted to define the political and psychosocial socialization roles of either formal or non-formal education and the part these roles have played in the life of newly emerging nations.

Duggan and Civile observe that foreign observers have tended to be overly critical of the efforts, even of the capabilities of African leaders, to weld diverse peoples and poverty-stricken economies into stable nations.³

The kind of summarization that is desired is an assessment that will reveal whether or not a new person is being developed as a result of the guidelines and implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance document and their implementation. This kind of evaluation cannot be done by a single discipline, nor can one look at one generation to make this judgment. This, can be accounted for by the fact that the ESR is a life-long policy which is aimed at the present, as well as future, generations and both the young and the old.

However, the observation that it is utopian to expect the school to undergo a major transformation of social function at the present stage of African development appears to be a valid observation in light of the resistance to egalitarian ideology prescribed earlier in the ESR and the subsequent reaction to it by university students and some critically placed bureaucrats.

A number of other important factors emerge. There has been the lack of an effective response among foreign investors and little foreign aid, compared to the foreign aid that went to other former colonies in Africa. There was for Tanzania the ever-present need to cooperate with other African states and the Third World, going as far as, and perhaps culminating in, the Uganda-Tanzania conflict.

Tanzania is one of the few nations to have undertaken more than a rhetorical commitment to a truly African socialistic transformation. The implementation described earlier affirms this. If post-independence political leaders list education as one of the top priorities of the nation, there may be manifest as well as latent causes for this thinking. It may be that the political leaders, too, view literacy as an important symbol of modernity and so realize that the demands and expectations of the masses in the field of literacy and all adult education can be more visibly satisfied than in other important sectors. The positive relationship of education to national development is a relationship that has been established. One example was the action of the Indian Adult Education Association. Adult education as a movement and a national program to bring about

social change and equality was endorsed in a Declaration and Recommendation at the all-India Adult Education Conference in Patna, October, 1981.⁴

Tanzania's behavior relative to adult education demonstrates the fact that Tanzania has accepted the philosophy that adult education is a prerequisite of personal and economic growth. The acceptance of education is related to the proposition that economic growth is indispensable for any meaningful national development. The fact that education has acquired such high visibility in many developing and developed countries suggests that political motivations may lie behind educational policies as they relate to the content of the curricula as well as the decisions regarding the expansion of educational facilities. This same thinking may well permeate decisions regarding who will have access to the education provided. Tanzania's experience since independence in regard to education may well involve some of the above considerations.

With 10 percent of the education budget, the independence illiteracy rate of 75 percent has been reduced to 21 percent as of August, 1981 and Universal Primary Education became a fact in 1977. Authorities in Tanzania may not have all the answers, but it would have been foolish to them to have sat by idly in the knowledge that their educational system was inappropriate for the sort of society that they sought to create. Perhaps Tanzania's greatest achievement since independence has been accomplished in the field of adult education. This provided the rationale for Adult Education Year,

1970, when with a population of 14½ million--of whom more than 80 percent were illiterate--President Nyerere proclaimed adult education the national priority.⁵

Tanzania is a classic example of Dennis Goulet's thesis in Cruel Choice.⁶ Some manpower planners and educational advisors cautioned that educational expenditures required to finance educational expansion of the magnitude observed in Tanzania involve largely a wasteful diversion of public monies to unproductive consumption at a time when it is essential to maximize investment by undertaking a carefully planned program for the expansion of higher level facilities. The indisputable point is that both are needed, thus the "Cruel Choice"--cruel because development benefits are obtained only at a great price employing the principle of economic tradeoffs. Careful attention must be given to estimating usable resources and tolerable social costs.

In education it is exceedingly difficult to overcome the individualistic and materialistic biases that permeate inherited Tanzanian educational systems in order that values of self-sacrifice and service can be inculcated and reinforced. The elitism observed in Tanzania today is tangible evidence that colonial education did produce some changes in values and in the traditional social structure. It is the purpose of the present-day policy makers that the changes which occur now should be desired socialistic social changes. The measures employed should be measures which are aimed at containing the privileges of the upper strata and closing the gap between

themselves and the masses, a process referred to as egalitarianism. Curtailing primary school expansion, failing to embark on adult education activities, for instance, would have been ways of reinforcing the inherited patterns of privilege and elitism.

To counter those attitudes of elitism it can be observed that Education for Self-Reliance sought to cultivate respect for the shamba (farm) so that this type of work would become a source of pride rather than punishment. Colonially, shamba work had been used as punishment and students therefore hated to dirty their hands with shamba work. They regarded such work as filthy and dirty, meant only for people who never went to school. Now with the spirit of the ESR and the Arusha Declaration, this work was to be regarded differently by all Tanzanians. The Tanzanian people were helped to understand that "Uhura na Kazi" (Freedom and Work) was more than a slogan. It was the means by which they were to display their progression toward the goal of self-reliance. An allied and important task is applying the logic of decentralization in a way which reconciles regional initiative and the policy of national development.⁷

President Nyerere observes

If one views Tanzanian progress on an international scale, including African people throughout the diaspora, it would be difficult to point to any decolonization effort that even approaches the sophistication or has the potential for long-term success that Tanzania continues to evidence. . . only the improvement of the quality of life serves as a sufficient measure.⁸

There are possibilities of a radical socializing role for both formal and non-formal education provided that educational

policies and practices are well integrated with broader strategies for development, as they are in Tanzania. It is for this reason that no effort is spared in Tanzania to ensure education its full positive potential.

In the under-developed country, schooling may be looked upon as "an escape route" from the bush (rural area) to a white-collar job in the government--thus providing much of the motivation for literacy. The social and the political pressures for education are powered by economic motivations. There is a great demand for education because, in the minds of people, it is the principle route to jobs and careers and the demand is almost insatiable.

A study which bears the title of this work requires an entirely different mind-set than many uninitiated Western readers have conceptualized. To begin with adult education may include entirely different concepts in Western society than it does in countries like Tanzania. The definition contained in the first chapter of this study, although accurate, only begins to define adult education as it must be internalized to appreciate what is meant by adult education in Tanzania. Picture, if you can, a country poor in resources held in the grip of two colonial powers for more than two centuries, where the only kind of development occurring was the kind of development that was advantageous to the colonial powers. In colonial Tanzania there was no self-determination for the native Tanzanian and the only meaningful role encouraged was the role of

"producer for the colonial power." No better scenario could be devised for suppressing the development of leadership potential.

Imagine later independence coming to this economically poor nation, which had not been permitted to develop along the lines that would foster either freedom of body or spirit. The script of independence is finally written largely by a Western-educated, astute, charismatic, young leader who becomes prime minister and later president of the newly independent nation. The script demands that the new young leader, probably the world's most articulate leader on adult education of one of the world's twenty-five poorest nations, and author of the Arusha Declaration and the ESR. As fate would have it, many of those academically prepared for leadership in the new nation were not prepared for the socialist direction in which this new nation would move. Through courageous national leadership and some financial assistance from the United Nations and foreign donor countries, the new nation constructs the infrastructure which enables it to reduce illiteracy from 75 percent to 21 percent in twenty short years.⁹

Questions are raised, however. The questions that remain to be answered are, at what cost, in the broadest sense, was this accomplished and what had to be sacrificed to achieve this memorable success? What were the tradeoffs--quality for quantity? What is decidedly implied is that a tremendous amount of sacrifice was necessary. One need only visit Tanzania briefly to become painfully aware of the sacrifices made daily by the majority of Tanzanians.

President Nyerere, like other post-independence political leaders, viewed literacy as an important symbol of modernity and realized that mass expectations could be more easily satisfied in the educational sphere than in many other deficit areas. President Nyerere's proposals then represent a major effort at political socialization and ESR can be seen as an attempt to forge a sense of common community and joint commitment for the country as a whole. This he saw as a prerequisite for a new nation.

In the Journal of Modern African Studies, (December, 1976),¹⁰ Court attributes Tanzania's relative success in eliminating social and economic inequalities to her ideological stand as articulated in the Arusha Declaration which forms the background for ESR. This is not to say that Tanzania has completely resolved the inherent contradictions in the course of articulating the Arusha Declaration which forms the background for ESR.

In Tanzania it is possible to find encouragement in the demonstrated resilience of Tanzania's ideals to sustained misapplication and misunderstanding and even some deliberate opposition. Limited resources, both financial and human, and consecutive years of adverse weather continue to plague these noble attempts.

An analysis of the mass literacy campaigns, one of the effective implementation responses to AD and ESR, demonstrates that joint exploration, such as that which characterized the Tanzanian health campaign, not only stimulates lively involvement, it becomes a strong motivating element for improving community life in general.

Another effect observed of mass campaigns is the strengthening of grassroots political structures and hence the building of a mass political base for the realization of other national goals. The campaign in some cases fortified the newly emerging political structures of Ujamaa villages by calling upon them to take specific actions. It is also clear that, appropriately modified, the methods used in Tanzania could work any place and on any scale. With strong commitment, radio and the study-group approach can be powerful tools for development. Tanzania has the institutional resources that some countries may not be able to match at this time. Other countries have transportation and communication infrastructures that are vastly superior to those in Tanzania. While not underestimating the importance of these tangible elements; it has been found that the most important ingredient in the success of literacy campaigns is official commitment; so that if this is present, successful campaigns may occur. The influence of external pressures should not be overlooked. Recently the Amin war, the import price increases and weather have had adverse effects on Tanzanian economy necessitating cuts in domestic programs.

Conversely, it is Cole's assertion that it is extremely difficult to mobilize educational systems in such a manner as to effect significant attitudinal change. To accomplish this, he states, the schools must have maximal reinforcement techniques available in the larger community.¹¹ It is interesting that the Minister for

National Education, critically asserts that so long as African parents perceive the school as an instrument of individual opportunity, the family will subvert the egalitarian ends of the ESR program.

Mgonia goes on to argue that a strong case can be made for concentrating educational resources on areas or groups that are most able to profit from them rather than spreading them so evenly that their effects and benefits are attenuated. This is another dimension of the "quality vs. quantity" debate. He observes that "A rapid rise in the output of schools may well contribute to increases in urban unemployment and rural underemployment and to social and political tensions that can divert the allocation of resources away from their most productive use."¹²

Manpower planners and educational advisors, both native and foreign, cautioned that educational expenditures required to finance educational expansion involve largely wasteful diversion of public monies to unproductive consumption at a time when it is essential to maximize investment by undertaking a carefully planned program for the expansion of higher level facilities.¹³

The Brandt Commission report published in 1980 reveals a wider disillusion with education as a factor in development and a deterioration in support for adult education in development aid programs.

Adult education administrators and planners in aid agencies and national systems are organizing for conceptual and intellectual clarification and leadership in relation to the appropriate role and the best

strategies and methods to promote adult education as a service towards the reduction of poverty. We need to provide the basis for a more sustained and penetrating analysis of the role (and limitations) of adult education in the war against poverty.¹⁴

There is a need to reconcile the conflicting objectives of equality and efficiency. At this stage it appears that growing inequality is the price demanded for growing economically. The price paid in terms of efficiency for egalitarian policies can be extraordinarily high.

Morrison argues that the school by itself cannot effect drastic social changes. He sees the importance of a dialogue between schools and the larger society and argues for this dialogue. Schooling without dialogue is better than doing nothing about the ills of the educational system left behind by the colonists, but he cautions against heady optimism in achieving desired goals without dialogue. He states that

ESR is a life-long policy and that given the internal consistency observed in Tanzania there is no reason to under estimate its proposed effectiveness. Societies must change their values first, then hand them over to school to transmit to future generations. This is a necessary condition, it is a condition which builds a sense of commitment on the part of the society.¹⁵

Other sociologists observe that the change in values will not be observed in the society at large without the socializing effect of the school and institutional and political forces in the society.

The effectiveness of mass literacy campaigns is not completely clear. There are those in Tanzania who feel that large scale campaigns divert resources and energies for program that produce only

short-term gains. There are others who say that campaigns have demonstrated a capacity for doing what cannot be done in any other way, and that the contribution they make toward realizing long-term goals of nationhood should not be under-estimated. The primary contribution of mass literacy campaigns may be in self-determination and self-reliance which are indispensable bases for further personal development, national development and social change.

Due to the many agents at work parallel to adult education programs, evaluators find it difficult to claim categorically that adult education programs in particular have played the major role in changing, say, occupational skills in growing cotton or maize or in qualitative characteristics. Ways and means are being sought to better evaluate the total impact of all adult education programs on the society. What is clear is that Tanzania combines the goals of fostering a modern outlook and understanding and accepting social change as well as preparing the literacy learner for new social systems and stressing means of increasing production and/or consumption of goods. Tanzania is one of the few countries where serious efforts have been made in mobilizing and enrolling so many people in literacy programmes in so short a time; in raising the general literacy, in motivating them towards learning and in building up an effective and functional administrative framework from grassroots to the national level.

An attempt to answer the questions posed in this work regarding the cost-effectiveness of the implementation responses make it

more difficult to simplify conclusions. If the objective goal is a determination regarding the eradication of illiteracy as a method of achieving national goals, the answer is even more complex and conclusions more difficult. However, "the International Development Strategy for the Third UN Development Decade calls for the provision of universal education by the year 2000. The realization that education is a critical component of the effort to combat such widespread and urgent problems as low productivity, high unemployment, insufficient food supply and poor health conditions has led to a reevaluation of the traditional educational process. The three imperatives of the task are: democratization of education (respecting cultural identity), and the adaptation of education to the demands of productivity and daily life."¹⁶

As summary and for emphasis this excerpt from President Nyerere's Ten Years After Independence speech, bears repeating:

The importance of the Arusha Declaration is difficult to overestimate. It provided a guideline to the people, the Government and the Party, to which all future policy decisions could be compared. After it there has been no excuse for decisions which, although good in certain respects, would divert our development from its purpose of serving the whole people.

An equally important result of the Arusha Declarations, however, has been a new consciousness that the development of a nation means the development of its people, rather than the erection of imposing buildings or impressive roads. Of course, in a country like Tanzania, dispersing your effort to benefit the masses of the people, who live throughout our 360,000 square miles, means that the results of much of the work are not very visible. It is still easier to point to the industrial and business developments which have taken place since the Arusha Declaration than it is to display developments in the rural areas. Indeed, more money has in

fact been put into the rural areas in this post-Arusha period. Despite much change we have not yet succeeded in making our practice keep up with the change in consciousness."¹⁷

However, this investigation makes clear that emphasis placed on adult education in Tanzania stems from its leaders' decision to bring about development through an egalitarian rural transformation. The political decision to stress socialist development with priority to those living in rural areas preceded the creation of the adult education network and shaped the structures and organizations that implemented the initiatives spelled out first in the Arusha Declaration and two months later in Education for Self-Reliance. This is affirmed by Mpogolo in 1982 when he stated that

- (1) Adult education in Tanzania is integrated with the development plans of the country as shown in the five year developments plans, and
- (2) Tanzania could declare and implement a mass campaign because it had the political justification it produced the needed structures and it allocated the needed resources.¹⁸

Esayas notes that "without education there is no development progress. Education is both the product of the society and an instrument for bringing about change . . ."¹⁹

In summary then, Tanzania's experience demonstrates the naivete of believing that the problem of educated unemployment can be solved merely by curriculum reform or the eradication of illiteracy. The question thus becomes whether or not changes in curriculum, together with changes in examination, are capable of having an impact on the school leaver problem and other inequities of the society.

The evidence presented herein not conclusive. The Tanzanian experience also raises questions which relate to the education-development discussion. The "Young Child" study observes that the policy of ESR has set the pace, but more practical aspects have got to be injected into it to make education, a real liberator if it is to carry any worthwhile meaning at all.²⁰

Although Tanzania has stumbled and fallen behind on some of its ambitious plans, it is important to recognize the accomplishments of the program rather than merely to dwell on their shortcomings. The rapid moves to universal education for adults and primary age children will inevitably cause dislocations and resource constraints, but the country will strive to overcome such problems as they arise.

Dolan concludes as does this researcher, that after Tanzania attained independence, not only did the primary purposes of education move away from a colonial context toward new socio-economic goals, but also that the means, by which these goals were implemented, originated as the product of the Tanzanian political philosophy of Ujamaa or "African Socialism".²¹

President Nyerere reveals his sophistication again as he observes that "A liberated nation is not just a nation which has overcome alien occupation."²² "I think we must admit that we have not done all that is needed," he states. His corollary observation is that "A man can be physically free from restraint and still be unfree if his mind is restricted by habits and attitudes which limit his humanity."²³

And he concludes in the spirit of this investigation that "by sharing our knowledge we extend the totality of our understanding and our control over our lives."²⁴ This observation makes it blatantly clear that "President Nyerere is as masterful an author as he is a political theoretician."²⁵

Footnotes Chapter VII

¹David Court and Kabiru Kinyanjui, "Development Policy and Educational Opportunity" (University of Nairobi, 1980), p. 7.

²Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly, Education and Colonialism, p. 133.

³William R. Duggan and John R. Civile, Tanzania and Nyerere, p. 44.

⁴"India Adult Education Conference", Convergence, (Patna: International Council on Adult Education, Oct. 1981), p. 17.

⁵Z. J. Mpogolo, "Tanzania Mass Literacy Campaigns", (n.p.: n.p., 1971-1981), p. 18.

⁶Dennis Goulet, Cruel Choice, p. 78.

⁷Julius K. Nyerere, Decentralization, p. 7.

⁸Julius K. Nyerere, "Liberated Man: The Purpose of Development", Convergence, Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 48.

⁹Z. J. Mpogolo, "Planning and Administration of Mass Literacy Campaigns" (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1979), p. 19.

¹⁰David Court and Kabiru Kinyanjui, "Development Policy", Journal of Modern African Studies, p. 70.

¹¹Edwin K. Coles, Adult Education in Developing Countries (New York: Pergamon Press, 1977), p. 74.

¹²L. Y. Mgonia, "Adult Education and Political Development", (Institute of Adult Education), p. 7.

¹³"Brandt Commission Report", Convergence, 1980, p. 27.

¹⁴"Brandt Commission Report", p. 4.

¹⁵David Morrison, Education and Politics: The Tanzanian Case (London: C. H. Hurst and Company, 1976), p. 227.

- ¹⁶Edwin K. Coles, p. 90.
- ¹⁷Julius K. Nyerere, "Ten Years After Independence" (Tanzania: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Sept. 1971), p. 4.
- ¹⁸Mpogolo, "Planning and Administration of Mass Literacy Campaigns 1971-1981", p. 17.
- ¹⁹Menkir Esayas, "The Local Context as a Source of Local Questions on Mass Communication, Development, Education and Religion in Africa", p. 13.
- ²⁰Paul Mhaki, Young Child in Tanzania (age 7-15) (n.p.: Tanzania National Scientific Research Council, 1977), p. 416.
- ²¹Louis F. Dolan, Transition from Colonialism to Self Reliance, p. 227.
- ²²Julius K. Nyerere, "Liberated Man: The Purpose of Development", Convergence, Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 57.
- ²³Julius K. Nyerere, Quotations from President J. K. Nyerere, p. 31.
- ²⁴Nyerere, Quotations from President J. K. Nyerere, p. 44.
- ²⁵William R. Duggan and John R. Cville, Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study of Ujamaa and Nationhood (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1976), p. 131.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

A more comprehensive treatment of Tanzania follows. "A vision of any part of Africa is impossible without being armed with a background and history of colonial Africa--its impacts, effects and the problems it has generated for the future of Africe."¹

Sub-Section I

To trace the historical, geographical and political development of Tanzania thus providing the background for what is to follow specifically as it relates to the descriptive analysis of adult education in Tanzania.

Tanzania's Background

A brief thumbnail background sketch of Tanzania is included in the body of the paper. For those desiring a more comprehensive background this appendix is included.

This section is broken into two principal parts. Part I discusses Tanzania geographically and introduces the reader to the Tanzanian people. Part II is an attempt to provide some historical perspective to present-day Tanzania in terms of its historical heritage and varied colonial experience. This background attempts to provide the contextual setting in which Tanzania has attempted to deal with the problems of education in general and adult education

specifically and should aid the reader in understanding more fully the total environment in which the adult education efforts have been and are being undertaken.

Origins

The United Republic of Tanzania is a country of contrasts. Its age, some say, is as old as man himself, since Olduvai Gorge is found within its borders. Anthropologists have found man's earliest known remains here. Tanzania is probably one of the most ancient of inhabited lands.²

In another sense the United Republic of Tanzania is quite new in that it came into being, as such, a mere twenty-two years ago; after Tanganyika, a UN Trust Territory under British Trusteeship, was granted internal self-government after the successful self-rule local election in the fall of 1960.

In May of 1961, Tanzania achieved independence. One year later, on the anniversary of its independence, Tanzania became a republic within the British Commonwealth.

Zanzibar, a British protectorate, an island less than 25 miles away in the Indian Ocean, was granted its independence two years later in December, 1963. The revolution of Zanzibar in January, 1964, was against the Omani Sultan and the landowning Arab minority and was won by the African Zanzibaris of the African Shirazi party. Following this event, the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar united and established themselves as one country on April 26, 1964. Later that year the name was changed

from the United Republic of Tanganyika to the United Republic of Tanzania, thus becoming the only instance when two independent African states gave up their sovereignty to unite and overcome the major divisions which they inherited from their respective colonial periods. It is interesting to note that independence came to Tanganyika earlier than any other East African country, perhaps because it was the poorest territory in the East African complex of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika.³

The total land area of the United Republic of Tanzania (364,900 square miles) is just slightly larger than the combined land area of Texas and Oklahoma of the United States, or Nigeria on the African continent. The above land area includes the 1,200 square miles of the offshore islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia.

The analogy of the 'land of contrasts' continues, noting the wide variety of landforms, climates and peoples. Most of the country lies on the East African plateau, 3,000 to nearly 6,000 feet high, bordered east and west by two branches of the Great Rift Valley. Mountains to 9,000 feet border the country in the south-west and also constitute the southeastern rim of the central plateau of the country. The major rivers drain into the Indian Ocean, but some empty into the interior bodies of water of Lake Tanganyika, Lake Victoria, and Lake Nyasa.

Tanzania also has within it both the highest and the lowest areas of the African continent. Mt. Kilimanjaro of 19,520 feet is in this country and so is the floor of Lake Tanganyika which is

1,175 feet below sea level. Much of the rest of inland Tanzania is made up of gently sloping plains and plateaus which are broken by low hill ranges and scattered isolated hills. The area of the country which hugs the 50 miles of coastline includes beautiful areas of sweeping sandy beaches and developed coral reefs. Near the mouths of the larger rivers these reefs are broken by the extensive mangrove growth so common in Africa.

With the exception of the high mountain areas, temperatures in Tanzania are not a major limiting factor for crop growth, though the range of altitude produces a corresponding range of temperatures in regimes from tropical to temperate. Weather conditions are dominated by Indian Ocean monsoons that bring two rainy seasons, one long, and one short, affecting different parts of the country at different times. Most of the country is quite dry and the rainfall is uncertain. Ground frost rarely occurs except in the southern highlands. Minimum temperatures tend to occur in June and July in most places and range between less than 60 degrees F to about 87 degrees F.

The contrasts continue. Rainfall is variable both from place to place and time to time. There is generally less rainfall than might be expected at this altitude. For most of the country the heaviest rain falls in a single rainy season--December to May. Along with this problem of a long dry season, for other parts of the country, there is a marked fluctuation in annual rainfall. These distributions and seasonal fluctuations in rainfall greatly

influence agricultural practices. In spite of these climatic problems, Tanzania agriculture constitutes 38 percent of the GNP and 80 percent of the foreign exchange earnings of Tanzania.

In most parts of the country there is not enough rain or, because it comes unpredictably, floods alternate regularly with droughts. Altitude plays a major role in determining rainfall patterns, with the higher elevations receiving more precipitation. Generally, the total amount of rainfall is not very great. Only about half of the country receives more than thirty inches of rain annually. The contrasts continue. Just northwest of Lake Nyasa there are often 100 inches of rain annually and in parts of the hot and dry Central Plateau and Masai Steppe there is less than twenty inches of rain annually. At times of excessive or surplus water there is drainage into a few large, perennial rivers of the country. Africa's largest fresh water lake, Lake Victoria, drains the southern highlands and provides much needed hydro-electric power, and supplies such to the cities of Arusha, Moshi, Tanga, Morogoro and Dar es Salaam.

The offshore islands of Zanaibar, Pemba and Mafia have a more tropical climate with higher average temperatures and greater precipitation than the coastal areas of the mainland. The city of Zanzibar on Zanzibar Island is the center of government, trade and commerce for the Island. Tanzanians voted in 1973 to move the capital from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma, in the interior of the country, by mid-1980.⁴

People

The main features of the pattern of population are, firstly, sharp discontinuities in density with a number of densely populated areas separated from each other by zones of sparse population; secondly, the comparatively low density of population is most of the interior of the country; and thirdly, the way in which most parts of the country's rural settlements tend to consist of scattered individual homesteads rather than the more typical nucleated villages, which were relatively rare prior to Ujamaa. Nearly half of the general population density is about 40 inhabitants per square mile. Rural densities are highly variable ranging from large, nearly uninhabited areas in the central interior and the southeastern quadrant of the country to populations of 1,000 persons per square mile or more on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro and a few other places throughout the country. This population distribution is, to a large extent, the outcome of a colonial pattern of agriculture which encouraged cash crop production in those areas enjoying fertile soils and a good rainfall record.

Tanzania's 1978 census recognized some 126 ethnic groups. Each of these groups differs in varying degrees from the others in their culture, their social organization and their native language. Most Tanzanians, (95 percent) speak Kiswahili in addition to their native languages. Kiswahili is the commercial lingua franca and is also the language of instruction through the primary grades.

About 95 percent of Tanzania's population (19,000,000) is commonly referred to as Bantu, or more accurately, as Bantu speaking--the term has no racial meaning. The most important Bantu language for interethnic communication is Kiswahili, the mother tongue of Zanzibaris, Pembans, and most of the coastal people of the mainland. It became a commercial lingua franca in some areas even before the colonial period. In 1963, it became Tanzania's national language, as some Tanzanians believe that Kiswahili was a more appropriate language for an emerging socialist country than was English, a language "associated with countries considered to be capitalistic."⁵ Roughly a dozen ethnic groups make up half of Tanzania's population, and no group is large enough to be dominant in relation to any of the other groups. The largest ethnic group, the Sukuma, constitutes nearly 13 percent of the population, or more than a million persons, and the remaining groups are under five percent each. (Such a situation appears fortuitous, as Tanzania has been spared the intense tribal rivalries which have plagued some other African nations. Kenya is a case in point with the Kikuyu usurping the most prestigious positions.)

Ethnicity in Tanzania coincides substantially with locality. Some members of many groups have pushed outward from their native habitats in their apparent search for opportunities not present in their own areas. Most (95 percent) of the Tanzanians are African though 75,000 people of Indian ancestry make up a significant part of the urban population and the economy of the country. Despite the

government's desire to minimize tribal identities, ethnic groups often coincide with features of the terrain or with the boundaries of ecological zones. One may refer, for instance, to Sukumaland, Gogoland or Chaggaland.

One-quarter to one-third of the population claims to be Christian (Roman Catholic and various Protestant groups). Estimates of the number of Muslims are in the same range. The bulk of the population of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia, is Muslim. The remainder of the Tanzanians, approximately one-quarter to one-third, adhere to one of the indigenous African religious systems.

Brief History

Although the validity of the remains is still in dispute, human remains believed to be about two million years old found by anthropologists place earliest man's origin in Tanzania and East Africa rather than in Asia. (A foot skeleton of *Australopithecus* found here can be constructed from a dozen bones recovered at Olduvai Gorge. While the bones are not as robust, according to speculation the Olduvai hominid was thought to be a much smaller animal.)⁶

The history of armed struggle by the local inhabitants of this part of East Africa against foreign invaders dates back to the early sixteenth century, when the Portuguese were trying to conquer the coast after Vasco Da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope in 1493. Although the Portuguese managed to rule these people for about two centuries, they never succeeded in subjugating them completely.⁷

- 700s: The Arabs controlled offshore Zanzibar and the Tanzanian coast until about 1506.
- 1600s: Portugal ruled until the 1600s when Arab control was reestablished. The inland people of the mainland were largely untouched by the Arabs or the Portuguese at this time, though later internal invasions for slaves were made.
- 1885: Through treaty arrangements the Germans ruled over German East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) for thirty-five years).
- 1920
to
1961: British control followed for forty-one years. After Germany's defeat in World War I, the League of Nations assigned the former German East Africa territory to Britain as mandated Territory. German settlers were expelled from the area and the area changed from German East Africa to Tanganyika. After World War II, Tanganyika was a UN trust territory under British rule.
- May
1961: Tanganyika won independence and Julius Nyerere, former teacher and head of TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) party became prime minister. Tanganyika an independent republic within the British Commonwealth, and Nyerere was elected president in 1962.
- 1963: Zanzibar became independent within the British Commonwealth.

- 1964: Zanzibar became a republic and on October 29 joined Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanzania under President Nyerere.
- 1965: Tanzania became a one-party state with plans announced to develop it on a socialist pattern.
- 1967: The Arusha Declaration and the Education of Self-Reliance policy statements were delivered by President Nyerere in January and March.
- 1971: A dispute broke out with neighboring Uganda because Tanzania sheltered ousted Ugandan President Milton Obote and refused to recognize his military successor, General Idi Amini;⁸ border clashes continued to 1977, following which Tanzania deliberately fought to oust the Idi Amin regime and succeeded in doing so in 1979. Military intervention in Uganda cost L250 M., or one million American dollars per month.⁹

Footnotes for Appendix A

¹Tom Mboya, "Vision of Africa" Africa Speaks by James Duffy and Robert Manners (New York: D. VanNostrand, 1971), p. 17.

²"Tanzania". Africa South of the Sahara, (London: Europa Publication Ltd., 1982), p. 1058.

³Martin Bailey, The Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar: A Study in Political Integration (Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1973), p. 34.

⁴"Basic Data on Sub-Saharan Africa", Africa South of the Sahara (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1982), p. 1046.

⁵Tanzania--Background Notes (U.S. Department of State, 1981), p. 4.

⁶"Tanzania", Africa South of the Sahara, p. 1050.

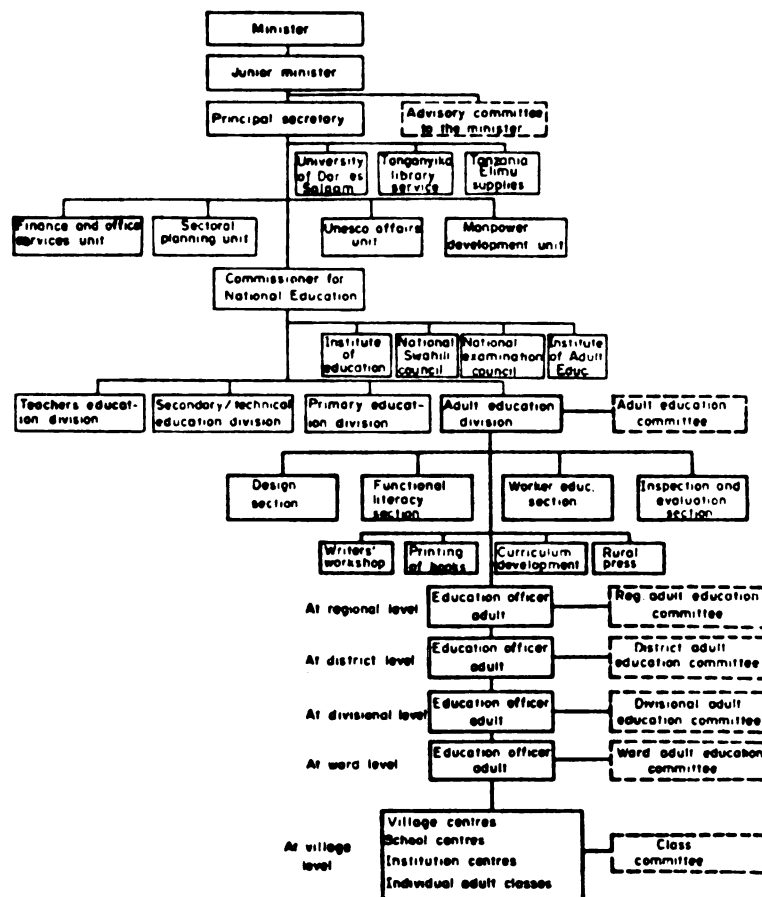
⁷"Tanzania" in Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago: William Benton, 1974), p. 1032.

⁸Laura Kurtz, An African Education: The Social Revolution in Tanzania (Brooklyn: Pageant-Poseidon, Ltd., 1972), p. 51.

⁹Margaret Bates, "Tanzania", Encyclopedia International (New York: Lexicon Publications, 1982), p. 456.

APPENDIX B

Ministry of National Education Organization Structure, Tanzania



Taken from the Final Report of the Seminar on "Structures for Adult Education in Developing Countries, with special reference to Africa",
Unesco, 1975.

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
(Tanganyika-Beginning 1962)

Student's Age	Year of Schooling	HIGHER EDUCATION							
		Arts	Science	Lang					
26	20								
25	19								
24	18								
23	17								
22	16								
21	15								
20	14								
19	13								
18	12								
17	11								
16	10								
15	9								
14	8								
13	7								
12	6								
11	5								
10	4								
9	3								
8	2								
7	1								
6									
5									
4									
3									

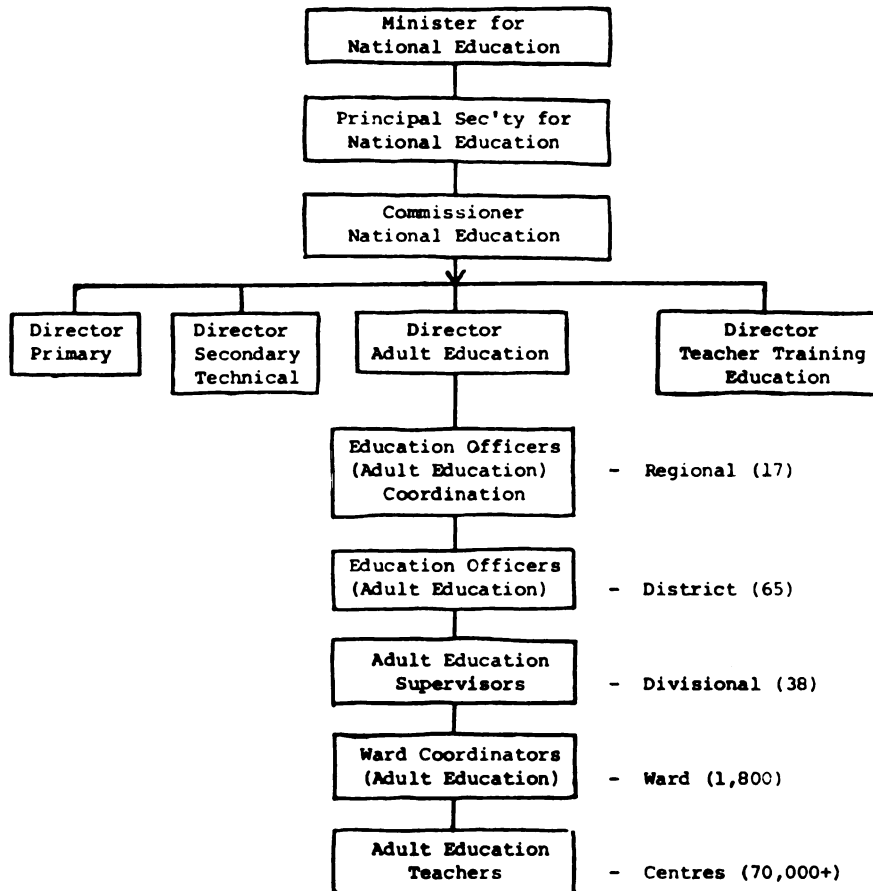
Compulsory education: None

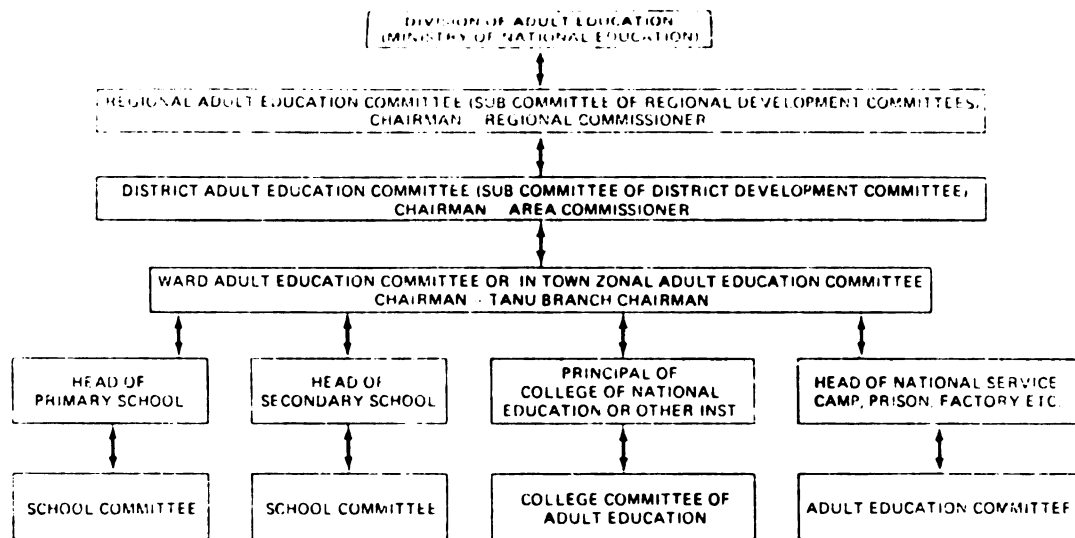
School year: January - December (3 terms)

Secondary grading: 1-9 School Certificate and
General Certificate of Education
(See SECONDARY EDUCATION)

Non-Formal Education in African Development - James Sheffield and
Victor P. Diejomaoh. (New York: African-American Institute, 1972.)

Organization for Adult Education in the Ministry of National Education





The Committee Structure of Adult Education Under the Ministry of National Education

The Flow Chart for Information on Literacy and Post-Literacy Program
in Tanzania:

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION
ADULT EDUCATION DIRECTORATE

REGIONAL EDUCATION OFFICER

REGIONAL ADULT EDUCATION COORDINATOR

DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER

DISTRICT ADULT EDUCATION COORDINATOR

DIVISIONAL ADULT EDUCATION COORDINATOR

WARD ADULT EDUCATION COORDINATOR

SUPERVISORS OF ADULT EDUCATION
(READ TEACHER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS)

PRINCIPALS OF COLLEGES OF NATIONAL EDUCATION
AND FOLK DEVELOPMENT COLLEGES

HEADMASTERS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

LITERACY AND POST LITERACY

CLASSES AT VILLAGE LEVEL

Source: Adult Education and Development in Tanzania. (Tanzania,
National Education Association of Tanzania, 1975, Vol. 1.).

- Level I: A participant who has enrolled but must have attended two-thirds of the literacy sessions in any one year of literacy activities.
- Level II: A participant who qualified for Level I above, but who also has successfully passed one or both tests for the following sub-levels:
 Sub-level (i):
 A person who is able to recognize words and/or symbols, writes letters of the syllables, writes numbers and/or arithmetic signs including mental calculations.
 Sub-level (ii):
 A person who is able to read a short, simple meaningful sentence, is able to write a simple short sentence and can add and subtract one-figure numbers.
- Level III: A person who qualified for Level II above, but who also has successfully passed one or both tests for the following sub-levels:
 Sub-level (i):
 A person who is able to read a short, simple meaningful sentence, is able to write a simple short sentence and can add and subtract two-figure numbers.
 Sub-level (ii):
 A person who possesses mastery over symbols in their written form, or is able to encode and decode written messages. Such a person should be able to perform the following: be able to read fluently a simple text with understanding (the text itself being based on common syllables and vocabularies in the functional primers and according to the most frequent syllables and vocabularies used in the Swahili language). He should also be able to write a simple short message or passage, add and subtract three-figure numbers, multiply two-figure numbers, and divide by one figure.
- Level IV: A person who continuously used the acquired literacy skills. Such a person should have qualified in Level III above, but also should be able to read and write messages; to read a newspaper (for example, Uhuru, Ukulima Wa Kisasa, etc.) to keep up with current happenings and obtain information; to read "how to do it yourself" and generally perform as a literate citizen.

Source: "Levels" A Descriptive Study of a Program of Adult Education, (Ohio, Ball State University, 1975), dissertation.

APPENDIX C

26

The Arusha Declaration: Socialism and Self-Reliance

When people in Tanzania refer to the Arusha Declaration they are usually speaking of the whole document accepted by the National Executive Committee of TANU in Arusha on 29 January 1967, and not just to The Arusha Resolution which is Part Five only.

The Declaration was discussed and then published in Swahili. This revised English translation clarifies ambiguities which existed in the translation originally issued.

The Declaration is based on a draft submitted to the Committee by President Nyerere, but this was amended in a number of particulars. The Declaration is thus a Party document, not the exclusive work of the President. It is nonetheless reproduced in full because events in Tanzania after 5 February 1967 (when the Declaration was published) cannot be understood except in relation to it.

The Arusha Declaration marked a turning point in Tanzanian politics. The ideology of the country was made explicit by it; also the introduction of 'leadership qualifications', and the measures for public ownership, began a new series of deliberately socialist policy initiatives.

Part One: The TANU Creed

The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state. The principles of socialism are laid down in the TANU Constitution and they are as follows:

WHEREAS TANU believes:

- (a) That all human beings are equal;
- (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;

- (c) That every citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level;
- (d) That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law;
- (e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and of property held according to law;
- (f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;
- (g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;
- (h) That in order to ensure economic justice the state must have effective control over the principal means of production; and
- (i) That it is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

NOW, THEREFORE, the principal aims and objects of TANU shall be as follows:

- (a) To consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people;
- (b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- (c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people;
- (d) To co-operate with all political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa;
- (e) To see that the Government mobilizes all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease;
- (f) To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organizations;
- (g) To see that wherever possible the Government itself directly participates in the economic development of this country;

The Arusha Declaration

- (h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status;
- (i) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption;
- (j) To see that the Government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country;
- (k) To see that the Government co-operates with other states in Africa in bringing about African unity;
- (l) To see that the Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through the United Nations Organization.

Part Two: The Policy of Socialism

(a) Absence of Exploitation.

A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others. In a really socialist country no person exploits another: everyone who is physically able to work does so; every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent.

In a socialist country, the only people who live on the work of others, and who have the right to be dependent upon their fellows, are small children, people who are too old to support themselves, the crippled, and those whom the state at any one time cannot provide with an opportunity to work for their living.

Tanzania is a nation of peasants and workers, but it is not yet a socialist society. It still contains elements of feudalism and capitalism—with their temptations. These feudalistic and capitalistic features of our society could spread and entrench themselves.

(b) The major means of production and exchange are under the control of the peasants and workers.

To build and maintain socialism it is essential that all the major means of production and exchange in the nation are controlled and owned by the peasants through the machinery of their Government

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

and their co-operatives. Further, it is essential that the ruling Party should be a Party of peasants and workers.

The major means of production and exchange are such things as: land; forests; minerals; water; oil and electricity; news media; communications; banks, insurance, import and export trade, wholesale trade; iron and steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car, cement, fertilizer, and textile industries; and any big factory on which a large section of the people depend for their living, or which provides essential components of other industries; large plantations, and especially those which provide raw materials essential to important industries.

Some of the instruments of production and exchange which have been listed here are already owned or controlled by the people's Government of Tanzania.

(c) The Existence of Democracy.

A state is not socialist simply because its means of production and exchange are controlled or owned by the government, either wholly or in large part. For a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves. If the minority governments of Rhodesia or South Africa controlled or owned the entire economies of these respective countries, the result would be a strengthening of oppression, not the building of socialism. True socialism cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society.

(d) Socialism is a Belief.

Socialism is a way of life, and a socialist society cannot simply come into existence. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in, and who themselves practise, the principles of socialism. A committed member of TANU will be a socialist, and his fellow socialists—that is, his fellow believers in this political and economic system—are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of peasants and workers. The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to accept these socialist principles, and to live his own life in accordance with them. In particular, a genuine TANU leader will not live off the sweat of another man, nor commit any feudalistic or capitalistic actions.

The Arusha Declaration

The successful implementation of socialist objectives depends very much upon the leaders, because socialism is a belief in a particular system of living, and it is difficult for leaders to promote its growth if they do not themselves accept it.

Part Three: The Policy of Self-Reliance

We are at War.

TANU is involved in a war against poverty and oppression in our country: this struggle is aimed at moving the people of Tanzania (and the people of Africa as a whole) from a state of poverty to a state of prosperity.

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution—a revolution which brings to an end our weakness, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed, or humiliated.

A Poor Man does not use Money as a Weapon.

But it is obvious that in the past we have chosen the wrong weapon for our struggle, because we chose money as our weapon. We are trying to overcome our economic weakness by using the weapons of the economically strong—weapons which in fact we do not possess. By our thoughts, words and actions it appears as if we have come to the conclusion that without money we cannot bring about the revolution we are aiming at. It is as if we have said, 'Money is the basis of development. Without money there can be no development.'

That is what we believe at present. TANU leaders, and Government leaders and officials, all put great emphasis and dependence on money. The people's leaders and the people themselves, in TANU, NUTA, Parliament, UWT, the co-operatives, TAPA, and in other national institutions think, hope and pray for MONEY. It is as if we had all agreed to speak with one voice, saying, 'If we get money we shall develop, without money we cannot develop'.

In brief, our Five-Year Development Plan aims at more food, more education, and better health; but the weapon we have put emphasis upon is money. It is as if we said, 'In the next five years we want to have more food, more education, and better health,

Freedom and Socialism | Ujamaa na Ujamaa

and in order to achieve these things we shall spend £250,000,000. We think and speak as if the most important thing to depend upon is MONEY and anything else we intend to use in our struggle is of minor importance.

When a Member of Parliament says that there is a shortage of water in his constituency and he asks the Government how it intends to deal with the problem, he expects the Government to reply that it is planning to remove the shortage of water in his constituency—WITH MONEY.

When another Member of Parliament asks what the Government is doing about the shortage of roads, schools or hospitals in his constituency, he also expects the Government to tell him that it has specific plans to build roads, schools and hospitals in his constituency—WITH MONEY.

When a NUTA official asks the Government about its plans to deal with the low wages and poor housing of the workers, he expects the Government to inform him that the minimum wage will be increased and that better houses will be provided for the workers—WITH MONEY.

When a TAPA official asks the Government what plans it has to give assistance to the many TAPA schools which do not get Government aid, he expects the Government to state that it is ready the following morning to give the required assistance—WITH MONEY.

When an official of the co-operative movement mentions any problem facing the farmer, he expects to hear that the Government will solve the farmer's problems—WITH MONEY. In short, for every problem facing our nation, the solution that is in everybody's mind is MONEY.

Each year, each Ministry of Government makes its estimates of expenditure, i.e. the amount of money it will require in the coming year to meet recurrent and development expenses. Only one Minister and his Ministry make estimates of revenue. This is the Minister for Finance. Every Ministry puts forward very good development plans. When the Ministry presents its estimates, it believes that the money is there for the asking but that the Minister for Finance and his Ministry are being obstructive. And regularly each year the Minister for Finance has to tell his fellow Ministers that there is no money. And each year the Ministries complain about the Ministry of Finance when it trims down their estimates.

The Arusha Declaration

Similarly, when Members of Parliament and other leaders demand that the Government should carry out a certain development, they believe that there is a lot of money to spend on such projects, but that the Government is the stumbling block. Yet such belief on the part of Ministers, Members of Parliament and other leaders does not alter the stark truth, which is that Government has no money.

When it is said that Government has no money, what does this mean? It means that the people of Tanzania have insufficient money. The people pay taxes out of the very little wealth they have; it is from these taxes that the Government meets its recurrent and development expenditure. When we call on the Government to spend more money on development projects, we are asking the Government to use more money. And if the Government does not have any more, the only way it can do this is to increase its revenue through extra taxation.

If one calls on the Government to spend more, one is in effect calling on the Government to increase taxes. Calling on the Government to spend more without raising taxes is like demanding that the Government should perform miracles; it is equivalent to asking for more milk from a cow while insisting that the cow should not be milked again. But our refusal to admit that calling on the Government to spend more is the same as calling on the Government to raise taxes shows that we fully realize the difficulties of increasing taxes. We realize that the cow has no more milk—that is, that the people find it difficult to pay more taxes. We know that the cow would like to have more milk herself, so that her calves could drink it, or that she would like more milk which could be sold to provide more comfort for herself or her calves. But knowing all the things which could be done with more milk does not alter the fact that the cow has no more milk!

What of External Aid?

One method we use to try and avoid a recognition of the need to increase taxes if we want to have more money for development, is to think in terms of getting the extra money from outside Tanzania.

Such external finance falls into three main categories.

- (a) *Gifts*: This means that another government gives our Government a sum of money as a free gift for a particular development scheme. Sometimes it may be that an institution

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

in another country gives our Government, or an institution in our country, financial help for development programmes.

- (b) *Loans*: The greater portion of financial help we expect to get from outside is not in the form of gifts or charity, but in the form of loans. A foreign government or a foreign institution, such as a bank, lends our Government money for the purposes of development. Such a loan has repayment conditions attached to it, covering such factors as the time period for which it is available and the rate of interest.
- (c) *Private Investment*: The third category of financial help is also greater than the first. This takes the form of investment in our country by individuals or companies from outside. The important condition which such private investors have in mind is that the enterprise into which they put their money should bring them profit and that our Government should permit them to repatriate these profits. They also prefer to invest in a country whose policies they agree with and which will safeguard their economic interests.

These three are the main categories of external finance. And there is in Tanzania a fantastic amount of talk about getting money from outside. Our Government and different groups of our leaders never stop thinking about methods of getting finance from abroad. And if we get some money, or even if we just get a promise of it, our newspapers, our radio, and our leaders, all advertise the fact in order that every person shall know that salvation is coming, or is on the way. If we receive a gift we announce it, if we receive a loan we announce it, if we get a new factory we announce it—and always loudly. In the same way, when we get a promise of a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement of the promise. Even when we have merely started discussions with a foreign government or institution for a gift, a loan, or a new industry, we make an announcement—even though we do not know the outcome of the discussions. Why do we do all this? Because we want people to know that we have started discussions which will bring prosperity.

DO NOT LET US DEPEND UPON MONEY FOR DEVELOPMENT

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine

The Arusha Declaration

that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources. It is stupid for two reasons.

Firstly, we shall not get the money. It is true that there are countries which can, and which would like, to help us. But there is no country in the world which is prepared to give us gifts or loans, or establish industries, to the extent that we would be able to achieve all our development targets. There are many needy countries in the world. And even if all the prosperous nations were willing to help the needy countries, the assistance would still not suffice. But in any case the prosperous nations have not accepted a responsibility to fight world poverty. Even within their own borders poverty still exists, and the rich individuals do not willingly give money to the government to help their poor fellow citizens.

It is only through taxation, which people have to pay whether they want to or not, that money can be extracted from the rich in order to help the masses. Even then there would not be enough money. However heavily we taxed the citizens of Tanzania and the aliens living here, the resulting revenue would not be enough to meet the costs of the development we want. And there is no World Government which can tax the prosperous nations in order to help the poor nations; nor if one did exist could it raise enough revenue to do all that is needed in the world. But in fact, such a World Government does not exist. Such money as the rich nations offer to the poor nations is given voluntarily, either through their own goodness, or for their own benefit. All this means that it is impossible for Tanzania to obtain from overseas enough money to develop our economy.

GIFTS AND LOANS WILL ENDANGER OUR INDEPENDENCE

Secondly, even if it were possible for us to get enough money for our needs from external sources, is this what we really want? Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. Even if there was a nation, or nations, prepared to give us all the money we need for our development, it would be improper for us to accept such assistance without asking ourselves how this would affect our independence and our very survival as a nation. Gifts which increase, or act as a catalyst, to our own efforts are

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

valuable. But gifts which could have the effect of weakening or distorting our own efforts should not be accepted until we have asked ourselves a number of questions.

The same applies to loans. It is true that loans are better than 'free' gifts. A loan is intended to increase our efforts or make those efforts more fruitful. One condition of a loan is that you show how you are going to repay it. This means you have to show that you intend to use the loan profitably and will therefore be able to repay it.

But even loans have their limitations. You have to give consideration to the ability to repay. When we borrow money from other countries it is the Tanzanian who pays it back. And as we have already stated, Tanzanians are poor people. To burden the people with big loans, the repayment of which will be beyond their means, is not to help them but to make them suffer. It is even worse when the loans they are asked to repay have not benefited the majority of the people but have only benefited a small minority.

How about the enterprises of foreign investors? It is true we need these enterprises. We have even passed an Act of Parliament protecting foreign investments in this country. Our aim is to make foreign investors feel that Tanzania is a good place in which to invest because investments would be safe and profitable, and the profits can be taken out of the country without difficulty. We expect to get money through this method. But we cannot get enough. And even if we were able to convince foreign investors and foreign firms to undertake all the projects and programmes of economic development that we need, is that what we actually want to happen?

Had we been able to attract investors from America and Europe to come and start all the industries and all the projects of economic development that we need in this country, could we do so without questioning ourselves? Could we agree to leave the economy of our country in the hands of foreigners who would take the profits back to their countries? Or supposing they did not insist upon taking their profits away, but decided to reinvest them in Tanzania; could we really accept this situation without asking ourselves what disadvantages our nation would suffer? Would this allow the socialism we have said it is our objective to build?

How can we depend upon gifts, loans and investments from foreign countries and foreign companies without endangering our inde-

The Arusha Declaration

dependence? The English people have a proverb which says: 'He who pays the piper calls the tune'. How can we depend upon foreign governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving to those governments and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is that we cannot.

Let us repeat. We made a mistake in choosing money—something we do not have—to be the big instrument of our development. We are making a mistake to think that we shall get the money from other countries; first, because in fact we shall not be able to get sufficient money for our economic development; and secondly, because even if we could get all that we need, such dependence upon others would endanger our independence and our ability to choose our own political policies.

WE HAVE PUT TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON INDUSTRIES

Because of our emphasis on money, we have made another big mistake. We have put too much emphasis on industries. Just as we have said, 'Without money there can be no development', we also seem to say, 'Industries are the basis of development, without industries there is no development'. This is true. The day when we have lots of money we shall be able to say we are a developed country. We shall be able to say, 'When we began our Development Plans we did not have enough money and this situation made it difficult for us to develop as fast as we wanted. Today we are developed and we have enough money'. That is to say, our money has been brought by development. Similarly, the day we become industrialized, we shall be able to say we are developed. Development would have enabled us to have industries. The mistake we are making is to think that development begins with industries. It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries in our country. We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how. It is not enough to say that we shall borrow the finances and the technicians from other countries to come and start the industries. The answer to this is the same one we gave earlier, that we cannot get enough money and borrow enough technicians to start all the industries we need. And even if we could get the necessary assistance, dependence on it could interfere with our policy on socialism. The policy of inviting a chain of capitalists to come and establish industries in our country might

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

succeed in giving us all the industries we need, but it would also succeed in preventing the establishment of socialism unless we believe that without first building capitalism, we cannot build socialism.

LET US PAY NEED TO THE PEASANT

Our emphasis on money and industries has made us concentrate on urban development. We recognize that we do not have enough money to bring the kind of development to each village which would benefit everybody. We also know that we cannot establish an industry in each village and through this means effect a rise in the real incomes of the people. For these reasons we spend most of our money in the urban areas and our industries are established in the towns.

Yet the greater part of this money that we spend in the towns comes from loans. Whether it is used to build schools, hospitals, houses or factories, etc., it still has to be repaid. But it is obvious that it cannot be repaid just out of money obtained from urban and industrial development. To repay the loans we have to use foreign currency which is obtained from the sale of our exports. But we do not now sell our industrial products in foreign markets, and indeed it is likely to be a long time before our industries produce for export. The main aim of our new industries is 'import substitution'—that is, to produce things which up to now we have had to import from foreign countries.

It is therefore obvious that the foreign currency we shall use to pay back the loans used in the development of the urban areas will not come from the towns or the industries. Where, then, shall we get it from? We shall get it from the villages and from agriculture. What does this mean? It means that the people who benefit directly from development which is brought about by borrowed money are not the ones who will repay the loans. The largest proportion of the loans will be spent in, or for, the urban areas, but the largest proportion of the repayment will be made through the efforts of the farmers.

This fact should always be borne in mind, for there are various forms of exploitation. We must not forget that people who live in towns can possibly become the exploiters of those who live in the rural areas. All our big hospitals are in towns and they benefit only a small section of the people of Tanzania. Yet if we have built them

The Arusha Declaration

with loans from outside Tanzania, it is the overseas sale of the peasants' produce which provides the foreign exchange for repayment. Those who do not get the benefit of the hospitals thus carry the major responsibility for paying for them. Tarmac roads, too, are mostly found in towns and are of especial value to the motor-car owners. Yet if we have built those roads with loans, it is again the farmer who produces the goods which will pay for them. What is more, the foreign exchange with which the car was bought also came from the sale of the farmers' produce. Agolia, electric lights, water pipes, hotels and other aspects of modern development are mostly found in towns. Most of them have been built with loans and most of them do not benefit the farmer directly, although they will be paid for by the foreign exchange earned by the sale of his produce. We should always bear this in mind.

Although when we talk of exploitation we usually think of capitalists, we should not forget that there are many fish in the sea. They eat each other. The large ones eat the small ones, and the small ones eat those who are even smaller. There are two possible ways of dividing the people in our country. We can put the capitalists and feudalists on one side, and the farmers and workers on the other. But we can also divide the people into urban dwellers on one side and those who live in the rural areas on the other. If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants.

THE PEOPLE AND AGRICULTURE

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four prerequisites of development are different; they are (i) People; (ii) Land; (iii) Good Policies; (iv) Good Leadership. Our country has more than ten million people* and its area is more than 362,000 square miles.

AGRICULTURE IS THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT

A great part of Tanzania's land is fertile and gets sufficient rain. Our country can produce various crops for home consumption and for export.

* 1967 census showed 12.3 million people.

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

We can produce food crops (which can be exported if we produce in large quantities) such as maize, rice, wheat, beans, groundnuts, etc. And we can produce such cash crops as sisal, cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethrum, tea, etc. Our land is also good for grazing cattle, goats, sheep, and for raising chickens, etc.; we can get plenty of fish from our rivers, lakes, and from the sea. All of our farmers are in areas which can produce two or three or even more of the food and cash crops enumerated above, and each farmer could increase his production so as to get more food or more money. And because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of these agricultural crops. This is in fact the only road through which we can develop our country—in other words, only by increasing our production of these things can we get more food and more money for every Tanzanian.

THE CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

(a) *Hard Work*

Everybody wants development; but not everybody understands and accepts the basic requirements for development. The biggest requirement is hard work. Let us go to the villages and talk to our people and see whether or not it is possible for them to work harder.

In towns, for example, wage-earners normally work for seven and a half or eight hours a day, and for six or six and a half days a week. This is about 45 hours a week for the whole year, except for two or three weeks' leave. In other words, a wage-earner works for 45 hours a week for 48 or 50 weeks of the year.

For a country like ours these are really quite short working hours. In other countries, even those which are more developed than we are, people work for more than 45 hours a week. It is not normal for a young country to start with such a short working week. The normal thing is to begin with long working hours and decrease them as the country becomes more and more prosperous. By starting with such short working hours and asking for even shorter hours, we are in fact imitating the more developed countries. And we shall regret this imitation. Nevertheless, wage-earners do work for 45 hours per week and their annual vacation does not exceed four weeks.

It would be appropriate to ask our farmers, especially the men, how many hours a week and how many weeks a year they work.

The Arusha Declaration

Many do not even work for half as many hours as the wage-earner does. The truth is that in the villages the women work very hard. At times they work for 12 or 14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and public holidays. Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half of their life. The energies of the millions of men in the villages and thousands of women in the towns which are at present wasted in gossip, dancing and drinking, are a great treasure which could contribute more towards the development of our country than anything we could get from rich nations.

We would be doing something very beneficial to our country if we went to the villages and told our people that they hold this treasure and that it is up to them to use it for their own benefit and the benefit of our whole nation.

(b) Intelligence

The second condition of development is the use of intelligence. Unintelligent hard work would not bring the same good results as the two combined. Using a big hoe instead of a small one; using a plough pulled by oxen instead of an ordinary hoe; the use of fertilizers; the use of insecticides; knowing the right crop for a particular season or soil; choosing good seeds for planting; knowing the right time for planting, weeding, etc.; all these things show the use of knowledge and intelligence. And all of them combine with hard work to produce more and better results.

The money and time we spend on passing on this knowledge to the peasants are better spent and bring more benefits to our country than the money and great amount of time we spend on other things which we call development.

These facts are well known to all of us. The parts of our Five-Year Development Plan which are on target, or where the target has been exceeded, are those parts which depend solely upon the people's own hard work. The production of cotton, coffee, cashew nuts, tobacco and pyrethrum has increased enormously for the past three years. But these are things which are produced by hard work and the good leadership of the people, not by the use of great amounts of money.

Furthermore the people, through their own hard work and with a little help and leadership, have finished many development projects

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

in the villages. They have built schools, dispensaries, community centres, and roads; they have dug wells, water-channels, animal dips, small dams, and completed various other development projects. Had they waited for money, they would not now have the use of these things.

HARD WORK IS THE ROOT OF DEVELOPMENT

Some Plan projects which depend on money are going on well, but there are many which have stopped and others which might never be fulfilled because of lack of money. Yet still we talk about money and our search for money increases and takes nearly all our energies. We should not lessen our efforts to get the money we really need, but it would be more appropriate for us to spend time in the villages showing the people how to bring about development through their own efforts rather than going on so many long and expensive journeys abroad in search of development money. This is the real way to bring development to everybody in the country.

None of this means that from now on we will not need money or that we will not start industries or embark upon development projects which require money. Furthermore, we are not saying that we will not accept, or even that we shall not look for, money from other countries for our development. This is NOT what we are saying. We will continue to use money; and each year we will use more money for the various development projects than we used the previous year because this will be one of the signs of our development.

What we are saying, however, is that from now on we shall know what is the foundation and what is the fruit of development. Between MONEY and PEOPLE it is obvious that the people and their HARD WORK are the foundation of development, and money is one of the fruits of that hard work.

From now on we shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries will come and money will come but their foundation is THE PEOPLE and their HARD WORK, especially in AGRICULTURE. This is the meaning of self-reliance. Our emphasis should therefore be on:

- (a) The Land and Agriculture
- (b) The People
- (c) The Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, and
- (d) Good Leadership.

The Arusha Declaration

(a) The Land

Because the economy of Tanzania depends and will continue to depend on agriculture and animal husbandry, Tanzanians can live well without depending on help from outside if they use their land properly. Land is the basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a valuable investment for future development. Because the land belongs to the nation, the Government has to see to it that it is used for the benefit of the whole nation and not for the benefit of one individual or just a few people.

It is the responsibility of TANU to see that the country produces enough food and enough cash crops for export. It is the responsibility of the Government and the co-operative societies to see to it that our people get the necessary tools, training and leadership in modern methods of agriculture.

(b) The People

In order properly to implement the policy of self-reliance, the people have to be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice. They must become self-sufficient in food, serviceable clothes and good housing.

In our country work should be something to be proud of, and laziness, drunkenness and idleness should be things to be ashamed of. And for the defence of our nation, it is necessary for us to be on guard against internal stooges who could be used by external enemies who aim to destroy us. The people should always be ready to defend their nation when they are called upon to do so.

(c) Good Policies

The principles of our policy of self-reliance go hand in hand with our policy on socialism. In order to prevent exploitation it is necessary for everybody to work and to live on his own labour. And in order to distribute the national wealth fairly, it is necessary for everybody to work to the maximum of his ability. Nobody should go and stay for a long time with his relative, doing no work, because in doing so he will be exploiting his relative. Likewise, nobody should be allowed to loiter in towns or villages without doing work which would enable him to be self-reliant without exploiting his relatives.

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

TANU believes that everybody who loves his nation has a duty to serve it by co-operating with his fellows in building the country for the benefit of all the people of Tanzania. In order to maintain our independence and our people's freedom we ought to be self-reliant in every possible way and avoid depending upon other countries for assistance. If every individual is self-reliant the ten-house cell will be self-reliant; if all the cells are self-reliant the whole ward will be self-reliant; and if the wards are self-reliant the District will be self-reliant. If the Districts are self-reliant, then the Region is self-reliant, and if the Regions are self-reliant, then the whole nation is self-reliant and this is our aim.

(d) Good Leadership

TANU recognizes the urgency and importance of good leadership. But we have not yet produced systematic training for our leaders; it is necessary that TANU Headquarters should now prepare a programme of training for all leaders—from the national level to the ten-house cell level—so that every one of them understands our political and economic policies. Leaders must set a good example to the rest of the people in their lives and in all their activities.

Part Four: TANU Membership

Since the Party was founded we have put great emphasis on getting as many members as possible. This was the right policy during the independence struggle. But now the National Executive feels that the time has come when we should put more emphasis on the beliefs of our Party and its policies of socialism.

That part of the TANU Constitution which relates to the admission of a member should be adhered to, and if it is discovered that a man does not appear to accept the faith, the objects, and the rules and regulations of the Party, then he should not be accepted as a member. In particular, it should not be forgotten that TANU is a Party of peasants and workers.

Part Five: The Arusha Resolution

Therefore, the National Executive Committee, meeting in the Community Centre at Arusha from 26.1.67 to 29.1.67, resolves:

The Arusha Declaration

(a) The Leadership

1. Every TANU and Government leader must be either a peasant or a worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of capitalism or feudalism.
2. No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any company.
3. No TANU or Government leader should hold directorships in any privately owned enterprise.
4. No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.
5. No TANU or Government leader should own houses which he rents to others.
6. For the purposes of this Resolution the term 'leader' should comprise the following:
Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers; Members of Parliament; senior officials of Organizations affiliated to TANU; senior officials of para-statal organizations; all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution; councillors; and civil servants in the high and middle cadres. (In this context 'leader' means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband).

(b) The Government and Other Institutions

1. Congratulates the Government for the steps it has taken so far in the implementation of the policy of socialism.
2. Calls upon the Government to take further steps in the implementation of our policy of socialism as described in Part Two of this document without waiting for a Presidential Commission on Socialism.
3. Calls upon the Government to put emphasis, when preparing its Development Plans, on the ability of this country to implement the Plans rather than depending on foreign loans and grants as has been done in the current Five-Year Development Plan. The National Executive Committee also resolves that the Plan should be amended so as to make it fit in with the policy of self-reliance.
4. Calls upon the Government to take action designed to ensure that the incomes of workers in the private sector are not very different from the incomes of workers in the public sector.
5. Calls upon the Government to put great emphasis on actions

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

which will raise the standard of living of the peasants, and the rural community.

5. Calls upon NUTA, the co-operatives, TAPA, UWT, TYL, and other Government institutions to take steps to implement the policy of socialism and self-reliance.

(c) Membership

Members should get thorough teaching on Party ideology so that they may understand it, and they should always be reminded of the importance of living up to its principles.

every year to education for some of our children (while others go without) unless its result has a proportionate relevance to the society we are trying to create.

The educational systems in different kinds of societies in the world have been, and are, very different in organization and in content. They are different because the societies providing the education are different, and because education, whether it be formal or informal, has a purpose. That purpose is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development.

This is true, explicitly or implicitly, for all societies—the capitalist societies of the West, the communist societies of the East, and the pre-colonial African societies too.

The fact that pre-colonial Africa did not have 'schools'—except for short periods of initiation in some tribes—did not mean that the children were not educated. They learned by living and doing. In the homes and on the farms they were taught the skills of the society, and the behaviour expected of its members. They learned the kind of graces which were suitable for which purposes, the work which had to be done on the crops, or the care which had to be given to animals, by joining with their elders in this work. They learned the tribal history, and the tribe's relationship with other tribes and with the spirits, by listening to the stories of the elders. Through these means, and by the custom of sharing to which young people were taught to conform, the values of the society were transmitted. Education was thus 'informal'; every adult was a teacher to a greater or lesser degree. But this lack of formality did not mean that there was no education, nor did it affect its importance to the society. Indeed, it may have made the education more directly relevant to the society in which the child was growing up.

In Europe education has been formalized for a very long time. An examination of its development will show, however, that it has always had similar objectives to those implicit in the traditional African system of education. That is to say, formal education in Europe was intended to reinforce the social ethics existing in the particular country, and to prepare the children and young people for the place they will have in that society. The same thing is true of communist countries now. The content of education is somewhat

30

Education for Self-Reliance

In March 1967, President Nyerere issued the first of his 'post-Arusha' policy directives, on education. It analyses the system and attitudes of education as they had evolved in Tanganyika, and then goes on to demand an educational revolution—a re-casting of the system in the light of Tanzania's needs and social objectives.

After this paper was issued a whole series of working parties—involving teachers and educational administrators—were set up to examine the means of implementing the new ideas. At the same time, many schools in the country—and particularly the secondary schools—began the work of opening farms, establishing workshops, and undertaking 'nation-building tests'.

Since long before independence the people of this country, under the leadership of TANU, have been demanding more education for their children. But we have never really stopped to consider why we want education—what its purpose is. Therefore, although over time there have been various criticisms about the details of curricula provided in schools, we have not until now questioned the basic system of education which we took over at the time of independence. We have never done that because we have never thought about education except in terms of obtaining teachers, engineers, administrators, etc. Individually and collectively we have in practice thought of education as a training for the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of our economy.

It is now time that we looked again at the justification for a poor society like ours spending almost 20 per cent of its Government revenues on providing education for its children and young people, and began to consider what that education should be doing. For in our circumstances it is impossible to devote Shs. 147,330,000/-

Education for Self-Reliance

different from that of Western countries, but the purpose is the same—to prepare young people to live in and to serve the society, and to transmit the knowledge, skills, and values and attitudes of the society. Wherever education fails in any of these fields, then the society falters in its progress, or there is social unrest as people find that their education has prepared them for a future which is not open to them.

COLONIAL EDUCATION IN TANZANIA AND THE INHERITANCE OF THE NEW STATE

The education provided by the colonial government in the two countries which now form Tanzania had a different purpose. It was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead, it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state. In these countries the state interest in education therefore stemmed from the need for local clerks and junior officials; on top of that, various religious groups were interested in spreading literacy and other education as part of their evangelical work.

This statement of fact is not given as a criticism of the many individuals who worked hard, often under difficult conditions, in teaching and in organizing educational work. Nor does it imply that all the values these people transmitted in the schools were wrong or inappropriate. What it does mean, however, is that the educational system introduced into Tanzania by the colonialists was modelled on the British system, but with even heavier emphasis on subservient attitudes and on white-collar skills. Inevitably, too, it was based on the assumptions of a colonialist and capitalist society. It emphasized and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his co-operative instincts. It led to the possession of individual material wealth being the major criterion of social merit and worth.

This meant that colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field. Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next; it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional

Freedom and Socialism | Ujamaa na Ujamaa

knowledge by the knowledge from a different society. It was thus a part of a deliberate attempt to effect a revolution in the society; to make it into a colonial society which accepted its status and which was an efficient adjunct to the governing power. Its failure to achieve these ends does not mean that it was without an influence on the attitudes, ideas, and knowledge of the people who experienced it. Nor does that failure imply that the education provided in colonial days is automatically relevant for the purposes of a free people committed to the principle of equality.

The independent state of Tanzania in fact inherited a system of education which was in many respects both inadequate and inappropriate for the new state. It was, however, its inadequacy which was most immediately obvious. So little education had been provided that in December 1961, we had too few people with the necessary educational qualifications even to man the administration of government as it was then, much less undertake the big economic and social development work which was essential. Neither was the school population in 1961 large enough to allow for any expectation that this situation would be speedily corrected. On top of that, education was based upon race, whereas the whole moral case of the independence movement had been based upon a rejection of racial distinctions.

ACTION SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The three most glaring faults of the educational inheritance have already been tackled. First, the racial distinctions within education were abolished. Complete integration of the separate racial systems was introduced very soon after independence, and discrimination on grounds of religion was also brought to an end. A child in Tanzania can now secure admittance to any Government or Government-aided school in this country without regard to his race or religion and without fear that he will be subject to religious indoctrination as the price of learning.

Secondly, there has been a very big expansion of educational facilities available, especially at the secondary school and post-secondary school levels. In 1961 there were 490,000 children attending primary schools in Tanganyika, the majority of them only going up to Standard IV. In 1967 there were 825,000 children attending such

Education for Self-Reliance

schools, and increasingly these will be full seven-year primary schools. In 1961, too, there were 11,832 children in secondary schools, only 176 of whom were in Form VI. This year there are 25,000 and 830. This is certainly something for our young state to be proud of. It is worth reminding ourselves that our present problems (especially the so-called problem of the primary school leavers) are revealing themselves largely because of these successes.

The third action we have taken is to make the education provided in all schools much more Tanzanian in content. No longer do our children simply learn British and European history. Faster than would have been thought possible, our University College and other institutions are providing materials on the history of Africa and making these available to our teachers. Our national songs and dances are once again being learned by our children; our national language has been given the importance in our curriculum which it needs and deserves. Also, civics classes taken by Tanzanians are beginning to give the secondary school pupils an understanding of the organization and aims of our young state. In these and other ways changes have been introduced to make our educational system more relevant to our needs. At this time, when there is so much general and justified questioning of what is being done, it is appropriate that we should pay tribute to the work of our teachers and those who support their work in the Ministry, in the Institute of Education, the University College and the District Councils.

Yet all these things I have mentioned are modifications of the system we have inherited. Their results have not yet been seen; it takes years for a change in education to have its effect. The events of 1966 do suggest, however, that a more thorough examination of the education we are providing must be made. It is now clearly time for us to think seriously about this question: 'What is the educational system in Tanzania intended to do—what is its purpose?' Having decided that, we have to look at the relevance of the existing structure and content of Tanzanian education for the task it has to do. In the light of that examination we can consider whether, in our present circumstances, further modifications are required or whether we need a change in the whole approach.

WHAT KIND OF SOCIETY ARE WE TRYING TO BUILD?

Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational service to serve our goals. But this is not now a problem in Tanzania. Although we do not claim to have drawn up a blueprint of the future, the values and objectives of our society have been stated many times. We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none. We have set out these ideas clearly in the National Ethic; and in the Arusha Declaration and earlier documents we have outlined the principles and policies we intend to follow. We have also said on many occasions that our objective is greater African unity, and that we shall work for this objective while in the meantime defending the absolute integrity and sovereignty of the United Republic. Most often of all, our Government and people have stressed the equality of all citizens, and our determination that economic, political, and social policies shall be deliberately designed to make a reality of that equality in all spheres of life. We are, in other words, committed to a socialist future and one in which the people will themselves determine the policies pursued by a Government which is responsible to them.

It is obvious, however, that if we are to make progress towards these goals, we in Tanzania must accept the realities of our present position, internally and externally, and then work to change these realities into something more in accord with our desires. And the truth is that our United Republic has at present a poor, undeveloped, and agricultural economy. We have very little capital to invest in big factories or modern machines; we are short of people with skill and experience. What we do have is land in abundance and people who are willing to work hard for their own improvement. It is the use of these latter resources which will decide whether we reach our total goals or not. If we use these resources in a spirit of self-reliance as the basis for development, then we shall make progress slowly but surely. And it will then be real progress, affecting the lives of the masses, not just having spectacular show-pieces in the towns while the rest of the people of Tanzania live in their present poverty.

Pursuing this path means that Tanzania will continue to have a

predominantly rural economy for a long time to come. And as it is in the rural areas that people live and work, to it is in the rural areas that life must be improved. This is not to say that we shall have no industries and factories in the near future. We have some now and they will continue to expand. But it would be grossly unrealistic to imagine that in the near future more than a small proportion of our people will live in towns and work in modern industrial enterprises. It is therefore the villages which must be made into places where people live a good life; it is in the rural areas that people must be able to find their material well-being and their satisfactions.

This improvement in village life will not, however, come automatically. It will come only if we pursue a deliberate policy of using the resources we have—our manpower and our land—to the best advantage. This means people working hard, intelligently, and together; in other words, working in co-operation. Our people in the rural areas, as well as their Government, must organize themselves co-operatively and work for themselves through working for the community of which they are members. Our village life, as well as our state organization, must be based on the principles of socialism and that equality in work and return which is part of it.

This is what our educational system has to encourage. It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings, cars, or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned. Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past.

This means that the educational system of Tanzania must emphasize co-operative endeavour, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry, or in academic pursuits. And, in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; for this leads to the well-educated despising those whose abilities are non-academic or who have no special abilities but are just human beings.

Such arrogance has no place in a society of equal citizens.

It is, however, not only in relation to social values that our educational system has a task to do. It must also prepare young people for the work they will be called upon to do in the future, which is in Tanzania—a rural society where improvement will depend largely upon the efforts of the people in agriculture and in village development. This does not mean that education in Tanzania should be designed just to produce passive agricultural workers of different levels of skill who simply carry out plans or directions received from above. It must produce good farmers; it has also to prepare people for their responsibilities as free workers and citizens in a free and democratic society, albeit a largely rural society. They have to be able to think for themselves, to make judgements on all the issues affecting them; they have to be able to interpret the decisions made through the democratic institutions of our society, and to implement them in the light of the peculiar local circumstances where they happen to live.

It would thus be a gross misinterpretation of our needs to suggest that the educational system should be designed to produce robots, who work hard but never question what the leaders in Government or TANU are doing and saying. For the people are, and must be, always responsible to the people, and our Government and our Party must always be responsible to the people, and must always consist of representatives—spokesmen and servants of the people. The education provided must therefore encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains.

These things are important for both the vocational and the social aspects of education. However much agriculture a young person learns, he will not find a book which will give him all the answers to all the detailed problems he will come across on his own farm. He will have to learn the basic principles of modern knowledge in agriculture and then adapt them to solve his own problems. Similarly, the free citizens of Tanzania will have to judge social issues for themselves; there neither is, nor will be, a political 'holy book' which purports to give all the answers to all the social, political and economic

Education for Self-Reliance

at home in the world of the educated than he is among his own parents. Only during vacations has he spent times at home, and even then he will often find that his parents and relatives support his own conception of his difference, and regard it as wrong that he should live and work as the ordinary person he really is. For the truth is that many of the people in Tanzania have come to regard education as meaning that a man is too precious for the rough and hard life which the masses of our people still live.

The third point is that our present system encourages school pupils in the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books or from 'educated people'—meaning those who have been through a formal education. The knowledge and wisdom of other old people is despised, and they themselves regarded as being ignorant and of no account. Indeed it is not only the education system which at present has this effect. Government and Party themselves tend to judge people according to whether they have 'passed school certificate', 'have a degree', etc. If a man has these qualifications we assume he can fill a post; we do not wait to find out about his attitudes, his character, or any other ability except the ability to pass examinations. If a man does not have these qualifications we assume he cannot do a job; we ignore his knowledge and experience. For example, I recently visited a very good tobacco-producing peasant. But if I tried to take him into Government as a Tobacco Extension Officer, I would run up against the system because he has no formal education. Everything we do stresses book learning, and underestimates the value to our society of traditional knowledge and the wisdom which is often acquired by intelligent men and women as they experience life, even without their being able to read at all.

This does not mean that any person can do any job simply because they are old and wise, nor that educational qualifications are not necessary. This is a mistake our people sometimes fall into as a reaction against the arrogance of the book-learned. A man is not necessarily wise because he is old; a man cannot necessarily run a factory because he has been working in it as a labourer or store-keeper for 20 years. But equally he may not be able to do so if he has a Doctorate in Commerce. The former may have honesty and ability to weigh up men; the latter may have the ability to initiate a transaction and work out the economics of it. But both qualify.

Freedom and Socialism | Ujamaa na Ujamaa

actions are necessary in one man if the factory is to be a successful and modern enterprise serving our nation. It is as much a mistake to over-value book learning as it is to under-value it.

The same thing applies in relation to agricultural knowledge. Our farmers have been on the land for a long time. The methods they use are the result of long experience in the struggle with nature; even the rules and taboos they honour have a basis in reason. It is not enough to abuse a traditional farmer as old-fashioned; we must try to understand why he is doing certain things, and not just assume he is stupid. But this does not mean that his methods are sufficient for the future. The traditional systems may have been appropriate for the economy which existed when they were worked out and for the technical knowledge then available. But different tools and different land tenure systems are being used now; land should no longer be used for a year or two and then abandoned for up to 20 years to give time for natural regeneration to take place. The introduction of an ox-plough instead of a hoe—and, even more, the introduction of a tractor—means more than just a different way of turning over the land. It requires a change in the organization of work, both to see that the maximum advantage is taken of the new tool, and also to see that the new method does not simply lead to the rapid destruction of our land and the egalitarian basis of our society. Again, therefore, our young people have to learn both a practical respect for the knowledge of the old 'uneducated' farmer and an understanding of new methods and the reason for them.

Yet at present our pupils learn to despise even their own parents because they are old-fashioned and ignorant; there is nothing in our existing educational system which suggests to the pupil that he can learn important things about farming from his elders. The result is that he absorbs beliefs about witchcraft before he goes to school, but does not learn the properties of local grasses; he absorbs the taboos from his family but does not learn the methods of making nutritious traditional foods. And from school he acquires knowledge unrelated to agricultural life. He gets the worst of both systems!

Finally, and in some ways most importantly, our young and poor nation is taking out of productive work some of its healthiest and strongest young men and women. Not only do they fail to contribute to that increase in output which is so urgent for our nation; they themselves consume the output of the older and often

Education for Self-Reliance

at home in the world of the educated than he is among his own parents. Only during vacations has he spent time at home, and even then he will often find that his parents and relatives support his own conception of his difference, and regard it as wrong that he should live and work as the ordinary person he really is. For the truth is that many of the people in Tanzania have come to regard education as meaning that a man is too precious for the rough and hard life which the masses of our people still live.

The third point is that our present system encourages school pupils in the idea that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books or from 'educated people'—meaning those who have been through a formal education. The knowledge and wisdom of other old people is despised, and they themselves regarded as being ignorant and of no account. Indeed it is not only the education system which at present has this effect. Government and Party members tend to judge people according to whether they have 'passed school certificate', 'have a degree', etc. If a man has these qualifications we assume he can fill a post; we do not wait to find out about his attitudes, his character, or any other ability except the ability to pass examinations. If a man does not have these qualifications we assume he cannot do a job; we ignore his knowledge and experience. For example, I recently visited a very good tobacco-producing peasant. But if I tried to take him into Government as a Tobacco Extension Officer, I would run up against the system because he has no formal education. Everything we do stresses book learning, and underestimates the value to our society of traditional knowledge and the wisdom which is often acquired by intelligent men and women as they experience life, even without their being able to read at all.

This does not mean that any person can do any job simply because they are old and wise, nor that educational qualifications are not necessary. This is a mistake our people sometimes fall into as a reaction against the arrogance of the book-learned. A man is not necessarily wise because he is old; a man cannot necessarily run a factory because he has been working in it as a labourer or store-keeper for 20 years. But equally he may not be able to do so if he has a Doctorate in Commerce. The former may have honesty and ability to weigh up men; the latter may have the ability to initiate a transaction and work out the economics of it. But both qualify.

Freedom and Socialism | Ujamaa na Ujamaa

conditions are necessary in one man if the factory is to be a successful and modern enterprise serving our nation. It is as much a mistake to over-value book learning as it is to under-value it.

The same thing applies in relation to agricultural knowledge. Our farmers have been on the land for a long time. The methods they use are the result of long experience in the struggle with nature; even the rules and taboos they honour have a basis in reason. It is not enough to abuse a traditional farmer as old-fashioned; we must try to understand why he is doing certain things, and not just assume he is stupid. But this does not mean that his methods are sufficient for the future. The traditional systems may have been appropriate for the economy which existed when they were worked out and for the technical knowledge then available. But different tools and different land tenure systems are being used now; land should no longer be used for a year or two and then abandoned for up to 20 years to give time for natural regeneration to take place. The introduction of an ox-plough instead of a hoe—and, even more, the introduction of a tractor—means more than just a different way of turning over the land. It requires a change in the organization of work, both to see that the maximum advantage is taken of the new tool, and also to see that the new method does not simply lead to the rapid destruction of our land and the egalitarian basis of our society. Again, therefore, our young people have to learn both a practical respect for the knowledge of the old 'uneducated' farmer and an understanding of new methods and the reason for them.

Yet at present our pupils learn to despise even their own parents because they are old-fashioned and ignorant; there is nothing in our existing educational system which suggests to the pupil that he can learn important things about farming from his elders. The result is that he absorbs beliefs about witchcraft before he goes to school, but does not learn the properties of local grasses; he absorbs the taboos from his family but does not learn the methods of making nutritious traditional foods. And from school he acquires knowledge unrelated to agricultural life. He gets the worst of both systems! Finally, and in some ways most importantly, our young and poor nation is taking out of productive work some of its healthiest and strongest young men and women. Not only do they fail to contribute to that increase in output which is so urgent for our nation; they themselves consume the output of the older and often

Education for Self-Reliance

weaker people. There are almost 25,000 students in secondary schools now; they do not learn as they work, they simply learn. What is more, they take it for granted that this should be so. Whereas in a wealthy country like the United States of America it is common for young people to work their way through high school and college, in Tanzania the structure of our education makes it impossible for them to do so. Even during the holidays we assume that these young men and women should be protected from rough work; neither they nor the community expect them to spend their time on hard physical labour or on jobs which are uncomfortable and unpleasant. This is not simply a reflection of the fact that there are many people looking for unskilled paid employment—pay is not the question at issue. It is a reflection of the attitude we have all adopted.

How many of our students spend their vacations doing a job which could improve people's lives but for which there is no money—jobs like digging an irrigation channel or a drainage ditch for a village, or demonstrating the construction and explaining the benefits of deep-pit latrines, and so on? A small number have done such work in the National Youth Camps or through school-organized, nation-building schemes, but they are the exception rather than the rule. The vast majority do not think of their knowledge or their strength as being related to the needs of the village community.

CAN THESE FAULTS BE CORRECTED?

There are three major aspects which require attention if this situation is to change: the content of the curriculum itself, the organization of the schools, and the entry age into primary schools. But although these aspects are in some ways separate, they are also inter-linked. We cannot integrate the pupils and students into the future society simply by theoretical teaching, however well designed it is. Neither can the society fully benefit from an education system which is thoroughly integrated into local life but does not teach people the basic skills—for example, of literacy and arithmetic, or which fails to excite in them a curiosity about ideas. Nor can we expect those finishing primary schools to be useful young citizens if they are still only twelve or thirteen years of age.

In considering changes in the present structure it is also essential that we face the facts of our present economic situation. Every

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

penny spent on education is money taken away from some other needed activity—whether it is an investment in the future, better medical services, or just more food, clothing and comfort for our citizens at present. And the truth is that there is no possibility of Tanzania being able to increase the proportion of the national income which is spent on education; it ought to be decreased. Therefore we cannot solve our present problems by any solution which costs more than is at present spent; in particular we cannot solve the 'problem of primary school leavers' by increasing the number of secondary school places.

This 'problem of primary school leavers' is in fact a product of the present system. Increasingly children are starting school at six or even five years of age, so that they finish primary school when they are still too young to become responsible young workers and citizens. On top of that is the fact that the society and the type of education they have received both led them to expect wage employment—probably in an office. In other words, their education was not sufficiently related to the tasks which have to be done in our society. This problem therefore calls for a major change in the content of our primary education and for the raising of the primary school entry age so that the child is older when he leaves, and also able to learn more quickly while he is at school.

There is no other way in which this problem of primary school leavers can be solved. Unpleasant though it may be, the fact is that it is going to be a long time before we can provide universal primary education in Tanzania; for the vast majority of those who do get this opportunity, it will be only the equivalent of the present seven years' education. It is only a few who will have the chance of going on to secondary schools, and quite soon only a proportion of these who will have an opportunity of going on to university, even if they can benefit from doing so. These are the economic facts of life for our country. They are the practical meaning of our poverty. The only choice before us is how we allocate the educational opportunities, and whether we emphasize the individual interests of the few or whether we design our educational system to serve the community as a whole. And for a socialist state only the latter is really possible.

The implication of this is that the education given in our primary schools must be a complete education in itself. It must not continue

to be simply a preparation for secondary school. Instead of the primary school activities being geared to the competitive examination which will select the few who go on to secondary school, they must be a preparation for the life which the majority of the children will lead. Similarly, secondary schools must not be simply preparation for the entrance examinations to the Colleges, and so on. They must prepare people for life and service in the villages and rural areas of the country. Even in Tanzania, the justification for secondary education is that it is needed by the few for service to the many. The teacher in a seven-year primary school system needs an education which goes beyond seven years; the extension officer who will help a population with a seven-year education needs a lot more himself. Other essential services need higher education—for example, doctors and engineers need long and careful training. But publicity provided 'education for education's sake' must be general education for the masses. Further education for a selected few must be education for service to the many. There can be no other justification for taxing the many to give education to only a few.

Yet it is easy to say that our primary and secondary schools must prepare young people for the realities and needs of Tanzania; to do it requires a radical change, not only in the education system but also in many existing community attitudes. In particular, it requires that examinations should be down-graded in Government and public esteem. We have to recognize that although they have certain advantages—for example, in reducing the dangers of nepotism and tribalism in a selection process—they also have severe disadvantages too. As a general rule they assess a person's ability to learn facts and present them on demand within a time period. They do not always succeed in assessing a power to reason, and they certainly do not assess character or willingness to serve.

Further, at the present time our curriculum and syllabus are geared to the examinations set—only to a very limited extent does the reverse situation apply. A teacher who is trying to help his pupils often studies the examination papers for past years and judges what questions are most likely to be asked next time; he then concentrates his teaching on those matters, knowing that by doing so he is giving his children the best chance of getting through to secondary school or university. And the examinations our children at present sit are themselves geared to an international standard and

practice which has developed regardless of our particular problems and needs. What is needed to do now is think first about the education we want to provide, and then that thinking is completed think about what form of examination is an appropriate way of achieving an education of that kind. Such an examination should be designed to fit the education which has been provided.

Most important of all is that we should change the things we demand of our schools. We should not determine the type of things children are taught in primary schools by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist, or administrator needs to know. Most of our pupils will never be any of these things. We should determine the types of things taught in the primary schools by the things which the boy or girl ought to know—that is, the skills he is to acquire and the values he ought to cherish if he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society, and contribute to the improvement of life there. Our rights must be on the majority; if it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus. Those most suitable for further education will still become obvious and they will not suffer. For the purpose is not to provide an inferior education to that given at present. The purpose is to provide a different education—one realistically designed to fulfil the common purpose of education in the particular society of Tanzania. The same thing must be true at post-primary schools. The object of the teaching must be the provision of knowledge, skills and attitudes which will serve the student when he or she lives and works in a developing and changing socialist state; it must not be aimed at university entrance.

Alongside this change in the approach to the curriculum there must be a parallel and integrated change in the way our schools are run, so as to make them and their inhabitants a real part of our society and our economy. Schools must, in fact, become communities—and communities which practise the precept of self-reliance. The teachers, workers, and pupils together must be the members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives, and children are the family social unit. There must be the same kind of relationship between pupils and teachers within the school community as there is between children and parents in the village. And the former community must realize, just as the latter do, that their life and well-being depend upon the production of wealth—by farming or other

Education for Self-Reliance

activities. This means that all schools, but especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities. Each school should have, as an integral part of it, a farm or workshop which provides the food eaten by the community, and makes some contribution to the total national income.

This is not a suggestion that a school farm or workshop should be attached to every school for training purposes. It is a suggestion that every school should also be a farm; that the school community should consist of people who are both teachers and farmers, and pupils and farmers. Obviously if there is a school farm, the pupils working on it should be learning the techniques and tasks of farming. But the farm would be an integral part of the school—and the welfare of the pupils would depend on its output, just as the welfare of a farmer depends on the output of his land. Thus, when this scheme is in operation, the revenue side of school accounts would not just read as at present—'Grant from Government . . .'; Grant from voluntary agency or other charity . . .'. They would read—'Income from sale of cotton (or whatever other cash crop was appropriate for the area) . . .'; Value of the food grown and consumed . . .'; Value of labour done by pupils on new building, repairs, equipment, etc . . .'; Government subvention . . .'; Grant from . . .

This is a break with our educational tradition, and unless its purpose and its possibilities are fully understood by teachers and parents, it may be resented at the beginning. But the truth is that it is not a regressive measure, nor a punishment either for teachers or pupils. It is a recognition that we in Tanzania have to work our way out of poverty, and that we are all members of the one society, depending upon each other. There will be difficulties of implementation, especially at first. For example, we do not now have a host of experienced farm managers who could be used as planners and teachers on the new school farms. But this is not an insuperable difficulty; and certainly life will not halt in Tanzania until we get experienced farm managers. Life and farming will go on as we train. Indeed, by using good local farmers as supervisors and teachers of particular aspects of the work, and using the services of the Agricultural Officers and assistants, we shall be helping to break down the

Freedom and Socialism | Ujamaa na Ujamaa

sation that only book learning is worthy of respect. This is an important element in our socialist development.

Neither does this concept of schools contributing to their own upkeep simply mean using our children as labourers who follow traditional methods. On the contrary, on a school farm pupils can learn by doing. The important place of the hoe and of other simple tools can be demonstrated; the advantages of improved seeds, of simple ox-ploughs, and of proper methods of animal husbandry can become obvious; and the pupils can learn by practice how to use these things to the best advantage. The farm work and products should be integrated into the school life; thus the properties of fertilizers can be explained in the science classes, and their use and limitations experienced by the pupils as they see them in use. The possibilities of proper grazing practices, and of terracing and soil conservation methods can all be taught theoretically, at the same time as they are put into practice; the students will then understand what they are doing and why, and will be able to analyse any failures and consider possibilities for greater improvement.

But the school farms must not be, and indeed could not be, highly mechanized demonstration farms. We do not have the capital which would be necessary for this to happen, and neither would it teach the pupils anything about the life they will be leading. The school farms must be created by the school community clearing their own bush, and so on—but doing it together. They must be used with no more capital assistance than is available to an ordinary, established, co-operative farm where the work can be supervised. By such means the students can learn the advantages of co-operative endeavour, even when outside capital is not available in any significant quantities. Again, the advantages of co-operation could be studied in the classroom, as well as being demonstrated on the farm.

The most important thing is that the school members should learn that it is their farm, and that their living standards depend on it. Pupils should be given an opportunity to make many of the decisions necessary—for example, whether to spend money they have earned on hiring a tractor to get land ready for planting, or whether to use that money for other purposes on the farm or in the school, and doing the hard work themselves by sheer physical labour. By this sort of practice and by this combination of classroom work and farm work, our educated young people will learn to realize that if they farm well

Education for Self-Reliance

they can eat well and have better facilities in the dormitories, recreation rooms, and so on. If they work badly, then they themselves will suffer. In this process Government should avoid laying down detailed and rigid rules; each school must have considerable flexibility. Only then can the potential of that particular area be utilized, and only then can the participants practise—and learn to value—direct democracy.

By such means our students will relate work to comfort. They will learn the meaning of living together and working together for the good of all, and also the value of working together with the local non-school community. For they will learn that many things require more than school effort—that irrigation may be possible if they work with neighbouring farmers, that development requires a choice between present and future satisfaction, both for themselves and their village.

At the beginning it is probable that a good number of mistakes will be made, and it would certainly be wrong to give complete untrammelled choice to young pupils right from the start. But although guidance must be given by the school authorities and a certain amount of discipline exerted, the pupils must be able to participate in decisions and learn by mistakes. For example, they can learn to keep a school farm log in which proper records are kept of the work done, the fertilizers applied, or food given to the animals, etc., and the results from different parts of the farm. Then they can be helped to see where changes are required, and why. For it is also important that the idea of planning be taught in the classroom and related to the farm; the whole school should join in the programming of a year's work, and the break-down of responsibility and timing within that overall programme. Extra benefits to particular groups within the school might then well be related to the proper fulfilment of the tasks set, once all the members of the school have received the necessary minimum for healthy development. Again, this sort of planning can be part of the teaching of socialism.

Where schools are situated in the rural areas, and in relation to new schools built in the future, it should be possible for the school farm to be part of the school site. But in towns, and in some of the old-established schools in heavily populated areas, this will not be possible. In such cases a school might put more emphasis on other productive activities, or it may be that in boarding schools the

Freedom and Socialism: Uthuru na Ujamaa

pupils can spend part of the school year in the classroom and another part in camp on the school farm some distance away. The plan for each school will have to be worked out; it would certainly be wrong to exclude urban schools, even when they are day schools, from this new approach.

Many other activities now undertaken for pupils, especially in secondary schools, should be undertaken by the pupils themselves. After all, a child who starts school at seven years of age is already fourteen before he enters secondary school, and may be twenty or twenty-one when he leaves. Yet in many of our schools now we employ cleaners and gardeners, not just to supervise and teach but to do all that work. The pupils get used to the idea of having their food prepared by servants, their plates washed up for them, their rooms cleaned, and the school garden kept attractive. If they are asked to participate in these tasks, they even feel aggrieved and do as little as possible, depending on the strictness of the teacher's supervision. This is because they have not learned to take a pride in having clean rooms and nice gardens, in the way that they have learned to take a pride in a good essay or a good mathematics paper. But is it impossible for these tasks to be incorporated into the total teaching task of the school? Is it necessary for head teachers and their secretaries to spend hours working out travel warrants for school holidays, and so on? Can none of these things be incorporated into classroom teaching so that pupils learn how to do these things for themselves by doing them? Is it impossible, in other words, for secondary schools at least to become reasonably self-sufficient communities, where the teaching and supervisory skills are imported from outside, but where other tasks are either done by the community or paid for by its productive efforts? It is true that, to the pupils, the school is only a temporary community, but for up to seven years this is the group to which they really belong.

Obviously such a position could not be reached overnight. It requires a basic change in both organization and teaching, and will therefore have to be introduced gradually, with the schools taking an increasing responsibility for their own well-being as the months pass. Neither would primary schools be able to do so much for themselves—although it should be remembered that the older pupils will be thirteen and fourteen years of age, at which time children in many European countries are already at work.

But, although primary schools cannot accept the same responsibility for their own well-being as secondary schools, it is absolutely vital that they, and their pupils, should be thoroughly integrated into the village life. The pupils must remain an integral part of the family (or community) economic unit. The children must be made part of the community by having responsibilities to the community, and having the community involved in school activities. The school work—terms, times, and so on—must be so arranged that the children can participate, as members of the family, in the family farms, or as junior members of the community on community farms. At present children who do not go to school work on the family or community farm, or look after cattle, as a matter of course. It must be equally a matter of course that the children who do attend school should participate in the family work—not as a favour when they feel like it, but as a normal part of their upbringing. The present attitudes whereby the school is regarded as something separate, and the pupils as people who do not have to contribute to the work, must be abandoned. In this, of course, parents have a special duty; but the schools can contribute a great deal to the development of this attitude.

There are many different ways in which this integration can be achieved. But it will have to be done deliberately, and with the conscious intention of making the children realize that they are being educated by the community in order that they shall become intelligent and active members of the community. One possible way of achieving this would give to primary school pupils the same advantages of learning by doing as the secondary school pupils will have. If the primary school children were to be a village community farm—perhaps having special responsibility for a given number of acres—they can learn the techniques and skills of a village or school economy. If the techniques and skills of a village are a school economy achievement, then the children can be made to realize that the school can help in the task-sharing in return for a school contribution in labour to those existing community projects.

Again, if development work—new buildings or other things—are needed in the school, then the children and the local villagers should work on it together, allocating responsibility according to comparative health and strength. The children should certainly do their own cleaning (boys as well as girls should be involved in this), and should

learn the value of working together and of planning for the future. Thus for example, if they have their own shamba the children should be involved not only in the work, but also in the allocation of any food crop produced. They should participate in the choice between benefit to the school directly, or to the village as a whole, and between present future benefit by these and other appropriate means the children must learn from the beginning to the end of their school life that education does not set the pupils apart, but is designed to help them be effective members of the community, and to their own benefit as well as that of their country and their neighbours.

One difficulty in the way of this kind of reorganization is the present examination system; if pupils spend more of their time on learning to do practical work, and on contributing to their own upkeep and the development of the community, they will not be able to take the present kind of examinations—at least within the same time period. It is, however, difficult to see why the present examination system should be regarded as sacrosanct. Other countries are moving away from this method of selection, and either abandoning examinations altogether at the lowest levels, or combining them with other assessments. There is no reason why Tanzania should not combine an examination, which is based on the things we teach, with a teacher and pupil assessment of work done for the school and community. This would be a more appropriate method of selecting entrants for secondary schools and for university, Teacher Training College, and so on, than the present purely academic procedure. Once a more detailed outline of this new approach to education is worked out, the question of selection procedure should be looked at again.

This new form of working in our schools will require some considerable organizational change. It may be also that the present division of the school year into rigid terms with long holidays would have to be examined; animals cannot be left alone for part of the year, nor can the school farms support the students if everyone is on holiday when the school is closed, and the school is not harvesting. But it should not be impossible for school holidays to be staggered so that different forms go at different periods or, in double shifts, to secondary schools, for part of a form to go at one time and the rest at another. It would take a considerable amount of organization and administration, but there is no reason why it could not be done if we once make up our minds to it.

Education for Self-Reliance

It will probably be suggested that if the children are working as well as learning they will therefore be able to learn less academically, and that this will affect standards of administration, in the professions and so on, throughout our nation in time to come. In fact it is doubtful whether this is necessarily so: the recent tendency to admit children to primary schools at ages of five and six years has almost certainly meant that less can be taught at the early stages. The reversion to seven or eight years' entrance will allow the pace to be increased somewhat; the older children inevitably learn a little faster. A child is unlikely to learn less academically if the studies related to his life be seen around him.

But even if this suggestion were true on a possible fact, it could not be allowed to deter us from the need for the children to have educational initiation with our national life. For the majority of our people the thing which matters is that they should be able to read and write fluently in Swahili, that they should have an ability to do arithmetic, and that they should know something of the history, values, and workings of their country and their Government, and that they should acquire the skills necessary to earn their living. (It is important to stress that in Tanzania most people will earn their living by working on their own or on a communal shamba, and only a few will do so by working for wages which they have to spend on buying things the farmer produces for himself.) Things like health science, geography, and the beginning of English, are also important, especially so that the people who wish may be able to learn more by themselves in later life. But most important of all is that our primary school graduates should be able to fit into, and to serve, the communities from which they come.

The same principles of integration into the community, and applicability to its needs, must also be followed at post-secondary level, but young people who have been through such an integrated system of education as that outlined are unlikely to forget their debt to the community by an intense period of study at the end of their formal educational life. Yet even at university, medical school, or other post-secondary levels, there is no reason why students should continue to have all their washing up and cleaning done for them. Nor is there any reason why students at such institutions should not be required as part of their degree or professional training, to spend at least part of their vacations contributing to the society in a manner

Freedom and Socialism | Uhuru na Ujamaa

related to their studies. At present some undergraduates spend their vacations working in Government offices—getting paid at normal employee rates for doing so. It would be more appropriate (once the organization had been set up efficiently) for them to undertake projects needed by the community, even if there is insufficient money for them to continue paid employment. For example, the collection of local history, work on the census, participation in adult education activities, work in dispensaries etc., would give the student educational experience in his own field, and they could receive the equivalent of the minimum wage, or a percentage of money due for work which would otherwise be done towards welfare or sports equipment. Such work should earn credits for the student which count towards his examination result; a student who shirks such work—or fails to do it properly—would then find that two things follow. First, his fellow students might be blaming him for shortfalls in proposed welfare or other improvements; and second, his degree would be down-graded accordingly.

CONCLUSION

The education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purposes of Tanzania. It must encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to. It must encourage the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development, and which knows the advantages and the problems of co-operation. It must ensure that the educated know themselves to be an integral part of the nation and recognize the responsibility to give greater service the greater the opportunities they have had.

This is not only a matter of school organization and curriculum. Social values are formed by family, school, and society—by the total environment in which a child develops. But it is no use our educational system stressing values and knowledge appropriate to the past or to the citizens in other countries; it is wrong if it even contributes to the continuation of those inequalities and privileges which still exist in our society because of our inheritance. Let our students be educated to be members and servants of the kind of just and egalitarian future to which this country aspires.

APPENDIX D

ADULT EDUCATIONDevelopment ExpenditureRecurrent Expenditure

GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTION

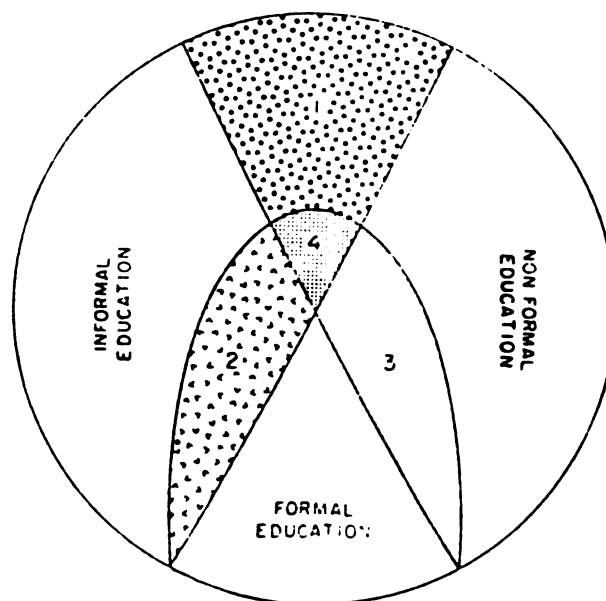
SIDA TOTAL

YEAR	EDUCATION HDQRTS	MWANZA LIT.CENTRE	REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT DIRECTORS	FDCS	LITERACY PRG.	FDCS	GOVT.* SIDA
1969/70	2,457,495						2,457,495
1970/71	8,966,500	1,000,000					9,966,500
1971/72	9,471,800	1,600,000			3,553,550		14,625,350
1972/73	7,258,200	1,696,000	12,542,230		12,000,000		33,496,430
1973/74	18,371,500	1,813,900	15,559,770		7,700,000		43,445,177
1974/75	23,078,000	1,708,440	24,227,150		18,295,733		67,310,123
1975/76	12,763,260	1,579,300	12,124,800	500,000	30,038,065	4,000,000	61,005,425
1976/77	10,557,300	1,865,320	24,162,350	9,000,000	4,000,000	13,100,000	62,684,970
1977/78	11,502,270	1,985,740	67,119,500	10,889,300	24,106,000	13,870,000	129,472,810
1978/79	12,605,800	1,956,700	63,980,237	10,344,800	14,080,000	13,440,000	116,407,537
1979/80	12,627,950	1,535,500	67,394,850	10,503,275	23,200,000	16,000,000	131,261,575
1980/81	15,324,000	1,690,000	79,290,860	12,367,000	22,250,000	15,000,000	145,921,860
1981/82	20,511,700	2,437,500	93,062,500	25,607,900	15,840,000	15,300,000	172,759,600

Above statistics secured from Mduku A. Z. Mpogolo (December, 1982)

* Approved estimates

AN ILLUSTRATION SHOWING THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCE
IN A SOCIETY AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF FORMAL,
NON FORMAL AND INFORMAL EDUCATION



- 1 Overlap between Informal and Nonformal Education
- 2 Overlap between Informal and Formal Education
- 3 Overlap between Non formal and Formal Education
- 4 Overlap between Informal, Non formal and Formal Education

NOTE: It should be noted that the time of Informal, Non formal and Formal education will vary according to the program and society. Also, the overlapping Areas 1, 2, 3 and 4 vary from one program to another.

Source: "Comparative Analysis of Rural Development Projects." Non-formal Education as a Strategy in Development. Alemneh DeJene. 1980.

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

Listing of Respondents and Other Interviewees

Name	Position	Institution/Location
1. Dr. A. G. Ishumi	Author/Professor	University of Dar es Salaam
2. Mr. A. S. Mbise	Professor, College of Education	University of Dar es Salaam
3. Mr. A. Z. Mpogolo	Director, Adult Education	Ministry of National Education
4. Mrs. Bernadette Fumuko	Director, Arnautogola Folk Development College	Dar es Salaam
5. Mr. Hilary Nchimbi	Researcher, Institute of Adult Education Division	Ministry of National Education
6. Mr. Himatel Shah	Proprietor	Shah Industries Moshi
7. Dr. I. Mvungi	Commissioner	UNESCO
8. Dr. R. M. Kilindo	Acting Director, Adult Education Center	Dar es Salaam
9. Mr. S. Lema	Director, Adult Education Center	Moshi
10. Dr. Yosiah Bwatwa	Professor, Adult Education	University of Dar es Salaam

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, D. Education in National Development. London: Routledge & Kegan, 1971.
- Adult Education and Development in Tanzania. Tanzania: National Adult Education Association of Tanzania, 1975, Vol. 1.
- "Adult Education for Social Change: All India Declaration." Convergence. Vol. XV, #4, International Council on Adult Education, Toronto, 1982.
- Adult Education Handbook. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1973.
- "Adult Education in Developing Countries". The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education. 1st ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1977.
- Africa: South of the Sahara. London: Europa Publishing, Ltd., 1982.
- Africa World Development Report. London: Oxford Press, 1981.
- Altbach, Philip G. and Gail P. Kelly. Education and Colonialism. New York: Longman, Inc., 1978.
- Bailey, Martin. The Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar: A study in Political Integration. Syracuse: Syracuse University, 1973.
- Baucom, Kenneth, The ABC's of Literacy. International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods, 1978.
- Berny, L. Tanzania in Maps: Graphic Perspectives of a Developing Country. New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1971.
- Berrard, Ann and Margaret Gayfer. "Women Hold Up Their Half of the Sky." Toronto: International Council on Adult Education, 1983.
- Biene, Henry. Tanzania. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- _____. Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970.

- Brandt Commission. "North-South: A Programme for Survival".
n.p.: Report of the Independent Committee on International
Development Issues, 1980.
- Boulding, Elise. "Integration in What? Reflections on Development
Planning for Women". Convergence. Vol. XIII, #1, #2,
International Council on Adult Education, 1980.
- Bowman, Mary. "Role of Education in Development of Emerging Coun-
tries". Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1962.
- Bwatwa, Yosiah Dag Magembe. A Descriptive Study of a Program of
Adult Education. Ohio: Ball State University, 1975.
- Cameron, John. "Education, Individuality and Community: Education
for Self Reliance in Tanzania". British Journal of Educa-
tional Studies. Vol. 28, #21, June 1980.
- Chale, E. M. "Correspondence Education in Tanzania". Eds. H. Huizen
and H. Hundsdorfer. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education,
1979.
- Coles, Edwin K. Adult Education in Developing Countries. 2nd ed.
New York: Pergamon Press, 1977.
- Continuity and Change in African Cultures. Eds William R. Bascom
and Melville J. Herskovits. Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1959.
- Coombs, R. Pressner and Ahmed, M. New Paths to Learning for Rural
Children and Youth. New York: International Council for
Educational Development, 1973.
- Co-operative Education Plan for Tanzania: 1969-1974. Moshi,
Tanzania: Co-operative Education Centre, 1969.
- Coser, Lewis A. Introduction to Sociology. New York: Harcourt
Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1983.
- Court, David and Kabiru Kinyanjui. Development Policy and Educa-
tional Opportunity: Experience of Kenya and Tanzania.
Dissertation. Kenya: Institute for Development Studies,
University of Nairobi, 1980.
- Dejene, Alemneh. "Comparative Analysis of Rural Development Projects".
Non-formal Education as a Strategy in Development. Lanham,
Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 1980.
- "Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self Reliance".
African Review. Vol. 6, #1. East African Literature Bureau
Nairobi, Kenya, 1976.

- Dolan, Louis Francis. Transition from Colonialism to Self Reliance in Tanzania Education. Dissertation. Michigan, 1970.
- Due, Jean M. Costs, Returns and Repayment Experience of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania: 1973-1976. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980.
- Duggan, William Redman and John R. Civile. Tanzania and Nyerere: A Study Ujamaa and Nationhood. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Boos, 1976.
- Education and Political Development. Ed. James S. Coleman. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Esayas, Menkir. "The Local Context as a Source of Local Questions on Mass Communication, Development, Education and Religion in Africa". Dissertation. Michigan: Michigan State University, 1981.
- Europa Yearbook, 1983: A World Survey. Vol. II. London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1983.
- The Experimental Work-oriented Literacy Programme: A Critical Assessment. Paris, France: UNESCO Press, 1976.
- Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Ministry of National Education, 1978.
- Formann, Louise. Peasants, Officials and Participation in Rural Tanzania: Experience with Villagization and Decentralization. Dissertation. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 1980.
- Foster, Philip. Education for Self Reliance in Tanzania: A Critical Evaluation. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.
- Gottshalk, Louis. Understanding History: Primer of Historical Method. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1969.
- Goulet, Dennis. The Cruel Choice. New York: Athenum Publishing Co., 1971.
- Green, Reginald. Adult Education in National Development. Toronto: International Council on Adult Education, 1977.
- Hall, Budd L. "Conscientization by Radio in Tanzania: A Mass Approach to Distance Learning" Kyoto, Japan: Prepared for the 10th ICCE International Conference 18-23 May 1975, December, 1974.

- _____ and Mhaiki, Paul J. Integration of Adult Education in Tanzania. Dissertation. Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education, 1972.
- _____. Mtu Ni Afya (Tanzania's Health Campaign). Dissertation. Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Development Communication, 1978.
- _____. "Mass Adult Education in Tanzania". Ufahanu: (Paper), Spring, 1972.
- _____. "Participation and Education in Tanzania: Discussion Paper". England: University of Sussex Institute of Development Studies, 1975.
- _____. The Structure of Adult Education and Rural Development in Tanzania. Dissertation. England: University of Sussex Institute of Development Studies, 1975.
- _____. "Wakati Wa Furaha: An Evaluation of a Radio Study Group Campaign". Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1973.
- _____. and Kidd, Roby. The World of Literacy (Policy, Research and Action). Ottawa, Canada: International Council for Adult Education, 1979.
- Halmerli, A. "Some Observations of the Methodological Nature". Convergence, Vol. V, #1, International Council for Adult Education, Toronto, 1972, p. 37.
- Hely, A. S. M. New Trends in Adult Education. Paris, France: UNESCO, 1980.
- Hinkle, Rodney J. "Educational Problems and Policy in Post-Independence Tanzania". Dissertation. New York: Columbia University, 1970-1971.
- Hinzen, H. and Hundsdorfer, V. The Tanzania Experience: Education for Liberation and Development. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Education, 1979.
- Hunter, Guy. Education for A Developing Region. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1963.
- Hutchinson. "Out of School Education for Women in African Countries". Convergence. Vol. VI, #3, International Council for Adult Education; Toronto, 1973.

- Ilagi, G. L. Primary Schools Operating as Adult Education Centres in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, 1977.
- Iliffe, John. Modern History of Tanganyika: Tanganyika Under German Rule. 1979.
- Information Please Almanac 1983. New York: Information Please Publishers, 1983.
- Information Please Atlas and Yearbook 1983. 37th ed. New York: Information Please Publishers, 1983.
- Ishumi, Abel G. M. Community Education and Development. Nairobi: Kenya Literacy Bureau, 1981.
- _____. Education and Development: Sociology of Education. Tanzania: East African Literature Bureau, 1978.
- Journal of Adult Education. Tanzania: Institute of Adult Education Dar es Salaam, Aug. 1980.
- Kaniki, M. H. Y. Tanzania Under Colonial Rule. London: Longman Ltd., 1980.
- Kassam, Yusuf O. The Adult Education Revolution in Tanzania. Nairobi: Shungwaya Publishers, Ltd., 1978.
- _____. "The Dynamics of Political Education vis-a-vis Adult Education in Tanzania". Convergence. Vol. #4. International Council for Adult Education; Toronto, 1974.
- Kawawa, R. M. Adult Education and National Development. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1973.
- Kelly, C. Scott. The Role of an African University as an Institution for National Development (Tanzania). Dissertation. New York: Columbia University, 1972.
- Keweloh, W. "Functional Literacy Teaching: A Guide for Literacy Teachers in Africa". Dissertation. Ghana: German Adult Education Association African Bureau, Nov. 1977.
- King, Jane. Planning Non-formal Education in Tanzania. Paris, France: UNESCO International Institute for Education and Planning, 1967.
- Kinunda, M. J. "The Place of Evaluation in the Tanzania System of Education". IIEP Seminar Paper 6. Paris, France: International Institute for Education Planning, 1975.

- Knight, J. B. "Costing and Financing of Educational Development in Tanzania". Paris, France: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966.
- Kokuhirwa, Hilda. "Reaching Rural Women: The Promise of Radio Mass Campaigns". Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts, June, 1978.
- Komba, Donatus Albert. "The Integration of Education and Work in Tanzania". Dissertation. New York: Columbia University, 1980.
- Kurtz, Laura S. An African Education: The Social Revolution in Tanzania. Brooklyn, New York: Pageant-Poseidon, Ltd., 1972.
- _____. A Critical Analysis of the Relationship Between the Goals for Tanzania and Their Implications for Education as Expressed by President Nyerere and the Educational Politics in Tanzania, 1961-1969. New York: New York University, 1971.
- _____. Historical Dictionary of Tanzania. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1978.
- Lowe, John. "Research Priorities in Adult Education in Developing Countries". Convergence. Vol. IV, #4. Toronto, Ontario: University of Edinburgh, 1971.
- M'Bow, Amadon-Mahtar. "Adult Education Central to Development". Convergence. Vol. XVI, #1, 1983.
- Mhaki, B. A. P. "Chakula ni Uhai: A Radio Study Group Campaign in Mass Adult Education". H. Hinzen and V. Hundsorfer (eds.) The Tanzanian Experience. Hamburg, Germany UNESCO Institute of Education, 1979.
- Mbakile, F. P. R. "Radio Education Programs as a Support to Literacy Methods: The Experience in Tanzania". Mwanza, Tanzania, 1975.
- Mbrina, G. A. A Study of Issues, Problems and Attitudes of Primary School Teachers Toward Teaching Adult Education Classes: A Case of Masasi District. Tanzania: University of Dar es Salaam Department of Education, 1981.
- Mbunda, Ndugu. "Chakula ni Uhai". Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Institute of Adult Education, 1976.

- McHenry, Dean Jr. "Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages: Implementations of a Rural Development Strategy". Berkeley: Institute of International Studies University of California, 1979.
- Millonzi, Joel. Citizenship in Africa: The Role of Adult Education in the Political Socialization of Tanganyikans, 1891-1961. Dissertation. New York: Syracuse University, 1975.
- _____. A Study of an Effective Method for Evaluating Adult Education in Tanzania. New York: Columbia University, 1972.
- Moore, Wilbert E. "Social Change". International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. New York: Crowell, Collier & McMillan, 1968.
- Morrison, David R. Education and Politics: The Tanzanian Case. London: C. Hurst and Company, 1976.
- Mpogolo, Z. J. "Literacy Campaigns in the Context of Development". Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1979.
- _____. "Planning and Administration of National Literacy Programmes". Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, Government Printers, 1980.
- _____. "Tanzania Mass Literacy Campaigns: 1971-1981". Tanzania: Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1982.
- Msekwa, Pius and T. L. Maliyamkono. The Experiments: Educational Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration. Tanzania: Black Star Agencies, 1981.
- Muganyizi, L. "Implementation and Usefulness of Self Reliance in Schools". Papers in Education and Development. No. 2. Tanzania: Dar es Salaam, May 1976.
- Mwingira, A. C. Education for Self Reliance: The Problems of Implementation in Education in Africa. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.
- Norris, Robert, Harries, Keith and Vitek, John. Geography: A Introductory Perspective. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1982.
- Nyerere, Julius K. Adult Education Year: New Year's Eve Broadcast, December 31, 1969. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1973.

- _____. "After the Arusha Declaration: Presidential Address to the Tanganyika African National Union National Conference 17 October 1967". Ujamaa Essays on Socialism. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- _____. "America and Apartheid: Professors and African Presidents Debate U.S. Money in South Africa". (spoken recording), 1971.
- _____. The Arusha Declaration: Ten Years After. Tanzania: Government Printers, 1977.
- _____. Decentralization. Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1972.
- _____. "Adult Education and Development". Tanzanian Educational Journal. #13. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1976.
- _____. "Education for Self Reliance". Freedom and Socialism: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1965-1967. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- _____. Presidential Circular #1 1969. Tanzania: Government Printers, 1969.
- _____. Freedom and Development. Dar es Salaam: Oxford Press, 1973.
- _____. Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self Reliance. Tanzania: Government Printers, 1967.
- _____. Freedom and Unity (Uhuru na Umoja). Oxford University Press, 1967.
- _____. "Liberated Man: The Purpose of Development". Convergence. Vol. IX, #4, International Council on Adult Education, 1976.
- _____. Man and Development. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- _____. "Our Education Must be for Liberation" The Tanzania Education Journal. Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1974.
- _____. "The Place of Evaluation in the Education System of Tanzania". Education for Self Reliance. 1967 (mimeo).

- _____. "The President Explains the Arusha Declaration: The Arusha Declaration Teach-in". Dar es Salaam: Information Services, Aug. 1967 (mimeo).
- _____. President's Report to the TANU Conference. Dar es Salaam: 1973.
- _____. "Quotations from President J. K. Nyerere: Collected from Speeches and Writings". Morogoro, Tanzania: n.p., 1970.
- _____. "Revolution in Education". The Daily Standard. No. 10. Tanzania: Government Printers, March 10, 1967.
- _____. "Tanzania Ten Years After Independence". Tanzania: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Sept. 1971.
- _____. Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- _____. Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- _____. "University of Dar es Salaam 10th Anniversary Celebrations: Address by the Chancellor of the University, President Julius K. Nyerere, August 29, 1980). Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1980.
- Omari, C. K. Strategy for Rural Development. Dar es Salaam: East African Literature Bureau, 1976.
- Omari, I. M. et al. Universal Primary Education in Tanzania: A Continuation of the Educational Revolution. Tanzania: Department of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, 1981.
- Patton, Michael Quinn. Qualitative Evaluation Methods. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1980.
- "Project Highlights". East Lansing, Michigan: Non-formal Education Exchange, Michigan State University, December 17, 1980.
- "Report of the Educational Conference on the Implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the New Policy for Self Reliance". Dar es Salaam: University College, 1967.
- Roberts, A. Tanzania Before 1900. Tanzania: East Africa Publishing House, 1968.

- Sanyal, Bikas C. and Kinunda, Michael J. Higher Education for Self Reliance: The Tanzania Experience. Paris, France: Paris International Institute for Educational Planning, 1977.
- The Second Five Year Development Plan, 1969-1974, Vol. I. Tanzania: Government Printers, 1964.
- Shack, William A. and Skinner. Strangers in African Societies. California: University of California Press, 1979.
- Sheffield, James R. "Basic Education for the Rural Poor: The Tanzania Case". Journal of Developing Areas. Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex Britain, 1979.
- _____. and Diejomaoh, Victor P. Non-formal Education in African Development. New York: African-American Institute, 1972.
- Sokorov, George. Integration of Education and Economic Planning in Tanzania. Paris, France: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning. 1966.
- Snyder, Margaret. "A Note on Adult Education and Women". Convergence. Vol. XIII, #3. International Council on Adult Education, 1980.
- "TanESCO". Daily News of Tanzania. Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: June, 1980.
- TANU: Second Five Year Development Plan. Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1967.
- TANU National Conference Proceedings, 1971. Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1971.
- Tanzania Ministry of Information "Torches" Dar es Salaam: Government Printers, 1969.
- "Tanzania:.. Britannica. Vol. 17, 15th ed. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983.
- Tanzania: A Country Study Area Handbook Series. Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1978, 1980.
- Tanzania Experience: Education for Liberty and Development. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Education, 1979.
- "Tanzania UNDP/UNESCO Work-oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project". Lake Regions, Mwanza: Final Report #11, 1968-1972.

- Tanzania National Scientific Research Council, Young Child in Tanzania: Age 7 to 15. Tanzania: Tanzania National Scientific Research Council, 1977.
- Taylor, John G. From Modernization to Modes of Productions. England: McMillan Press, Ltd., 1979.
- Todaro, Michael P. Education and Development from Economic Development in the Third World. 2nd ed. New York: Longman, Inc., 1981.
- Thompson, Jane L. "Adult Education and Social Change". Convergence. Vol. XVI, #2, 1983.
- Trebon, Thomas Joseph. "Development of the Pre-independence Educational System in Tanganyika with Special Emphasis on the Role of Missionaries". Colordao: University of Denver, 1980.
- UNESCO. "Adult Education Information Notes". #1. Paris, France: UNESCO, 1976.
- _____. "Adult Education Information Notes". #5. Paris, France: UNESCO, 1981.
- _____. "Adult Education Information Notes". #6. Paris, France: UNESCO, 1981.
- _____. "Adult Education Information Notes". #8. Paris, France: UNESCO, 1982.
- _____. "Educational Reforms and Innovations in Africa". Paris, France: UNESCO, 1978.
- _____. "Functional Literacy: Why and How?" Paris, France: UNESCO, 1970.
- _____. "Illiteracy and Human Rights". Paris, France: UNESCO, 1968.
- _____. "Literacy (1969-1971) Progress Achieved in Literacy Throughout the World". Paris, France: UNESCO, 1972.
- "United Nations Department of Social Affairs: Population Studies". Series A (555-59), #50. United Nations, New York: n.p., 1973.
- United Republic of Tanzania: The Five Year Development Plan, 1964-69. Vol. I. Tanzania: Government Printers, 1964.

U.S. Department of State. "Background Notes: Tanzania". Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Public Affairs, Sept., 1981.

_____. "Basic Data on Sub-Saharan Africa". Washington, D.C.: n.p., Dec., 1979.

Viscusi, Margo. "Literacy for Working: Functional Literacy in Rural Tanzania". Paris, France: UNESCO, 1971.

Ward, Theodore. "Handbook for Non-formal Education". East Lansing, Michigan: Third Annual Institute Michigan State University, 1981.

"Worker Education: Recommendations from the DAR Conference". Convergence. Vol. X, #1, 1977.

"Worker Critical of Campaign". Daily News of Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: February 9, 1973.

"Work-oriented Functional Literacy: Reading and Follow-up Materials Report of a Regional Workshop". Bangkok: UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asia, 1969.

World Almanac and Book of Facts. New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1981.

World Bank Atlas 1979. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1979.

World Bank. Chicago: Childcraft International Inc., 1982.

World Population and Development. Ed. Philip M. Hauser. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1979.

"World Population Prospects as Assessed in 1980". United Nations, New York: n.p., 1981.

Wronski, Stanley. "Implementing Change in Social Studio Programs: Basic Considerations". Ed. Dorothy McClure Fraser. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1968.

Zaki, Ergas. "Why Did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fail?: Towards Global Analysis". The Journal of Modern African Studies. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

