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SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION FOR
SELF-RELIANCE: THE TANZANIAN EXPERIENCE

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A Thesis
in
The Department
of
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ABSTRACT

SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION FOR
SELF-RELIANCE: THE TANZANIAN EXPERIENCE

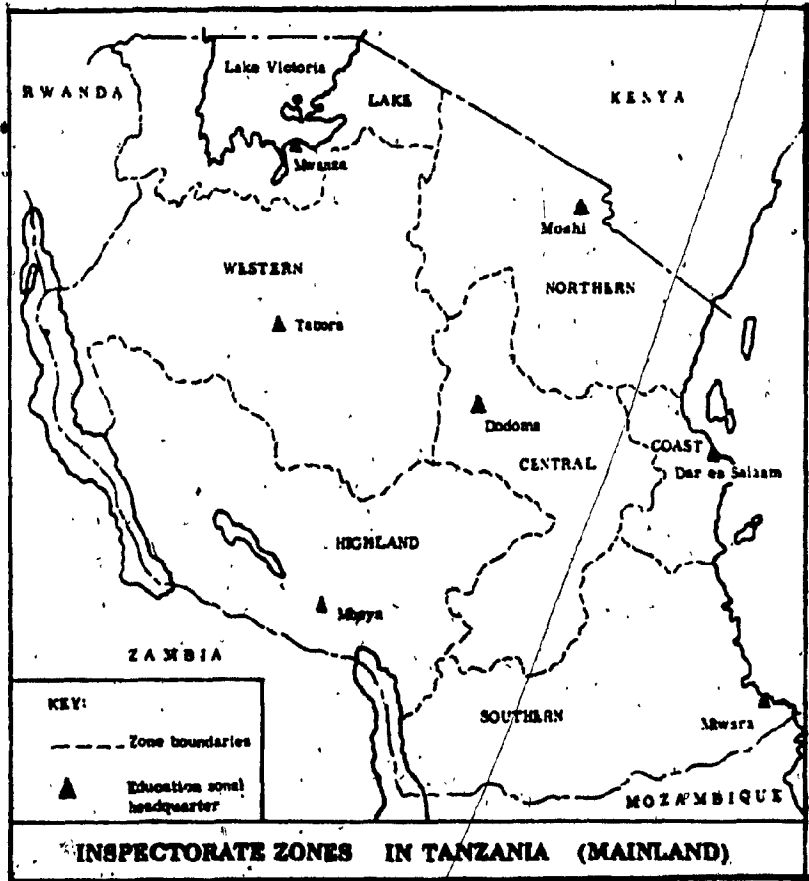
Muhammad Kassim Muharuma

The following study demonstrates the historical background and the development process of education and society in Tanzania from colonial domination to national political independence. The study has attempted to link the importance of the politics of independence to President Nyerere's Ujamaa socialist ideology and the development of the concept of Education for Self-Reliance. Socio-political factors which led the Tanzanian community to opt for radical social change and the decolonization strategy are examined. An examination of the implementation of the new values in terms of integration of education and politics is also made in the context of the 1967 Arusha Declaration.

A critical analysis of the results of the Tanzanian socio-political experiment to date is also included in the study, highlighting in particular the problems and progress of Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania today and their application to other developing nations.

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CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Until the beginning of 1967, few Tanzanians went beyond their thinking about what had actually happened after the attainment of independence from the British in 1961. From the time independence was pronounced, Tanzanian leadership continued to emphasize the political slogans such as Uhuru na Kazi (Independence and Work), Uhuru na Mandeleo (Independence and Development), and Uhuru na Kujitegemea (Independence and Self-Reliance). These slogans had one thing in common: their purpose was to make the Tanzanians think beyond what they have, and make efforts to build Tanzania through the realization of their independence.

The process of making the Tanzanian community active in thinking beyond what they had inherited from the British was the main factor which made the 1967 declaration the beginning of positive thinking of the Tanzanian leadership.

The new Tanzanian administration saw many problems that existed, and in order to solve these problems, some new aggressive measure had to be introduced. What we had witnessed in this case was the inherited contradictory colonial systems of both German and the British which the new regime wanted to change. The change many factors in the society and in fact, it was not easy to introduce these changes. Tanzania was faced with enormous

groundwork in introducing new policies which also required perceptive leadership, society and supportive personnel to bring these new changes into the society with a clear understanding. Thinking process and change adaptation is a major problem which involves the leadership and the society in general.

In order to use the political organ in educating the people about these new changes, the Tanzania leadership thought that a democratic one-party system would facilitate the policy implementation without opposition, and this could make the intended changes to take place rapidly. The political leadership was encouraged about this, and President Nyerere appointed a Presidential Commission to determine the possibility of establishing a democratic one-party system. The commission did its work, and the idea was easily approved by the people, and Tanzania became a democratic one-party state. This was the first major active thinking beyond what Tanzania inherited from Britain. This process is characterized here as a source of national conflict, because it eliminates the potential opposition which always existed before and after independence. In this study, we will attempt to show the eventual opposition which emerged, and lack of democratic franchise, the opposition elements could not vocalize their demands or disagreements.

In the process of change, the leadership began to introduce more nationalistic approach in relation to economic and social development. The entire system was branded as colonial and had

the basis of capitalistic orientation. At this stage, specific ideological declarations were made. Among these were the well-articulated Arusha Declaration (Ujamaa), which was later followed by the philosophical tenets of Socialism and Self-Reliance (Ujamaa na Kujitegemea), and Education for Self-Reliance (Ilimu ya Kujitegemea). These ideological pronouncements came as an affirmation or manifestation of a socialist ideology.

The Problem of Educational Inequality

In this study, we will examine these problems based on the Tanzanian Government justifications, and works discussing educational problems in Tanzania by authors. As we have known so far, Tanzania has determined to offer equality of education to all her citizens, and this was due to a response to the policies and practices of previous colonial administrations which have been attacked by designing a system of education which discriminated the majority of its subjects and offered the best educational facilities to the few, i.e. the European and Asians. In this context, the Tanzanian leadership were convinced that the policy of education for Self-Reliance was more likely to offer equality of educational opportunities to its citizens.

Tanzania's philosophy of education is not an unusual one. It may only appear unusual due to the fact that the forces which are acting upon social change in the developing world are many, unmanagable and complex, thus making priorities difficult or impossible to establish. Nevertheless, Tanzania has pledged to

establish the process of building a socialist and egalitarian society by means of deliberate and well-planned priorities for change. The well-defined priorities in the context of educational, political and economic rights of the individual became the main problem in Tanzania. It is clear that each individual has a role to play in national affairs, but who gets what, when and how. The current economic and educational inequality and the quality of life seem to indicate that there exists a lack of equal distribution of national goods.

Politically, it was once argued that:

Disputes over the expansion of the educational system, qualifications for entry into higher education - whether admission should be based on a quota system or not - and the location of educational facilities can be analyzed in terms of underlying conflicts of political interests.¹

In Tanzania, political decisions which effect all national matters are guided and strictly protected by the party elites. Party loyalty under strictly socialistic spirit of Ujamaa lacks defined active interest groups. It should be noted then that, though conflict exists between different interest groups, let's say, the party elite and the peasants, given the Tanzanian political situation and its structure, the political party overrides the non-elite interest group and stands with elite which protects its own interest and the party. Since politics is involved in all national matters, the contention is that - as all politicians know - "education is the key tool for the formation of a modern social structure. Future prime ministers,

¹Victor C. Uchendu, Education and Politics in Tropical Africa (ed.) London: Conch Magazine Ltd. (Publishers), 1979, p. 15.

Vice-Chancellors of universities, and corporation executives are not produced on peasant farms but in our schools and colleges.² Peasants can also be produced in our modern colleges, and create the best agricultural industries which the country can benefit from. Tanzania's educational problem has never, in fact, changed:

After 20 years of independence, Tanzanians are asking themselves what has gone wrong with the education system. This growing concern has led to the setting up of a Presidential Commission to review the country's education system.³

The actual reasons pertaining to this educational problem will be discussed thoroughly in the analysis of educational reform, curriculum change, and teacher education, and see what went wrong for the past 17 years since the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance in 1967. It is also known that:

Teachers are highly demoralized because they feel that their work is not appreciated. In the end, the results are felt by pupils who have to sit on the floors to study, share a book between 20, have no pencils or pens to write with, and find they cannot conduct experiments properly because the laboratories are badly equipped.⁴

The introductory background was aimed to give a brief history of the ideological position of Tanzania. The main objective of this study, however, is three-fold: we intend to examine the educational and socio-historical dynamics of pre-independence Tanzania and observe the kind of educational

²V. Uchendu, Education and Politics in Tanzania (ed.) London: Conch Magazine Ltd. (Publishers), 1979.

³Sarah Grandison, "Tanzania Soul Searching", Times of London (Education Supplement), 27/11/81, p. 13.

⁴Ibid., Grandison, p. 13.

progress made. Secondly, we will describe the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, and analyze the process of its implementation in a socio-economic context, and examine to what extent the Tanzanians have been successful in achieving the set goals and objectives of this policy. Thirdly, to critically analyze the trend of events that have taken place, the progress that has been made, and the constraints that have been encountered since the implementation of the socialist ideology in Tanzania.

To achieve these objectives, it is imperative that this study address the role politics has played in Tanzania's educational system and measure the significance of the decolonization process, its impact on societal reform and the pressure it exerted on the society in general. More important is the examination of the Ujamaa ideology based on the general context of political socialization using education as a tool for the advancement of Ujamaa ideology in Tanzania.

Statement of the Problem

Many in the developing world have recently become concerned and critical of their educational systems. Parents, politicians, educators and students alike have complained that the objective of education is obscured, standards are falling, and that performance is below average. Others have argued that society should be 'de-schooled' and have suggested alternative approaches to education.⁵

⁵Ivan D. Illich, Deschooling Society. New York: Harper and Row Co., 1974.

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Most ills of society are usually attributed to education and in the Third World, the cure is often seen to lie in a radical change in the purpose, curriculum, and organization of education, because that system was usually a legacy of colonialism which "induced attitudes of human inequality and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong especially in the economic field".⁶ In addition, colonial schools were branded as being discriminative and conservative institutions - they had to change, and the problem for the newly formed independent governments was how this change was to be implemented. As Nyerere has said, this change had to break the colonial mentality of a society which accepted its status as an efficient appendage of the governing power.⁷

It was further emphasized that since education has a larger role to play in the developing nation, and the society understands the usefulness of education, the society must distinguish the colonial values in relation to education, and in the process, build the kind of society which will have the power to design its own educational priorities and goals.

Educational benefits are no longer an isolated case which can be exploited by certain politicians using colonial justifications and leave people in the villages without educational facilities. According to P. Foster (1980), the education explosion is largely a post-war phenomenon and as a result we can no longer regard the school

⁶J. K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism (Uhuru no Ujamaa). London: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 267.

⁷H. Hinzen and V. H. Hunsdorfer (eds.), Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzanian Experience. London: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1979.

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as an alien and intrusive institution perched precariously atop a range of predominantly traditional societies. In most parts of Africa, the school is now a familiar part of the local scene as the corrugated iron roof. Virtually everywhere, a whole generation would think it inconceivable to be without schools and, what is more, though Africa still remains the least formally educated of the continents, almost everyone now has a lively sense of the individual benefits that education can bring.⁸

What we have so far elucidated has raised more questions in relation to the problem of implementation of educational reforms. It actually sounds good on paper, but to transmit it into action, the problem of educational change becomes a major task for the developing nations. The educators have agreed about this based on various factors which have to be taken into consideration before major changes have to be introduced. Havelock and Huberman, in surveying the theory of educational reform based on their studies in the developing nations, argued that there is:

the tendency for educational reform to involve ambitious major system transformation with what they describe as very rapid movement through the problem-solving cycle, from the initial assessment of the need for change to the design of a solution and the implementation of that solution.⁹

This statement gives us an idea about the gross assumptions about educational reforms. Because there is a way of finding out what kind of factors might hinder the implementation of educational innovations, and if we attempt further to scrutinize

⁸ Philip Foster, "Education and Social Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa", The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, #2 (1980), p. 201.

⁹ A. R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 1981, p. 184.

the character formation of the agents of this implementation process, we can be able to determine what will happen to an educational innovation after it has been adopted. Our main task also is to use various samples of studies already done, or to construct a model which will investigate the factors that facilitate or constrain successful implementation. Most studies have focussed on the ability of a change agent to overcome resistance to change and have compared performance of the experimental and control groups without knowing whether the innovation has been implemented or not. Here comes the necessity of the supervision and evaluation of what has been implemented in relation to reform strategy.

Looking into the problem which faces planning, managing, and implementation in developing countries, some strategies were formulated and carefully analyzed so that the implementers, can, in the long run, be able to adjust to new rules, and learn the required approach so that the culture, values, and attitudes of the implementers, society and the users will be in harmony with the drastic changes that are going to take place or are anticipated to take place.

Thompson outlined three broadly used strategies of innovation which may indicate to us the types of strategies that are in operation in the developing world.

Bower Coercive Strategy:

This strategy is claimed to introduce changes into highly centralized educational systems where each educational issue is clearly planned and its development properly followed. It seems that the higher authorities of educational institutions are

the main authority to delegate the decisions to the lower level for its implementation. The assumption here is that these lower level officers have no say about the whole matter whatsoever.

Rational-Empirical Strategy:

This strategy has the capacity to introduce changes at all levels of the education system. But its ideal approach might be questionable when it claims to indicate that, in relation to adaptation, culture, and change of values, "men are rational and will act in accordance with self-interest provided that they can show that there are benefits to be gained from particular courses of action".¹⁰

Normative Re-educative Strategy:

This strategy involves the ability to react positively to changing demands and needs. The thesis here is that this capacity exists in administrators and teachers at all levels, but it is dormant or repressed and must be liberated if innovations directed from above are to be implemented, and if ongoing processes of adaptation and improvement at the grassroots level are to occur.¹¹

Thompson's views seem to coincide with those of Nyerere's on this last strategy. In his articulation of the Ujamaa ideology, Nyerere has always stressed that the inherited role (under colonialism) of the teacher, community, administrators, and politicians, must change if Tanzania's educational system

¹⁰ A.R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1981, p. 187.

¹¹ A.R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1981, p. 184.

is to shape the future society as envisioned by Nyerere.

It (education) 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 fully in the good or bad fortune of the group, and 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 cooperative endeavour, not individual advancement.¹²

What we have so far observed does not tell us exactly what kind of educational or economic strategies were adopted in Tanzania in the process of national planning. We cannot measure something without knowing the kind of data that are available which will tell us the kind of progress that Tanzania has so far made in the area of socio-political development of education for self-reliance. Thompson's approach will aid our study in determining the kind of strategy Tanzania adopted, and to what extent this strategy can be adequate to predict and explain specific cases in different cultural settings, using social, political and economic factors that are acting upon Tanzanian society.

Significance of the Study

It is not anticipated that the findings and conclusions of this study will provide the magic answer of how to implement the socialist education reform in Tanzania. Nor will the study attempt to underestimate the initial efforts which Tanzania

¹² J. K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism (Uhuru na Ujamaa), London: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 269-70.

managed to establish in restructuring the entire social system of the country in order to build a viable one to transform the society into modernity.

The first attempt which Tanzania leadership took was to de-segregate and Africanize the educational system. This approach is termed as a nationalistic syndrome, and it happened between 1961-67. Different views about this nationalistic period exist, of which the majority of Tanzanians feel that it was a successful reform. In early 1967, a major reform came and this was the Education for Self-Reliance, aimed at using the educational system to instil Ujamaa ideology in the minds of the young Tanzanians, and more importantly to emphasize the value of manual labour, the need to integrate intellectual and practical work, and the advantages of autonomy.

From the nationalistic syndrome perspective, the radical changes began to take place which are related to the following questions in point:

1. Did the racial desegregation policy relate to education, and was the attempt to make education and other social needs tenable to every Tanzanian successful?
2. Has this policy brought any change in relation to differentiation of equality on economic and educational opportunity to all?
3. Has the fact that Tanzania provide free education to its citizens encouraged the parents to send their children to school so that they can receive educational benefits. Has this policy contributed to a better economic condition to teachers, and incentive to do good work?
4. Has the expansion of secondary education facilitated the need of the manpower which the policy of education for self-reliance emphasized?

5. Did the introduction of self-reliance activities in primary and secondary school help to maintain the parity of practical and academic requirements in the learning process? Has it helped the government's financial expenditure? If so, what about the quality of education?
6. Were the manpower requirements fulfilled by the expansion of secondary education?
7. Tanzania, like many other developing countries, has been facing some economic hardships. Can this determine the way the Ujamaa policy would have to be re-examined?

Generally, these questions have been raised in Tanzania and elsewhere as to the extent that the Ujamaa policy has caused Tanzania economic hardship, and the results of reform are difficult to be evaluated. The inherited inequality was neither reduced nor totally eliminated. Studies which have recently been published have expressed mixed feelings about the way Tanzania's reforms have been handled by its own leadership. It is important that a review of the literature related particularly to socio-political development of education for self-reliance be analyzed in order to shed light on the existing situation in Tanzania. The present researcher expects that critical observation with a clear objective on the reality of social and economic condition of Tanzania can only be understood by looking into Tanzania's deliberate attempt at social change. In addition, this study may be of some interest to parents, politicians, and educators in Tanzania and other developing nations who have taken similar attempts to introduce change in economic and educational systems in their respective societies. The need to trust the leadership, the right of

individuals in the society to question and to have the role in decision-making, to participate and contribute to the development of one's country - it is the least for an African. The young generation of the post-independent Africa has developed a tendency to have no confidence in the politicians, administrators and the emerging party elite who are holding the power. The question then, is who has the ability to change the existing inconsistency, corruption, nepotism, and lack of management of the national affairs. As Herriot et al (1979) has said, administrators who believe that research inquiries will provide them with a set of precise specifications for their change strategies, are subscribing to a myth.¹³

Limitation of the Study.

Every researcher must make compromises between preferred procedures and what is feasible and practical in the circumstances. In this study, the investigator has identified five major limitations: (i) his dependence on documentary sources of information; (ii) primary sources of colonial and Tanzanian Government information; (iii) secondary sources on Tanzania and the colonial period analysis; (iv) Loyola Campus African file and the British Parliamentary papers as well as the recently researched material pertaining to Tanzania contributed at Sir George Williams Campus; (v) in addition, the researcher visited Tanzania in Fall 1982 and managed to discuss some views pertaining to education and other factors leading

¹³ Robert E. Herriott and Neal Gross. The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change: Case Studies and Analysis. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1979.

to the problem of the quality of education. A few primary and secondary schools in the coastal area of Tanga and in the northern area of Tanga (Korogwe) were visited. The teachers and head of the school asked the researcher not to reveal their names because they did not want their view to be known.

The views expressed by the school teachers, parents, and head teachers can be regarded as evaluative data, complaints pertaining to the role of the political involvement in relation to learning, questioning about the time used for political and manual activities instead of learning. Students tended to be more political and can cause trouble for any teacher who is a bit strict about learning more than political matters. My interest was to try and discover their level of academic performance and their future goal orientation. Scrutinization of student political and social behaviour determines the chances for higher education, though school still takes into consideration academic performance, However, this by itself will not open the gate of opportunity for apolitical students. Specific, general, and government national planning development strategies which have been written on Tanzania within the past ten years have provided us with some understanding of what Tanzania is actually trying to accomplish. But it seems that what these studies have failed to offer is the measurement of what has thus far been achieved. Further, the theoretical assumptions of socialist ideology have been analyzed and articulated many times, but very little has been written on the success of the practical applications of these socialist policies.

It appears then, that due to the recent criticisms of Tanzanian leadership in relation to the implementation of the nation's socialist ideology, there is need for further study in this area.

Literature Review

The introduction of Ujamaa policies at the town of Arusha in Northern Tanzania 1967, attracted many people especially the academics in the developed world. The ideology of Ujamaa socialism made an impact on the Western intellectuals, which made Prof. Ali Mazrui label those who were so attached to the Tanzanian ideology as being afflicted with "Tanzaphilia".

There is so much that has been written about the general political development of Tanzania since her attainment of independence in 1961. However, our main focus in this study is the socio-political development of its educational system, which called for the general re-organization, so that it could allow each and every member of the society an opportunity to participate in the process of education and make it a community matter. From this perspective, we intend to review some of the specific and general studies on education for self-reliance which were conducted soon after the implementation of the Ujamaa policies.

Laura Kurtz (1972) conducted a study on the social revolution in Tanzania. The study offered good descriptive details about the history formal and non-formal, of education in Tanzania. It did the same on the topic of Tanzania's current policies of Education for Self-Reliance. The work offers a newcomer a good descriptive background of colonial policies of the German and British, but was conducted too early

to give a real analysis of the new development strategy of educational policies of self-reliance. The data on educational development by missionaries, colonial regimes and private agencies however, does offer a good background for understanding the reasons behind the new educational policies of Tanzania.

A. G. Ishumi's (1974) *Community Education and Development*, gave some criticism on the manner in which the policy of education for self-reliance was introduced in the rural communities. For almost eight years since its introduction, the policy of Ujamaa on the area of education, has failed to establish a single school which could be singled out to have formulated its syllabus substantially or partially with representatives of the community. The study critically contends that there was no conscious purposeful or functional interaction between the school and the community. Ishumi's argument since then has been disputed as ill-timed, because his arguments were directed toward an isolated case while Tanzania was actually trying to consolidate its policies in the areas where manpower scarcity was acute. However, this study does show that political influence does play a major part in school activities, and this leaves out certain matters which are vital for the school to be managed efficiently. It is actually a good reminder type of study.

B. L. Mwobahe and Marjorie Mbilinyi (1975) in their joint workshop related study "Challenge of Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania" examined the general objectives of the educational

policies, reviewed those objectives, and offered some recommendations and also suggestions which each and every aspect of the educational policy could be clearly understood by policy-makers, the bureaucrats and politicians. The workshop related study was politically influenced and academically dominated. The critical observation based on the inferiority of the educational structure of Education for Self-Reliance emanated from this study. The views expressed in this study as a form of recommendation are too strong for being independently expressed by the academic community. It questions the manner in which education for self-reliance is implemented. The study argues that the integrative policies of community and the school, such as "farms and workshops have failed to occur; Self-reliance actually is separate from the rest of work and is mainly tedious labour. The examination system remains sacrosanct." Mwobahe and Mbilinyi appeared too radical and at the same time pretty much pro-socialistic minded in their pursuance of Tanzania's ideological development. This is the only objective study which examines and offers a critical analysis of educational policies in Tanzania, though conducted only eight years after the introduction of the Ujamaa policies.

E. Geşase Saguge (1976) in "Struggle Over School in a Tanzanian Village" examines the role of rural community in North Mara in Tanzania. It portrays the Ujamaa village which is closely attached to the school with diverse societal-social and class background of its inhabitants. The egalitarian

aspects are here challenged, because the study observes that there are still people with more land hiring the others to work it. It is also indicated that income differentials are large. The village primary school, the study indicates, holds some evidence of favouritism, corruption, and greed. The elite children are easily admitted into the school, and pupils work like slave labour, and the teacher still conducts the old-fashioned corporal punishment with sticks. The study concludes that the primary school, at least the one in North Mara, since the school began to have pupils sit for Standard VIII (Form I), examinations in 1961, not a single pupil from the villagers children has qualified to join Form I in the government secondary school. The study does demonstrate the problem of elite power in Tanzania's political system.

Akwenye's study (1976) was, like Kurtz' work, written too early to give any real analysis of the new development strategy or the programmes of Education for Self-Reliance.

Gillette (1976) found that even ten years after the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance that the formal and non-formal systems of education were still quite separate. One of the reasons he gives for this is that the urban educated class did not believe that traditional methods of education should be abandoned completely. In addition, the programmes for Education for Self-Reliance were more expensive to operate than originally thought. This led to disenchantment because they were not as economically viable upon implementation as the

planners had envisioned. Gillette thus cautions that revolutionary changes in development strategies do not necessarily result in rapid changes in the education system, one which he saw as difficult to control and slow to accept change.

Morrison's (1976) detailed and well-researched work on the history of colonial administration, specifically the British educational policies, gives a very good understanding of what Tanzania inherited from the British. The book highlights the very negative attitude of the educators at the introduction of the socialist educational priorities. Morrison talks about inequalities which seemed to grow very rapidly because of the growth of primary education, and UPE which dictated enrollment targets. Further Morrison criticizes the shortage of technical and scientific equipment in the schools and studied that attitude and morale of the education personnel.

Thompson's (1981) thesis on the issues of education and development coincide very well with the on-going problem of managing educational activities in the developing world. It comprehensively analyzes the different methods of implementing policies on education and general economic which are vital for educational innovation. In relation to reform, this study offered an ample background for nations in the process of educational reconstruction, to clearly approach their policies cautiously and candidly. It has been written with a wide experience of educational problems in Africa.

Thompson's study has enlightened if not Tanzania, but the

majority of educators in Africa about the process of educational innovation that could not be conducted independently without involving the general awareness of social change which made the whole society part of the development. In the area of accountability, bureaucratic sluggishness, not willing to face changes due to traditional values that still dominate these societies, gives one of the greatest objective critical observations which the Africanist and the African educators must be candid about in their quest to bring legitimate societal social change in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world. This general study on educational innovation does offer Tanzania a better review of her well-devised policies of Ujamaa which requires pragmatic leadership awareness so far.

Cameron and Dodd (1970) present a well-organized and clearly outlined study on change in educational settings, curriculum and policy analysis in the Tanzanian educational system. But like Kurtz' study, it could not offer any significant analysis of the result of the new policy implementation because of its early date.

CHAPTER II

SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Tanzania¹ in relation to this study, is an Ujamaa² republic located on the east coast of Africa in the Indian Ocean, a few degrees south of the Equator. In an attempt to make one understand the socio-cultural development of today's Tanzanian society, it is imperative that an historical analysis be undertaken in order to demonstrate the significance of the multi-cultural background based on Perso-Arab and Western colonial influences on the society of Tanzania.

The Monsoon Culture and Its Influence on the East Coast

About 975 A.D. the monsoon culture gripped the entire East African coast, from the modern Somalia to Mozambique. It has been recorded that the aristocrat Arabs and Persians were fond of trade in this area, and this trade consisted of human cargoes and various agricultural products. It was around this period that the coastal section of East Africa was settled by the Arabs.³

¹Tanzania has had many names: From 1880-1914, it was known as German Ostafrika. From 1920-1947, it was called Tanganyika Territory. From 1947-1961, its official name was Tanganyika. Tanzania derives its name from Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The former attained Independence on 9 December 1961 and the latter in 1964. The two united to form the United Republic of Tanzania on 26 April 1964. For the convenience of this thesis, we will refer to it as Tanzania throughout.

²Ujamaa: is a Swahili word which literally means familyhood, an idea based on socialistic ideology for Tanzanians.

³R. Oliver and G. Mathew (eds.) History of East Africa, Vol. 1. London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 95.

The knowledge of the existence of the Indian Ocean's East African seaports came about 100 A.D. when a written document by Hippalus, a Roman sailor, discovered a regularity in the monsoon winds. This natural navigation system is said to have been used by the Asians, Chinese, Persians, and Arabs in their frequent visits to the East Coast of Africa. It is also indicated that Hippalus' written document, called the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, was written in Greek and Latin, and told of the Indian Ocean and its ports. It became a famous guide for the navigators who were not familiar with this natural system. An historian confirms that:

Trans-ocean contact with the east coast had been conditioned by the regime of the monsoons and the nature of African products. The direction of the monsoon winds from the northeast for four months and from the southwest for a similar period made navigation possible and predictable from the Persian Gulf.⁴

The natural movement of the monsoon winds broke the barriers of human movement and made the people of Byzantium and the Persian Gulf come into contact with the world of the East African coast which was hitherto closed to this influence.

Islam and its Cultural Influence

Islam first spread within the boundaries of East African countries through the initial settlements of the Muslim Arab-Perso communities in the coast of the modern

⁴J. S. Trimingham, Islam in East Africa, London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1964, p. 2.

Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya and Tanzania. The Muslims were first noticed in the Kingdom of the Christian Habash (modern Ethiopia). These Muslims left Mecca in Arabia because of the atmosphere which led the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the fifth year of his mission to send out a group of followers to Ethiopia to escape the persecution of his idolatrous kinsmen. At this time, Ethiopia was a Christian country. By scriptural evidence, both from the Church authorities and Muslims, confirms the migration of these Muslim refugees to Ethiopia who were well-received by the Christian King. Thus did Islam enter Africa, and it is evident that several years before the teachings of Islam were received in Medina, the East Africans were already experiencing the new religion. This shows that Islam was already known by the East African, as it came through overland in the first decade with the refugees to Ethiopia and by sea in the first century with the seamen who were always visiting the East African coast.

Emergence of Muslim Settlements along the East Coast

Historians hold that on the east coast of Africa, many pre-Islamic Arab settlements were established, beginning at Mogadishu (in present-day Somalia) and proceeding down to Kilwa (in present-day Tanzania).⁵ The historical documents which elaborate these facts, like the Kitab al-Zanuj, indicate that after the emergence and acceptance of Islam in Arabia, the Arab traders and merchants brought their newly-

⁵ A. G. Mathew and R. Oliver, (eds.), History of East Africa, Vol. 1, London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1963, pp. 94-95.

accepted religion back with them to the coastal settlements. The previously noted areas of the East African coast thus became almost entirely Muslim under the aegis of Khalifa Omar ibn al-Khattab. The chronicle of Lamu⁶ has also recorded that "...Khalifa Abd-al-Malik ibn Marwan (A.D. 685-705) sent Syrians to settle along the coast under the leadership of the Amir Musa...this chronicle of Lamu claims Abd-al-Malik ibn Marwan as the city's founder."⁷

Around 696 A.D., it is assumed that the Syrian influence extended itself further along the coastal strip, as the chronicle of Pate⁸ adds a list of thirty-five coastal towns founded by Syrians. Also, the Annals of Oman demonstrate another important historical version of two brothers, "Sulaiman and Said, who fled with their followers from Oman to East Africa when their country was conquered fro Abd al-Malik in A.D. 692."⁹ In another perspective related by a Portuguese historian, De Barros, it is stated that a family of brothers migrated from the Persian Gulf to the east coast about 887 A.D. Originally from Al-Hasa, these seven brothers of Lakah settled with their followers at Mogadishu and Braya, and later opened the gold trade with Sofala.¹⁰

⁶Lamu, a city adjacent to Mombasa on the coastal strip of Kenya.

⁷Mathew and Oliver, p. 103.

⁸Pate, a town in Pemba Island near Zanzibar in Tanzania.

⁹Mathew and Oliver, p. 102.

¹⁰Sofala, a city in Mozambique on the east coast of Africa.

This point is significant in relation to the Persian influence that existed in the east coast of Africa, specifically the islands of Zanzibar, Comoro, and Kilwa. The Kilwa chronicle claims that:

al Hassan Ibn Ali, Sultan of Shiraz sailed from Persia with six sons and their followers some time in the 10th century, and founded settlements on the East African coast and islands. His son Ali is stated to have become the first ruler of Kilwa Island in 956.¹¹

Islamic activity in the coast of East Africa, and specifically Tanzania, took a leading position in the development of the area from the late seventh century to 1800, culminating with the Sultan of Oman establishing Zanzibar as his capital on the East African coast of the Indian Ocean. Many of these historical events are recorded by Chinese, Arab, and Persian historians who were also traders and who encountered different experiences which they detailed, such as slavery and the spread of Arab city-states around the coastal strip. The Arab-Perso competition, and the political conflict generated by the desire to have strong influence upon the local people caused the decline of the already fragmented traditional kingdoms. As noted by July,

¹¹ Mathew and Oliver, p. 103.

African trading centers may have developed in response to outside commercial demands with African royal houses slowly becoming Islamicized through the influence of the Arab merchants living in these communities... In any event, Arab settlers, arriving in increasing numbers from the twelfth century onward, were continually being absorbed in the Bantu majority.¹²

Trade prosperity from the 10th to 15th century which was now conducted and shared by the Arabs, Africans, and Persians, was interrupted by the Portuguese who contributed much to the decline of the coastal civilization.

Portuguese Influence

It is recorded that around the 1400's, the Portuguese developed an interest in exploring the eastern coast of Africa. One of the Portuguese explorers was Duarte Barbosa who visited Mombasa, a town on Kenya's coast, who wrote that:

There is a city of Moors, called "Bambaze" (Mombasa), very large and very beautiful, and built of high and handsome houses of stone and whitewash and with very good streets, in the manner of those of Ouiboa. And it also has a King.¹³

¹² R. W. July, A History of the African People, New York: Charles Scribners and Sons, 1970, p. 80.

¹³ Z.A. Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth, An Introduction to the History of East Africa (Third Edition), London: Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 9.

On the basis of Barbosa's discoveries, the Portuguese authorities assigned an exploration task of the area to Vasco da Gama who sailed through the Cape of Good Hope in search of a new route to the spice islands of the East. Da Gama returned to Portugal in 1498 and reported on his great discoveries. Portugal saw the importance of this area for trade and colonization and within ten years "had conquered the east coast of Africa, and was able to appoint Dom Duarte de Lenos as Governor of all the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Arabia."¹⁴

The Arab Muslim hegemony was traced by Portuguese merchants and this led the Portuguese to wage war against the Arabs with intent to:

destroy Islam, to secure the gold traffic of Sofala to dominate the Indian Ocean and to banish all Muslims from its waters, to break the monopoly which the Islamic peoples held of the wealthy trade with India, and to divert it, by way of the new Cape route into the coffers of Portugal. This was a Christian war, to be compared, as to its spirit, with the Crusades, but it was a dark chapter, not only in Islamic, but in Christian history as well.¹⁵

Portuguese missionaries began to arrive in Mozambique and Angola, as well as Portuguese settlers and colonial

¹⁴ Marsh and Kingsnorth, p. 10.

¹⁵ Lyndon Harries, Islam in East Africa, p. 21.

personnel. As a result of this influx, the Portuguese gained their support "...from different rulers who were forced to pay a yearly tribute to the King of Portugal."¹⁶ Despite their initial influence and the contention that "...Western education in Africa began with the Portuguese missionaries four centuries ago,...little record remains of their accomplishments."¹⁷

The Omani Suzerainty

The Portuguese domination and exploitation of the coastal communities did not, however, stop other external forces. It is recorded that when the Sultan bin Seif of Oman managed to manoeuvre the Portuguese out of control in Muscat and the Arabian coast in 1650, "...this event was applauded in East Africa's trading cities where the image of the Muslim-Arab kinship with Oman led to dreams of a similar emancipation in Africa from Western rule."¹⁸ In any event, the Arabs were eager to control the cities and began to establish themselves seasonally through brief periods of monsoon migrations. In this context, the local coastal people showed their hope and affinity with the Muscat Arabs through Islam and political stability. However,

¹⁶Marsh and Kingsnorth, p. 11.

¹⁷L. G. Cowan, J. O'Connell, D. G. Scanlon, (eds.) Education and Nation Building in Africa, New York: Frederick A Praeger Publishers, 1965, p. 4.

¹⁸R. July, p. 87.

the Omani proved to be no better leaders than the Portuguese. In the early eighteenth century, a civil war in Oman caused many trading centers to default on their loyalty to Muscat; thereafter, as historically recorded, it was difficult to maintain Omani suzerainty,¹⁹ This led to the overthrow of the Muscat regime. For this reason, Sultan Sayyid Said²⁰ moved the centre of his Sultanate from Muscat in Arabia to the Island of Zanzibar in 1806²¹ and claimed the coastal strip of about fifty miles of what is now Kenya and Tanzania. It is reported further that the "Sultan and his people developed the port of Bagamoyo on the coast, with slaves as one of his principal exports, and Dar-es-Salaam as a rest station."²²

Political instability in Oman and Muscat forced the Sultan Sayyid Said to strengthen his power in various coastal states which he claimed under his authority. The local Africans, however, did not observe his authority. After the Sultan died in 1856, the Sultanate was shared by two of his sons: Thuwaini took Muscat, and Majid took Zanzibar, "which remained an autonomous state until the establishment of the British Protectorate in 1890."²³

¹⁹R. July, p. 87.

²⁰Marsh and Kingsnorth, p. 67. Sultan Said, at the age of 15 years, became the ruler of Oman and ruler of Zanzibar Island.

²¹Zanzibar is an island off the coast of Tanzania.

²²Dar es Salaam is an Arab phrase meaning "haven of peace." See Marsh and Kingsnorth.

²³J. S. Trimmingham, p. 23.

The Arab political power in these Swahili city states²⁴ dominated the way of life, trade and culture. These historical features were not easily accepted by the local African leadership, because they accompanied domination, slavery, and exploitation. The only force of stability and reconciliation between the Arab and the African community, then, must be identified as Islam.

The Arab-Islamic cultural influence had a traceable impact upon the Bantu-Nilotic coastal society, which can be attributed to the degree of adaptation related to various aspects of human cultural convergence. In another context, it is stated that,

Although the result of the contact of the Arab-Islamic civilization with the Bantu culture was the formation of an African-Islamic regional culture, the cultural roots and outlook on life remained African.²⁵

The nature of Islamic activities in the East Coast of Africa has traditionally been associated with slavery and trade, although recent studies indicate that it is not clear exactly what type of relationship was maintained between Arab immigrants and the local inhabitants of the East African coast, or the land of the Zinj, as named by the Arabs and the Persians. However, our concern in this section is to establish the historical significance of the

²⁴Swahili city states: Zanzibar, Kilwa, Bagamoyo, Sadani, Pangani, Tanga, and Mombasa. See Trimingham, p. 23.

²⁵Trimingham, p. 53.

influence of the Islamic religion and its culture and the extent to which it benefitted the coastal people and the Arabs who transmitted it.

From one aspect, Islam is like other major religions, that is, it is an oecumene, striving to absorb all segments of different cultural backgrounds in a system which manifests itself in a universal call of human brotherhood. This ideological belief which claims itself as the basis of international politics, has managed to respond to local geographical, racial, social, and political forces. Islam developed and united local sub-cultures, and thus maintained its influence over them. On this point, it is held that "...a traveller like Ibn Batuta, traversing the whole Islamic world remained in a relatively familiar world, in spite of regional differences."²⁶

The process of cultural assimilation was carried out through the accepted code of Islamic law, that is, that all believers are brothers and sisters, and this alone was the creative force which generated a harmonious relationship in dominating the less aggressive, dependent culture of the Bantu coastal (Swahili) people. The key to appreciate this culture and the way it was formed lies in understanding the relationship between the thin layer of the Arab immigrants and the Bantu with whom they were associated. The most interesting part of this cultural transition is that;

²⁶Trimingham, p. 65.

the process of interaction which took place was a dynamic one in that the influence of South Arabian Islamic and Bantu cultures was reciprocal. Islam dominated the life of the settlements, but the Bantu in turn modified the character and life of the community. The culture retained the decisive stamp of its South Arabian birthplace, especially in law, but in the environment and through intermarriage with Bantu, much was absorbed from African life.²⁷

This point is confirmed by Brown and Hiskett in their review of African Islamic education in which they note that Muslims along the East African coast have kept a social and cultural identity which is quite different from the local non-Muslim inhabitants.²⁸

Islamic Formal Education

In order to understand the changes that occurred in Tanzania prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the major role that the Arab Muslims played in formalizing the educational system cannot be overlooked. "From the time of their early contacts with East Africa until the present, Islamic education through the Koranic schools has been part of the Tanzanian educational scene."²⁹

Formal education, then, was not the product of either the European missionaries or the colonial administration of Tanzania. As Cameron and Dodd elaborate, not enough attention

²⁷Trimingham, p. 65.

²⁸G. N. Brown and Mervyn Hiskett (eds.) Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1975, p. 95.

²⁹J. Cameron and W. A. Dodd, Society, Schools, and Progress in Tanzania, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970, pp. 48-49.

has been given to this fact "...partly because the missionaries have either deliberately ignored or underestimated them, and partly because the Government took the view that a purely religious, non-secular system had no call on its support."³⁰

As noted earlier, the assimilation of local Tanzanians to the Islamic religion and culture led, in turn, to Arab adoption of local folkways as a means of harmonious human relationships which manifested itself in Islamic expansion. The influence of the Koranic schools can be realized in various coastal areas of the mainland, and to a great extent, in Zanzibar, which at one time represented itself as the center of Islamic civilization of the East coast.

Arab political, and subsequently economic and social power was minimized, however, in the later political and economic struggle over Africa engaged in by the Western powers. As a result, the Germans assumed responsibility for the administration of Tanzania; they adopted Swahili as the language of the local administration, and through this, the Swahili akidas³¹ were promoted to carry on administrative work, which facilitated the expansion of Islamic and Koranic schools.

³⁰ Cameron and Dodd, p. 51.

³¹ Akidas - Political administrators employed under Arab and German regimes in Tanzania.

The trained akidas and Muslim teachers played an important role in the German administration of Tanzania. As the need for manpower increased, the Muslim-educated personnel were recruited, which led to a better relationship between the administration of the local African Muslim leadership. The improvement of the Swahili language and its introduction in German formal schools, plus the control of missionary schools by the German and British administrations was the result of the expansion of Islam and Qur'anic activities between 1920-1930. In the year 1924, while Tanzania was under British administration, it is estimated that there were, "...on the mainland alone, no fewer than 700 Koranic schools with combined enrolment of over 8,000 pupils, 80% of which were in the coastal areas."³²

It is interesting to note that the method of teaching the Qur'an and the Islamic fundamental tenets was based on memorization and mastering the Arabic script, in calculating and in reading and writing. As Cameron and Dodd point out, the Koranic schools with their emphasis on committing to memory long, barely-comprehended texts, reinforced the indigenous ones towards Western learning.³³

³²Cameron and Dodd, p. 51.

³³Cameron and Dodd, p. 51.

Pre-Colonial African Society

The nature of societies of pre-colonial Africa differed greatly in size, complexity and degree of cultural organization. Their complexity of social leadership ranging from acephalous (recognizing no head or tribal leader) societies, to the one which had established sophisticated kingdoms of West-East Central Africa. The two major societies such as the acephalous and feudal kingdoms had different systems in political and social history. The traditional method of community organization of the acephalous societies was conducted on the basis of kinship and descent, its social and political roles being distributed on the merit of age, sex, and personal characteristics and achievements of the individuals. Since such societies do not have a single established authority to conduct their society's affairs, sociologists hold that such societies are often thought of as being highly democratic.³⁴

The assumption here is that, since issues that face the community are normally deliberated upon by the community members, decisions are made based on public debate, argument and compromise. This type of society could not remain static in its development, and it is conducive to the adaptation of foreign influence because the absence of feudal and hierarchical configurations do not have much

³⁴ Kenneth Blakemore and B. Cooksey, A Sociology of Education for Africa, 1980, p. 11.

influence on the entire social structure. In addition, these societies did not develop social stratification, i.e. discrepancies among individuals based on ownership (livestock, land, or slaves), or on occupation of political roles, were relatively underdeveloped.

Feudal societies which played the opposite role in comparison to acephalous societies, limited the level of social stratification due to the lack of social mobility. Even in those feudal and acephalous societies, individual social position was attributed to a function of age, sex, and personal characteristics.

In cultural upbringing, the pre-colonial societies had a dynamic educational philosophy which played a major role in educating the young. It is contended that:

Traditional African education was directed towards ends which can be perceived by considering what was done. There were systems of education in Africa before the colonial period for every community must have a way of passing on to the young its accumulated knowledge to enable them to play adult roles and ensure the survival of their offspring, and the continuity of the community.³⁵

The same views have been articulated by Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, and Leopold Senghor, and in fact many educationists who have pursued the study of

³⁵ K. A. Busia, Purposeful Education for Africa, The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1969, p. 13.

traditional societies in Africa. In relation to moral and cultural development of the traditional society of Africa, it is further asserted that:

The young were taught how to cope with their environment: how to farm, or hunt, or fish or prepare food, or build the house, or run a home. They were taught the language of manners, and generally the culture of the community. The method was informal, the young learned by participating in activities alongside their elders. They learned by listening, by watching, by doing. In many practical ways, they learned how to live as members of their community.³⁶

To this non-formal method of education in African pre-colonial society came certain factors of change which led to a change in values and status. For example,

An individual who excelled in physical strength, in warfare, in agricultural production, in public speaking, and so on, could expect to become a chief or a leading elder. In other words, leadership positions in the community were open to competition; they were achieved rather than ascribed statuses.³⁷

Pre-Colonial Education - Craft Education

Non-formal traditional education in the pre-colonial period in Tanzania was conducted through the responsibility of the professional members of the family, village and the community. Craft education was like other types of education, such as agricultural education and music. The education

³⁶Busia, p. 13.

³⁷Blakemore and Cooksey, p. 12.

provided served the needs of the community and it was education by doing or observing what the elders of the community were doing. Other kinds of craft education included:

Pottery, the making of coloured straw mats, blacksmithing, woodwork mainly for axes, knives and hoe handles, for weapons like bows, for canoes and dhows, metal work, leather tanning, making bark cloth, weaving and spinning were all local crafts found in Tanzania.³⁸

Craft education has played a very important role in the Tanzanian society as can be evidenced now through the efforts of the Ministry of National Culture which promoted its usefulness in modern Tanzania. It is important to observe that even the outsiders came to recognize and know about craft education in Tanzania.

In 1890, Dr. Oskar Baumaun, a German traveller visited Tanga Region and reported the existence of cottage industry and other crafts. He reported seeing women making coloured mats in Tanga, pottery work in Mwa and Vanga, and blacksmithing, iron-making, and charcoal made out of dom palms from Zanzibar.³⁹

This knowledge survived all other modern formal educational innovations in Tanzania, however, the local people did borrow some of the foreign techniques in craft making. For example,

³⁸Karl Schadler. Crafts, Small Scale Industries, and Industrial Education in Tanzania, Munchen: Weltforum Verlag, 1968, p. 46.

³⁹Schadler, p. 46.

The Indonesians introduced the hip-roofed huts along the coastal community. The Shiraz Arabs crafts and craft-making techniques, such as fabrication of furniture, doors with pivots, dhow building, tailoring garments, gold and silver smithery.⁴⁰

It is important to observe the role the missions played in the area of informal education such as in trade and agriculture, which was taken for granted, and in many cases without the mission concerned labelling it 'education' at all.⁴¹

Missionaries in one way or another failed to encourage the African craft work, but as there was no way they could stop it, they complained about its low quality in comparison to theirs. It is noted that the missionaries also exploited the African artisans in all kinds of craft work, masonry and building trades because they were the only available labourers for the missionary and colonial socio-economic demands.

Impact of Christian Missionary Education

In his Christian mission to African to eliminate slavery and save the African population by converting to Christianity, David Livingstone held that:

⁴⁰ K. Schadler, p. 46.

⁴¹

Anthony Smith, The Missionary Contribution to 1914 - Tanganyika. Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 60, March 1963, p. 103.

Africa was ready for the Gospel. But commerce and Christianity must advance together. The slave-trade, the curse of Africa, would never be stopped by sermons or even by the gunboats alone."⁴²

The claim he made that slavery would have to be abolished played a very important part in influencing others to take the Vasco da Gama approach. Livingstone's vision was focused on the power of the Bible as the basis of the mission. However, at the University of Cambridge on the 4th of December, 1857, he asserted that

"I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity".⁴³ Livingstone's plan to establish a permanent mission and open the path for trade and commercial agents in Africa was given more impetus after his trip to the Shire Highland in Central Africa. He then remarked that he was becoming more convinced that:

English colonization is necessary to our real success. In this new area of Highlands, the greatest good could be done by developing trade in cotton and checking trade in slaves.⁴⁴

What Livingstone had in mind was to kill two birds with one stone. The idea here was to eliminate slavery and at the same time challenge Islam by introducing Christianity which would be active in spreading the word

⁴²L. H. Gann and P. Duignan, (eds.), Colonialism in Africa: The History and Politics of Colonialism, Vol. 1, 1969, p. 2.

⁴³Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Mission, London: Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 38.

⁴⁴T. R. Batten, Tropical Africa in World History, London: Cambridge University Press, 1865, p. 188.

of human brotherhood which had eliminated slavery in the area. This idea worked very well because Livingstone's objective was focused on the weakness of the Arab Muslims, by using the power of the Bible, slavery and modern technology of which the Western missionary were ready to offer to the inhabitants of Central East Africa. This, in fact, worked successfully. Livingstone further observed that:

The Christian powers must introduce steam-powered transport by river and land. By doing so, they would enable Africans to produce crops for legitimate trade and would assist in the evangelization of Africa.⁴⁵

This kind of commitment of missionary inroads into African communities provided colonial justification and also the role of Christian movement in Africa. The Muslims in East Africa lacked this type of foresight and clear ideological direction of purpose. The Sultanate of Zanzibar and other Arab city states which have existed in the East coast before the coming of the Portuguese or Livingstone's company, were impotent because their intra-political conflict destroyed the purpose of unity among themselves. It should be noted that the time and the era which Livingstone and the indigenous people of Africa faced was a tabula rasa where the opportunities for them were limited. At this time:

⁴⁵Gann and Duignan, , p. 14.

Even the most highly developed cities, including those of the Sudanic belt, had not advanced beyond the handcraft stage of production. Literacy was confined to a limited number of regions, to small minority groups, including white settlers in Southern Africa, Europeanized Africans in West Africa, and the Islamic intelligentsia of the Sudanese belt and the East Coast as well as their opposite numbers in Christian Ethiopia.⁴⁶

In relation to formal education as we understand it in Western terms, Africa had its first contact with Europeans dating back to the late 15th century:

The earliest schools established by Europeans in Africa were associated with the activities of early traders: Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French, and British.⁴⁷

The spread of the European influence was rapid, and colonial rule brought profound social development of the traditional societies including modern education methods. The formal colonial activities and established authority by the Europeans became the force directly felt by the Africans. This colonial force managed to act as a means of cultural transformation, modern educational organization, economic and technological knowhow in the area of agriculture and medical facilities.

In the East Coast of Africa, the first schools established by Europeans were the result of coastal trading contacts in the fifteenth century. These early Europeans recruited the

⁴⁶Gann and Duignan, p. 15.

⁴⁷Blakemore and Cooksey, p. 26.

local children of the traders who taught them the European languages such as Portuguese, French, German and English. Such schools were run by priests, as was the custom in Europe at that time.⁴⁸

As we have already pointed out about the quality of organization and the forces of the Western missionary activities in Africa, was aimed to set up a clear path for colonial activities and the missionary actively supported their cause of winning the local people in embracing Christianity. This objective was never opposed by the pro-colonial ruling class in Europe. This then shows that "the vast majority of schools and colleges opened during the colonial period were run and, for the most part, financed by European and American missionary societies."⁴⁹

Around the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we were witnessing specific aims of bringing Christianity to the non-Christian world. The process of the western educational expansion in these societies were to have a profound effect on the long-term development of many African societies, particularly those which were not already under the influence of Islam.

The objective of missionaries such as Livingstone and many others was aimed to save the souls of the African people from damnation. It was felt that Christianity must be brought

⁴⁸Blakemore and Cooksey, p. 26.

⁴⁹Blakemore and Cooksey, p. 45.

to primitive and pagan peoples in all the backward regions of the continent of Africa. The growth of missionary activities during the late eighteenth century reflected the expansion of European trade and colonial influence in the world. As Oliver states, "it was Livingstone the individual and not the C.M.S. missionaries and their powerful society behind them, who set in motion the missionary invasion of Africa."⁵⁰

It is important to note that the missionaries influence in the area of religion and education, paved the way to:

the business of education not because it regarded education as good in itself, but because it found that it could not do its own proper work without giving its adherents, and especially its clergy, as much of the formal learning as was required for the study of the sacred writings and for the performance of the religious duties.⁵¹

Like the Muslims, the Christian schools first propagated the Gospel, and established formal schools to teach the basic skills. The schools represented themselves as the agents of a new civilization, foreign to the Africans, since the mode of human organization in African society up to this point was egalitarian. On this point, it is to be noted that:

⁵⁰ Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1966, p. 7.

⁵¹ William Boyd, The History of Western Education, New York: Black Co. Ltd., 1961, pp. 99-100.

Christianity stresses the individuality of man. When this concept was reinforced by an insistence on the value of personal hard work and thrift and the integrity of the single enlightened Christian family, the effects on traditional society were disruptive. Christian mission stations became not only haven of security, but centers of a completely new way of life in opposition to much that went on outside them.⁵²

The absorption of the African into the Western cultural and value system, however, was not an easy task. Missionary integration thus usually meant adoption of the local tribe's tongue, as their message could not reach the people in any other way. This approach was aimed at local tribal vernaculars which actually widened the gap of tribal rivalries among the people. The missionary's educational approach was later controlled by the Germans who encouraged the use of Swahili as the lingua franca of the nation. It is interesting to note on this topic that Gillette agrees with Cameron and Dodd's analysis of the objective of the 'Christian missionaries' as one of "uncompromising Westernization". As he states:

The first wave of European penetration... the missionaries...announced an educational imperialism whose design was radically different: total domination, both geographical and mental.⁵³

⁵²Cameron and Dodd, p. 54.

⁵³Arthur Gillette, Beyond the Non-Formal Fashion: Towards Educational Revolution in Tanzania. Amherst: Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts, 1976, p. 54.

The Missionary Role in Vocational Education

History tells us that there were considerable missionary activities in mainland Tanzania and the Island of Zanzibar between 1860 and 1890, the year before the German Colonial Government took over the administration of Tanganyika. It is asserted that:

The first missionary order in Deutsch Ostafrika, the French Congregation of the Holy Ghost, arrived in Zanzibar from Mauritius specifically to expand upon such activities.⁵⁴

The aim of the missionary organizations was:

...essentially to get converts, train them as catechists, teachers and clergy. In some of the missions, especially those of the Roman Catholics, skilled artisans were being trained. The policy was to provide self-supporting missions. Here the converts were taught agriculture, crafts, and trade.⁵⁵

Zanzibar was the initial station for the missionaries and this was later seconded by Bagamoyo on mainland Tanzania. From here, the missionaries penetrated the interior of Tanzania's slave-trade route to Dodoma, Tabora and Ujiji up the Congo. It is claimed that by the early 1870's,

the missionaries were controlling 324 ex-slaves including 251 on eighty acres of coastal land. The freed men and children benefitted from the missionary education and the re-settlement plan which is claimed to have extended more than one hundred miles inland.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Arie van der Ploeg, "Education in Colonial Africa: The German Experience", Journal of Comparative Education, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1977, p. 93.

⁵⁵ Anthony Smith, p. 91.

⁵⁶ A. van der Ploeg, p. 93.

As has been noted before, the missionaries used the slave issue to win the hearts of the African population to accept Christianity, but in reality the aim was to propagate their faith and convert those who sought that form of security. What was encountered by the so-called freed men and women was not freedom, but an alien system which made them subject to cultural and ideological imperialism.

Under this alien system imparted to Tanzanians first by the missionaries of various countries and later by specifically German and British colonial systems, the structure reflected a class formation or elite formation ideology based on the capitalist feudal system of Europe. It is argued that:

In England, for example, elementary education was in fact working class education, based on a curriculum of reading, writing, arithmetic, some vocational training and a good dose of scripture to pacify and mould good character.⁵⁷

It is incredible to recognize the missionary efforts in the area of teacher education. Teacher training schools and vocational education were introduced in areas such as the Tanga Region, places such as Minaki College in Eastern Region (Dar es Salaam area), Ndanda in the southern part of Tanzania, Kilimanjaro and Lake Victoria Regions. These colleges were operated by Roman Catholic and Lutheran missions. Colleges

⁵⁷ M. Mbilinyi, African Education in British Colonial Period 1919-1961, Education Department, University of Dar Es Salaam, (mimeograph), Feb. 1975, p. 10.

and secondary schools operated under strict orders of the missions not to admit any student who did not belong to their denomination.

The process of producing enough teachers from 1887-1911 was very discouraging. In 1911, the German and other missionaries working in the area of vocational education is shown below:

TABLE 1¹

School, Teachers, and Pupils in Mission Vocational Education

MISSION	NO. OF SCHOOLS	EUROPEAN TEACHERS	AFRICAN TEACHERS	PUPILS
Roman Catholic	5	13	1	61
Protestant	9	10	-	88
TOTAL	14	23	1	149

The Evangelical German Missionary Society, the Benedictine Fathers (German Catholics), Moravians, and Leipzig Lutherans established individual learning centres in various places in Tanzania. Still the process of educational momentum never really took place until the official colonization of Tanzania by the German Empire.

⁵⁸ D. N. Sifuna, Vocational Education in Schools: A Historical Survey of Kenya and Tanzania. East African Literature Bureau, Dar Es Salaam, 1976, pp. 49-51.

As the German traders were already located in Zanzibar, it is also noted that the Germans were the first missionaries to arrive on the Tanzanian mainland. In 1848, a German missionary named Rebmann arrived in Tanzania, and in 1859, the German explorer Roscher was killed around Lake Nyasa while on one of his expeditions.

By 1860, the English Protestant missionaries were already established in Tanga Region, stationed in the mountains of Usambara. This was followed by the Fathers of the Holy Ghost who established themselves in Dar es Salaam Region at Bagamoyo Coast on the Indian Ocean around 1869.⁵⁹

From 1876 to 1884, the Church Missionary Society of England, the London Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland, and the White Fathers under French Cardinal Levigerie sent missionaries to the interior of the country, close to the great lakes areas (Lake Victoria and Tanganyika).

It was, of course, very difficult for the missionaries to carry out their activities due to the hostility of the pro-Arab elements in certain areas of the country and the Germans of the German East African Company who indiscriminately sought power and influence for their country. As noted by Marsh, the German colonial representatives:

created some difficulties for the missionaries who were not German, and also the Arabs, especially the Sultan of Zanzibar

⁵⁹ Oliver and Mathew, p. 101

who had already commissioned the Arabs around the lakes of the interior to maintain trade and slavery.⁶⁰

It is thus clear that the years between 1884 and 1888 were troubled ones for the missionaries, partly because the Germans and Arabs were actively trying to consolidate their positions in the area, and in other instances the missionaries were threatened with violence.

The first practical step for any missionary group after initial settlement, was the establishment of a mission station, a school, and if possible, a hospital, all of which would hopefully encourage and attract the local people in relating to the missionary personnel.

The University Mission played their part in this work, and in 1867, they started their first station on the mainland at Magila, in the country behind Tanga. Similiar stations were established by the English Protestant missionaries, the Church Missionary Society of England, the London Missionary Society, and the White Fathers. Significantly, the White Fathers missionary drive to convert and educate Africans moved rapidly inland, which led to the founding of the first

⁶⁰Z. A. Marsh, p. 50.

full-fledged school in Sukumaland (Lake Victoria Region) in about 1890. So great was their zeal to ensure ever-greater enrolments that the missionaries had on occasion recourse to such measures as encouraging local rulers to impose fines on parents whose children did not attend the new schools.⁶¹

This practice was, to a certain extent, unsuccessful in some areas. Local opposition to the missionaries' harsh punishment to the families who did not send their children to school, however, did not stop the considerable progress of missionary educational expansion. It is indeed claimed that by the turn of the century, at least 600 missionary schools had been built in Tanzania with a student population of 50,000. Before the First World War broke out in 1914, the missionaries had established 1,000 schools with enrolments in them of over 150,000.⁶²

It is clear that the administration of the school was deferential in terms of privilege to the families of traditional African chiefs, to those tribal units who were religiously inclined, and to well-to-do Christian families. (For more details on the social achievements of the missionary societies, see Scanlon, 1964.)

Unlike the Christianized Africans, the Muslims did not have strong tribal affinities. And since the missionaries

⁶¹Gillette, p. 38

⁶²Gillette, p. 38.

saw Swahili as one of the bases of the Islamic brotherhood ethic, they were suspicious of the Muslims and their use of Swahili as an Islamic influence on their potential congregations. The missionary schools thus exercised subtle measures to not accept a Muslim student unless his name was first change to a Christian one. This frightened the Muslims who then objected to sending their children to the Christian-controlled schools.

The Qur'anic schools were outclassed by the missionaries' Western-type schools since from a Western perspective, the Qur'anic teachers were not properly trained. In this regard, as noted by Cameron, the Muslim schools were effectively bypassed by government policy and financial support. The government ruling was:

Since these schools impart no secular education of the Western kind, in contrast to the Christian mission-founded schools which do, and since the Koranic teachers are not professionally qualified in our sense, they are not eligible for government financial assistance as are the Christian ones.⁶³

Islam and Christianity, however, are both missionary religions, although their approaches and methods differ fundamentally. In relation to Islam, its spread in East Africa lacked a competitive nature. This approach has made the Muslims to have a very low level of organized missionary work: As asserted by Harries:

⁶³ John Cameron, The Development of Education in East Africa. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969, p. 7.

...the missionary as we know him has a more important place in East Africa amongst Christians than amongst Muslims; Islam depends almost entirely for the spread of its faith upon the influence of the Muslim community. When social distinctions are overcome, the progress of conversion is likely to be accelerated.⁶⁴

Looking into the socio-cultural influence of missionaries in Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa, their aim was to change individuals and then

segregate these converts into a special community in order to create a new social environment for a different way of behaviour, and those missionaries who seek to subvert the entire existing community in order to prevent old ideas from being perpetuated.⁶⁵

In controlling the basic natural desires of a person, power or force was used in colonizing the entire society in Africa. The missionary organizations, such as the C.M.S. were major contributors of Western education in East/Central Africa and they monopolized everything that a Christian had an interest in. The missionaries in general used the secular features of European culture as a means to interest Africans in religious matters, but the subtle forces of materialism and nationalism imposed upon them a new kind of bondage.

For the past 100 years, the Western world has witnessed a significant change in human development, if not human

⁶⁴Lyndon Harries, p. 22.

⁶⁵R. Frank, "Social Theory and the Study of Christian Mission in Africa", Journal of the International African Institute, Vol. XLIV, No. 1, Jan. 1974, p. 244.

spiritual change in the Christian perspective in Africa. Material and cultural expansion in the West had its source from colonial expansion in which the African natural resources played a significant role in the development of the European economy. These realities have made the missionaries to see the struggle in terms of the old bad things and the new bad things. The majority of Christians in Africa south of the Sahara, however, are still under the yoke of economic hardships, regardless of the Christian inherited power of the former colonial authorities.

The missionaries influenced certain attitudes and values which were not compatible with the social change demands in Africa, and this was mainly because the missionaries had a wrong perception about Africans, based on ill-conceived notions about their own converts. Objectively, it is not fair to put the whole blame on the missionaries in relation to the attitude of isolation and division between the converts and the clergy, or the colonizer and the colonized. But the fact of the matter is that Western society in general established itself in Africa with a specific objective, that is, to civilize Africa by using colonization and Christianity. Social behaviour and the perception of both missionaries and colonial authorities have very little concern on the impact of their activities, and the results of their objectives.

Social and class distinction is not a new thing in the history of man. Circumstances of various natures in human relationships have contributed to social norms which are against human justice. Therefore, the idea of master and servant attributes becomes a social yardstick and the order of the day. This observation reminds us that:

Missionaries were inconsistent in their use of the concept of a total society. Where it served their purposes, Western society was presented by missionaries as a functional whole and material attainments were considered signs of Christian civilization. The missionaries tried, on occasion, to separate themselves from secular aspects of European colonialism.⁶⁶

The African elite, and the remnants of the Christian missionaries in Africa still see the conflict between materialism and traditional African values as the problem facing the underdeveloped world. But the social isolation and class consciousness are the true contending issues between the elite and the African peasants in the villages.

The activities of the various missionary societies transformed Tanzanian society which was substantially living in isolation and guided by its traditional values, although Islam did play a major role in those sections of society where the Arabs had established permanent rule. As we will see, however, the coming of the Germans minimized Islamic influence and allowed the burgeoning of Christianity and its

⁶⁶R. Frank, p. 246.

influence. From this perspective, we will attempt to focus on the educational impact during German and British rule in order to better understand the later developments in the Tanzanian educational system.

The German Experiment and the Colonization of Tanganyika:
1900-1914

To analytically observe and understand the radical changes that have taken place in Tanzania, it is imperative to examine the past and envision the future. As the late Tom Mboya observed:

A vision of Africa - present and to come - is impossible without being armed with background and history of the colonial Africa - its impacts, effects, and the problems it has generated for the future of Africa.⁶⁷

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, having a colony in Africa was becoming a matter of prestige. The British and French had already established covert interest in the continent through missionary organizations while the Germans were philosophically arguing the consequences of having many colonies or no colonies at all. Apart from prestige, it is clear that colonial ventures in Africa were largely the result of the impact of the 19th century Industrial Revolution⁶⁸, and Germany was soon no exception to this trend. Besides the trade mission which was earlier established by the Germans at Zanzibar, private business

⁶⁷ Tom Mboya, "Vision of Africa" in Africa Speaks. James Duff and R. A. Manners, (eds.), Princeton, Van Nostrand, 1961, p. 21.

⁶⁸ See Laura S. Kurtz, An African Education: The Social Revolution in Tanzania, New York: Pageant-Poseidon Ltd., 1972, p. 17.

enterprise and investment marked the real beginning of German colonization in East Africa. Its objectives were to obtain territory overseas in order that "German emigrants could make their homes under German flags...and to have possession of new supplies of raw materials and the control of new markets...essential to the growth of German trade."⁶⁹

Dr. Carl Peters, who had studied the history of British colonial activities and "...was fired with the idea of founding adventurers' companies for the creation of German overseas possession"⁷⁰, was a major exponent for German colonization in Africa. The German Chancellor Prince Bismark, did not share the enthusiasm of the private investors, or of Peters, however, and in 1881, strongly stated that: "As long as I am Chancellor, we will carry on no colonial policies."⁷¹ He further stated that Germany would not be responsible for the life or possessions of any German national who attempted to acquire property "...on the African mainland opposite the Island of Zanzibar."⁷²

These statements by Bismark must be viewed with suspicion, however, since it appears from them that his judgement did not match his opinion of the German nation as the 'greatest in the world', for, as pointed out by Coupland,

⁶⁹ Sir Reginald Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa: 1856-1890, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1939, p. 395.

⁷⁰ A.F. Calvert, German East Africa, New York: Negro University Press, 1917, p. 1.

⁷¹ Coupland, p. 397.

⁷² Calvert, p. v.

greatness at that time meant greatness "...on the seas; and sea-power was linked with colonies."⁷³ It is likely that Bismarck's refusal of colonization was part of his strategy to give only 'backdoor' approval of the scheme in order to avoid a confrontation with the British government who already maintained paramount influence in the region through their missionaries.

Nevertheless, the German elite felt it was up to them to initiate a force which could acquire colonial territories and extend German economic power. An initial movement towards this end was the establishment of Deutsche Kolonialverein, a powerful association equipped with a newspaper of its own, the Kolonialzeitung.⁷⁴ The Konialverein attempted to support the colonial elements inside and outside Germany and to inform and convince 'unbelievers' (like Bismarck) of the importance and need for colonies. The organization soon became a spokesman for various smaller local societies which had different objectives such as overseas travel, exploration, and trade. The above groups felt that Germany's strength in Europe was a factor, and that nothing could stop internal political pressure to convince Bismarck to take an active role in the colonization of certain parts of Africa.

The pressure on Bismarck succeeded and the Government opinion on colonial adventure began to change. The result

⁷³Coupland, p. 396.

⁷⁴Coupland, p. 396.

was that from 1883 to 1885 the colonial groundwork made a headway and,

Bismarck, suddenly changing his attitude, was able to take the diplomats of Europe by surprise in declaring German protectorates in four widely scattered parts of Africa - Togoland, the Cameroons, East Africa, and South-West Africa."⁷⁵

It must also be noted that:

It was Bismarck who dominated the first round of the 'Scramble' which came to an end at the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. The Conference prepared the way for newcomers to the African scene by requiring that claims to colonies or protectorates on any part of the African coastline should be formally notified to the other powers taking part in the Conference, and by insisting that such claims of an effective degree of authority in the area concerned. This put an end to the British idea of informal Empire."⁷⁶

The direct results of this International Conference Berlin carried out by Bismarck were two: the appointment of a Consul-General at Zanzibar later in 1884 and in 1885,

the Sultan of Zanzibar acknowledged the German claims of certain parts of the mainland on the East Coast of Africa and also to the Island of Mafia. Three years later the German East Africa Company was founded and took over the management of the coast. And in 1891, the German government began to administer that country, the customs being placed in the hands of her officials.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Roland Oliver and Antony Atmore. Africa Since 1800, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, p. 110.

⁷⁶ Oliver and Atmore, p. 111.

⁷⁷ R. Franz, "German Method of Development in Africa", Journal of the African Society, No. 1, London, 1901, p. 23.

It is interesting to see the change of heart which made Bismarck who initially refused to see Peters and also hear his claims of colonial Empire in Africa. But with the French and British already in Africa in possession of colonial land and its resources, Bismarck decided to champion the colonial venture and spread his forces on the west and east coasts of Africa. More significantly, Bismarck's change of heart was likely connected to the documented evidence of ownership of land, which Carl Peters presented to the Imperial Government. This took the form of twelve treaties which made him the lessor of a territory as large as southern Germany,⁷⁸ land which was later described as a "well-watered, fertile, mountainous province which is comprised by the countries of Uzigua, Nguru, Usagara, and Ukami."⁷⁹

Economically, this was significant, since if the area was fertile and close to the seaport of Tanga on the Indian Ocean, the basis of an agricultural economy could be established and indeed, a few German settlers did begin to show interest in residing in the Tanga region. Supported by the settlers' interests in the area and, more importantly, the Imperial Charter for his Company, Peters set out to

⁷⁸Oliver and Atmore, pp. 110-112.

⁷⁹Calvert, pp. 2-4.

extend his treaty possessions in the west the three great lakes of Central Africa, in the north, over the countries of the Somali as far as the British colony of Berbera, including Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya.⁸⁰

The acquisition of vast tracts of the Tanzania hinterland, however, did not mean automatic control over movement of goods and transportation in the entire area. The Sultan of Zanzibar, in fact, maintained jurisdiction and influence over the coastal strip of Tanga, Pangani, Dar es Salaam, Bagamoya and Kilwa. But Peters, as Chairman and General Manager of the German East Africa Company initially negotiated concessions on the ports of Dar es Salaam and Pangani to protect his inland interests, and later, on July 30, 1877, reached an agreement with the Sultan to "...least the whole coastline as far as it stood in relation to the German sphere of influence."⁸¹

This strategy pursued by the German East Africa Company was common to all colonial acquisition. After the possession of a sizeable tract of land, maritime and sea rights are agreed upon, followed by economic power and political influence in the area. Matters related to contractual agreements and activities of German subjects were handled by the Consul-General at Zanzibar, Dr. Michahelles who acted on behalf of the Imperial Chancellor.

⁸⁰ Oliver and Atmore, p. 50.

⁸¹ Calvert, p. 25.

It is clear from our study thus far that the German sphere of influence on the east coast of Africa was in fact based on economic dominance. With the land already acquired, and the colonial administration in the process of being established, the agricultural experiment in relation to economic organization was now the main priority of German colonial possessions. Dr. Walter Busse of the Imperial German Colonies wrote in the Bulletin of the Imperial Institute that:

Our experimental work serves ultimately the self-evident demand for sound national trade policy, especially by encouraging in our colonies the production of those raw materials which Germany must still draw from foreign lands for the sustenance of its people and industries.⁸²

As part of the German administration's transport and communication network required to maintain economic efficiency and control, a cable service was opened in September 1890 between the old Arab port of Bagamoyo and Zanzibar. Imperial post offices were subsequently established at Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo in the same year. Shortly after these two developments, the German administration obtained a concession to build a railway from Tanga to Usambara, and it later reached Moshi by the end of the

⁸²Calvert, p. 78.

3

century, Just before World War I, they completed the line all the way from Dar Es Salaam to Lake Tanganyika.⁸³

It is important to reiterate that the most significant aspect of all colonial activities, whether they were carried out by a chartered company or a colonial administration itself, were self-sufficiency and maintenance of a strong metropolitan industrial link. As elaborated by Brett,

The smooth functioning of the colonial system depended upon the successful resolution of four distinct problems. Firstly, an administrative system had to be created. Secondly, machinery had to be evolved to deal with the demands and the conflicts arising out of the needs of the expatriate communities to man the new colonial institutions. Thirdly, demands and conflicts out of colonial policy. Finally, relations with the indigenous population had to be regularized through the establishment of institutions capable of settling internal disputes.⁸⁴

It is evident from the above that the Germans in East Africa used a significant amount of power to ensure adequate control of the indigenous Africans and a significant amount of investment in establishing a sound economic and communications base to reach and thus exploit each part of the country and maintain a self-reliant colonial administration.

⁸³For further readings on German economic expansion, see H. Brode, British and German East Africa, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1911

⁸⁴E. A. Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change, 1919-1939, New York: NOK Publishers, Ltd., 1973, p. 54.

German Colonial Education

Having outlined the form and content of the establishment of German economic domination over Zanzibar and the Tanzanian mainland, let us now examine the impact of the German colonial administration which, with the aid of the Christian missionaries and the coastal Swahili people, introduced formal Western educational system in Tanzania. These were "the ideological institutions which the German colonial administration first depended upon."⁸⁵

Although there were no 'schools' in the Western sense of desks, curriculum designs and monthly salaries for teachers in Tanzania at this time, it is erroneous, as asserted by Gillette to imagine that the pre-colonial society operated in an

...educational vacuum. Every society has its educational system, if only to the extent that it is its concern to pass on to the younger generation the values and beliefs which give it an identity and preserve its existence.⁸⁶

Before the establishment of the German colony, the Muslim and Christian missionaries had established stations of education in various parts of the nation. The Christian missionaries had mobilized their efforts in introducing Christianity and erected schools to teach the 'three R's',

⁸⁵H. Hinzen and V.H. Hundsdorfer (eds.), Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzanian Experience, London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1979, p. 69.

⁸⁶A. L. Gillette, Beyond the Non-Formal Fashion: Towards Educational Revolution in Tanzania, Amherst, Mass: University of Mass., Centre for International Education, 1977, p. 27.

which the Muslims had also done prior to the arrival of the Christian missionaries. This process of education was locally organized and did not have national planning perspectives. Rather, from their perspective, they saw education as

part of their civilizing mission in Africa. For example, the University Missions to Central Africa were set up to be centres of Christianity and civilization for the promotion of true religion, agriculture and commerce.⁸⁷

The German colonial administration began to consolidate her power, and the schools which were under the control of the Missions began to receive orders from the colonial authorities.

In 1886, the German Mission Congress met and made a clear statement of objective in relation to their presence in Africa. It was emphasized that:

German missions, Evangelical and Catholic alike, should be encouraged to take an active part in the realization of national colonial programmes; in other words, they should not restrict their activities to mission work but should help to establish German culture and German thought in the colonies.⁸⁸

By 1913, it was thought that mission schools should be given a government subsidy in order to create a cooperative relationship with the missionary officials, because these

⁸⁷ Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, p. 77.

⁸⁸ K. J. Hellberg, Mission on a Colonial Frontier West of Lake Victoria, Uppsala Gleerap, 1956, p. 92.

schools were producing trained manpower for needed government personnel.

It is interesting however, to observe here the German attitude towards Islamic-Qur'anic educational institutions. The subsidy paid to the missions were not considered useful or necessary to the Islamic-Qur'anic institutions, though it is known that:

The German colonial administration made use of Islamic educational and political institutions in order to create the akida and liwali system of Direct Rule. Initially, literate products of Islamic Qur'an schools or relatively high social standing became akidas or liwalis, and others became members of the colonial army and police.⁸⁹

It is clear that the German establishment of colonial administration met with very strong resistance from the African communities and non-German missionaries. Thus, in 'selling' their colonial design to the Africans, they stated that their goals were similar to those of the missionaries: to bring Western civilization and Christianity to the African people and to eliminate slavery, but attainment of these goals was only possible within an integrated system of authority. As a result, that authority was imposed upon the missionaries and the local African chiefdoms, although

⁸⁹ M. L. Mbilinyi, "History of Formal Schooling in Tanzania", Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzanian Experience, H. Hinzen and V. H. Hundsdorfer (eds), London: Evans Brothers, 1979, p. 77.

as noted previously in this chapter, the Germans were "concerned from the very beginning with economic exploitation."⁹⁰

To win the heart and mind of the Africa, the colonizer had to establish institutions which would regularize the relationship with the local leadership, and combat outside influences thus ensuring a smooth transmission of authority. These objectives were consistently achieved by the German colonial administration with the Swahili speaking community as noted earlier, in the coast, although the policy was at odds with the missionaries, due to the fact that certain missionaries deliberately used the vernaculars

to ensure transmission of the schools' evangelical message which hardly grew from cultural sensitivity to African values...and to combat the influence of the Swahili-speaking coast people used by the Germans to implant their administration.⁹¹

The cultural insensitivity of the missionaries thus generated an awareness towards the German colonial administration which suddenly decided to formulate an educational policy which would respect the existing values of the African people. This effort played a crucial role in consolidating and maintaining their authority within the country. Education thus became an important agent in shaping colonial policy.

⁹⁰ Temu Kimambo, A History of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam: East Africa Publishing House, 1969, p. 92.

⁹¹ Gillette, p. 40.

It has been argued that the Germans saw Swahili as the proper medium in which to introduce German culture and civilization. It was included in the curriculum of the colonial schools and served as the basis of national integration of various tribes. The Germans were also cynical and unsatisfied with the missionary education. The German administration's attempts to neutralize the situation between the Christians and the Muslims (Swahili-speaking majority) resulted in the placement of Muslims as Qur'anic teachers in their coastal schools, justifying their decision "...on the grounds that the Qur'an was being translated from the Arabic to Swahili medium."⁹²

The objective of this strategy was two-fold: first, to eliminate the immediate conflict between the two groups, and second, to show the missionary authorities that the influence of the Swahili language was reduced since, at this time, it was spoken only around the coastal areas. It should be noted, however, that the Islamic-Arabic historical nature of the language was the basis of the Christian critics' anxiety about Swahili; they felt that support and promotion of the language nationally would facilitate the spread of Islam. As the German colonial authority became something to reckon with, the Swahili language did gradually develop,

⁹²Lyndon Harries, p. 20.

however, and eventually a Swahili transliteration from Arabic to the Roman alphabet was officially produced. In this regard, there is no doubt that the Germans had an interest in the Swahili language, a language which:

...probably developed into its present structure around the 13th century. It was the common language of the coast and the lingua franca for trade transaction. It maintained a Bantu-base and derived its vocabulary from the languages of the traders on the coast, Arab, Persian, Portuguese, Turkish, and Indian.⁹³

In contrast to other Western colonial powers, the meaning of schooling by German colonial authorities in Tanzania was:

...surprisingly effective...insistence on schooling's allocative function; the colonial administration was less interested in making the African into a quasi-German than in having at hand Africans capable of the German definition of work.⁹⁴

This philosophy was the main driving force which the German authorities emphasized in putting forward a uniform educational policy and school discipline among the missionary schools which were later under the state control. It is important to observe that:

the most constant pressure, and one unique to German East Africa, came from a central administrative policy of educating Africans in the Swahili language for employment in

⁹³ Laura Kurtz, p. 18.

⁹⁴ van der Ploeg, p. 91.

official service. State-run education originated in 1892, and evolved without the deference to missionary institutions that was typical in British colonies.⁹⁵

In March 1891, the German Colonial Governor in Tanzania made a point of concern that the mission influence should be watched because he did not want to have conflicting and unmatching qualities of the school graduates, because it was noted that the missionaries trained and kept the better graduates, and allowed the government to recruit the leftover with low academic standard.⁹⁶ This missionary policy made the German colonial administration aggressively strengthen state controlled education, eliminate the vernacular languages in the missionary educational curriculum, and make Swahili as a language of instruction in all state controlled schools. In some instances the colonial authorities would use subtle threats against the missionaries such as building one of their own schools:

to be staffed by teachers trained at the Tanga School, who usually came from the coast and appeared to the missionaries a vanguard of Islam in the interior. In terms of direct subventions to mission schools, a certain amount of material support came from the Fund for the spread of the German language, which in East Africa went to encourage not the European imperial tongue, but standard Swahili.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ M. Wright, German Mission in Tanganyika, 1891-1914, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, p. 108.

⁹⁶ van der Ploeg, p. 25.

⁹⁷ M. Wright, "Local Roots of Policy in German East Africa", Journal of African History, Vol. IX, No. 4, 1968, pp. 109-110.

The integrated state controlled policy of education accelerated literacy in Tanzania during the years 1903-1914. In the middle of 1905, the German administration experienced an anti-colonial revolt, the Maji Maji. However, the revolt did not stop the colonial administration from pursuing its policies, since not all of the territorial inhabitants with their chiefs supported the anti-colonial revolt. During this time, the German colonial administration got their support from:

local chiefs such as Marialle of Kilimanjaro, Kinyasi of the Kilindi throne in Usambara Mountains, Kalugi of Kianja in Buhaya, Masanja of Nera, and Makwaia of Usiha...all of these chiefdoms demonstrated their support towards the Germans, and the Germans regarded these rulers as future agents for European cultural and economic initiatives.⁹⁸

However, the future agents for these Western initiatives were few, and the majority did not benefit in the area of economic or material development, despite the German official policy which stated that alienating the "...Negro from farming his native soil without giving him an occupation that is in harmony with his new level of education would mean to inflict a wrong on him."⁹⁹

⁹⁸ John Illife, Tanganyika Under German Rule: 1905-12, Cambridge: The University Press, p. 15.

⁹⁹ Laura Kurtz, p. 17.

TABLE 2¹⁰⁰TANGANYIKA SCHOOLS AND THEIR ENROLLMENT IN
SELECTED YEARS

	<u>No. of Schools</u>		<u>No. of Schools</u>	
	Govt.	Miss.	Govt.	Miss.
1903	8	15	-	-
1911	83	918	3,192	63,455
1914	99	1,852	6,100	155,287

By 1911, Rechenberg, the new governor, introduced the policy of revenue collection, and found the akidas to be efficient at collecting it. He was convinced that he could build a European type of civil service out of the new graduates who were the products of government schools on the coast. "In the year 1912-13, the three post-primary schools in Tanga, Bagamoyo, and Dar es Salaam produced 192 pupils from their top forms."¹⁰¹ The curriculum, which was designed for both schools, that of the missionaries and the government, seemed to pay off. For example,

At Kisarawe near Dar es Salaam, the Bethel missionaries quickly agreed to cooperate in a system of Government subsidies and the Roman Catholics made sweeping promises to develop standard schools."¹⁰²

The actual government curriculum was based on literacy and language (Swahili); the training provided a year or two for

¹⁰⁰ M. Wright, "Local Roots", p. 629.

¹⁰¹ See John Illife, Tanganyika Under German Rule or H. Brode, British and German East Africa, for more details.

¹⁰² M. Wright, "Local Roots", p. 111.

literacy and good products of these students from the hinterland would be sent to Tanga Central School for further training in subjects such as German language and administration.

The Tanga School...provided not only the bulk of trained Africans, but printed the colony's official publications, newspapers, and advertising, trained its craftsmen, produced clothing for its pupils, contracted carpentry work for government and business, and at one point, operated a laundry.¹⁰³

Central schools were used as advanced schools for bureaucratic training. For example, coastal schools in the Tanga area were to provide the trained bureaucratic African manpower.

The progress of educational activities were not merely concentrated in Tanga region, but as the initial colonial centre, Tanga attracted the colonial society because of its economic climate, and its closeness to the ocean. However, the Germans did penetrate places such as Moshi, and the famous Kilimanjaro Mountain area where coffee and tea plantations were established. Thus, Tanga, during the German period remained the economic base of Tanzania and the most advanced.¹⁰⁴

Teacher Training

In the area of industrial training, no reported emphasis was made. The authorities did not have a well-defined policy for more advanced technical and industrial education, though

¹⁰³ van der Ploeg, p. 103.

¹⁰⁴ see Van der Ploeg, pp. 105-10.

it introduced tailoring, carpentry and bricklayers. But in the area of academic training, the Tanga Comprehensive School¹⁰⁵ served as the main centre for teacher training in colonial Tanzania.

~~The~~ structure of this school was similar to the regular German comprehensive school. It was designed to offer two functions: academic teacher training and technical education. The German system of education was similar to that of the missions: it consisted of three main types of elementary schools:

- (a) The elementary feeder school which gave a three-year course in the 3R's, gymnastics, and singing (under African teachers);
- (b) The Central schools pupils had to cover a three or four year program under both African and German teachers. The course included Swahili, mathematics, general language, geography, natural science, drawing and gymnastics. During the fourth year, the students spent an extra hour or two learning the German language.
- (c) Higher or Main Schools, which offered a fifth and sixth year course in reading: German, mathematics, science, singing, gymnastics and vocational training. In the sixth and final year, pupils also spend four hours a week on special subjects such as an advanced course in the German language and the theory of the practical application of teaching.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Laura Kurtz, p. 219.

¹⁰⁶ G. A. Hornsby, "History of Tanga School Up to 1914"; Tanzania Notes and Records #58/59, Dar Es Salaam: Govt. Printer, 1962.

The above brief educational outline shows that the German colonial government created its own secular education system for largely economic motives. The teaching of German language aided the colonial government to spread its authority, culture and instilling a sense of loyalty in the mind of the colonized people of Tanzania.

The teaching of religion, however, of either Christianity or Islam in Government schools was excluded. The missionaries carried on religious teachings and they made it clear that the school was there to spread Christianity. The policy of education under the German colonial rule was to avoid mixing education and religion, so their school system differed in administration and content.

In the year 1910, the German colonial government passed a significant education act, which required all chiefs and their heirs to know how to read and write. This policy made the government to build special schools, which were singled out to carry out this objective. The act made the increase of schools and the number of students to be higher. "From 1911-18, the number of government schools jumped from 83 to 99, and the pupils from 4,312 to 6,100."¹⁰⁷ The statistics below demonstrate the data based on elementary educational growth.

¹⁰⁷Hornsby, #58/59, Tanganyika Records and Notes, 1962.

TABLE 3

Statistics for Elementary Education in Tanzania, 1911¹⁰⁸

AGENCY	NO. OF SCHOOLS	EUROPEAN TEACH.	AFRICAN TEACH.	NO. OF PUPILS
Government	78	3	95	3494
Roman	363	115	459	31274
Lutheran	512	94	640	29716
Higher Ed.		7		
Government	2	5	14	494
Roman	15	28	11	724
Lutheran	18	16	26	472
Ind. Ed.				
Government	3	3	4	137
Roman	5	13	1	61
Lutheran	9	10	--	88
TOTAL	1001	287	1286	66647

It should be noted that both the missionaries and the colonial governments were of European origin, their culture and the values carried by them were alien to Africans. In this sense, the term European has come to be identified with advanced stage of civilization and a higher order of life. It is contended that the West perceives,

¹⁰⁸Hornsby, #58/59, 1962.

Any culture or civilization whose basic ideas are not rooted in the European tradition is generally looked upon as being backward and retarded.¹⁰⁹

The root of colonialism and the missionary organizations, based on the above pre-conceived notions, cannot be erased overnight, and in fact, it has reshaped the mind and thinking of many African leaders about the value of education, economic and cultural manifestation of their societies today.

Thus:

The realities of contemporary African nation-building preclude any other course. Just as increasing nationalistic impulses and socio-economic considerations during the 19th century forced European politicians to recognize that education of their youth was too important to be left to the various confessions, so increasingly are African leaders coming to similar conclusions.¹¹⁰

This confirms that the majority of African governments have deliberately withdrawn that power from the missionary denominations and put it under state control, where matters pertaining to education, socio-cultural and economic mechanisms have to remain under the state authority. The colonial and missionary objectives were two-fold: first, to diffuse

¹⁰⁹ Ako Adjei, "Imperialism and Spiritual Freedom: An African View", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 50, 1944, p. 189.

¹¹⁰ Edward H. Berman, "African Responses to Christian Mission Education", African Studies Review, Vol. 17, 1974, p. 527.

Western culture, and secondly to establish the force of economic control in the continent.

However, with the War of Europe in 1914-18, the German power in Africa came to an end, and also Deutsche Ostafrika disappeared. But West German and British influence still plays a significant role in Tanzania's economic aid in the development and educational process of Tanzania today.

To briefly summarize the achievements that were made in Tanganyika under the German occupation:

1. State Educational system.
2. Practical education, which, according to their objectives, was aimed to meet the demands of the government in the areas of skilled labour, civil servants and the improvement of the economy;
3. A 'semi-gymnasium' which, as in Germany, was a secondary institution which included Latin and classical learning; they developed a similar approach in their Volkschule, the school intended for the general public.
4. Far more important than the above, however, was the status the German colonizers gave to Swahili, a move which was "crucial in the development of Tanganyika toward independence and its national growth."¹¹¹

The German colonial manifestation had a significant historical impact in relation to the educational system it generated in Tanzania. Further, the practical attempt to establish an economic base which would assure self-

¹¹¹Laura Kurtz, p. 23.

sufficiency can be evidenced in their efforts to promote an agricultural industry which supplied the Metropolitan capital, and this created jobs in Germany and formed a stable economic mechanism in import and export returns.

The British Period 1919-1961: The Formative Years of Colonial Rule

The German colonial experiment in Tanzania has been examined and relevant data pertaining to this study has been presented in order to elucidate the historical development of colonial rule, its impact on the Tanzanian, and the way in which this rule was terminated.

The attempt in this section is to similarly examine a few of the factors which led Britain into this colonial venture and hopefully discover the aims and objectives of British colonialism in Tanzania.

An objective observation would lead one to believe that the reason which led colonial ventures in Africa was not a situation that was carried by the willpower and determination of a single nation. However, one of the

declared aims of the British, French, and Americans in the First World War (1914-18) against Germany was to make the world safe for democracy.¹¹²

The above aim was shared by the West, and at this particular time, the Tanzanians had no clue about the evils of Germany against democracy, but the three Western nations stood up against Germany for the benefit of the whole world.

¹¹²R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa, London: Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 37.

However, it is ironic that because of the defeat of Germany, the Education Act and the right to vote for women was passed in the British Parliament, but at the same time in Tanzania, the basis of democratic representation was disrupted, traditional rulers and their governments were not recognized, and the British immediately became the official authority in the territory. So although democracy had been 'restored' the benefits were not equally shared as the participants failed to see colonialism as a conflict which required a resolution. Despite the formation of the League of Nations no immediate action was taken to eliminate colonial rule, and in fact most of German East Africa was simply passed over to Britain as Tanganyika.

The Mandate System (1919-1945)

The formation of the League of Nations allowed the U.S. to explore the idea of a "peace settlement, which included the establishment of mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."¹¹³ As noted above, however, these views were not applied and the Tanganyika territory was immediately put under the British authority through the Mandate System by which it was agreed that Britain would administer their

¹¹³J. D. Fage, A History of Africa, London: Hutchinson and Co., 1979, pp. 411-412.

conquests only under mandates from the League of Nations which provided that they were to serve as trustees for the advancement of their inhabitants.¹¹⁴

Wilson's Fourteen Points and the League of Nations and its Mandate System gave hope to the Africans that the colonial rule would not be permanent, but only temporarily enforced until they could establish themselves under the conditions of the modern world.

In analyzing the British rule in Tanzania, our attempt will focus on the above premises to discover what kind of new conditions were established, and to what extent these conditions strengthened or disrupted the African established social values.

As the British did not know much about East Africa except information gleaned from missionary reports, they proceeded safely at first with a military administration to create a sense of power and stability. Sir Horace Byatt was the first military governor appointed by the British Colonial Office in Tanganyika as of January 1917.

The new military administration did not have a clear mandate to establish itself. It could not stop death and epidemics, nor could it supply the daily essentials and the country continued to be afflicted with famine. Health needs

¹¹⁴Page, p. 413.

could not be met due to lack of funds and power to delegate authority into various parts of the country. All of these problems seemed to indicate that the colonial government was not in control. However, the uncertainty on the part of the colonial regime was actually based on the lack of direct loyalty from the local African chiefs, which made the British adopt the policy of 'wait and see', while the people were afflicted with depression and poverty. In another context, it is contended that the British colonial policy to a certain extent, believed that a colony must be self-sufficient and sustain itself in economic affairs.

Lack of democratic representation from the local people, and the slow pace of establishing the proper medium of communication between the British and the Tanganyikans at this time, caused much harm to the entire society. It also appears that the new colonial administration did not seem to want to spend large sums of money from the home treasury to re-build the war-torn Tanzania. The mechanism to reconstruct the economy could have easily been activated by generating the means within the local resources, but this did not occur. As stated in at least one article on the British takeover of Tanganyika,

The Germans opened it up in truly surgical fashion in the 1890's and the British then let it stagnate in tropical silence between the wars. 115

¹¹⁵ The Economist (London), April 15, 1958, p. 13.

The slow start in reorganizing the society by the new regime contributed to many shortcomings in the progress of Tanzania in later years. Some positive measure in development programs were launched after World War II, however, Tanganyika remained an agricultural country, with no proper industry which could transform the economy. The agricultural industry that we know existed in Kenya could not be compared with the backwardness of that of Tanzania.

In social organization pertaining to various communities that lived in Tanzania, the British Mandate System failed to use its power to integrate the three major communities - the African, Asian and European. "The development processes of these communities differed widely in language, educational level, productivity and standard of living."¹¹⁶ This situation was not initiated and never encouraged by the Germans. In fact, the world reaction in relation to the achievement that the Germans had made in Tanganyika was highly favourable:

When the British took over the schools from the Germans in 1916, they were impressed that the standards of literacy reached a higher level than any of their neighbouring countries, but it was still very low. The British had not yet developed a state system for a native educational policy in Kenya at this time."¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Ruth Sloan and Helen Kitchen, The Educated African: A Country by Country Survey of Educational Development in Africa, New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962, p. 9.

¹¹⁷ Laura Kurtz, p. 24.

The Formation of British Educational Policy: 1920

In the process of adopting a new ideology in Tanzania, the British obviously had contact with the field missionaries who represented English missionary organizations in Tanzania. These missionaries had established schools and agricultural centres, and had internal experience in the daily life of the people of the new colony.

It was in fact a blessing for the new administration to establish a dialogue with the missionaries, and possibly use their experience in dealing with educational matters.

It seems that:

Little more could be done at first by the British (authorities), than re-open those of the German schools for which the former teachers could be found, an obvious necessity existing for the training of new teachers under British curriculum.¹¹⁸

From 1916-19, the economic development program introduced by the new regime did not improve the economic condition at all. Two main factors still persisted: famine and lack of self-financing. This made the re-opening of the schools in December 1919 a welcome sight. In early 1920, the Government announced the appointment of the District Officers and the Director of Education.

¹¹⁸ J. P. Moffet (ed.), Handbook of Tanganyika, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1920, pp. 14-16.

The above attempt was an indication that the Government was ready to meet her responsibility and carry on the business in the new colony. It was clearly stated that the Director of Education's responsibility was to establish an education system with similar goals to that of the Germans, such as

to train manpower who will occupy the administrative positions and to fulfill the needs of the country, to supply the artisans for the active involvement in the economic development of the country.¹¹⁹

It is interesting to note that the Director of Education did not announce his clear objectives or policies pertaining to educational goals. The new administration was possibly interested in maintaining the status quo. There was no rush of any immediate nature. World War I had tended to disorganize the social structure of Europe, and to a certain extent this permeated even the colonies. Therefore, any changes had to prove to be not contradictory to colonial objectives, which were designed to exploit local resources in maintaining their authority. The four years which the British decided not to open the schools made them to understand the important role the Germans played in dealing with the missionaries in terms of meeting the local educational requirements; in this regard, the new administration was

¹¹⁹R. Morrison, Education and Politics in Tanzania: The Tanzanian Case, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976, p. 48.

influenced by the German records concerning the low standards of the mission schools and the constant rivalry among the religious groups; the first British Governor wished to make education a solely government responsibility.¹²⁰

The political power which the British had already been commanding in East Africa and their being granted the responsibility by the League of Nations as a mandatory power in Tanganyika, added one major incentive: to restructure the African society and put the local Africans in a position to provide services for colonial development. In this regard, it is contended that the colonial regime in Tanzania perceived its presence as a duty superior and second to none, and this led the British to change the "...traditional society only to the extent required by the economic development of modern European society."¹²¹

One of the important factors here is the realization that the majority of the Africans at this time had very little say in relation to the type of education required by them. Before the introduction of the concept of Native Authority and Indirect Rule policies, the British colonial educational system in East Africa and for that matter in Tanzania was considered necessary because of linguistic and cultural

¹²⁰Morrison, p. 50.

¹²¹Morrison, p. 50.

differences of her inhabitants, that it should provide separate schools for children of the different racial groups.¹²² In relation to this policy, the British Director of Education adopted four separate systems for the four communities:

1. Africans, including not only Somalis, but also Arabs
2. European, Indians, and other non-Natives
3. Mauritian, Seychellois, Anglo-Indian, Ceylonese
4. Chinese communities.

This kind of educational organization with different communities and different arrangement of courses, curriculum and language of instruction, required a solid financial support and collaboration with voluntary agencies which had already established educational activities in Tanzania. It was obvious that some consideration was to be given as to how such a policy could be carried out successfully. In order to make the colonial administration pursue her responsibility smoothly, it was reported that:

The Permanent Mandates Commission and the Head Offices of Mission Societies in Europe and North America strongly urged the Colonial Secretary to establish a relationship between government and private agencies similar to that prevailing in the United Kingdom and most British dependencies.¹²³

¹²² Betty Grace Stein, "Education for Africans in Tanganyika: A Preliminary Survey", U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, 1960, p. 11.

¹²³ Morrison, p. 48.

Shortly after the expressed course of the future educational policy of East Africa was forwarded to the Colonial Secretary by the group concerned, the British Government Parliamentary Commission under the Chairmanship of Lord Harlech were sent to East Africa to investigate British colonial policy in the area. The Commission's findings recommended that "white settlement should not be allowed to hold back the education of Africans, or their training in economic skills, especially training in the best use of their own land."¹²⁴

The Europeans and Asians had a very strong economic base by this time in East Africa and such a recommendation from the Commission was inevitable for the future of colonial economic development. As we shall see, the proposed educational support for the Africans was only token in nature and did not at all match the quality of the European and Asian systems in Tanzania. However, the appearance of concern for the well-being of the Africans and their future educational progress continued to emanate from Lord Harlech as he organized a meeting in London of the Governors of West and East Africa. This meeting was aimed to emphasize an active policy of education for the Africans. Lord Harlech suggested that the colonial authority must enter a partnership with the

¹²⁴ United Kingdom Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies: African Dependencies Education Policy in British Tropical Areas. London HMSO, 1925; or see, Africa Since 1800, R. Oliver and Antony Atmore, Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Christian mission of all denominations and the mission schools as long as they abide and follow acceptable and proper standards of efficiency. The interest here was clear between the missionary and the colonial authorities, and this indicated the mutual sharing of colonial power in East Africa. It was at this meeting that:

the Director of Education convened a conference of educationists and mission representatives in Dar es Salaam. From their deliberations, guidelines emerged for the Education Ordinance of 1927 which brought mission schools under government control and recognized the societies as voluntary agencies eligible for grants-in-aid.¹²⁵

This was the beginning of the implementation of separate education for the inhabitants of Tanganyika. As the Asians and Europeans had already established private schools, it was clear that they would be eligible for the grants-in-aid, while the Africans were to receive inferior education because of their lack of facilities. The Asian Association with a great support from the Ismaili-Aga Khan followers and other Indian groups, made their schools more advanced than the government controlled schools.

This educational discrimination was noticed by the local African leadership. In 1954, twenty-nine years later, the third visit of the U.N. Mission had an opportunity to observe

¹²⁵ Dept. of Education Annual Report, 1926, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, pp. 13-14. See G.F. Myers (ed), The Handbook of Tanganyika, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1930, pp. 384-87.

the progress of education in Tanzania, and made it known that the colonial education system in Tanzania was "merely preparing the African for being used as cheap labour for the immigrant races."¹²⁶

From 1925, when the actual plan of separate education was introduced in Tanzania, an interesting development took place, and that was the appointment of Sir Donald Cameron as the Governor of Tanganyika. It was this Governor who introduced the policy of Native Authority which gave the Africans a measure of responsibility in matters dealing with local government which also covered education. This idea attracted certain local chiefs who in return made the communities accept to send their children to school. Boarding schools were established by the order of the Governor, and the Government committed itself to supply and provide the salaries of the teachers, "on the understanding that capital costs would be met by the Native Authorities and boarding expenses by parents."¹²⁷ While this policy appeared reasonable enough on paper, in relation to the establishment of boarding schools, it was not possible for the majority of parents to pay the boarding school fees.

Still, it is a known fact that the colonial government did not want to spend a large sum of money to educate the

¹²⁶ U.N. Report of the Visiting Mission, 1954: Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, p. 44.

¹²⁷ Report of the Working Party on High Education in East Africa: Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, Nairobi: Government Printer, July-August 1958, p. 13.

Africans, as it was clear that if the African needed an education, he must pay for it. The fact of the matter is that economic conditions based on the income of the local farmer or artisan at this time (five years after the end of WWI); did not encourage the majority of the population to send their children to school. However, it is asserted that after an initial experimental period, "...a number of these schools proved successful in stimulating African interest in education and in reducing the financial burden of the Central Government."¹²⁸

During Governor Cameron's tenure from 1925-31, which was claimed to be progressive (and liberal in its dealings with the African population, the colonial administration reported that it was providing every year more educational facilities for the Africans but in reality, it was merely re-opening the ninety-nine schools which had been established by the German administration.¹²⁹ By 1931, there were 105 schools in existence in Tanganyika, with a 75% attendance rate. This shows that for the period of six years, one new school per year was built by the colonial regime. This was very discouraging progress in the area of education, and lends credibility to Hugh's contention that Tanganyika

¹²⁸Morrison, p. 49.

¹²⁹B. L. Kimambo, p. 12.

had always "ranked toward the bottom among African territories with respect to the foreign trade and investment, literacy, mass media participation and government expenditure."¹³⁰

In the tables 4-6 below, statistics on enrolment in African, Asian and European schools in Tanganyika under British mandate are outlined at five-year intervals.¹³¹

TABLE 4

ENROLMENT IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS BY LEVEL AT
FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS 1926-1956

	YEARS 1-6 (ASSISTED)	YEARS 7-12 (ASSISTED)	TOTAL (ASSISTED)	UNASSISTED YEARS 1-4
1926	5,843	-	5,843	162,806
1931	22,693	-	22,693	144,917
1936	30,570	26	30,693	191,061
1941	n/a	n/a	39,596	n/a
1946	115,516	1,446	116,962	n/a
1951	194,251	4,869	199,120	n/a
1956	345,014	13,857	358,871	84,300

TABLE 5

ENROLMENT IN ASIAN SCHOOLS BY LEVEL AT
FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS 1926-1956

	YEARS 1-6	YEARS 7-12	TOTAL
1926	1,360	--	1,360
1931	2,844	--	2,844
1936	3,742	293	4,035
1941	n/a	n/a	5,800
1946	7,277	1,547	8,824
1951	10,687	2,830	13,517
1956	14,461	5,586	20,047

¹³⁰ Stephen W. Hugh, The Political Transformation of Tanganyika 1920-1967, New York: F. A. Praeger, 1968, p. 16.

¹³¹ Tables 4-6 are from D. Morrison, pp. 45-46.

TABLE 6

ENROLMENT IN EUROPEAN SCHOOLS BY LEVEL
AT FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS, 1926 to 1956

	YEARS 1-6	YEARS 7-12	TOTAL
1926	580	-	580
1931	438	-	438
1936	725	-	725
1941	539	-	539
1946	599	-	599
1951	1,508	147	1,655
1956	1,929	464	2,393

As can be seen in Table 4, growth in African education was very slow before the Second World War, and those figures given by no means represent a continuous education on the part of the students. Most African children who went to school in the 1920-30 period attended for only one to three years; only a very few proceeded to the teacher training and vocational course levels. In 1940, only five schools were offering the full secondary course (Standards VII-X) for the Africans. Not in Table 5 that the enrolment in Asian schools almost doubled every five years, which is phenomenal growth in relation to their fractional proportion of the general population, though not surprising based on their twin funding - from government grants-in-aid and Ismaili Aga-Khan welfare organizations, in addition to the ability of their families to pay the tuition fees of the private schools. While Table 2 above also indicates the doubling and tripling of school

attendance for African children over the same period, the comparison based on the percentage of total population still left the African population very much behind. It should also be emphasized that the Africans were convinced by the government and the missionaries not to establish private schools because educational services were already available for them. But the quality of education provided by the Asians and Europeans to their communities were superior to that of the majority of African bush and certain district schools.

As we have elaborated here, it is imperative that Morrison's statistics on the increase of African enrolment in schools not be taken to mean that a larger number of Africans were receiving quality education every year, as the number of African school age children listed in Table 2 represented only a fraction of those ready for school. It is also interesting to note that after serving in Tanganyika as a Governor, Sir Donald Cameron commented that the British "spend more money on the Governor's establishment than on the education of more than five million."¹³² This was, according to Huxley, only done in order to impress the 'natives' with the British superiority over the Germans.¹³³

¹³² Sir Donald Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria. London: Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 39.

¹³³ John Huxley, Africa View, New York: Greenwood Press, 1931, p. 29.

It is argued by several writers that the lack of a democratic approach or at least more consultation with the local communities during the early period of colonial rule made the British social policy in its territories difficult to implement and in turn, ineffectual in bringing about social change. Within and outside Tanzania, it was felt that no basic changes were made because the educational and general government policy lacked a sense of purpose. This fact led the Foreign Mission of North America and the Phelps-Stokes Commission which investigated the British policy in East Africa to suggest in its report that the colonial government should

develop the right sort of education for African children and initiate a process of experimentation aimed at placing African education within the context of African economic and cultural changes.¹³⁴

While the Commission did recommend that the government and missions should become partners in offering educational opportunity, it failed to say anything at all on "aid schools received from the government, which the Muslims were denied and which their counterpart missionary Christian and Asian schools received."¹³⁵ Further, the Commission's views in relation to learning ability and adaptation to a new environment unfortunately reflect the 19th century

¹³⁴ see Thomas Jesse Jones (ed.) Education in Africa and Education in East Africa, New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund 1922-25, and also cited in Judith Listowel, The Making of Tanganyika, London: Chatto and Windus, 1965, p. 65.

¹³⁵ V. Harlow and E. M. Chilver (eds.), History of East Africa, Vol. II, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 548-52.

scientific assumption on the ability of the African race to adopt new concepts of life and learning. As noted by Dr. Jones who criticized the Phelps-Stokes Commission at that time, the Commission's report

echoes the classical concept of the African as envisaged in the theory of the social evolution; i.e. one who has everything to learn and nothing to teach either to his own children or to the rest of the world.¹³⁶

The Commission further recommended that the school curriculum be linked with the subject such as the study of the community, health, the use of the environment such as agriculture and industry, and the development of human character. The African child then was hoped to be able to return home to his old world and be able to play a constructive role. However, it must be stated that the great accomplishment of the Commission was that from it evolved the 1925 White Paper on Education issued by the Advisory Committee on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa "which even though it was amplified and redefined in later years, remained the foundation of educational policy in Tanganyika until independence."¹³⁷ The White Paper, of course, reflected the tone of the Phelps-Stokes Commission in that it stated that education should be

¹³⁶ Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in East Africa, New York: Negro University Press, 1925, p. 183.

¹³⁷ Tanganyika Government Report of Education Conference, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1925, pp. 7-8.

adapted to the mentality, apititudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, concerning as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.¹³⁸

Regardless of its basic benevolent thrust, the White Paper did offer some organization to a confused situation. As there were 800,000 children in the territory at this time who needed school placement, proper maintenance of the school system was necessary. The first notable and important change was the improvement of teacher training, direct primary education and Native authority schools which were under the direct responsibility of the District Commission. Central schools were under the government control and offered advanced elementary education and the Christian missionaries operated a few central schools also. The Commission strongly recommended that the government should work together with the missions on the task of elementary education because

the government was able to provide education for only 5,000 to 8,000 of the children, whereas the mission educational capability extended to more than 115,000 children.¹³⁹

In the area of teacher education, three streams were established under the White Paper's auspices: Grade II

¹³⁸ Great Britain, CMD. 2374, London: HMSO, 1925, pp. 4-5.

¹³⁹ Laura Kurtz, p. 33.

(Vernacular) Teacher Training Course, Industrial Training, and English Course. The Grade II teacher training student had the opportunity to prepare himself for Central School. The training for teachers was raised to two years. Teachers with Grade I qualification had to complete Standard X before being accepted to the Teacher Training Course, and it was also for teachers with Grade II who had to complete Standard VI. However, for some reason related to economic problems, the Teacher Grade I training was discontinued in 1933 and the emphasis was then placed "on the Grade II Swahili course which was extended from three to five years during the Depression, and also to raise the standard of teachers and avoid unemployment."¹⁴⁰

It is interesting to note that although the Commission's report represented a great improvement in education generally, it failed to advance education for women. Women's education in colonial Tanganyika received very little encouragement. Where missionary schools were located, the native chiefs and parents did send their daughters to primary school. This is evidenced in Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Tabora, West Lake, and in the southern part of Tanzania. Only between 1935 and 1945, however, was progress in women's education encouraged, until the need for a female Education Officer's position was met who later became in charge of all the schools in the territory.

¹⁴⁰Noted in D. E. Annual Report, 1923-1956, "History of African Education", 1930-33, pp. 20-22. Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1933.

It was still a fact that until the 1950's, the women teacher candidates took a qualifying examination which was less difficult than the examination for the male candidates. But as we can see from Table 7 below, the Missions had the major control of education in Tanzania, as well as the teacher training colleges.¹⁴¹

TABLE 7
ENROLLMENT IN GOVERNMENT AND MISSION SCHOOLS
IN TANZANIA¹⁴²

YEAR	TYPE OF GOVT.	SCHOOL MISSION	TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT	% IN MISSION SCHOOLS
1914	6,200	110,200	116,200	94.8%
1923	5,000	115,000	120,000	95.8
1936	6,886	142,124	149,010	95.3
1938	8,000	217,000	225,000	96.4
1951	46,712	240,000	286,712	83.9
1954	109,947	372,700	422,647	72.3
1957	150,000	477,375	627,475	71.9
1961	164,086	539,596	703,682	76.9

Sir Donald Cameron, as Governor of Tanganyika at this time, had the task of implementing the White Paper, He called for a Conference of the educators in order to examine

¹⁴¹ For further statistics on school enrollment for selected years between 1923-1943, see Andreas M. Kazamias and Brian G. Massiales, Tradition and Change in Education, New York: Parager Ltd., 1962, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴² UNESCO, Addis Ababa Conference, May 1961, and UNESCO World Survey of Education, Annual Report of the Tanganyika Dept. of Education, Paris, 1963.

the way in which the educational system should be shaped in terms of what existed and what the Commission had recommended. The Conference was to gather various views held by the local educators but the missionaries dominated the meeting which had only two African representatives present and no Muslim representation at all. The Conference did, however, adopt the system of grants-in-aid and linked schools of all agencies into one official system holding a coherent educational policy. As a result of this Conference, a bill was drafted and a Code of Regulations established to set the course of education in Tanganyika. This code officially became effective in January 1928, and stipulated that:

1. All schools must be registered where secular instruction was given (theological schools and colleges exempt);
2. Registration of teachers was not compulsory but no assistance would be given unless a teacher was on the Register of Teachers or enrolled on the Provincial List;
3. Five years were allotted for a teacher to pass from the Provincial List to the Register of Teachers;
4. Old men who were efficient but unable to pass to the Register would be given an honourable certificate while others failing to be listed would not be eligible for grants-in-aid;
5. Freedom of conscience was granted;

6. Registration of a Grade I teacher was required at a school before English could be taught there;
7. Grants-in-aid would be granted only to mission schools on the basis of fulfilling Government requirements.¹⁴³

Soon after the publication of this policy, the government adopted the policy of direct primary education, and as noted previously, categorized its responsibilities in this area as Native Authority Schools, Central (or middle) Schools, and Mission Schools.

Nor surprisingly, the colonial authorities and missionary representatives supported the Commission and the White Paper as it was clear from its outline that the Africans would not progress or reap the benefits within the same time frame as the Asians and the white community. As noted by Kimambo, there was to be no or very little local input on matters related to national resources and educational advancement.

The Commission's recommendations to give top priority to character training for the African satisfied the desires of the Administration, the settlers, and the missionaries, but not the Africans, to whom character training was not a problem. The African's main concern was to get secular education, for it was only through 'western education' that he would demonstrate his ability to cope with the conditions of the modern world.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ D.E.; Tanganyika Government Report of Education Conference, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1928, pp. 10-12.

¹⁴⁴ B. L. Kimambo, p. 15.

In actual fact, only a very small fraction of the colony's revenue was spent on education. Educational expenditure in Tanganyika represented 1.9% of the total revenue in 1926 and jumped to 3.2% the following year, reaching a high of 6.5% in 1932.¹⁴⁵ But it must be remembered that this budget allocation was totally controlled by the colonial administration - if African education required more expenditure, there was no channel for this need to be expressed.

The European settlers and the Asians did not raise any objections to what was contained in the White Paper. Each point of the document was liable to interpretation by the colonial administration and since the European and Asian community were classified as superior to the Africans, they did not have anything to worry about. Phrases which were contained in the White Paper and the Commission's report, such as 'African education in preparation for employment as clerks, messengers, and artisans', and 'healthy in the context of African traditional family life', tended to confirm the negative attitude of the colonial administration towards African education. Missionaries also did not oppose the reports because there was too much room for them to accommodate their views, and in

¹⁴⁵ Great Britain, Colonial Office, Annual Report on Tanganyika, HMSO, 1932, Colonial 18, p. 71 and Colonial 60, p. 62.

any case, the colonial administration did not want to create conflict with the clergy. The grants-in-aid were comfortably given to missionary schools in order to allow them to spread Christianity through the converts who would then have a school in one of the villages.

Many of these were bush schools, minor evangelistic centres, but they provided the only education available for most African children, and ensured that much of the new generation was exposed to Christian doctrine, while the number of the educated Muslims remained disproportionately small.¹⁴⁶

The expenditure on African children's education was insignificant, however, by all standards of calculation. As Harlow points out, by 1945 only 7.5% of the children in Tanganyika attended school. Few of this number went beyond Standard IV, which promised bare literacy, and there was no school in Tanganyika at that time that could prepare students for the Makerere entrance examinations.¹⁴⁷ Regardless of these facts and because the Phelps-Stokes Report was commissioned by the British Government itself, it became the basis of the White Paper on Education for the colonial territories since its implementation "...stood little chance of creating a class of Africans able to directly challenge them for the middle rank posts in the civil service."¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ W. B. Mumford, "Malangali School", Africa, III, p. 3, London, 1930, and R. Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1952.

¹⁴⁷ Harlow and Chilver, p. 634.

¹⁴⁸ B. L. Kimambo, p. 21.

D'Souza clearly stressed that the policy of 'adaptation' which was carried out during the inter-war period in Africa,

was a transplant of an educational policy which grew gradually in New Zealand and India and crystallized during the era of New Imperialism in the 1890's in South Africa and in South of the United States ...the adaptation was linked to the political fortunes of the West. 149

This policy seemed to indicate a noble desire to bring change and development to African societies with a major thrust at literacy to the masses. This was also Governor Cameron's philosophy, who agreed with the Commission's concept of education relevant to the everyday life of the African as a small scale, rural agriculturalist.¹⁵⁰ At the same time, he felt that African participation in the political process was a viable future goal.

We must not destroy the African atmosphere the African mind, the whole foundation of his race, and we shall certainly do this if we sweep away all his tribal organizations, and in doing so tear up all the roots that bind him to the people from whom he has sprung...It is clearly, I submit, the duty of the Mandatory power to train the people and make its dispositions in such a manner that, when the time arrives, a full place, in the political structure shall be found for the native population. 151

¹⁴⁹ D'Souza, H. "External Influences on the Development of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa from 1923-1939", African Studies Review, Vol. 18, No. 2, September 1975, p. 35.

¹⁵⁰ A. McDonald, Young Nation in a Hurry, New York: Hawthorn Brothers, Inc., 1966, p. 37.

¹⁵¹ Stamp, Lawson, and Heyman, p. 97.

From 1926-39, several educational commissions and petitions were written to urge the government to adopt a broader and more liberal educational policy in the country. As a result, the colonial legislative council gave directives to the the Ministry of Education to introduce an educational structure which allowed for Direct Primary education, Native Authority Schools, and Central Schools.

This more liberal educational policy led to the introduction of vocational education, and in 1935, to improved examination structure in the Women's Teacher Certificate Examination. In the following year, the annual entrance examination to Tabora Secondary School was introduced as well as clerical courses for postal and railway clerks, and other civil service positions. In 1942, a two-part examination for teacher training was introduced, one for academic teachers, and another for professional teachers. At the same time, a syllabus for Indian education was also introduced.

Soon English teachers were in high demand, and the government decided to shorten the Teacher Grade I training to a one year term. Also, in 1944, twenty-nine headmistresses of various girls' schools met at a conference to revise and amplify the girls' schools syllabus. The objective of this exercise concentrated on making the girls homemakers and housewives, and it was felt that the vocational aspect of their education could wait. The missionaries recognized the African woman's significant role in shaping the moral and

religious development of her family, and the pre-eminent missionary influence was to try and change patterns of traditional structure in African society.¹⁵²

The colonial perception of the African people began to change for the better as the world also changed, particularly after World War II, when the popular demand for education could not be denied. The progressive approach to this problem, however, was already set in motion by the introduction of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies.

The post World War II period forced British rule in Tanzania to introduce a Ten-Year Plan 1947-56 for the transformation of the educational system by

increasing the number of pupils attending the first four years of the primary school course by a factor of two and a half, and to develop district and day boarding schools to give an additional two years of pre-secondary instruction to one out of every five Standard IV leavers.¹⁵³

¹⁵² For more detail on the African woman's role and participation in society, see M. Mbilinyi, "The New Woman and Traditional Norms in Tanzania", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 10, #1, pp. 57-72; J. O'Barr, "Making the Invisible Visible: African Women in Politics and Policy", pp. 19-28; S. Urdang, "Fighting Two Colonialisms: The Women's Struggle in Guinea-Bissau", pp. 29-34; and A. Wipper, "The Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Movement: Some Paradoxes and Contradictions", pp. 99-120, in African Studies Review, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, December, 1975.

¹⁵³ Statistical Section of the Planning Division, Ministry of Education, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, July, 1974.

TABLE 8
SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AND TEACHERS IN TANZANIA
1954-1964 154

YEAR	NO. OF SCHOOLS	PUPILS	TEACHERS	RATIO	I N C R E A S E		
					SCHOOLS	PUPILS	TEACHERS
1954	2,192	275,628	4,693	1:53	--	--	--
1954	2,708	340,574	6,599	1:52	516	64,946	1,906
1956	2,946	368,924	7,236	1:51	236	28,350	637
1957	2,967	391,147	7,740	1:51	21	22,223	504
1958	2,975	403,401	8,193	1:49	8	12,154	453
1959	3,040	414,879	8,563	1:49	65	11,578	370
1960	3,115	431,056	8,748	1:49	75	16,177	185
1961	3,238	486,470	9,190	1:53	123	55,514	442

The ten-year educational development plan which brought many changes, also shaped the perception of the missionary and the British regime in Tanzania toward the Africans. The government concerned itself with quality of education, teacher training facilities, teacher employment regulations and professional standards during this period. The need to improve women's education also became a factor as the number of schools and pupil attendance grew. As Moffat points out:

Modern techniques and perennial crops were introduced and her agricultural role became less important; her legal position improved in the courts; European influence tended to change ideas about her marital status and her personal importance.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Statistical Section of the Planning Division, Ministry of National Education, Dar Es Salaam, Govt. Printer, 1974.

¹⁵⁵ J. P. Moffat, p. 635.

By 1958, the number of children attending primary schools increased from 7.5% in 1945 to 24.1%, with 75% of the schools controlled by the missions. The general picture can be described as follows:

There were 28 teacher training establishments with 2,122 teachers in training, 2,136 primary schools with an enrolment of 189,013 boys and 81,585 girls; 232 middle schools with an enrolment of 19,653 boys and 4,175 girls; 24 secondary schools, including one girl's school with an enrolment of 2,813 boys and 143 girls and 10 industrial or vocational schools with an enrolment of 667 pupils.¹⁵⁶

During this period, the administration introduced the indirect rule system in which the traditional chiefs became local government agents. The objective was to produce a new elite who would inherit the chieftdom, and support the colonial policies in the country. A special school was opened in the Western Province (Tabora) and its main objective was to educate the sons of the chiefs who would perform state duties and also become leaders and educators in their communities. The school did not produce conscious leaders, however, and in fact, the educated sons of the chiefs became isolated and could no longer fit into their communities. Very few of the graduates ever became chiefs.

The Director of Education had chosen not to discourage the secondary boarding schools, and this responsibility was left in the hands of the Provincial Education Officers

¹⁵⁶J. P. Moffat, p. 140, and for more detail, see: Mass Education in Africa, London: HMSO, 1944, pp. 8-15 and 17-25.

supported by the Provincial Board of Education normally composed of experienced missionary educators who had their own private boarding schools. The impact of the independent schools, especially those of the Europeans and Asians, seemed to indicate how insensitive the colonial administration was to the need for change in the African's future role in the government and economic sphere. In addition, tribal, racial, and religious divisions were highly obvious in the representation of the people in various areas of national activities.

TABLE 9

ENROLLMENT IN TANGANYIKA SCHOOLS BY RACE,
SELECTED YEARS¹⁵⁷

YEAR	EUROPEAN	ASIAN	AFRICAN
1950	1,417	13,286	182,942
1952	1,757	15,353	239,642
1957	2,745	21,567	394,132
1958	2,858	23,209	406,800
1959	2,858	23,688	419,011
1960	2,837	25,031	702,896

The British Colonial Educational Policy exploited the Africans in Tanzania by capitalizing on the concept of Native Authority and perpetuated the colonial racial structure

¹⁵⁷ Alifeyo B. Chilivumbo, "Tanganyika Mono-Party Regime: A Study in the Problems, Condition, and Processes of Emergence and Development of One-Party State on Mainland Tanzania", (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), Berkeley: UCLA, 1968, p. 135.

in the areas of education and economic development. The African educational system emphasized an agricultural syllabus which was introduced in 1952, and never received support because it was disliked by the Africans, and was discontinued in 1959. The colonial authorities in Tanzania's educational system used the Phelps-Stokes Commission suggestions for developing an agricultural educational policy for the Africans as an example of the Negro education in the Southern belt of the United States¹⁵⁸ which kept the Black American out of the mainstream of the modern market economy and also among the white race.

Within the framework of Native Authority, Africans lacked the political power, and in this regard, some Africans in urban and rural areas began to feel the need for their children to get a better education, one which would lead to a wage-earning position and not follow the footsteps of their parents as poor peasants. In addition, agricultural work was used by the school authorities and the prison department as a form of punishment. This work was never actually geared to a money economy, but a subsistence economy to keep the Africans under the bondage of poverty. In general, the agricultural education introduced by the British lacked modern scientific training, and the agricultural

¹⁵⁸ see K. King, Pan Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

instructors were poorly trained. Schools in urban areas, however, were designed with a specifically academic orientation to fulfill the very marginal number of civil servants required by the Colonial government. This action and other establishments by the Education Office of the colonial government in Tanganyika confirm that the official policy of educating Africans to participate in the economic life of the country was not implemented and the result was the slow-down or complete blockade of Africans from the mainstream of the economic and educational sphere. This colonial legacy left an imprint on the minds of that generation of Tanzanians which was to play a major role in the formation of educational policy and indeed, in the political structure of the country, at a later date.

Conclusion:

The socio-cultural historical background of Tanzania has been carefully examined and it shows that the traditional society of Tanzania had its own system of traditional government, which operated under the rules of traditional chiefdoms. There also existed an informal educational system which enhanced and preserved traditional cultural values of its people. As we have seen, the traditional society of Tanzania was influenced by many outside forces such as Portuguese, Arabs and many other non-African groups which resided and traded with Tanzania. The process of establishing cultural inter-relationships with other races

made Tanzania to become a multi-cultural society. This development paved the way to the missionary influx into the Tanzanian society which was already a centre of Islamic influence. However, the missionaries quashed Islam and led the way to Western formal education and the prominence of Christian influence in Tanzania. In addition to this came the scramble for Africa whereby the Western colonial organization began to venture for land and resource allocation in Africa. Tanzania at this time had no formal colonial rule, but scattered Arab city states with no central government organization

German colonial ventures established their colonial inroads and secured some assurances from traditional chiefs which later were pronounced legitimate as the basis of colonial empire in East Africa. German colonial rule was ruthless, but gradually after having established a firm government, it introduced a well-organized western educational system, controlled Christian missionary bias in educational practices, and established a legal system by using the local Africans to carry it on within their localities. The Germans promoted the use of the Swahili language at schools and in public life, and made it a lingua franca for the area. Their liberal approach in understanding traditional values and establishing a close link with the chiefs made their rule firm and efficient, though not very popular because of its harshness.

World War I brought many changes to the European world due to the feeling that Germany and her territorial claims must be stopped for the good of democracy and freedom. This war, however, extended to Africa and the German colonial empire (German Ostafrika) was defeated by the British. Tanzania, as a British Mandate, was to be transformed from a traditional society to modernity. Many steps were introduced to effect this change, such as establishment of an educational system, new inroads into agriculture and modification in traditional cultural values. The introduction of the Native Authority System of government was aimed to overshadow the African potential, and eliminate any desire for control of the central power.

British colonial education policy as a result of the Phelps-Stokes Commission was benevolent yet liberal-minded for its time, and even had several good ideas for educational development. Unfortunately, these ideals and philosophies were not translated into reality, and the schooling that was eventually offered by the British was segregated according to race, offered a semblance of vocational training and limited academic opportunity to the indigenous, and guaranteed the promotion of a non-indigenous ruling class which would continue to receive orders from the metropolitan and effectively bar the Africans from participation in the economic and political power structure. Although this discrepancy between theory and reality in the implementation of

educational policy was not unique in colonial history, it presented Tanzania with a particularly acute problem at the time of independence, when it found itself with so few educated people to take over the government and civil service positions. In addition, the racially segregated schools and the relative freedom and growth of the missionary schools presented Tanzania with another problem immediately after independence: a groundswell of demand for education from African parents for their children. As we shall see in the following chapter, the legacies of colonialism in Tanzania were significant determinants in many of her post-independence economic and political decisions.

CHAPTER III

THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION

Introduction

The attainment of independence in Tanzania in December 1961 brought about a new government which led to the adoption of a radical nationalistic political movement. In this chapter, we will attempt to examine the philosophy and action of this newly formed government and the events which led to its present socialist direction. The process of decolonization as a part of Tanzania's social, political, and economic strategies in the Arusha Declaration and the policies of Education for Self-Reliance¹ will also be highlighted.

The political development of nationalism in Tanzania generated the forces of political unity under the leadership of TANU.¹ The policy of the party was to eliminate the colonial racial policies which formerly segregated the European, Asian, and African Tanzanians. The idea of national unity was emphasized in order to facilitate the speedy attainment of national independence, and the smooth political leadership under Mwalimu Julius Nyerere allowed political independence without violence.

¹Tanganyika African National Union, the original political party, but now replaced by C.C.M. (Chama Cha Mapinduzi), Revolutionary Party.

Historically, Tanzania was the poorest British colony among the East African countries. This legacy was one of the most difficulty issues to deal with, in terms of bringing realistic changes in the lives of Tanzanians. Economically, Tanzania was not transformed in a manner which allowed the internal economic structure to support itself. No modern industries existed, and the Africans were not trained to man the modern business entrepreneurship of the country. The colonial economic structure exploited Tanzania commodities for export purposes into the world market, which strengthened the metropolitan home front. In order to counteract these policies which Tanzania inherited, some political decisions based on national interests for the country's future economic development had to be made.

In relation to the above, the new government successfully changed the inherited British multi-party system, and transformed Tanzania into a one-party state. The idea of one-party state was aimed to eliminate unnecessary parliamentary arguments which might distract attention from crucial issues such as national unity. The idea also was used to play on nationalistic feelings of pride which made the people feel they did not have to emulate foreign customs of a political nature, and became the drive force behind TANU. This feeling was manifested in the government policy of allowing civil servants to become members of the ruling TANU party. This decision demonstrated a clear break with

British colonial tradition which disbarred the civil servants from political activities. One of the most important steps taken on the decolonization process, however, was the appointment made to fill some key administrative posts in the regions and districts, not with civil servants but with members of the party's political leadership.² Shortly after this action, the central government (under nationalistic pressure) and the party began to work together, establishing a new network of administrative officials who were to be "politically aware" of the need for change.³

It was also felt that at this particular time colonial symbols such as British titles of District and Provincial Commissioners, should be eliminated. The eight large colonial provinces were therefore replaced with seventeen new and smaller regions under the name region or mkoa in Swahili, which attracted a new political perception from the population. The newly appointed administrative officers were first scrutinized by the party, because they represented an ideological non-colonial authority who were to transmit and execute the new government policies.

In the area of economic development programs, the new government was determined to integrate economic and

²For more detailed and well-researched study, see H. Bienen, Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967, or William Dodd, "Centralization in Education in Mainland Tanzania", Comparative Education Review, Vol. XII, #3, Oct. 1968, and J. Cameron, "The Integration of Education in Tanganyika", Comparative Education Review, Vol. II, Feb. 1967.

³Tanganyika Draft Five Year Africanization Program for the Civil Service, DSM: Govt. Printer, 1962, p. 89.

social activities which would involve mass participation, and in 1964, the first Five-Year Development Plan (1964-69) based on a socialistic orientation, was released.⁴

This move was a signal that the capitalistic economic strategy which had been operating in Tanzania up to that time and which had failed to change the economic outlook of Tanzania, would be scrapped.

It is interesting to observe that these early political and economic decisions reflected the process of de-colonization which, as previously noted, were partly influenced by nationalistic political tendencies. It was in 1961, at the town of Bagamoyo, that Nyerere prophesized that:

In the coming ten years, we, the people of Tanganyika, will do more to develop our country than the colonialists have done in the previous forty years.⁵

The above reminder was made on September 1971, two months before the independence celebrations which would make Tanzania ten years old. During this occasion, Nyerere spoke about how fortunate Tanzanians were to have pursued the socialist path, and thus avoid the evils which he felt Tanzania was too underdeveloped to have suffered, such as:

⁴First Five-Year Development Plan 1964-69, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964.

⁵J. K. Nyerere, Tanzania Ten Years After Independence (1961-1971), Report of the President of TANU, Dar Es Salaam: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1971.

...the destitution which comes from landlessness when there is no other form of livelihood available; private usury; and literal starvation in the midst of plenty...but all these things are liable to come from economic development if it is not pursued along socialist lines.⁶

What we actually find here is Nyerere's perception of the underdevelopment/development process, as the subjective consciousness focused to masses through political nationalism which should determine the mode of national development of non-capitalist society. In order to bring some popular incentives, Nyerere set forth the political momentum of radicalism which raised the awareness of decolonization in Tanzania. As Nyerere stated:

As a result of our socialist policies, it is the people of this country - not foreigners - who determine what kind of factories and farms shall be established in Tanzania. This means that we can gradually increase our control over the Tanzanian economy; we are not being bound tighter and tighter into an international capitalist structure which we can never hope to control, or even influence.⁷

The above factors posed many problems for Tanzania, because the general perception of the people was that independence came and things would be better than before, which was to be expected. Unfortunately, the reality was

⁶J. K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration: Ten Years After (1976-77), Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1977, p. 5.

⁷Ibid., p. 5.

that the country lacked the mechanism of a stable economic infrastructure, a trained and experienced administrative body with the power of accountability, organization, and management.

In the process of disengagement from colonial influence, Nyerere saw also some danger within the leadership strata.

He asserted that:

Capitalism was beginning. And it was beginning with the leadership. Certainly it was a mean and unproductive kind of capitalism which was beginning in Tanzania but it was capitalism all the same... Fortunately, these things, this creation of an African middle class, had not gone very far. Our leaders had begun to think that individual riches were part of the prerequisites of leadership; but they had not begun actually to become rich.⁸

These developments triggered concern among the people in relation to the powerlessness they felt at being swept into a system which historically did very little to alleviate the African economic condition. In this regard, the gradual awareness of socialistic orientation brought about the Arusha Declaration which was passed by TANU in January, 1967 at the town of Arusha in northern Tanzania.

Ideologically, the Arusha Declaration was,

a commitment to the principles of self-reliance and socialism. It did not by itself bring either of these things; only hard thinking, and hard work in the right direction will do that.⁹

⁸J. K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, p. 7.

⁹The Arusha Declaration: Presidential Address to the National Conference of TANU, Mwanza, 16th October 1967. Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1968, p. 10.

What kind of commitments and principles was Tanzania going to adopt soon after the Arusha Declaration? One at least, was the nationalization of existing industries and services which took place immediately after the Declaration.¹⁰

In order to make the idea of independence meaningful to the people, these efforts made Tanzania to control those assets which, under the new economic order, could not unconditionally leave Tanzania without the authority of the National Government. In this case, the outflow of Tanzanian wealth was reduced to the extent to which economic gains were used for national economic development. However, it is imperative to note that, one of the most important aspects of socialism is the desire of self-determination which in reality forms the basis of a free nation. To test these realities, socialist Tanzania adopted de-colonization to also eliminate lack of human equality and dignity.

There are two aspects to the development of human equality within the nation. One is differentials in personal incomes; different degrees of access to public services; and the extent to which taxation-supported activities serve the interests of the people as a whole rather than those of a small minority. And the third is participation in decision-making.¹¹

¹⁰ The Standard, (Dar Es Salaam), Tanzania, Oct. 17, 1967.

¹¹ J. K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, p. 10.

It is the basis of the Arusha Declaration to articulate these human equality aspects because Tanzania made deliberate efforts to shape the normative inner order of her society, and this effort was a major stimulus for social change and modernization.

The success of this new structure in Tanzania depended upon a body of literate Tanzanians, and to this end, the new régime in Tanzania, shortly after the adoption of the Arusha Declaration - formulated an educational policy which emphasized the idea of Education for Self-Reliance: The concept itself is intertwined with the idea of educating Tanzanians to an egalitarian value system of cooperation in which all would be members of a society independent of outside influence and goods, independent and self-reliant. As explained by Nyerere,

Self-reliance is a positive affirmation that we shall depend upon ourselves for the development of Tanzania, and that we shall use the resources we have for that purpose, not just sit back and complain because there are other things we do not have.¹²

Nyerere's determination to establish an independent, decolonized, and self-reliant Tanzania was not merely an expression of emotional rhetoric. As Timothy Shaw explains, such a course is actually a natural result of African indepen-

¹²The Arusha Declaration, Presidential Address, p. 1.

dence and subsequent inflation. "Together, decolonization and recession have exposed the tenuousness of the gains of political nationalism and reinforced the tendency towards the assertion of economic nationalism."¹³ It has been further proved at least in one study, that economic and political dependence of some African nations on their former metropolitans were directly related to the level of food aid received.¹⁴ Although dependence - whether interpreted as a 'technology transfer' or food aid - continues to generate underdevelopment in many African countries, it cannot be denied that some growth in certain countries has occurred at particular periods with important implications for certain classes.¹⁵ This was true in Tanzania in the period immediately after independence when the very small number of educated people suddenly became members of an exclusive elite, earning a large amount of money and seeking individual gain and favour. This was precisely the scenario that the Arusha Declaration and later, the policy of Self-Reliance, sought to wipe out - the essence of neo-colonialism, a situation in which a state is theoretically independent and "...has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty, (but) in reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from the outside."¹⁶

¹³ Timothy M. Shaw, "Beyond Neo-Colonialism", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 20, #2, 1982, p. 246.

¹⁴ Richard Vengroff, "Food and Dependency: Aid to Black Africa", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 20, 1982, p. 43.

¹⁵ Timothy Shaw, p. 240.

¹⁶ K. Nrumah, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism, London: 1968, p. ix.

The First Five Years of Independence

The new members of the Legislative Council elected in the 1960 General Election, which was to prepare Tanzania for independence in 1961, was the real instrument of political change in Tanzania. Julius K. Nyerere as the leader of TANU, formed a government and became the first elected Prime Minister of Tanzania.

The first tangible work of the new government was the formulation of a Three-Year Development Plan (1961-64) which reflected the Africans' very real concern with education and training. It is not surprising that this was their priority since, at the time independence was achieved in 1961, there were only 67 African teachers of a total of 616 education officers employed by the Government. In the area of technical education, there were 75 education officers, none of whom were African.¹⁷ This pattern was certainly not exclusive to the Ministry of Education, however, nor even to the government service.

In the 1962 Manpower Report on Tanganyika's manpower needs, 3,100 positions in the public and private sectors were listed as requiring technical or professional qualifications. Only 1,300 of these were medical technicians, nurses, or teachers. Table 10 below gives a good indication of how dependent Tanganyika was on non-nationals for essential skills and services.

¹⁷Tanganyika Draft Five Year Africanization Program, p. 89.

TABLE 10

EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED PROFESSIONS BY RACE, 1962¹⁸

Profession	TOTAL	AFRICAN	ASIAN	EUROPEAN
Architects	11	0	2	9
Civil Engineers	84	1	22	61
Mech. Engineers	52	0	6	46
Surveyors	94	1	1	92
Physicians	184	16	60	108
Lawyers	57	2	11	44
Veterinarians	45	9	1	35
Geologists	41	0	0	41
Zoologists	12	1	0	11

The immediate prospects for Tanganyikan recruits to fill the required posts were also not inspiring. In 1958, there were only 207 African Tanganyikans studying at the two university colleges in East Africa, which, by 1962, had resulted in only 17 graduates.¹⁹ Secondary schools were also not large enough at the time to sufficiently 'feed' the higher level institutions. No more than 2,000 Tanganyikans had graduated from secondary school by 1960. Table 11 below emphasizes the narrowness of the educational base in Tanganyika at the time of independence.

¹⁸ George Tobias, High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Tanganyika, 1962-67, Govt. Paper No. 2, 1963, Table No. 10, pp. 33-6, Dar Es Salaam: Govt. Printer, 1963.

¹⁹ George Skorov, Integration of Educational and Economic Planning in Tanzania, Paris: UNESCO, 1966, p. 39.

TABLE 11
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY AGE GROUPS²⁰

YEAR		Lower Primary	Upper Primary	Secondary 1 - 4	Secondary 5 - 6
1957	Pop.	895,000	792,000	720,000	338,000
	Enrol.	364,024	41,290	5,931	28
	%	40.7%	5.2%	0.8%	0.008%
1962	Pop.	976,000	864,000	785,000	365,000
	Enrol.	443,799	75,936	13,690	485
	%	45.5%	8.8%	1.7%	0.1%

The Government's response to this abysmal situation was the adoption of the framework for educational development recommended in the Educational Ordinance of 1961. Sir Richard Turnbull as the Governor during the transitional phase, addressed the first seating of the legislative council and outlined the immediate future improvements proposed for secondary education in the Plan:

At the secondary level, the plan provides, in addition to a steady increase in the number of places in Standard IX, for the abolition of the break which now occurs after Standard X, so that all pupils who enter a secondary school will have the opportunity of proceeding at least as far as School Certificate. It is hoped to increase the number of African candidates for School Certificate from 324 in 1959 to 2,275 in 1964, and for higher school Certificate from a first entry of some 92 in 1960 to 300 in 1964. Further secondary places will also become available when the recommendations of the Integration Committee are put into effect.²¹

²⁰ Tobias Report, p. 40.

²¹ Governor Sir Richard Turnbull, Address (11/10/1960) in Tanganyika Council Debates (Hansard), 36th Session (First Meeting), 1960, p. 13.

The Integration Committee, under the terms of the Ordinance was responsible for the phasing out of the racially segregated schools of the Africans, Indians, and Europeans into a single, integrated system.²² It alarmed many that the transitional period for this integration process was to be three years in length, but the Ministry argued that this was necessary due to the variety of languages spoken in the various schools. In 1963, Swahili and English were finally made the only media of instruction in the primary schools. Urdu, Gujarati, and other Indo-Pakistani languages were removed from curricula and Swahili was made a compulsory subject of study up to the School Certificate level. A further gap between African and non-African schools was closed in 1965 when it was decided that all primary schools would phase in Swahili as the medium of instruction, a process completed by 1972. English was to begin (orally) in Standard I, instead of Standard III, but in fact, with the promotion of Swahili as the national language, especially after the Arusha Declaration in 1967, this latter point was not actively pursued.

Another obstacle to racial integration was the differential fee structure. Although all schools were officially

²²Tanganyika Government: Annual Report of the Ministry of National Education, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1963, p. 4.

open to Africans after 1962, only a very few could actually afford to attend the former 'Asian' or 'European' schools. The initial proposal to raise the fees of the Swahili medium schools and lower the fees of the English schools was rejected however, due to the widespread pressure for 'free' education. In the end, the Government gave the responsibilities for fee collection to the local authorities; the municipal and district councils were to regulate fees according to costs prevailing in each area.

Similar to the barrier of school fees was the placement of Africans in former Asian and European schools. The government recognized that corrective action had to be taken to allow more Africans to obtain places in relation to their numbers. Asians, who were previously guaranteed admission to secondary schools, now had to compete for places on the basis of a common entrance examination. Although there is no real proof that special preference was given to Africans (the results of the GCE were not published), it is clear that by 1966, all of the former non-African schools had a majority of African students.²³

Nyerere's response to the almost overwhelming manpower and educational problems of the new nation was what Pratt calls a "dependence strategy"²⁴ or what tougher critics

²³D. Morrison, p. 168.

²⁴Cranford Pratt, The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-68, London: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 94.

would call neo-colonialism. He felt it best to retain as many of the British civil servants as possible and continue to recruit ex-patriates where a trained national was not available. As this situation resulted in many British officers in the senior civil service continuing their role in policy preparation and implementation, it is not surprising that there were no major changes in policy or administration in the first year after independence. Despite the fact that a TANU majority political Council of Ministers, headed by Nyerere controlled government policy, it still relied on the (mainly British) civil service to carry it out.²⁵

The Three-Year Development Plan, with its emphasis on private investment and assistance programs for the African small businessman, "actively sought to promote an emergency African bourgeoisie."²⁶ Much of the £24 million expenditure was to come from Britain, but when only £10 million was advanced, Nyerere and the government were outraged. They had granted generous concessions and retirement plans to the British officers in the Public Officers Agreement and now their first step forward was hampered

²⁵In 1960, this council consisted of George Kahama, Chief Fundikira, Derek Bryceson, Amir Jamal, Rashidi Kawawa, Paul Bomani, Nsilo Swai, and Oscar Kambona.

²⁶Pratt, p. 97.

by a withdrawal of funds.²⁷ Although Britain later agreed to increase the amount of assistance it would give Tanganyika, it was clear that the dependent relationship Nyerere initially wanted to foster with Britain might not serve the country after all.

The Africanization of the civil service was another area in which the advice of the British senior civil servants was also heeded. In spite of pressure from TANU and an outside report²⁸ to proceed rapidly with Africanization of

²⁷The salaries of the British colonial civil servants were increased and pension made very attractive, and only 500 of the 1700 British officers left after independence. However, the Tanzanian government fully expected that these heavy financial obligations would be included in the independence settlement, and after the government had signed the agreement with the civil servants, it discovered Britain was not prepared to help with the payment. However, Tanzania did pay the increased salaries until 1967. At that time, Nyerere tried to renegotiate the financial responsibilities with Britain, claiming again that they had entered into the arrangement trusting that Britain would provide aid to cover these heavy expenditures. When Britain refused the proposals, Nyerere unilaterally abrogated the Public Officer's Agreement and Tanzania no longer accepted any financial responsibility for pension earned during the colonial period or for compensation to the officers who stayed.

²⁸See J. Donald Kingsley and J. L. Thurston, "Some Problems Associated with Localisation of the Tanganyika Civil Service", Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, May 1961. Kingsley and Thurston argued, based on their Nigerian experience, that no independent nation could long delay the nationalization of its civil service, and urged "fresh approaches" in the Tanzanian case such as a relaxation of entry requirements, special and highly specific training programs, and the identification of those positions that must be given highest priority in the allocation of scarce African senior staff.

the civil service, Nyerere hesitated, evidently fearing an exodus of the British officers and a subsequent disintegration of structure and standards.

Mounting public pressure against Nyerere's handling of the problems facing the new independent nation and the widening gap between TANU and the government forced Nyerere to resign as Prime Minister in January 1962, only one year after independence. He stated that he was taking this action in order to organize the political party, as well as assure the masses that he was really concerned about the state of the individual and the nation as a whole, as was not solely interested in maintaining power.

I have taken this action and won the support of my colleagues for it after a long debate that has gone on for days because of our firm belief that this is the best way to achieve our new objective, the creation of a country in which the people take a full and active part in the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease.

To achieve this purpose, it is necessary to have an able elected government which has the full support and the co-operation of the people. This we have had and will have. It is also necessary to have a strong political organization active in every village which acts like a two-way all-weather road along which the purposes, plans of the government, can travel to the people, the same as the ideas, desires, and misunderstandings of the people can travel direct to the government. This is the job of the new TANU."²⁹

²⁹Tanganyika Standard, (Dar Es Salaam), Jan. 23, 1962.

In the two years' period after the resignation of Nyerere, the Tanzanian Army mutinied against the government and demanded the British Army officers be replaced by the local Tanzanians. The country recovered from this situation, but the nationalistic sentiment continued to show itself in other ways. In 1966, students at the University of Dar Es Salaam went on strike, protesting the growth of elitism in the society and specifically, within the party. Basically, the Tanzanian students were becoming more radical, but this radicalism was not an independent phenomenon but rather a shared nationalistic sentiment, the culmination of years of struggle for independence and the frustration of dealing with a colonial structure in what was perceived as an independent nation. The adoption of the Arusha Declaration and the policy of Education for Self-Reliance in 1967 was thus the product of the social and political conflict which existed during the years of a search for an ideology. When the realities of independence touched Nyerere in early 1962, he summarized his thoughts about the process of national development of Tanzania and he wrote on the concept of Ujamaa:

We in Africa have no more need of being converted to socialism than we have of being taught democracy. Both are rooted in our own past--in the traditional society which produced us.³⁰

³⁰J. K. Nyerere, Ujamaa, TANU Pamphlet, Dar. Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1962, p. 3.

In defining the policy of the government, Nyerere clearly emphasized his deep feelings for African traditional values, and showed his aloofness from Western models of democracy or socialism. This nostalgic perception occupied Nyerere's thought and in many cases he appeared as an authoritarian, benevolent teacher in the classroom, emphasizing discipline towards learning and obedience.

Nyerere, however, did not offer a particular ideology for the nation to follow. And although he had already written three pamphlets³¹ in 1962, which gave some indication that he wanted Tanganyikan society to be like an African family in the sense that people 'care about each other', he also had no clearly articulated plan to create a socialist society. In one of his pamphlets, however, we are given the germ of the idea of ujamaa, as an 'attitude of mind' which would later be developed as the major strategy of socialism. He wrote:

Our first step...must be to educate ourselves; to regain our former attitude of mind. In our traditional African society, we were individuals within a community. We took care of the community and the community took care of us. We neither needed nor wished to exploit our fellow men...

True socialism is an attitude of mind. It is therefore up to the people of Tanganyika--the peasants, the wage earners, the students, the leaders, all of us--to make sure that this socialist attitude of mind is not lost through the temptations to personal gain (or to abuse of positions of authority) which may come our way as individuals, or through the temptation to look on the good of the whole community, as of secondary importance to the interests of our own particular group.³²

³¹ Freedom and Unity, Freedom and Development, and Freedom and Socialism.

³² J.K. Nyerere, Ujamaa, The Basis of African Socialism.
Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, pp. 5-6.

During 1963, development questions were the pre-occupation of the government. Emphasis was on village settlement schemes, capital support for a major expansion of Tanganyika's secondary schools and the University College of Dar Es Salaam, integration of government activities towards a unified development effort and the co-operative movement.

During the two years Nyerere was facing the challenge of consolidating the party, the government did not stand still in the area of education either. The Ministry of Education gave the Teacher Training Advisory Board some responsibilities to advise the Minister in matters related to professional development in the teaching profession, syllabus formulation and revision. Private agencies and missionary organizations began to lose their autonomous power in matters related to educational activities. However, the government continued to give grants-on-aid for secondary schools, teachers colleges, salaries for teachers, and general expenses. The Ministry of Education exercised direct control, however, over such important matters as selection of students and the maintenance of school discipline.

Since the nature of these private organizations had, for a long time, been controlled by foreigners, the government felt that it was imperative to serve the interest of the general public now. In this regard, a Board of Governors was appointed to advise heads and principals of the schools, and with more government members appointed to the Board than the agencies, the government usually had the final say in any nomination. It is noted that the government, in 1962, allowed

the involvement of Educational Secretaries whose salaries were paid from the agency funds, but the government eventually

withdrew grants-in-aid for Education Assistants and School Supervisors whose direct participation in the teaching process was considered to be incompatible with the overriding responsibility of the state.³³

This move did not please the Christian missionary organization, although the government continued to act on their good judgment. Another important development was the promotion of the Primary School Inspectors who became responsible for administrative and financial matters as had been the case for the District Education Officers. All these responsibilities were under the authority of the Regional Education Officer.³⁴

These educational organizational changes were significant especially when the Christian Council of Tanganyika (CCT), and the Catholic Welfare Society of Tanganyika (SWST), were placed under the control of the Tanganyika African Parents Association (TAPA), the East African Muslim Welfare Society (EAMWS), and the Education Department of His Highness the Aga Khan. These five agencies which had grown from two, and their Secretary Generals continued to receive grants-in-aid which were given to the former missionary agencies. The role of these Secretary Generals was partly to participate in educational boards as central, district and regional leaders. This action helped

³³D. Morrison, p. 96.

³⁴Tanganyika Draft Five Year Africanization Program for the Civil Service, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1962, pp. 90-92.

the government and also built confidence in the area of educational continuity and the maintenance of the status quo.

An interesting, but confusing development occurred which led the local education authorities (LEAs) who wanted the government to establish free tuition from Standard I-IV. This move was partly political and ill-advised, however, some authorities exercised it, but in reality the idea was thought to be a wrong start, and some confusion on local tax increases was thought to be necessary because there was a need to continue and improve the educational standard. In 1963, the Ministry of Education thus issued regulations that the LEA's begin charging uniform fees "at each primary level that were not to fall below the minimum prescribed by the Minister."³⁵

This action could not restore the feeling which was politically inspired, that education should be free. In many instances, the parents were willing to pay the school fees, but it actually required political wisdom to change the nationalistic expectation of the political gain on education. In fact, some schools which formerly collected school fees around Shs. 50,000 - could now rarely collect half of that amount.

Local Education Authorities tried to encourage local educational councils to take over the fee collection responsibilities and distribution of the books, but lack of administrative accountability made this work create favouritism and political conflict. In certain instances, TANU political authorities in local areas acted angrily when children were sent

³⁵ Ministry of Education Circular (ED C/304/A/16), Dar Es Salaam: Tanganyika Government, November 1963.

home because they did not pay their school fees.

With all these difficulties, the government decided to limit the power of the Local Education Authorities in certain administrative matters. In 1964, the Minister of Education, Hon. Solomon Eliufoo in his budget speech stated that he regretted "that local education authorities have not lived up to their responsibilities."³⁶ Eliufoo's regrets were becoming a reality in the way the local education authorities mismanaged school affairs, and some schools went into bankruptcy and had to be eventually rescued by the central government.

These problems were partly derived from political influence and because the selection of the members of the local education authority might not have been experienced in matters of administration and organization. But after some time, even the salaries of the teachers could not be paid for two months, which was a difficult start of post-colonial responsibility. However, the authorities began to learn from their mistakes, and after some understanding was reached, the authorities effectively managed the administration and other financial organizations. In order to return matters to normal, the government was convinced by the Ministry of Education that the District Education Authorities should directly oversee the educational and financial matters in rural district councils.³⁷

³⁶ National Assembly Debates, 1st Parliament, 13th Meeting, 1964; cols. 566-7, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964.

³⁷ For more detail, see Ministry of Education Advisory Council, 1966, Appendix C. Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1966.

With only 7,000 admitted to Secondary School out of 48,000 who wrote the G.E.E. in 1965, 1966 was a year of discontented parents and defensive politicians. While the first reaction of the government was to tell the people to 'go back to the land', their second solution -- to concentrate on the development of agriculture in the primary school curriculum -- did not offer any immediate solutions to the problems.

The government busied itself with publicizing the advances the Ministry of Education had made since independence and stressed that the main aim of primary school was not to obtain jobs or continue to post-primary level but to prepare them for an agricultural life. As Eliufoo stated in his open letter to Tanzanians on June 26, 1965, there were four main reasons why the schools must now prepare the students for work on the land:

The first one is...getting enough food...for a young nation like Tanzania, food comes first before all other needs...The second reason is that ours is an agricultural country. The third reason is this: today annual enrolment at Standard I level is about 160,000 and those who get a secondary education and other post-primary education number 7,000 which is only four percent of the children who enrol in Standard I. These (the 96 percent) will have to go back to the land because they have no vocational training of any sort...

We want teachers to realize..that 96 percent of the children we admit into schools will become peasant farmers and, therefore, all teaching and all school activities should be directed to suit these children. The practice of teaching pupils as if they will proceed to secondary schools must stop. It is of no use to us and it is dangerous. 38

³⁸ The Standard, (Dar Es Salaam), Tanzania, June 29, 1965.

Yet another pressure faced by the government at this time was the dispute with the university students regarding terms and conditions of serving in the country's National Service corps. One of the strongest criticisms came just before the march and demonstration to the State House on October 22, 1966. In his statement, the President of the National Union of Tanzanian Students, said that:

The determination with which the Government steamrolled the White Paper (on the National Service) through Parliament justifies students' fears that the government's ulterior motive is to punish students for their so-called arrogance and isolation from the masses. If this is the way the final legislation will be handled...the legislation will receive no co-operation at all. 39

Although the students' demands seemed insignificant -- apart from the initial complaint of compulsory conscription to the National Service, they did not like the length of service (two years), the reduction in salary (about 23% below average), the accompanying military training, and the wearing of uniforms -- they were enough to cause them to march to State House and demand an audience with the President and Vice-President. The student ultimatum was responded to by Nyerere in very angry, emotional terms. In his anger, he suspended all the students and announced that he would cut his own salary and other ministers by 20%.⁴⁰ The next day, in a speech that was broadcast to the nation, he gave some indication that he was thinking of broader socialist lines in his reaction to the university students.

³⁹The Standard, (Dar Es Salaam), Tanzania, Oct. 1, 1966.

⁴⁰The Nationalist, (Dar Es Salaam), Tanzania, Oct. 24, 1966.

The meaning of socialism is that people live together and work together for the benefit of all and not that the majority work in order to be exploited by the few. If everyone of us is going to put money before the nation, then the nation will not be built. 41

This was not the first time that the President spoke of socialism, since he had, since his early days, been committed to some form of development by the people for the people. Therefore, his response to the dispute of the university students about National Service should not have been surprising. Until then, he had relied on what one could call 'moral persuasion' to unite the masses to self-reliance and communal development.

The post-independence experience of leadership has a few factors which need to be looked at and clearly elaborated. Politically, the entire leadership was faced with many problems, especially untrained personnel, but the process of Africanization which was politically inspired may have caused many bad judgments to be made by inexperienced officials. Lack of co-ordination between the central and local government effectively ruined some of the planning strategies of the central government. The experienced Christian Missionary Education Secretaries continued to have greater access in primary school development, though they were no longer influential in national policy-making. They also continued to help unaided bush schools, which received government aid in preference to local authority educational projects.

⁴¹The Nationalist (Dar Es Salaam), Tanzania, Oct. 24, 1966.

The increasing demands of those in the teaching profession was another factor which seemed to bother the government officials. The Unified Teaching Service seemed to be a government controlled agency, and politically, this group could not decide itself without government support. The teachers on a national level felt that their old differences among themselves should be kept aside and they should strive for the strength of their trade union which could negotiate for their work benefits and also improve professional and educational standards. It was in January 1962 when the Tanganyika National Union of Teachers was officially accepted, but within six months, in June 1962, the Labor legislation was passed in the parliament excluding from trade union membership any member who earned more than Shs. 12,000 per annum. This legislation affected TNUT which was affiliated with the Tanganyika Federation of Labor. Michael Kamaliza who is the founder of TFL and its Vice-President, and a new Minister of Labour had engineered this legislation which made Oscar Kambona, former Minister of Education, who urged the teachers to form a cohesive body of trade union instead of their internal disunity, and Eliufoo who replaced Kambona could be of any help in these matters. The teachers organization protested this measure, because it made most of the secondary school teachers not to be members of trade unions.

Politically, this was an expected move and Kamaliza, the Minister of Labor was victorious, but professionally, teachers began to have low morale and less professional interest in their work.

To make things more obvious, the cabinet decided that:

Teachers would be entolled in one of industrial sections of the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA) rather than being permitted to form a new organization. 42

In relation to this development, teachers lost all influence before the Ministry of Education of which in reality they never had even during the colonial period, but because of the new emphasis on matters of national concern, teachers should have a greater role to play in educational policy at the local level.

The historical development of the colonial system of education did give the local authorities very little role to play in public participation, determining the educational matters. But the formation of the Advisory Council on Education, boards of governors and schools Committee were considered to be useful in the following years as the nationalistic feeling supported by the ideological development of TANU radical position on national development.

By 1967, there was a real class stratification within Tanzanian society. The salaries of the civil servants and the politicians were vastly higher than the incomes earned by ordinary Tanzanians. As well, it was known that many of these incomes were supplemented generously by the Zambia oil transport business. Commenting on the surprise and speed with which the nationalizations and the Arusha Declaration were made, Nyerere said:

⁴²D. Morrison, p. 100.

We had to act, and act soon, before we found ourselves in a situation where our parliament was manned by top class capitalists who have shifted from the working class to become exploiters of their own people. 43

It is to be noted that in Ujamaa, The Basis of African Socialism, Nyerere did not say how they would achieve socialism. As noted earlier, it was merely defined as an attitude of mind. Even in the Five Year Development Plan -- with its heavy reliance on foreign aid and private investment -- it did not appear that there was any serious commitment to self-reliance. This situation soon changed, however, due to many factors not the least of which was Tanzania's political maturity.

The realities of the Cold War and of international capitalism caught up with Tanzania. The amount of aid Tanzania received from all contemplated sources did not measure up to her expectations. Private investment was similarly disappointing... The West German decision to invoke the Hallstein doctrine in 1964 when Tanzania refused to comply with Bonn's insistence to not recognize East Germany was also an 'example of 'tied aid' as the West German aid program was substantial. 44

With the army mutiny, the National Service problem the crisis with primary school leavers, diplomatic tangles with the Western world, the problem with Rhodesia, the the fact that Nyerere could not deny many of the criticisms of the 'wabenzi' life led by some of the party and government officials, it was not surprising that the first half of the decade of independence ended in the Arusha Declaration, nationalization of many industries and a clear commitment -- if not definitively outlined -- to socialism as the path to development in Tanzania.

⁴³ Sunday Nation (Nairobi), Kenya, February 29, 1967.

⁴⁴ A. Mohiddin, p. 169.

Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance

For the past 17 years, Tanzania has been actively pursuing the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance. Both concepts are interrelated and were aimed to develop Tanzania as a socialist state. In May 1971, President Julius Nyerere looked at the educational policy of Tanzania and commented:

I am becoming increasingly convinced that we in Tanzania either have not yet found the right educational policy, or have not yet succeeded in implementing it or some combination of these two alternatives. 45

Five years after the 1967 Arusha Declaration, Nyerere still seemed to engage his mind with the vision of socialism in relation to education. In fact, it was only education which would ultimately change the attitude under the banner of socialism, and the Tanzanians were reminded to look carefully at the two alternatives.

The introduction of new values or social conditions which should help the Tanzanians create new egalitarian society, must not be taken for granted. As Breeden succinctly stated:

Schools in Tanzania are operating in terms of conditions initially created by the colonial imperialist state as it established the capitalist way of life in Tanzania prior to independence. 46

⁴⁵J. P. Breeden, "The Struggle for Socialist Education in Tanzania: J. K. Nyerere on Education", cited in Papers in Education and Development, 1975, p. 23.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 24.

Theoretically, it must be emphasized that practical assumptions which are the living reality of the historical background of Tanzania, is the continuous struggle to:

...make all the conditions of the capitalist way of life the object of revolutionary action. A clear view of these conditions as they produce themselves through schools may guide the practice directed toward their overthrow. ⁴⁷

The compounding process of the ideology and educational historical process since independence are here elaborated. In order to understand the historical development of the Arusha Declaration, it is important that we examine its origin and the reason it became an ideology for the country. First, we must look at the development of this ideology with the person of J. K. Nyerere, who,

...did not begin his career as leader of Tanzania with an explicit strategy of self-reliance or non-alignment, although the two concepts certainly were in the back of his mind. It was the political experience gained in the first five years of independence that enabled him to become more explicit about what he thought tomorrow's Tanzania should look like and how its conception of the future of the country could be realized. ⁴⁸

Political and nationalistic sentiments in Tanzania and elsewhere shaped Nyerere's ideas, and gradually they became the ideology of TANU. By early 1967 Tanzania could not remain a neo-colonial regime, and became a nation which deliberately chose the path of Ujamaa. From this perspective, the TANU National Executive Council met at Arusha in January 1967 and approved the Declaration which:

⁴⁷ Breeden, p. 26.

⁴⁸ Cranford Pratt, The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-68, London: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 86.

defined what socialism means in the context of Tanzania. It set out qualifications which had to be fulfilled by all in leadership positions in politics and public service, and it demanded a much more serious commitment to self-reliance in our development.⁴⁹

The Declaration was one in three policies, as it clearly articulated the government's policies on Education for Self-Reliance, Socialism and Rural Development, and Freedom and Development. The ideas contained in these papers gave a clear commitment to socialism. Education for Self-Reliance called for a revolution in the system of formal education; Socialism and Rural Development aimed at creating a vision of a nation of self-reliance citizens being developed along the lines of ujamaa villages, and finally, Freedom and Development's ideological objective was to ultimately:

liberate both the mind and the body of man. It has to make him (free) more of a human being because he is aware of his potential as a human being, and is in a positive, life-enhancing relationship with himself, his neighbours, and his environment. Education has therefore to enable a man to throw off the impediments to freedom which restrict his full physical and mental development.⁵⁰

The Arusha Declaration is divided into five main parts. The first part is entitled the TANU CREED, which has committed itself to build a socialist state, the main principles of which are embedded in the TANU Constitution. TANU, as the political party which fought for freedom for the Tanzanian people, clearly stated that it believed in equal rights for all

⁴⁹ Arusha Declaration and the TANU Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printers, 1968, p. 1.

⁵⁰ J. K. Nyerere, "Nyerere on Freedom and Education", Tanzanian Education Journal, Vol. 3, #8, 1974, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printers, p. 4.

human beings, a situation which did not exist under the colonial administration. This contradiction TANU sought to eliminate in the society in order to allow every citizen to have the right to freedom of expression, movement, religious belief, and of association within the law of the nation. In focussing on what direction the ideology would follow, the political party emphasized that it was the duty of TANU to consolidate and maintain the independence of the country, and to protect the freedom of its people.

The importance of the Arusha Declaration for TANU and Tanzanians cannot be overemphasized. From the time it was promulgated, it gave a guideline to the people, the government and the party on which all future policy decisions could be based and compared. After the Declaration, it was felt that there was no excuse for decisions which would divert development from its purpose of serving the people. In this first part of the Declaration, the party emphasized the dignity of the individual based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. TANU also made sure that since they had adopted the socialist approach in Tanzania, the country must be governed by a democratic socialistic government. In general, the philosophical assumption of the ideology is to see that the fundamental approach must be the engagement in liberation of all Africa from the yoke of colonialism, and elimination of racial discrimination, poverty, ignorance, and disease. As it is known, the majority of the African states inherited

their governments from their colonial masters, and the economy of the country was controlled by the metropolis. TANU stated that the socialist Tanzania must exercise effective control over the principal means of production and pursue policies which would make things easier for the citizens and pave the way to collective ownership of the Tanzanian resources. The unity of Africa and the commitment to work toward peace and security within the context of world bodies such as the United Nations was most strongly emphasized in the ideological manifestation of Tanzania. Generally, Tanzania saw the ideology as the means to help the country and its people benefit and eliminate injustices that could have created instability in the nation.

Part Two of the Arusha Declaration clearly demonstrated the policy of Socialism:

A true socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exist. 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.⁵¹

It further states that as Tanzania is attempting to build socialism, it is imperative that exploitation be eliminated. Tanzania, as a nation of peasants and workers and not yet socialist, was to establish itself certain mechanisms to control the major means of production and exchange, which should be under the control of the peasants and the workers. However, the capitalist mode of production is by no means so dominant

⁵¹ Arusha Declaration and the TANU Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printers, 1967.

that peasant power is irrelevant for the development issues at large. ⁵²

It is asserted that socialism is a way of life, and in a socialist society, the whole, or most of the means of production and exchange should be controlled and managed by the Government. ⁵³ Socialism can only be built by individuals who believe in it and can abide by the principles of socialism. The ideology itself sought to correct the inherited contradictions of how people were treated and the kind of role they played during the colonial period in which no significant part of it made them true participants in a national economy or beneficiary of the means of production. The Arusha Declaration was aimed at correcting the inherited inconsistency by the colonial rulers.

In Part Three of the ideology, the policy of Self-Reliance was propounded, contending that:

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. ⁵⁴

The philosophy of interdependence of nations and ideologies that are pursued by various states in the world

⁵² G. Hyden, Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

⁵³ For Tanzania's ideological policies, refer to such documents as Arusha Declaration, Education for Self-Reliance, and Socialism and Rural Development, all found in J. K. Nyerere, Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968.

⁵⁴ Arusha Declaration and TANU Policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. Dar Es Salaam: Government Printers, 1967, p. 1.

must be taken into consideration if one talks about the 'ideology'. The colonized peoples must still be alerted to these ideological pronouncements because the power and the ability to finance the national economy is based in the world financial houses by the World Bank and others. In this regard, how can the ideology of 'self-reliance' be achieved if one continues to depend and expect that the former colonial metropolis will finance our economy? Each and every effort in changing times are based on the ability of the people to work together and defend their rights. The ability of the nation to change depends on the good will of the people, and discipline, land which they can use for producing goods, good policy and wise leadership, and of course, international interdependence must be emphasized with clear objectives of mutual benefit and national dignity. To isolate Africa ideologically will not only jeopardize the future generations, but will be a disadvantage to the technological growth of the underdeveloped world.

The above opinion during the post TANU leadership in relation to how the idea of self-reliance could be attained and be able to make Tanzania a successful nation with a socialist approach. However, it is questioned that since a country is poor and does not have the financial means to develop the economy, therefore, it cannot progress and build socialism-- Nyerere argues very strongly against this approach. He discusses this point in relation to the uselessness of money and reliance on it. The Declaration contends 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. 55

Nyerere gave two reasons why he felt it was foolish to think about development and base everything on money.

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; Secondly, even if it were possible, ...is that 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. 56

From the beginning, it was difficult for most people to understand and accept this rejection of capitalism and reliance on the colonial economic structure for its survival. This is why Nyerere went to such great lengths to promote this idea as embedded in the Arusha Declaration. As Hyden explains, the new ideology was to be understood in terms of power and the means of development, that is, control over the resources.

Interdependencies are a precondition for the effective use of power. A person's ability to control or influence someone else resides in control over the things that the latter values or needs. The same applies to the power of social classes. It presupposes that one class controls what the other wants or needs. Much of the colonial and post-colonial history in Africa has centered on this problem. 57

⁵⁵ Arusha Declaration, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Arusha Declaration, p. 1.

⁵⁷ G. Hyden, p. 31.

Nyerere's views in relation to gifts, loans and money for certain economic projects was that they could create a weakness in perceiving the true objective of the ideological commitment of the leadership toward the international financial leaders. It was not always this way in the Tanzanian government, however. Before the Arusha Declaration, during those first few years of independence, economic aid was accepted without much consideration of the consequences, social or economic. In fact, perhaps the only reservations about aid in those years, as Prof. Babu explains, were political -- in terms of alignment with the donor developing country.

Loans were granted only on condition that the projects for which they were intended were scrutinized and found to be in conformity with the overall strategy of the world bourgeoisie-- a good project was described as a bankable project-- one which could be approved by international finance capital. ⁵⁸

Part Four of the Arusha Declaration concerns TANU membership. It simply states that TANU has placed and will continue to place a great deal of emphasis on all citizens becoming members of the party. It urges all Tanzanians to not only become members of the party but also to participate fully in its organizations and the carrying out of its objectives.

Part Five is simply entitled 'The Arusha Resolution'. Its most far-reaching proposals concerned the leadership of the government and TANU, which are highlighted below:

⁵⁸ A. M. Babu, African Socialism or Socialist Africa, London: Zed Press, 1981, p. 33.

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 enterprises.
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 Para-Statal Organizations, all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution, Councillors, and Civil Servants in 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).⁵⁹

Education for Self-Reliance

As we have already seen, the concept of self-reliance formed a major part of the Arusha Declaration. This philosophy was further expanded to encompass the educational system of the country as it was realized that attitudes toward society, work, and the economy would not change automatically, but must be enculcated in the minds of the Tanzanian children from a very early age. To this end, on March 9, 1967, one month after the Arusha Declaration, Mwalimu Julius K. Kyerere introduced Education for Self-Reliance with the proposition that,

⁵⁹Arusha Declaration, p. 1.

We have never really stopped to consider why we want education. Individually and collectively, we have in practice thought of education as a training for the skills required to earn higher salaries...yet the basic purpose of education everywhere must be to transmit from one generation to the next, the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare young people for their future membership in a society and their active participation in its maintenance or development. 60

In general, the document of Education for Self-Reliance tries to apply the adopted Tanzanian political philosophy of socialism to education, and has provided the theoretical base for the new Tanzanian school system. The foundation of this plan dates from 1954 when TANU was first founded by Nyerere and other political activists.

The development of the concept of Education for Self-Reliance was part of the process of unification of the country; whereas before, many members of the society were excluded from the educational process, the socialization of education would make instruction available to all levels of the society. Nyerere, being an educator himself in the early part of his career, was convinced that the advance of Tanzania depended upon the development of education. But he did not mean education in terms of examinations and certificates which would gain entrance to university and other institutions of higher learning. He meant education in terms of preparing the people for lives as peasants and workers, all working toward the advancement of the nation together in a classless society. The schools in the new Tanzania were not to be based on the old relationships of students and teacher. Co-operation, initiative,

⁶⁰ J. K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printers, 1967, p. 8.

and involvement by the local community were to be the basis of the education system in the socialist Tanzania.

...education is...one of the key variables in the growth of the human potential to influence the process of development of a society in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the people living and working within it. We must change our conditions of life ourselves; and we can learn how to do this by educating ourselves. ⁶¹

The process of implementing the educational philosophy followed the introduction of the resolutions and laws within the conceptual framework of what should be done in the following months and years. From March 1967, the policy of Education for Self-Reliance was made official and primary school became a "complete basic cycle of learning instead of being regarded, as it used to be, as mainly a preparatory stage and an instrument for selecting the lucky few who would go on to secondary education. ⁶²

Nyerere soon expanded his definition of the purpose of education to include the point that "the primary purpose of education is the liberation of man. ⁶³ In order to bring forth the liberation type of education of any form in a socialistic atmosphere which was propagated, it was stated that:

⁶¹J. K. Nyerere, "Education Never Ends", in Adult Education and Development in Tanzania, Dar Es Salaam: National Adult Education Association of Tanzania, 1975, p. 151.

⁶²H. Hinzen and V. H. Hunsdorfer, Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzanian Experience: Hamburg: UNESCO, 1979, p. 7.

⁶³Ibid., p. 5.

The school curriculum was to be changed so as to make the content of all subjects more relevant to Tanzanian children, to introduce productive activities such as work on farms and in workshops, to relate the lessons very closely to the daily life and work of the pupils, and to merge theory and practice. 64

In this regard, the overall philosophy of education was to be geared to facilitate the manifestation of national development. In 1960, 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 ideals of Tanzania. The government took over the responsibility for all schools, employing all teachers as civil servants. The Ministry of Education was renamed the Ministry of National Education and had the responsibility of co-ordinating all educational matters on a national level.

Why did Nyerere think that the Tanzanian citizen was not liberated? The attainment of independence from Britain was significant in that the Tanzanians were ready to carry on the work which the British did not complete. In this sense, although they may not have been free at one time, they are now, so it may be argued that there was no need for talk of liberation! Further, it is interesting to note Nyerere's thinking on liberation in connection with Education for Self-Reliance. Possibly, what we can extract here is his philosophy that education deals with the intellect and freedom of knowledge and expansion of economic growth in various technologies; and self-reliance, obviously is a process which aimed to strengthen

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

national will and independence in using all available resources, to develop them and make Tanzania self-reliant. This philosophy seems to cut off Tanzania from the orbit of dependency. In this regard, others have analyzed this process as an attempt to:

spell out a coherent programme of development and lay down the broad outlines of the kind of society that he wishes to create. Few African leaders have delineated their objectives in such a forthright manner nor even when they have made the attempt have they often considered the means by which such objectives ought to be reached. Nyerere's writing indeed attempts to explicate a fundamental problem that confronts all developing nations: the need to reconcile the largely conflicting objectives of equality and efficiency. ⁶⁵

The racialistic basis of colonial education and the quality of education which the African received made it quite obvious that some hard thinking had to be done in order to improve the condition of inequality. The ~~only~~ alternative was to transform the school into community orientation and make the people in the area accountable for the development of the school. The idea behind this was to discourage them from their colonial, capitalistic and individualistic instincts, and encourage co-operative instincts among them. Under the colonial system, attitudes of human inequality in the economic field were encouraged, and the system was "not transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next."⁶⁶ To counteract these attitudes, the Arusha

⁶⁵ Philip Foster, "Education for Self-Reliance: A Critical Evaluation", in Education in Africa: Research and Action, R. Jolly (ed.), Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1969, pp. 82-83.

⁶⁶ Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, p. 18.

Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance main objectives, were "to promote party ideology of socialism and self-reliance, which means counter-acting capitalist tendencies in different localities and spheres of life."⁶⁷ As Mbilinyi further explains, it was the policy of the party to begin this inculcation of co-operative ideology with the very young. The primary schools were asked under the new policy to "provide the skills and attitudes necessary for youth to be producing members of their society when they complete their studies, which for most would be after finishing primary school."⁶⁸

Most schools responded favourably to President Nyerere's call for Self-Reliance by establishing economic projects in their schools, such as the making of artifacts, farming, and poultry-raising. However, the common project for most schools which had ample land was vegetable, food crop, and cash crop growing. Food crops were partly used by pupils for their mid-day meals and the surplus was sold and the money earned was used to buy food supplements, sports equipment as well as teaching aid materials. In addition, some rural schools also raised domestic animals and poultry. In urban areas where there is a scarcity of land, schools engaged in poultry-keeping, metalwork, woodwork, needlework, sewing, and other

⁶⁷ M. Mbilinyi, The Young Child in Tanzania, Report on a Study of the Young Child in Tanzania. Dar Es Salaam: Tanzania National Scientific Research Council, p. 110-11.

⁶⁸ M. Mbilinyi, p. 110.

handicraft activity. Table 12 on the following page illustrates the very real financial saving contributed by these self-help activities in the secondary schools. It lists the number of schools in the different regions of the country which participated in these self-reliance activities, and shows the increase in net revenue from 1973-74. As well, it gives the number of acres cultivated by the schools and of domestic animals raised. As one can see, the revenue for these activities totalled Shs. 4,724,160.23, which was a real saving of approximately \$600,000.00 Canadian.

TABLE 12

COMPARATIVE REVENUE FOR 1973 and 1974 ON EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE ACTIVITIES

Region	No. of Schools	Revenue in Shillings		Acreage Cultiv.	Cows	Pigs	Poultry	Goats	Sheep
		1973	1974						
Arusha	262	145,281.00	294,210.85	-	8	-	600	2	-
Dar Es Salaam	96	138,070.55	40,315.45	68	-	-	1,491	25	-
Dodoma	312	153,939.05	177,706.75	552	67	22	1,711	59	5
Iringa	276	43,634.10	263,819.55	484.5	51	29	265	43	49
Kigoma	186	262,015.20	104,163.30	265.9	-	-	198	4	-
Kilimanjaro	464	85,484.30	537,881.65	629.0	42	200	1,471	20	41
Lindi	190	128,467.90	226,656.60	324	31	102	607	14	-
Mara	200	263,597.60	208,554.50	406	14	6	700	120	23
Mbeya	4253	193,113.40	354,202.14	1056.3	-	30	772	25	-
Morogoro	345	132,142.45	253,337.75	1195.1	30	51	475	-	-
Mtwara	299	234,802.20	168,388.00	803.5	8	-	192	2	9
Mwanza	401	117,829.10	447,902.40	902	11	10	1,672	80	-
Pwani	184	143,872.50	155,162.25	373.4	5	-	779	80	-
Rukwa	129	177,415.65	71,259.00	237.5	-	-	-	-	-
Ruvuma	226	145,029.20	285,983.45	813	-	29	297	-	12
Shinyanga	174	115,324.95	203,718.32	396.5	8	-	38	6	-
Singida	231	219,051.25	123,545.05	326	-	-	-	-	-
Tabora	236	246,450.50	206,120.02	440.5	89	16	928	14	2
Tanga	396	-	311,952.70	510	5	115	4,548	34	-
West Lake	350	-	290,090.50	800	63	40	812	26	-
TOTAL	5,210	2,945,420.80	4,724,160.23	10,583.2	432	650	17,556	554	141

Source: Statistical Section of the Planning Division, Ministry of National Education, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, Government Printer, July 1974.

As noted by Foster, the inner ideological design of Education for Self-Reliance was to eliminate the social class phenomenon. As Nyerere saw such stratification beginning in the society, he sought to "minimize such differentiation and to establish distributive equality in a fairly literal sense."⁶⁹ However, he questions the call for complete equality in the system, and suggests that perhaps Education for Self-Reliance, in practice, is merely the replacement of one kind of inequality for another.

So far I have looked at the educational corollaries of objective inequalities in African societies. In summary, so long as the schools have a selective function--as indeed they must--and criteria of selection are largely based on merit, then inequality of educational opportunity is inescapable.⁷⁰

Although theoretically the kind of educational differentiation and segregation which existed under the colonial government and even in the missionary schools was to be eliminated under the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, it is argued that regional advantages persisted in some fortunate areas in Tanzania. For this reason, the government enacted measures against the expansion of primary schools after 1965 which was meant to prevent the gap between the 'richer' areas obtaining more secondary school places than the 'poorer' areas. However, in areas such as in the northern part of Tanzania, notably the Kilimanjaro area,

⁶⁹ P. Foster, p. 84.

⁷⁰ P. Foster, p. 87.

when the local government councils were unable to finance further educational expansion, or when central directives blocked the construction of more primary schools within Kilimanjaro, the churches were able to establish new facilities. ⁷¹

In the early years of implementation of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, some parents were skeptical about the education that their children were receiving. In fact, they were comparing this education with that which had been offered in the colonial times. They wanted their children to be given academic studies so that they might pass their examinations and get to high schools or get employed. Such parents even dared to influence their children to avoid participating in activities such as sports, cultural dances, and many other activities which they felt were non-educational. However, politicization and education tended to be a cure for their speculations.

Many teachers and politicians as well as education administrators, had a misconception of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance. They hurriedly took it for granted that it meant engaging pupils in agricultural or certain money-making activities. With the help of frequent seminars and circulars, they all came to realize that Education for Self-Reliance meant more than manual work. In some schools, produce was being sold without the knowledge of the pupils. This frustrated many students and in some cases they even developed negative attitudes towards the self-reliance projects. This

⁷¹Joel Samoff, "Education in Tanzania: Class Formation and Reproduction", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, #1, 1979, p. 49, also see Richard L. Sklar, "The Nature of Class Domination in Africa", Vol. 17, #4, December 1979, Journal of Modern African Studies.

was corrected by the formation of pupils' education for self-reliance committees under one or two teachers in the school. Under this system, children made their own decisions on the use of the harvest, and the money obtained. Their increased positive attitude toward manual work helped to encourage more meaningful methods of dealing with Education for Self-Reliance activities by the authority.

But this does not mean that the education provided by Tanzania under the new policy completely fulfilled the individual student's expectations nor the country's aspirations. As will be elaborated in the next chapter, Education for Self-Reliance did, indeed encourage the development of socialist values among citizens who were urged to look to themselves for growth and to understand the advantages and problems of co-operation. However, it appears that it will take some time for the policy and the spirit of the Arusha Declaration to be felt in many areas of Tanzania, including some facets of the educational system. Although curriculum reform and re-organization of the school structure took place almost immediately, certain factors such as old attitudes, an economic depression, adverse weather conditions, and external political pressures all contributed to a slow and subtle acceptance of the policy of Self-Reliance in the spirit of the Arusha Declaration.

Ideological Basis of Ujamaa and the Relevance of Education

What are the aims of Tanzania's ujamaa ideology? This ideology cannot be understood unless one looks at its basic premises in the areas of education, culture, economy and on-going human development.

To begin, the main underpinning of the development of ujamaa is education. Like all educational systems, the one Tanzania has adopted "seeks to preserve the society's basic culture and social structure."⁷² Ideologically, Nyerere asserts that:

In particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; 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 of TANU are doing and saying.⁷³

This philosophy seems to indicate that education is aimed to allow free participation and involvement of the student, teacher, and the community. In this case, the political party in collaboration with the Director of National Education Advisory Council will get feedback from the local party branch which must have a direct relationship with the school authority. This process is intended "to promote the national party ideology of socialism and self-reliance."⁷⁴

⁷²M. Mbilinyi, The Young Child in Tanzania, p. 110.

⁷³J. K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, p. 26.

⁷⁴op. cit., Mbilinyi, 110.

Most African nations during the 1960's were either under the British, French, Portuguese, or Italian colonial rule. The structure and the form of government was based on free enterprise and even after independence, only a few of these nations inclined themselves towards the socialistic ideology, which was always identified with non-Western nations. The Western metropolis¹ which ruled these countries never encouraged the kind of leadership which took a radical stance based on their political ideology.⁷⁵ Those leaders who did pursue a socialist or non-Western path usually created a political, financial, and military conflict, and in the final analysis these leaders were eliminated from the power politics of their countries. The reason for the survival of those few experiments can only be related on historical interpretation of the African post-colonial nationalistic process.

In a recent study on Tanzania's Ujamaa, Prof. Hyden discusses some of these problems.

In the mid-1960's, the inherent instability of the petty-bourgeoisie regime in Africa had become only too apparent. One civilian regime after the other had been forced to give way to military rulers. Political divisions inside African countries as well as among them were on the increase facilitating outside interference in the domestic affairs of these countries. The political morale among those who wanted to see a non-aligned and self-reliant approach to the solution of African problems was in danger of being undermined.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ For detailed historical analysis on education ideology and imperialism, see Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, especially Education and Traditional Colonialism: India and West Africa, pp. 113-142.

⁷⁶ G. Hyden, p. 96.

There were some unfortunate experiences which took place in Africa as the result of the political loyalty to non-Western countries. At the same time, tribal and/or nationalistic groupings led some countries to split up through fear. This can lead one to ask the question: does Africa believe in dependence or independence? A national political consciousness must be gradually raised in the people to ensure political stability before the leadership of the country can be ready to give some ideological commitment. The stigma that made the African elites adhere to the metropolis' umbilical cord, however, can only create uncertainty, suspicion and lack of ideological clarity in relation to national development. To this effect, Pratt asserted that:

Julius K. Nyerere did not begin his career as a leader of Tanzania with an explicit strategy of self-reliance or non-alignment, although the two concepts certainly were in the back of his mind. It was the political experience gained in the first five years of independence that enabled him to become more explicit about what he thought tomorrow's Tanzania should look like and how his conception of the future of the country could be realized.⁷⁷

It is in the "Arusha Declaration" as an ideology, which sets out the socialist principles upon which Tanzania's future was based. Nyerere explains the significance of this ideology by describing it as "a commitment to the principles of Self-Reliance and socialism."⁷⁸ It is based on the assumption of human equality, on the belief that it is wrong for one man

⁷⁷ C. Pratt, p. 92.

⁷⁸ J. K. Nyerere, After the Arusha Declaration, Presidential Address to the National Conference of TANU. Mwanza: Government Printer, 1967, p. 1.

to dominate or to exploit another, and on the knowledge that every individual hopes to live in a society as a free man able to lead a decent life in conditions of peace with his neighbours. The document is, in other words man-centred.⁷⁹

The Concept of Ujamaa

Ujamaa is literally translated as a 'familyhood'. It is assumed that the foundation of this concept derived from the African family social structure. It is argued that this 'familyhood' was needed to ensure that the people care for each other's welfare. Nyerere also emphasized that "the attitudes of traditional African socialism (ujamaa) must be regained and applied to the new societies being built."⁸⁰

Nyerere and TANU Defining Ujamaa

The Tanganyika African National Union (now called Chama Cha Mapinduzi or Revolutionary Party) 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 levels;
- (d) that all citizens together possess all natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;

⁷⁹ J. K. Nyerere, The President Explains the Arusha Declaration, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967, p. 2.

⁸⁰ J.K. Nyerere, Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism, Dar Es Salaam: The Standard Ltd., 1962, p. 3.

(e) that in order to ensure economic justice, the state must have effective control over the principal means of production. ⁸¹

The above principles demonstrate some key party policy directions which were laid down as part of the Arusha Declaration. However, Nyerere explains about Ujamaa that:

The foundation and objective of African Socialism (Ujamaa) is the extended family. The African socialist will see all people as their brethren, as members of their ever-widening family. By using Ujamaa, therefore, we state that for us, socialism involves building on the foundation of our past. ⁸²

Nyerere adds that in traditional tribal socialism,

Nobody starved, either of food or of human dignity. Because he lacked personal wealth, he could depend on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member. That was socialism. That is socialism. ⁸³

Hyden has commented that Tanzanian leadership introduced Ujamaa in such a way that they avoided political divisions and minimized external interference in their domestic affairs. It is also argued that Nyerere's brand of radicalism did not threaten the West, and even if it did, Tanzania was not rich enough to cause any financial problem to the West, but rather vice-versa. However, one of the important questions that is often raised is the essence of ujamaa and its historical foundation as an ideology. Hyden sheds some light on this concept in terms of the acceptance of the ideology by the peasants.

⁸¹J. K. Nyerere, Ujamaa: Essay on Socialism, Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 5.

⁸²Ibid., p. 11

⁸³Ibid., p. 11

There is no doubt that ujamaa struck a familiar chord in rural Tanzania, but it is important to remember that it was a principle traditionally practised only within each household. The notion of rights and obligations only included the extended family living within that household, and its temporary guests. It did not address itself to the mutual responsibilities and rights of individual households in a given local community. ⁸⁴

What About Ujima?

Hyden further discusses this concept of working together in terms of ujima which may be described as a task or work which a group of neighbours traditionally do together during a peak season or in emergencies, such as harvesting, planting, cultivating, raising a roof, and so on. In this context, we can see that the Arusha Declaration on the policy of ujamaa was encouraging Tanzanian peasants to come forward and support the ideology in order to transform the traditional communal relationship they have already established and go beyond it, so that the ujamaa can become a natural, national idea covering all aspects of life, instead of clinging to local family loyalty. However, Hyden holds that,

A national strategy of Ujamaa would only be possible with rules that could serve as implementation guides and criteria for the measurement of performance. ⁸⁵

The government and the party envisaged that the peasant must be guided by the rules which would transform the traditional modes of organization to modern technology. Each and every activity which was normally done through structured-unstructured two-way relationship of the local communities,

⁸⁴G. Hyden, p. 99.

⁸⁵Ibid., G. Hyden, p. 99.

was going to disappear, because government and the party officials perceive that their involvement was necessary. Hyden argues that this strategy

...steal the principles of action from the peasantry. There is no longer much room for spontaneous application of values shared by people in the same community. The parameters of action are no longer local but imposed on the rural communities by the authorities. ⁸⁶

Hyden seems to indicate that the idea of ujamaa does not need a political ideologist to make it clear to the peasants the concept of ujima and the value of working together. The ideologist, with rules and regulations to control the activities, tends to create rather than solve problems. What the ujamaa community then needs is a community to set up by themselves, a band of 'wajamaa' guided with technical know-how which could transform their own community as their level of political ideology continued to rise.

The African past based on culture and traditional values cannot transform the ujamaa at all. Modern development with serious commitments and discipline was, according to Nyerere, the only answer for change. He "tried to avoid the pitfalls of previous approaches by politicizing the state machinery, and thereby placing ideological commitment before technical expertise."⁸⁷ Mainly by trial and error, the government moved on its policy of ujamaa and many mistakes were made. When there were setbacks and unfulfilled quotas, the leadership

⁸⁶Hyden, p. 99.

⁸⁷Hyden, (p. 99.

tended to lay the blame on capitalistic tendencies that still exist among the people or use the class struggle between the petty-bourgeoisie and the peasant and the workers as a scapegoat.

Although Tanzania is basically homogenous, there do exist ~~some~~ geographical and geological conditions which lead to certain differences, as well as differences in religion and history, though most of the population does have a similar traditional structural heritage.⁸⁸ However, it must be said that the Tanzanian leadership failed to exercise a pragmatic approach in the implementation of its policies of socialism; it did not take into account the differences in the people of various regions, and often, especially in its rural development strategy, tried to change too quickly and on too many different levels. The official rural development policy had eight different objectives to accomplish:

- 1) establishment of self-governing communities;
- 2) better use of rural labour;
- 3) taking advantage of economies of scale to increase production;
- 4) dissemination of new values;
- 5) avoidance of exploitation;
- 6) increasing the standard of living of the peasants;
- 7) mobilization of people for national defence by using villages as para-military organizations;
- 8) facilitation of national planning.

⁸⁸ Joel Samoff, "Education in Tanzania: Class Formation and Reproduction", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, #1, 1979. Prof. Samoff treats education as the way it was inherited and the existing religious and geographical factors.

These objectives ⁸⁹ need to be analyzed and interpreted in a manner which could encourage and change the traditional method of work to modernity, and this perception must be applied with honesty and reality, and not with a nostalgic or nationalistic attitude normally used against capitalists. Policy makers, in their bureaucratic confusion cannot clearly articulate to the peasants the policy they have written. As related by Hyden,

Ujamaa was framed in revolutionary terms, inviting the state to play a major role in transforming the rural areas, carried its own seeds of contradiction. It asked the peasant farmers to accept a social relation that they did not conceive as necessary for their own reproduction. Neither the party officials nor the government servants were particularly welcome guests in the villages. To the peasants they were bureaucratic, who, by virtue of being asked to work within their own set of rules, were likely to complicate rather than facilitate production. ⁹⁰

These are clear contradictions, and have weakened the peasants and the policy directions of ujamaa to the extent that, party and government interaction with the peasants have to be reinforced with an extraordinary relationship, instead of real business matters of national development. An attitude of patronage was prominent, especially when it came to lending the money to peasants. If the National Development Credit Agency conducted the loan strictly on matters of business and there is no political influence involved, the chances are that the repayment will be abided. This kind of attitude prevailed

⁸⁹ See Justin H. H. Madea, "Popular Participation, Control and Development: A Study of the Nature and Role of Popular Participation in Tanzania's Rural Development". Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Dept. of Science, Yale University, 1976, pp. 163-65

⁹⁰ Hyden, p. 105

among many party followers due to the fact that party patronage played an important part even in distinguishing between technical and practical ways of doing things. The bureaucrats in this situation would not emphasize their views, but rather politely agree with what the party official wanted to be done. In this regard, the party's responsibility is to reinforce the rules related to the ideology, but unfortunately it was taken to the extreme at times.

Not surprisingly, the educational system was the most difficult to politicize with the essence of Ujamaa. Even as late as 1974, argues one critic, the educational system in Tanzania had:

...little capacity to socialize the next generation to internalize Ujamaa values... Thus, the school still continues to initiate students into elitism and the mass continues to be alienated. No fundamental social change can occur through exposure to education.⁹¹

This appraisal and Hyden's previous critical observations of what Tanzania has encountered concur with Mbilinyi's findings as reported elsewhere.⁹²

In relation to efficiency, it was found that certain methods and suggestions which were utilized in modern capitalist and even socialist states were ignored to the extent that one Hungarian technician working with the ujamaa development program openly raised his concern that:

⁹¹W. M. S. Chamungwana, "Socialization Problems in Tanzania: An Appraisal of Education for Self-Reliance as a Strategy for Cultural Transformation", cited in Zaki Ergas's article, "Can Education Be Used as a Tool to Build a Socialist Society in Africa? The Tanzanian Case", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 20, #4 2982, p.

⁹²M. Mbilinyi, "Peasant Education in Tanzania", The African Review, Dar Es Salaam, Vol. 6, #2, 1976

Very often can be heard declarations that during the building of socialism we have to throw away every idea of capitalist origin or even idea which does not derive from Africa. This is a grave mistake. Socialism does not reject capitalism in total. It takes useful ideas from it. The motive of development of all societies is to preserve the useful ideas of the previous system, and to cast away only the unuseful ones. ⁹³

The thrust of the indigenous argument is that Tanzania should be built by Tanzanians, but if one looks at the independence struggle, it is clear that it was not won by traditional methods. Rather, different tactics were used, such as a political organization and so on. Prof. Babu brings this point to bear as he describes socialism as 'the system of the future', which

...has no time to idealize the past indiscriminantly. It views the past only as a way of investigating historical development through the conflicts of opposing forces, especially historical conflicts which are rooted in the mode of production. ⁹⁴

There are also many supporters of Foster's assumption that inequalities of wealth and status existed in pre-European Africa. However, it must be made clear that the assumed inequalities were not for profit-making, and the production of economic needs and the social formation was aimed to create 'use-value' objects, such as food, clothing, and even luxury value items. The economic order was under the organization of the communal leadership commonly shared by the peasants. The communal organizational economic

⁹³ Frigyes Nagy, "Effectiveness of Aid to Ujamaa Villages", in The Standard, Dar Es Salaam, December 31, 1971

⁹⁴ A. M. Babu, p. 33.

expectation was based on creating goods for consumption and not for exchange in which the producer will create the production mechanism of profit or surplus value.

In Education as Cultural Imperialism, Martin Conroy discusses the historical domination of one people by another. His analysis provides a conceptual framework for understanding the role of European education in Africa and also the way colonial relationships between the African ruling class and the colonial master were formed. As he stated:

The British believed that the African had to be transformed and that education would be the vehicle of this transformation. But the African was not to become British; rather he was to be educated to be a cultivator, in keeping with the British view of local conditions present, and future. ⁹⁵

These views could only be overthrown by adopting and strengthening Ujamaa's new social values. Further, the emerging social class and its formation which seemed to be taking place in Tanzania confirmed the envisaged British colonial design of formal academic education. As noted by Foster,

The African soon realized where the power lay, in his colonized condition wanted only European academic education even though this education had little to do with his own reality. ⁹⁶

It can be said that Nyerere had a dream, or at least an idealized vision, of society in pre-colonial Africa. It was this nostalgic vision which he transformed to a political

⁹⁵ Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism, p. 140.

⁹⁶ P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana, London: Routledge & Co., 1965, p. 75

ideology known as ujamaa, or African socialism. His plan of 'everyone working together as brothers' is indeed commendable, and he did place hard work as the basis of any achievement in the society. However, in propagating the ideology of ujamaa, the ideal seemed to be looking increasingly inward and is becoming almost too politicized to work effectively. While Foster argues that the base of the ideology is the base of the problem -- that pre-colonial Africa was indeed never socialist -- Hyden, Nagy, Babu, and others indicate that modernity, efficiency, planning and a real understanding of the rural population can put the socialist operation to work. The contradiction still exists between the bureaucrats and the peasants because the bureaucrats have never, up to the present time, captured the perception of being a peasant, a complaint which is at the centre of any management-labour conflict anywhere in the world.

The existing contradictions as noted by Shivji in his critical analysis pertaining to the role of the bureaucrats and their influence within the ruling party,⁹⁷ has minimized the nationalistic momentum, and jeopardized grassroots political consciousness. Inherited social conflicts are attributed to be the main problem in the process of African social change. Others contend that:

⁹⁷ G. I. Shivji, The Silent Class Struggle, Dar Es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1973. Ergas, Canroy, Foster, and Shivji all make critical observations on how the party hierarchy, conducts the business of building control and managing socialist orientation, at the same time solidifying their position as the dominant group, perpetuating inequality as the basis of elite equilibrium vis-a-vis peasants.

In Tanzania the major route to power and wealth is via the educational system, but access to this is far from equitably distributed across regions, age groups, social strata, religions, and ethnic clusters. And in Tanzania, that differential access to education has facilitated the perpetuation of a particular pattern of social stratification, which, in turn, has fostered class differentiation.⁹⁸

The ideology has been actively involved in restructuring the old system, and has established new patterns of education and the way how the Tanzanians should adjust their own life according to the Ujamaa ideology. There is no doubt that Tanzania has managed to eliminate certain salient features of discrimination and successfully integrated her educational system in order to build a socialist society. Economic and other natural factors such as drought and international economic recession have, to a certain extent, affected Tanzania's economic strategies. However, the main problem which Tanzania is facing is lack of committed socialists, corruption, and unaccountable civil servants who are the victim of too much political indoctrination by the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party).

Inconsistencies have already built up in the process of leadership and goal objectives of the ideology. The relevancy of education based on this ideology has created a vacuum between the emerging young socialists and the establishment class which holds power in the ruling party. The perception toward educational change and social equality seems to be divorced from the immediate recovery and not compatible with the set

⁹⁸ Joel Samoff, "Education in Tanzania", p. 47.

patterns of ideology. In this regard Mbilinyi suggests that "...government must be bold enough to fight the real enemies such as the rich farmers, the bureaucrats, then socialism will triumph.⁹⁹ As Zaki Ergas argues, Tanzania does not simply have the resources which would help build socialism.¹⁰⁰ But the existing resources must be utilized on short term priorities planning so that constant checking may help to generate the transformation of Tanzanians into socialists.

Democratization of Educational Opportunity

In this part of the study, we will attempt to analyze the process of the new ideology based on the democratic and educational development in Tanzania. What does the idea of democracy and educational opportunity mean to Tanzania?

In order to understand the impact of the Ujamaa ideological manifestation in Tanzania, it is imperative to draw some pertinent examples which lead us to test the usefulness of democracy in Tanzania. As we have already discussed in this study, the role of socialist ideology which is demonstrated in the Arusha Declaration and educational reforms which are guided within the framework of Education for Self-Reliance. Our attempt here is to analyze some circumstances which put the idea of democracy into a practical exercise of Tanzania's ideology.

It is argued that:

To be socialist, the Declaration asserts, a country must also have its government and other public

⁹⁹ M. Mbilinyi, The Transition to Capitalism in Tanzania, Dar Es Salaam: University of Dar Es Salaam, 1974.

¹⁰⁰ See G. Shivji, op. cit., 1973, P. Foster, 1980. Zaki Ergas, 1982.

institutions chosen and led by the people themselves. True socialism cannot exist without a democracy also existing in the society. Thus democracy is part and parcel of socialism. There cannot possibly be the one without the other.

Although no definition of democracy is offered in the Declaration, it does state that 'for a country to be socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves. 101

On the question of democracy, Nyerere argues that "if the people did make the mistake, it is their right to do so. It is arrogance for anyone to think that they can choose on behalf of the people better than the people can choose for themselves. 102

Nyerere's critics seem to raise the issue democracy¹⁰³ in terms of how they view Ujamaa socialism as a utopian ideology. John Saul¹⁰⁴ has written extensively about Tanzania's political economy and other aspects of political leadership and democracy, which all seem to represent Marxist views against the Ujamaa socialism and colonial rule in Tanzania. Whatever was done in the past by the foreign powers, it was later changed because the will of the people agreed to do so. This change came through natural political manipulation by the leadership towards the people. The idea of democracy and other systems were replaced and or redefined to suit the needs of the people, and to disassociate from foreign powers.

¹⁰¹ A. Mohhidin, African Socialism in Two Countries, New York: Poesidon Press, 1981, p. 84.

¹⁰² J. K. Nyerere, Freedom and Development, Dar Es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 91

¹⁰³ C. Pratt, "Democracy and Socialism in Tanzania", Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 12, #3, 1978 (A reply to John Saul)

¹⁰⁴ Giovanni Arrighi and John Saul (eds), "African Socialism in One Country" cited in Essays on the Political Economy of Africa, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973.

Nyerere and others had done so in order to allow the Ujamaa ideology and Self-Reliance to represent the idea of democracy, and it is important for others to stop teaching Africa about democracy.¹⁰⁵

Tanzania as a country in the process of building socialism, must thus also be in the process of attaining the values of democratic exercise. It cannot ignore the fact that the majority of its present leadership have been influenced by Western education either that of British or the current educational exchange between the African countries and that of the West in general.

The idea of democracy and education by its nature, does involve people. The state which takes on the responsibility of providing the ways and means of understanding the above ideas is also responsible for making every individual participate in the state affairs and also acquire education which will aid in understanding the true meaning of their role in the state. Education and democracy according to John Dewey are reciprocal and mutual, and vitally so. "Democracy is itself an educational principle, and educational measures and policy."¹⁰⁶ However, in the political sphere of the multi-party democracies of the West,

Education is a basic human right and its function is to develop the talents of the individual to the fullest extent possible to enable him to participate freely within a free society.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ J. K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, pp. 103-4.

¹⁰⁶ John Dewey, Philosophy of Education, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1964, p. 34.

¹⁰⁷ A. R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, London: McMillan Press Ltd., 1981, p. 47.

This study has demonstrated these concerns on the part of Tanzania's process of social change. In the general context, it appeared that Tanzania has featured some aspects of the democratic process which are regarded as essential, and have been vigorously articulated in order to legitimize the development of Ujamaa as a national ideology within the democratic parameters. The introduction of this ideology has brought about new values and aspirations aimed at the young and old within the educational system. Primary and adult education ideally were singled out to be the viable medium of subjective consciousness which can transmit the ideology to the population effectively.

The process of instilling these new values could only be linked with a clearly defined policy of Ujamaa in a school curriculum. Likewise, the adult education programmes had also ventured out to instill these new values in the minds of the older citizens. Both candidates are the direct and potential participants in the socialistic educational process in Tanzania. Thus, it appears that the ideology's aims are deliberately chosen so that each and every member of the society could be a part of this new process of socialization. From this perspective, we can argue that Ujamaa ideology based on the above premises, has by the large made it clear that every process of social change must democratically be linked with people's involvement.

This new ideology claims that during the colonial period, the people of Tanzania were given a limited alternative in relation to matters related to their daily life. It has been

noted in this study elsewhere that the colonial administration specifically the British, assured the world that the main objective of its colonial government in Africa, was to prepare the local inhabitants to take care of their own full self-determination. The basis of this philosophy or an idea, was to present democratic process which would guide the diverse groups from various tribes, languages, and culture. Thus, it is argued by Tanzania that, the British had many things at stake and they did not exercise the idea justly. In this regard, Tanzania inherited a system full of contradictions of inequality in the area of education, economic and political consideration. In order to correct these contradictions, an alternative approach in dealing with the existing inherited misgivings, was to be applied. Nyerere and others thought of an African traditional system of Ujamaa (familyhood) which could be useful if clearly integrated to cover modern society of Tanzania. Briefly, Nyerere contends that,

The traditional African family lived according to the basic principles of Ujamaa (democratically). Its members did this unconsciously, and without any conception of what they were doing in political terms. They lived together, they worked together because that was how they understood life, and how they reinforced each other against the difficulties they had to contend with --the uncertainties of weather and sickness, depredations of wild animals (and sometimes human enemies), and the cycle of life and death.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ J. K. Nyerere, cited in E203 Case Study I "Tanzania: Education for Self-Reliance", London: The Open University (Curriculum Design and Development), 1976, p. 5.

This type of communal work was based on the division of labor, and every member had an access to the rights of his work. It was a local level of community work. In a wider, higher level consideration of modern society, this is the objective of socialism in Tanzania: "to build society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities."¹⁰⁹ Tanzania views this process as democratic.

In a single party state such as Tanzania, where the Western democratic system of government has been replaced by the new ideology, it would seem to indicate that educational system under the influence of the central government carries the process of indoctrination and manipulation of the structures that governs the system. Associating democracy and educational opportunity, Philip H. Moncher's comprehensive study on Regional Educational Inequality and Political Instability, are associated with greater political stability.¹¹⁰ In this regard, educational reform can be implemented without due consideration of democratic concern of the individual because the

effective means of harnessing the total human resources of the nation is to remove some of the major internal sources of dissension, in order to create the momentum, and the will of the people as a whole to participate in the management of their own affairs. ¹¹¹

The impression Tanzania gives to the outside world about her ideology is the emphasis given and the role the individual

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

¹¹⁰ Philip Harris Monchar, "Regional Education Inequality and Political Instability", Comparative Education Review, Vol. 25, #1, Feb. 1981 pp. 1-2.

¹¹¹ A. R. Thompson, p. 64.

is supposed to play in the society. It appears that the ideology focuses on enlightening the masses to understand their economic activities of the society. It also calls for the total involvement of the school, to instill a sense of seriousness, individual development and the preservation of national culture. In this regard, it is contended that:

Education has been seen as a major instrument for achieving the goals of unity, political stability and equality of opportunity and circumventing situations which may give rise to conflict. 112

The overall experience of Tanzania's political radicalism, which did actually circumvent potential opposition towards the ideology, and certain class-conflict which would have, if not carefully checked, do away with Nyerere's easy-going treatment with his party elements who had failed to live according to the Ujamaa doctrine.

Now let us consider the way basic education exists in Tanzania. J. Samoff, W. M. S. Chamungana, M. Mbilinyi, David Court, and Philip Foster have expressed some critical arguments based on the fact that educational socialization would not eliminate elitism, and it is unlikely it would provide equality of opportunity. It is asserted that schools still perpetuate and provide better positions to students who have a history of parental or financial capability in advancing into higher education. It is important to note that some studies related to rural and urban development has shown that the rate of social mobility in Africa has never been progressively great.

112 A. R. Thompson, p. 54.

The process of student recruitment in various local governments in Tanzania¹¹³ have shown nothing about aggregate rates of mobility.

Numerous studies have demonstrated the fact that the pattern of recruitment of students is uniform, but selection process seems to be overwhelmingly composed of individuals coming from influential backgrounds in terms of the occupation and education of their parents. The general perception of the development of the African population in relation to the benefit of education is very small if we have to compare the number of the students who finish primary education and are able to acquire an occupation. But the minority number of the children from the elite, do have an access to move upward:

This is largely because a great deal of aggregate mobility is a function of change in the occupational structure resulting from economic development. At present, most African economies have an extremely low rate of growth, and this accounts in large measure for the extremely sluggish change in the volume of job opportunities.¹¹⁴

The arguments levelled on the question of inequality in terms of educational and occupational status which seem to be characteristic of the less developed countries of the Third World, have some important aspects to consider, such as:

Traditional patterns of socialization were primarily concerned with maintaining the integrity of society and children were taught the behaviour and skills which would enable them to fit productively into the society, subordinating their individuality to preserve the security and stability of the group.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ J. Samoff, Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, #1, 1979, pp. 48-50.

¹¹⁴ Philip Foster, "Education and Social Inequality in Sub-Africa", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, #1, March 1980.

¹¹⁵ A. R. Thompson, p. 59.

Conclusion

The historical factors which have been elaborated in this chapter, especially in the area of national political aspirations which were fulfilled by the attainment of independence, brought about a new chapter for the young nation of Tanzania.

This new chapter began with an awareness of a new creativity, based on nationalistic spirit which immediately introduced certain objectives of how to build an independent Tanzania. As we have observed in this chapter, the initial nationalistic stage ran from 1961 to 1967, when the actual radical measures were introduced under the banner of the Arusha Declaration. By 1969, the nationalistic spirit had matured and specific issues were clearly identified and solutions rigorously pursued. The ideological policies of Arusha began to reinterpret the concept of democracy and certain inherited political values were replaced by the Arusha Declaration Manifesto. Economic development planning also changed, emphasizing reforms in the bureaucratic process such as Africanization of certain key senior government positions in order to stimulate political and cultural identification. This process pleased the radical elements of the new regime who supported decolonization. It was at this point when foreign assets were nationalized which made Tanzania responsible for its own economic activities within a socialist framework.

The Arusha ideological manifestation emphasized a transformation of the Tanzanian society with its base in the educational system which was to implant the concept of self-reliance in the students, integrating economic and educational activities, particularly in the rural areas.

From this perspective, we have observed the process of social, economic, and political activities as the source of decolonization, and in fact, it helped to raise the consciousness among members of the Tanzanian society. The next chapter will further examine this process in the areas of educational reform and curriculum change.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONTENT OF EDUCATION

Educational Reform and Curriculum Change

In the preceding chapters, we have been examining critically some factors that have played a major role in fostering the Ujamaa ideology which was designed to go hand in hand with the educational system. This approach was aimed to link the formal system of education and the political ideology of the nation together.

Our attempt in this chapter is to examine the process of educational reform and the implementation of the new curriculum. What role was allocated to schooling in the educational reform movement, and what other kinds of education were necessary in the overall learning process?

First, it is important to observe what the methodology was in making changes in the school system. Demands and expectations were, of course, very high and in fact, they stem from various sources, of which they generated great consideration about the relevance of the inherited colonial educational system. In this regard it has been argued that soon after independence, the perception of policy makers and educational curriculum planners in the developing world, including Tanzania, thought about educational reform being irrelevant if it was to retain the former colonial educational system.¹

¹P. H. Coombs, The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis, New York: Oxford University Press, 1968, pp. 120-24.

Besides Coombs, the views expressed above have been analyzed and discussed by other authorities such as Foster, Carnoy, Havelock and Huberman.² Their results are debatable and so far no empirically justified, and no significant changes have been attributed to the distribution of equality of education, which in reality still seems to be the main problem in the developing world.³

One may argue about the aspects of change based on educational innovation, its quality and the level of its distribution among the people, and try to compare what schools can produce now, and what the colonial administration actually did in a given country during thirty to forty years of colonial rule. This might be an interesting comparative analysis which we will leave for others to deal with. Our main concern here is to examine the understanding of the concept of reform, and educational planning, in the context of political and cultural content of the educational system in Tanzania.

Before going into detail about the educational reform and curriculum change process in Tanzania, we must observe some historical facts that are related to investment in education, and what it means to Tanzania.

²R. G. Havelock and A. M. Huberman, Solving Educational Problems: The Theory and Reality of Innovation in Developing Countries, Paris: UNESCO, International Bureau of Education, 1977, pp. 15-18.

³Philip Foster, "Education and Social Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, @11, 1980, pp. 202-238.

It was in 1960 when Sir Eric Ashby who headed a commission on higher education in Nigeria, introduced the concept of

investment in education and embodied clear recognition of the intimate relationship which exists between education and educational development. It was largely based upon a survey of manpower needs conducted by Fredrick Harbison and sought to establish by what kinds of educational development these needs might be met.⁴

From this perspective, it came to be recognized that educational planning can no longer be an exclusive concern of a Minister of Education, or President of the nation, but an important part of general development of a nation. It is also contended that,

economic development through planning and directing the process and through direct investment in it was one which whilst perhaps never completely absent in the African dependencies, developed only relatively slowly.⁵

The colonial government emphasized that a colony should be self-dependent and this idea in reality made the process of preparation for economics, education, and political power to be very minimal; and

In any case, education was regarded as essentially a spending service and only to a limited extent as an investment in the human resources of the dependency.⁶

⁴A. R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1981, p. 82.

⁵Thompson, p. 83.

⁶Thompson, p. 84.

The failure to recognize the serious need of human resources made the process of colonialism to have very little immediate preparation of the African leadership for political and economic power.

It is also argued that, even in 1929, the Colonial Development Act was concerned very little with broadening educational facilities, and failed to perceive education as a means to stimulate economic development of the colonial states. Some consideration and financial assistance were only made available in certain specific areas of education, such as vocational and technical forms of education. A relatively slow attitude in allowing some changes to take place finally came into the reality of the colonial authorities, and in the 1935 Colonial Office Memorandum on the Education of African Communities restated colonial education policy, which in part indicated that:

There is obviously an intimate connection between educational policy and the economic development of a territory.

As it appears now, education and economic development must both be considered on the same merit, because without the trained manpower which can handle the economic machinery there is no hope to see any significant social change that could take place. Education and economic foundations must be linked in order to deharmonize the existing disadvantages and not creating unnecessary unemployment.

⁷Great Britain, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, Col. No. 103, London: HMSO, 1940; also cited in A. R. Thompson's Education and Development in Africa, 1981, p. 85.

Influential scholars in the economic field such as W. T. Schultz and W. Rostow analyzed the level of economic development and Rostow specifically articulated the idea of "take off" of countries in a certain sphere of economic cultural history, that a country had to pass through certain processes of economic growth. This economic theory continued to stress the importance of other factors of production, "...notably of course, capital, regarding labour as a more or less homogenous input which could be assessed simply in quantitative terms."⁸ Education as an investment received very little consideration from the perspective of economic theory of development.

What we have actually elaborated here is an attempt to bring forward an understanding about the historical dimension of the problem of education and how it failed to be linked with the development of the community in general, and the money economy in particular.

The Nature of Formal Education and its Reform: An Overview

It has been argued that:

Some of the political and educational values are meant to be universal in their application, for example all citizens have basic political rights or education is everyone's birthright.⁹

⁸A. R. Thompson, p. 86.

⁹Ted Tapper, Political Education and Stability: Elite Responses to Political Conflict, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979, p. 49.

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it is stated that:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.¹⁰

The charter further emphasizes that:

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of the respect for human rights and fundamental freedom. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.¹¹

The idea of formal education in Tanzania under the concept of Education for Self-Reliance is aimed to transform the attitude of the people, and attempts to eradicate the inherited colonial values which were part and parcel of the educational system. The objective of the new educational structure was aimed to match the new set goals, aspirations, and concepts which called for the development of man. The expansion of formal education was meant to comply with the universal declaration of human rights.

¹⁰ Universal Declaration of Human Rights; United Nations, Article #26, U.D.H. New York, December, 1948.

¹¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations, Article #26.

In order to underpin Tanzania's process of educational change, major policies related to education were taken:

- 1961-66 The 1961-66 period saw the integration of schools, introduction of uniform curricula and development of education for manpower requirements.
- 1967 In 1967, President Nyerere issued his paper on Education for Self-Reliance. This paper became the basis of all major educational changes in the country. Education for Self-Reliance outlines all the aims and objectives of education in Tanzania which is a country aspiring to socialism.
- 1969 In implementing Education for Self-Reliance, the 1969 Education Act (now repealed by the Education Act of 1978) was introduced.
- 1972 In 1972, came the Decentralization Policy which led to the decentralization of schools, giving primary and adult education to local authorities, and leaving the Ministry of Education to look after secondary, teacher training, and higher education.
- The plans for education envisaged in Tanzania's Five Year plans for economic and social development have charted out proposals, ways and means of implementing Education for Self-Reliance.
- The Political Party, due to ideological considerations and other important educational implications, must review annually the actual progress of the implementation of Education for Self-Reliance.
- 1974 In the month of November 1974, the party (C.C.M.)* Executive Committee met at Musoma and passed a resolution popularly known as the Musoma Resolution, calling on the government to make sure that education is integrated with work so that it produces truly self-reliant people who can actively participate in the development process in their own societies.
- The resolution was emphasizing the already known fact about the meaning of education in Tanzania. However, the idea behind it was to make sure that primary education was

going to be terminal, so that the youth must know that their next role in the society is to work in the community which would be predominantly rural. Academic aspirations by secondary school leavers would be determined by the party and the attitude of the student concerned, especially in terms of individual political awareness of the role of Tanzania's ujamaa ideology. "The resolution further made it blatantly clear that university education will be for workers and peasants."¹²

These policies and the new values will be discussed in the following pages as part of teacher education and the new values.

The New Values

It may be assumed that the majority of educators either in the Western or the Third World have heard of "future shock", a concept discussed by Alvin Toffler in his book of the same name. The term was first used to explain in detail "the shattering stress and disorientation that we induce in individuals by subjecting them to too much change in too short a time".¹³ Although Toffler's prophecy is already evidenced in the industrialized West, there are signs that the underdeveloped world is attempting to catch up with its developed counterpart in this area through radical social change. At least in the area of educational reform, it appears that the reforms in the educational systems of the Third World are either radically

¹² Maria Kisanga and Margaret Nikundiwe, Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania, Dar Es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, Tanzania, 1980.

¹³ Ted Tapper, Political Education and Stability: Elite Responses to Political Conflict, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979.

forced into society and not properly executed, or the individuals are not ready to accept those changes because they represent an image of "future shock".

However members of the society react to it, when radical educational reforms are enacted, general social change must come, and in so doing,

...they push the very limits of human and institutional adaptability. One result of this massive, continuous, and universal process of wholesale change has been to bring us to the brink of a new society that shows every indication of being radically different from that to which most of us have grown accustomed.¹⁴

In the context of Tanzania and other African countries, this change is evidenced most obviously in the differences between life under colonial rule and life after independence, the values of the latter radically challenging the former. In the context of educational reform at the primary, secondary, university and adult educational level, we find that Ujamaa ideology has entrenched its power to curb any outside influence. The main process of educational reform then started with the meaning of education. First, it questioned and disqualified any educational effort or attempt which aims to generate and perpetuate class-oriented values. But this transformation from colonial dislocation and nationalistic manifestation, has brought too much change in too short a time. But the change we are discussing must be examined in terms of socio-cultural

* ¹⁴William F. O'Neill, Educational Ideologies - Contemporary Expressions of Educational Philosophy, Santa Monica: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1981, p. 2.

and economic development of a certain geographical location of a people in a given area.¹⁵ This examination can aid to analyze various factors pertaining to schools, teacher education, and economic set-up of the area. One can see that this situation has perpetuated certain forms of instrumental and non-instrumental development in relation to social change at one region against another in some other part of the nation.

What we have attempted to demonstrate here is the fact that social change and the consequences of change carry many factors which have operated unquestioned for a long period of time. Now there is a need to be much more outward-looking in a more open, egalitarian society which allows everyone to acquire their birthright to education. But we also find that new cultural values demand a certain understanding based on the level of the individual, his perception of change and the meaning of education for his personal and societal need, and the expectations in relation to his immediate environment. These reforms in education have brought about a sense of competition and national conflict, because education has always been expected

¹⁵ Joel Samoff, "Education in Tanzania: Class Formation and Reproduction", Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 17, #1, 1979, also the following areas have been noted for their educational and economic advancement: Western Region, West Lake, Southern Highland Region (Tanga, Mbeya, etc.), and Christian Missionary Centers such as Bondei and Usambara Mountain areas in Tanga Region.

to bring some social and economic benefit to the society and to the individual. But in many cases we see the formation of an elite as a result of educational improvement, so,

far from facilitating social equity and assisting poorer groups - government action, well-intended though it may be - has in most parts of Africa probably increased inequalities of opportunity.¹⁶

The fact still remains that the purpose of these reforms was aimed at benefitting those who were victims of the colonial system of education, and economic and social inequality. And of course, it is unfair to generalize that all Tanzanians were the victims of colonial practices which are now questioned. As we have noted elsewhere, the colonial practices in relation to her subjects were not always the same and differed from one place to the other.

As has been mentioned earlier, it was the policy of the government to ensure that major changes were made to make education in the country more Tanzanian in outlook and content. As President Nyerere once stated:

Many countries have had longer experience than ourselves in this work; many can point to greater success. There is only one thing we in Tanzania can claim, and that is that we are fully aware of the fundamental importance of education as a means of development and as a part of development.¹⁷

¹⁶ Philip Foster, "Education and Social Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa", p. 229.

¹⁷ J. K. Nyerere, International Conference on Adult Education and Development, Dar Es Salaam, Government Printer, June 21-26, 1976 (mimeo).

Nyerere's vision of development based on education was to radically reform the educational curriculum based on Education for Self-Reliance which of course was part and parcel of Ujamaa ideology. The attempt to Africanize the curriculum was the plea heard from many members of the Parliament and the political party. On this point, Nyerere asserted that:

Very often we tend to think that all we need to do is turn out numbers so that at the next election we can produce the figures of what an elected government has been able to do...but as a school teacher myself, I must support ...the notion that we must, at the same time, be thinking in terms of what kind of education we are giving our children.¹⁸

This statement opened the way of serious thinking and action on the part of Tanzanian educators.

Much work was required. Syllabuses and textbooks in subjects ranging from general science through to geography had to be revised to reflect on African perspectives and to introduce material on local conditions and problems.¹⁹

As noted on the following table, the range of subjects offered in the post-Arusha Declaration schools in Tanzania was not too different from those offered in the schools during the late 1950's by the British and missionary schools, but to prepare materials in Swahili and re-write textbooks to accommodate the new curricula represented a major task.

¹⁸Legislative Council of Tanganyika Debates, 1960-1, Vol. 11, Col. 120.

¹⁹D. Morrison, p. 217

TABLE 13
Curriculum for Public Elementary Schools

	STND. 1		STND. 2		STND. 3		STND. 4		STND. 5		STND. 6		STND. 7	
	PER	%	PER	%	PER	%	PER	%	PER	%	PER	%	PER	%
Kiswahili	-	-	-	-	11	25.5	7	17.5	6	15.0	5	12.5	5	12.5
English	5	16.7	5	16.7	6	15.0	6	15.0	8	20.0	6	15.0	6	15.0
Mathematics	5	16.7	5	16.7	7	17.5	7	17.5	5	12.5	7	12.5	8	20.0
Geography	-	-	-	-	3	7.5	3	7.5	3	7.5	3	7.5	3	7.5
History	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.5	3	7.5	3	7.5	2	5.0
Civics	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	5.0	2	5.0	2	5.0	2	5.0
Science	-	3.3	1	3.3	5	12.5	5	12.5	4	10.0	4	10.0	4	10.0
Handicrafts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.5	3	-	3	7.5
Domestic Science	1	3.3	1	3.3	2	5.0	2	5.0	3	7.5	4	10.0	4	10.0
Religion	2	6.7	1	3.3	1	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5
Singing/Music	2	6.7	2	6.7	2	5.0	2	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5
Phys. Education	2	6.7	2	6.7	1	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5	1	2.5
Art/Arts & Crafts	2	6.7	3	10.0	2	5.0	2	5.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reading	4	13.3	5	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Writing	4	13.3	4	13.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Health	1	3.3	1	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Language	1	3.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	30	100.0	30	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0	40	100.0

TABLE 14
Curriculum for Public Secondary Schools

SUBJECTS	FORMS 1 and 2		FORMS 3 and 4	
	Periods	%	Periods	%
English	6	15.0	6	13.0
English Literature	-	-	3	6.5
Kiswahili	4	10.0	4	8.7
Mathematics	6	15.0	6	13.0
History	4	10.0	4	8.7
Geography	4	10.0	4	8.7
Chemistry	4	10.0	4	8.7
Biology	4	10.0	4	8.7
Physics	4	10.0	4	8.7
Add'l Mathematics	-	-	3	6.5
Political Education	2	5.0	2	4.3
Religion	2	5.0	2	4.3
TOTAL	40	100.0	46	99.8

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, 1980.

Teacher Education: Some Historical Background

It has been noted before that the nature of formal education in Tanzania was organized by the missionary and colonial authorities. The idea of separate education, that of African, Asian and European was, in fact, adopted because the system of formal education by itself was by design a separate education system, conducted separately by church and state. Both operated independent educational curricula within and between different educational agencies.

Our attempt here is to demonstrate the way in which teacher education was organized during the colonial period, and why, after the attainment of independence, the colonial teacher education curricula and methodology changed.

There are many reasons which have been attributed by certain educationists, specifically based on the accusation that was levelled against the colonial authorities, that the quality of education for teacher training received during the colonial period was inferior and discriminative. Although there might have been some truth to this, our attempt in this section is to examine the reform and observe what Tanzania had gained in doing so.

It is contended that teacher education is a key element in bringing progress and development of literacy in any given country. But more importantly, teacher education must play an important role in the development of an individual student who spends six to eight hours per

day in a given institution to receive instruction from trained or untrained instructors. It is argued that the teacher carries a heavy responsibility in shaping the attitude and personality of the individual pupil. This thinking seems to indicate that the person who carries this task must be trained and must represent the best skills to handle this kind of work. With these skills, the quality and moral aspect of the teacher is also considered, plus society's expectations of what the student is to learn. These societal expectations are the core aspects of the teacher education curricula. In this regard, when one analyzes the historical background of the educational system in Tanzania during the pre-independence period, we discover the contradictions of educational development, where each independent organization, such as ethnic groups, missionaries of different denominations, and the colonial government, were operating independently. For example, a teacher training institute which was located in a certain area would not accept a local student who did not belong to its denomination. The founders of the modern formal educational system used tribalism, religious differences and other methods in order to legitimize this unfortunate environment and perpetuate these differences in school and teacher education institutions. Because of the nature of competition in winning the support of the people, and also weakening their national unity on a traditional level, the process of education at that time

never encouraged a unitary purpose in the people to develop as a single nation. This being the case, social and political conflict was to be the main instigator which brought about overall political change that led to independence and consequently to reform the educational institutions. The reasons behind all these deliberate attempts by the missionary agencies, colonial governments and certain independent organizations have already been elaborated elsewhere in this study. But looking into the process of teacher education during the colonial period, it is asserted that,

Mechanisms were instituted to monitor the quality of teacher training for African schools. These included the African Teachers Examinations Board which controlled the examinations for prospective teachers and the training syllabi.²⁰

The Teacher Advisory Board as it was later name, offered training facilities for primary school teachers only. The higher education teaching institutions was not developed, and in fact, most of the higher trained teachers were the product of Makerere University in Uganda.

The demands for better trained teachers was, of course, felt by the colonial authorities. The reason for this was to try to maintain her own system and control of power. In this regard, the Binns Commission was established to see that:

²⁰G.R.V. Mmari, "Teacher Training in Tanzania", cited in Hinzen and V. H. Hundsorfer, 1974, p. 119.

British-type institutes of education should be established in East and Central Africa. These institutes were just becoming known in the metropolitan country itself, having been proposed by a British Commission led by Mr. McNair as a way of raising the quality of teachers in Britain.²¹

The objective of the institutes was to train teachers and conduct an advanced study on research in cooperation with the University Department of Education. Such a project did not take place in Tanzania, however, for various reasons. The colonial administration, instead, expanded one of the teachers colleges to become a central Teacher Training College.²²

The attainment of independence in 1961 made Tanzania strive for the reform and in fact the development of an education system, especially in teacher education. It was the objective of the post-independent Tanzania to do as follows:

To educate student-teachers in the true meaning of the Tanzanian concept of Ujamaa. To train students to be dedicated and capable teachers with an understanding of, and care for, the children placed in their charge. To deepen the students own general education.²³

The content of education either in primary level or teacher have both become a subject of great sensitivity in Tanzania. It actually seemed to be very obvious that

²¹G.R.V. Mmari in Hinzen and Hundsorfer, p. 119.

²²Hinzen and Hundsorfer, p. 120.

²³Hinzen and Hundsorfer, p. 120.

content took an inferior position in the educational strategy and ideology became the main aspect of the learning process in Tanzania.

For people who have been the victims of segregated educational systems and cultural deprivation, education is a sense of liberation, a vehicle of political and economic development. In trying to understand why Tanzania took this approach, it is contended that:

If there was to be any difference between teacher training during the colonial period and that after independence, this had to be very clearly articulated in the political philosophy forming the basis of the training. It is important to note that the student teachers are being educated to understand not any brand of socialism, but the Tanzanian concept. Once the ideological perspective has been set right, then how to teach and what to teach will follow.²⁴

The general perspective of training of teachers and the method of teaching others is aimed to

preserve, transmit and enhance knowledge for the benefit of the people of Tanzania in accordance with the principles of socialism accepted by the people of Tanzania. To prepare the student to work with the people of Tanzania, for the benefit of the nation.²⁵

The curriculum for teacher education conducted at the College of National Education was to cover the following areas:

²⁴Hinzen and Hundsorfer, p. 120.

²⁵Hinzen and Hundsorfer, p. 120.

1. National Service, which emphasizes military training and nation-building projects.
2. Political education which emphasizes the understanding of the political ideology of Ujamaa.
3. National Education, which comprises principles of education, educational psychology, school organizations, adult education, youth leadership, research projects.
4. Academic subjects and how to teach them.
5. National building projects in the community around the College.²⁶

The process of teacher training was designed to infuse a sense of uniqueness of Tanzania's goals based on the ideology, and that the candidate must be trained to acquire an adequate academic background, a sound character, appear physically fit, and well grounded in all major aspects of social and political concern for Tanzania. Tanzania produces the following types of teachers in their College of National Education:

1. Certificate Teachers who have full seven-year primary school education, or teacher training or a full additional four-year secondary school education plus teacher training.
2. Diploma teachers with a background of six years of secondary education, plus one year of teacher training. These teachers specialize in various subjects, and they are supposed to teach in secondary school.

²⁶Hinzen and Hundsorfer, pp. 120-121.

3. University Trained Teachers, who are expected to teach in six-year secondary schools. Some of these teachers are also utilized in the University, and this depends on the quality and training background, such as academic or science.

It is important to be noted that because of the demand for teachers to cover the Universal Primary Education program, a new "teacher corps" came into existence. These are untrained or crash-trained teachers. This group will have to go through a proper training in formal pedagogy, eventually, in order to qualify for appropriate certification.

It appears that the teacher education structure was formulated in a manner to carry double responsibility; naturally the program was based on the need of producing enough teachers who could meet the demands of teacher supply. But more importantly, the process of teacher training became crucial because national priority was on manpower needs. In this case, some teachers did not receive adequate training and could not perform their work properly, and were merely placed in the schools to fill the gap in teacher shortage.

Another important point to be emphasized here is the reduced importance of professionalism in the teaching profession in Tanzania since the adoption of the Arusha Declaration. From 1967, when the policy of Education for Self-Reliance was introduced, the status and quality of teaching in Tanzania eroded because of lack of personal

development and conflict. Decisions made for appointment and promotion were based on the level of activity and knowledge of the teacher in the ideology of "ujamaa", and not on their specific subject area.

We have already noted the process of development and expansion of education in Tanzania from 1961, and it is similarly interesting to observe the parallel growth in staff allocation from 1961 to 1974 as shown in Tables 15 and 16 below.

TABLE 15

STAFFING OF TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES
(Ex-patriates)
1961-1974

YEAR	GRADUATES		DIPLOMA	GRADE A	OTHERS	TOTAL
	Tr.	Untr.				
1961	21	3	9	27	--	60
1965	38	62	8	6	21	135
1974	10	1	3	1	--	15

NOTE: In 1966-70 and 1971 there were untrained teacher trainers.

²⁷ Statistical Handbook, 1961-1974, Ministry of National Education, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1974.

TABLE 16
STAFFING OF TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES
(Tanzanians)
1961-1974

YEAR	GRADUATES	DIPLOMA	GRADE A	OTHERS	TOTAL
1961	1	2	48	40	91
1964	8	19	25	148	200
1965	21	35	9	19	83
1974	129	224	47	24	424

Basically the growth of teacher supply is higher now, but the idea of universal primary education has generated the growth of school population almost double the number at the time of independence. This has caused Tanzania to utilize secondary school students as teachers who in fact, lack proper training. Table 17 below demonstrates the teacher training pattern in Tanzania today.

²⁸ Statistical Handbook, 1961-1974, Ministry of National Education, 1974.

TABLE 17

TEACHER TRAINING PATTERN IN TANZANIA²⁹

TEACHERS' GRADES ¹	PRIMARY SCHOOLING (yrs)	SECONDARY SCHOOLING (yrs)	TEACHER EDUCATION (yrs)	TOTAL
C	7 (8) ³	--	2	9 (12)
B ²	8	2	2	12
A	7 (8)	4	2	13 (14)
Diploma (EO III)	7 (8)	6	1	14 (15)
EO II B	7 (8)	6	2	15 (16)
B.A. (Ed)				
B.Sc. (Ed)	7 (8)	6	3	16 (17)
PGD (Postgrad)	7 (8)	6	3 + 1	17 (18)

¹Designations have been changing over the years, e.g.:

Grade I is now Grade B
 Grade II is now Grade C
 Ed. Officer III is now Asst. Ed. Officer

²No training for Grade B teachers. They are only promoted by merit to Grade C.

³Figure in the parentheses indicates the change of primary education schooling. Now all schools are seven-year schools.

²⁹G. A. Auger, cited in Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, p. 120.

Tables 18 and 19 as outlined below³⁰ give us a good overall perspective of the Tanzanian educational system in the mid-1970's - over one and a half million students at the primary and secondary school level with approximately 30,000 teachers for instruction. Note also the large number of Grade C teachers as opposed to the Grade A and Diploma teachers. Although this deficiency in educational manpower is common in most underdeveloped countries, Tanzania's comparatively low number of secondary school enrolment must be seen in terms of the education policy which stresses terminal primary education.

TABLE 18

TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS 1975-1976

Primary Schools	28,783
Secondary Schools	1,947
College of National Ed.	612
University	434
TOTAL	31,776

TABLE 19

TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHER TRAINEES 1979

Diploma	275
Grade A	2,978
Grade B	-
Grade C	6,070
TOTAL	9,323

³⁰ Tables 18 and 19 as above have been extracted from the Budget Speech of I. N. Elinewinga, Ministry of National Education, Estimates for 1976-77, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1976.

TABLE 20

TOTAL ENROLMENTS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS 1975-76

Primary School	1,532,953
Secondary School	38,327
Colleges of National Ed.	9,080
University of Dar Es Salaam	2,644
Makerere	89
Nairobi	125
Overseas Universities	907
TOTAL	1,584,125

What we can observe here is the consistent approach in relation to educational progress based on the development of man, desires, expectations, and party commitment to ideology which must bring change through education. We have also witnessed that Tanzania's approach in relation to educational reorganization is a result of serious planning. There is also a strong belief that:

Educational planning can no longer be seen only in terms of patterns of inflow, turnover, and output, or as an extrapolation of the supply of labor from the basis of growth rates in the economic system.³¹

It is also recognized that in an effort to plan the future of Tanzania, the society and the educational planners must have compatible views in relation to the

³¹ Hans N. Wieler, Educational Planning and Social Change, Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1980, p. 12.

kind of education desired by Tanzania. The idea of learning or acquiring knowledge is not enough; the society and the educational planners must know and believe that 'to plan is to choose', or as is popularly known in Swahili, "kupanga ni kupangua". Because the aim of education in a socialist Tanzania is:

To equip learners with knowledge, skills and attitudes for tackling societal problems--to prepare young people for work in Tanzania's predominantly agricultural society; ...Education aims at developing in each citizen an enquiring and open mind, clear of the bias and prejudice, with an ability to learn from others.³²

The process of change in terms of the above can be seen as indigenization of educational structure. As we have noted in the previous chapters, nationalistic tendencies which led to the adoption of the Ujamaa ideology were, in fact, part of the process of decolonization. The Arusha Declaration brought about the fulfilment of theoretical assumptions of what Tanzania would like to be to a practical application of the ideology.

The first five-year Development Plan 1964-69 and other plans to follow emphasized the raising of the standard of living by providing the means to attain that goal. Further, it is asserted in the development plans that an attempt was made to raise life expectancy by using modern

³² Kisanga and Nikundiwe p. 3

and efficient methods of hygiene, public education and nutrition. In the area of technical bias which, historically, was very limited and not available to Africans, was given a great emphasis as an expansion of educational opportunity for everyone. In short, the new curricula aimed to equip Tanzanians with basic knowledge and hope that this knowledge, if properly utilized, would reduce the socio-economic inequalities, which, of course, is the main objective in achieving a socialist society.

One of the purposes of education, as we have already indicated, is to aid the society in attaining its objective - in Tanzania's case, this is socialism. This goal, however, demands two qualities in the system's teachers: professional, well-trained and accountable to his students and superiors, and secondly, ideologically sensitive and objective to the reality of change and adaptability.

But with all these assumptions, it is imperative that some combination based on ideology be taken into consideration. First, it is true that no revolutionary change of any kind could be carried through successfully without a committed individual in a teaching profession, and secondly, coordinated efforts must be encouraged between the parents and the local educational officials, and lastly, working conditions must be improved to give incentive to the teachers to work harder and better; such is the basis for educational development in a society.

But it appears that in Tanzania, all three aspects noted above have been facing some difficulties because of too much political influence and domination of every aspect pertaining to education by political vigilantes and ideological indoctrination. Professionalism has for a long time been discouraged during the era of Kamaliza, the former Minister of Labor who did not allow teacher trade union activities, and Eliufoo, the late Minister of Education who failed to strongly support the teacher demands. With all these negative perceptions which are observed in a socialist-oriented Tanzania, we still find an extreme desire on the part of the state to carry on with the new curricula which has transformed Primary, Secondary and teacher training institutions. The process of political and social decolonization was expected to help every individual to have the right attitude toward the new educational approach in teacher education.

The overall educational planning in Tanzania was aimed at bringing about well-groomed individuals who would fall into the planning strategy of manpower requirements, i.e. an adequate number of local teachers in the primary and secondary levels, and at the same time, the secondary school leavers could be trained into other areas of concern according to the manpower forecast. It is interesting to observe the trend of Manpower and Localization of the Senior and Middle Civil Service between 1961 and 1964.

TABLE 21

LOCAL MANPOWER AND THE EXPATRIATES³³

<u>CATEGORY OF MANPOWER</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>
Citizens	1170	1821	2469	3086
Non-Citizens	3282	2902	2502	2306
% Localization	26.1%	38.5%	48.9%	57.2%

Lack of training facilities for top level manpower in the government and other areas was a major factor. It is asserted that 75% of Tanzania's top level positions were held by non-citizens or expatriates during the independence period. This situation was to be changed, and in a policy strategy, the national objective was of course, to promote the citizens - local Africans - and that came to be known as Africanization, and this was a deliberate attempt to appease nationalistic expectations. However, later the policy was changed to the concept of localization, which was aimed to recruit the non-African citizens.

In relation to Africanization, it was contended that in early independence years, Tanzania was heavily dependent upon expatriates, and some non-African Tanzanians

³³ Annual Economic Survey (Manpower Section), Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964, p. 8.

who might not have changed their citizenship from being British subjects to Tanzanians. This situation was not taken lightly, however, and Nyerere attempted to be considerate in certain cases but he made it very clear that the policy of localization would fall into the following terms:

1. Every vacancy should, if possible, be filled by an appointment made locally and that resort should only be made to recruitment from outside of East Africa if no suitable candidate of any race can be found locally.
2. In the case of new appointments to the service, African candidates of Tanganyika should have prior claim to consideration.
3. Only if there are no suitable qualified Tanganyika African candidates should other candidates be considered.³⁴

Gradually, this policy became more acceptable by the leadership. From early 1962, we witnessed the decrease in expatriates in the civil service which, of course, led to an increase of local staff. There was a rise of 57.2% in 1964, which represented a 25% increase from 1961-64. In fact, this indicated that, for the first time, the local Tanzanian was in the middle and senior grade level. This trend continued to improve due to some ideological pressure and also made the idea of localization create a feeling of pride to see that Tanzanians could manage

³⁴ J. K. Nyerere, quoted in Hansard, October 19, 1960, Vol. 11, Col. 131.

their own affairs. "It is estimated that in 1968, the level of localization manpower growth was 79.3%."³⁵

Educational Objective to Manpower Goals

The whole idea of Teacher Education is twofold: first, to better educate teachers to train and produce good students who can be potential recruits for manpower requirements. In fact, we have noted this objective elsewhere, however, it is also known that Tanzania, like so many other developing countries, had a problem with a shortage of local manpower soon after the attainment of independence. In this regard, in a Three-Year Development Plan (1961-63)³⁶, the government devised a plan to concentrate on:

- (a) the development of agriculture, livestock and industry;
- (b) the improvement of communication;
- (c) the development of secondary and technical education.

The plan's agenda was based on the egalitarian outlook especially using an agricultural base for future economic growth. At the same time, an expansion program of schools and training institutions at post-primary level was designed to manpower expectations. The following table demonstrates the increasing number of pupils in full-time educational attendance between 1961 and 1964.

³⁵Annual Economic Survey of 1968, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1969, p. 31.

³⁶Three Year Development Plan for Tanganyika, 1961 to June 1964, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1962, pp. 7-14.

TABLE 22

FULL-TIME ENROLMENT OF STUDENTS IN SCHOOLS³⁷
BETWEEN 1961-64

Educational Level	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
1. Primary	449,746	466,470	518,663	592,104	633,678
2. Secondary	5,932	11,829	14,175	17,176	19,897
3. Univ. of East Africa	176	206	218	324	415
4. University Overseas	982	1,002	1,002	1,326	--

It is interesting to observe the increase in the number of students from primary to secondary school. Basically, we can see the need for teacher education and also the objective of training of a large number of Tanzanian graduates as teachers. As we can also see in the curricula for teacher education, it was re-structured to allow African teachers to teach Science and Languages, which, in secondary school was always put in the hands of the expatriates. In fact, it is important to be noted that the main setback in the area of high academic qualifications by the Africans was due to the policy of requirement of expatriates with those qualifications and, the absence of training facilities in Tanzania to train the local teachers. The following table shows the legacy of Mechanical Education in Tanzania in 1964.

³⁷ Three Year Development Plan, p. 14.

TABLE 23

TEACHERS IN TECHNICAL EDUCATION³⁸
IN 1964

Category	Tanzania	Others	Total
1. Education Officers/ Graduates and equivalent	4	75	79
2. Grade A teachers (after Grade L2)	6	--	6
3. Technical assistants	20	--	20
4. Junior technical assistants	47	--	47
TOTAL:	77	75	152

It is clear, as evidenced by the data above, that there were no Tanzanians occupying senior posts in technical education, offering further proof that the British Government did not see the need to train the local Tanzanians because it was always under the control of the expatriates. This shows that technical education was not encouraged and the policy of industrialization and any improvement in agriculture and other areas were to lag behind for a long time, and Tanzania will continue to depend on the developed world for trained technical teachers.

The local technical colleges were manned by the expatriates, and the plan could not change the situation within the period indicated. It was, of course, a question of waiting until Tanzania could be trained and have enough experience to do the right work. The table below shows the teacher category and training background:

TABLE 24
STAFF DISPOSITION IN TEACHERS COLLEGES³⁹
1964

Teacher category	Tanzanian	Others	Total
1. Trained graduates	6	42	48
2. Other graduates	2	54	56
3. Makerere diploma/ equivalent	19	--	19
	22	9	31
4. Grade A teachers	31	--	31
5. Grade B teachers	15	--	15
6. Grade C teachers	15	--	15
7. Others	3	--	3
	<u>98</u>	<u>105</u>	<u>203</u>
TOTAL	98	105	203

We can see here the dependent syndrome, i.e. Tanzania relying on the expatriates, which demonstrates one of the problems of national objectives and manpower requirements.

³⁹ Ministry of National Education, Planning Division, 1964.

In this regard, extra in-service training was introduced in the year 1964 in order to meet the largest of the required manpower. Rigorous efforts were carried out to see that proper training was given, and co-operation was the main incentive to see that Tanzania was able to handle her own responsibilities.

The following table shows the requirements for manpower who must be trained to qualify to take the positions available.

TABLE 25

INSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR
MANPOWER 1964-65⁴⁰

Post-secondary categories A & B	Required Output
1. Grade A teacher training	4,860
2. To university after Grade 14	4,820
3. Engineering tech. diplomas courses	700
4. Agricultural field officers	285
5. Agricultural assistant field off.	830
6. Nurses training beginning with 60 in 1967	180
7. Medical schools, health inspectors, etc.	120
Rounded Total:	12,000

As we have noted earlier, the school expansion, especially at the secondary level depended very much on

⁴⁰ FFYDP, Vol. 11, pp. 166 and 103, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1964.

the supply of qualified teachers. The manpower survey of 1964-65, and the first Five-Year Development Plan (1964-65), estimated the secondary school output to be 25,000 graduates with Grade 12 level by 1969. In this regard, the Plan's requirement of 12,000 manpower supply would have been attained. The objective was to produce teachers of a higher grade such as Grade A after completing Standard 12 of formal schooling, and the new teacher education plan was to upgrade Grade C teachers through in-service training. The idea was to eliminate the Grade C and retain Grade A throughout.

TABLE 26

PLANNED CHANGES IN THE PROPORTION OF
PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS ENVISAGED
IN FFYDP⁴¹

GRADE CATEGORY	FFYDP intake estimates: ideal					
	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968,	1969.
Grade A favored	313	600	720	720	840	1,500
Grade C, to be phased out eventually	860	620	530	120	120	NIL

This approach might be considered innovative that certain teaching Grades must be phased out in order to make room for the expansion of Grade A which involves the

⁴¹University of East Africa, Conference on Teacher Education, East Africa, Nairobi, 1965.

Standard 12 secondary school graduate. The attempt to improve the quality of teachers does not require the Grade 12 graduate. Teachers with lower grade levels such as Standard VIII could be trained and acquire a higher level of profession and performance in their teaching positions. In-service training of Grade C teachers should have expected to be the best teachers, because these were the teachers who needed to upgrade their education. The meaning of teacher education structural expansion was to train more teachers effectively and acquire better quality.

This approach was taken whereby 22 existing teacher training colleges were to be reduced to 11 large units. These colleges were anticipated to admit 240 trainees so that the Standard 12 graduates could complete their training of Grade A and alleviate Tanzania's dire shortage of quality teachers. This did not materialize, however, and most of the colleges were admitting more than 240 teacher trainees of all categories of Grade A and C without following the Plan's goal.

The table below demonstrates the trend of manpower development in the teaching profession for the next five years of the Third Development Plan.

TABLE 27

ACTUAL EXPANSION IN OUTPUT IN PRIMARY SCHOOL⁴²
TEACHERS FROM 1964-69

GRADE CATEGORY	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
A (Grade 12 of formal ed.)	198	315	318	678	759	1060
B (Grade 8 of formal ed.)	415	522	558	568	346	155
TOTAL	613	837	1071	1246	1105	1215

The target for Grade A teachers was anticipated to be 1500, however, this could not be achieved. The goal to phase out Grade C was also not met.

It is interesting to note that these circumstances might have been caused by wrong forecasts of teacher output from training centers. However, for this reason, course diversification was introduced in order to provide training to certain potential teachers and offer them grade certification. Nine Colleges of National Education as listed below with their capacity, represent that development.

⁴²University of East Africa, Conference on Teacher Education, East Africa, Nairobi, 1965.

TABLE 28

Development of Institutions for the
Training of Teachers 1969-74⁴³

CNE Institutions	Nature of development and intake capacity
Songea Teachers College	Enlargement to 400
Korogwe " "	" " "
Tabora " "	" " "
Katoke " "	Completion " 240
Butimba " "	Completion " 400
Dar Es Salaam " "	Hostel and Specialist Rooms
Kasulu " "	Adaptation for 180
Iringa " "	New College for 360
Mtwara " "	New College for 400
Other premises (to be chosen)	Adaptations for 150

TABLE 29

Teacher Education Planned Enrolment and
Actual Implementation⁴⁴
1969-76

YEAR	GRADE D		GRADE A		GRADE C	
	Plan	Actual	Plan	Actual	Plan	Actual
1969	100	102	1,200	1,189	240	312
1970	100	102	740	761	800	961
1971	100	155	740	676	1,000	899
1972	70	219	740	850	1,000	1,213
1973	70	240	1,000	957	1,100	1,925
1974	70	180	1,000	1,897	1,100	3,508
1975	120	245	1,000	1,176	5,000	22,072
1976	170	304	660	658	4,000	17,782

⁴³ Ministry of National Education, Teacher Training, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1974.

⁴⁴ Third Five Year Development Plan, Vol. 1, 1976-81, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1977, p. 68.

TABLE 30

ENROLMENT OF STUDENTS IN CNFs BY SEX
AND CATEGORIES OF GRADE CERTIFICATION⁴⁵

YEAR	GRADE CERT.	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1961	A	60	32	92
	B	107	22	129
	C	497	283	780
TOTAL		664	337	1,001
1969	A	843	346	1,189
	B	-	-	-
	C	66	246	312
TOTAL		909	592	1,501
1975	A	690	480	1,170
	B	51	41	92
	C	3,424	2,648	6,072
TOTAL		4,165	3,169	7,334

Teacher Demand 1975-1980

In the following table, it is indicated that there is a higher demand for teachers in various levels of formal education. The increase of pupils' enrolment in these schools have, in fact, created a real challenge for Education for Self-Reliance. The question of Universal Primary Education poses major concern. The growth of Adult Education

⁴⁵ MTUU - Its Role in the Reform on Primary School Education in Tanzania, 1969-76, Vol. 1, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, p. 5.

required a very sensitive and well-trained teacher to handle this section. However, what we see here is a new trend of teacher training with the College of National Education and outside of the College. This approach is justified on the basis of economics, since a Grade C teacher candidate trained on the job in his/her own village will save the government some money, although the quality of training is often far from professional.

TABLE 31
TEACHER DEMAND⁴⁶
1975-80

GRADE	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	TOTAL
In. CNFs	--	3,513	2,137	2,080	1,657	9,288
Outside CNFs	--	16,000	12,000	12,000	--	40,000
Total	6,072	19,513	14,037	14,081	1,657	55,360
A/B	1,176	781	3,000	3,210	3,410	11,577
11D or Diploma	245	178	300	450	540	1,713
TOTAL	7,493	20,472	17,741	17,741	5,067	68,650

⁴⁶ Ministry of National Education, Planning Division,
Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1975.

Regional distribution of the CNE's varies. When considered under the urban-rural dichotomy, variations still exist as displayed in the following table:

TABLE 32

Urban-Rural and Regional Distribution of
Colleges of National Education
in Tanzania⁴⁷

REGION	TOTAL NO.	CITY	TOWN	RURAL
1. Dar Es Salaam	1	1	-	-
2. Pwani (Coast)	1	-	-	-
3. Iringa	3	-	1	2
4. Morogoro	3	-	1	2
5. Tanga	2	-	-	2
6. Kiliminjaro	3	-	-	3
7. Dodoma	2	-	-	2
8. Ruvuma	2	-	-	2
9. Singida	1	-	-	1
10. Tabora	3	-	1	2
11. Kagera	1	-	-	1
12. Mwanza	3	-	1	2
13. Lindi	1	-	-	1
14. Kigoma	1	-	-	1
15. Mtwara	2	-	-	2
16. Arushā	2	-	-	2
17. Mara	2	-	1	1
18. Mbeya	1	-	-	1
19. Rukwa	-	-	-	-
20. Shinyanga	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	33	1	5	27

LEGEND: City-over 300,000; Town 10,000-60,000

⁴⁷ Ministry of National Education, Educational Resource Material, Dar Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1982.

TABLE 33

SUMMARY OF STATISTICS OF COLLEGES OF
NATIONAL EDUCATION 48

Section	COLLEGE	Started	Capacity	Actual	Sex	Program	No. of Tutor	Tutor-Student Ratio		
A	1. Butimba	1939	480	538	M/F	C, A.	35	1:15		
	2. Dar Es Salaam	1965	480	310	M/F	A, IID	54	1:6		
	3. Katoke	1936	360	246	M/F	C, A	25	1:10		
	4. Kinanmpanda	--	240	246	M/F	C, A	21	1:13		
	5. Krerru	1971	360	365	M/F	A, IID	36	1:10		
	6. Korogwe	1960	500	766	M/F	C, A	35	1:22		
	7. Marangu	1902	600	774	M/F	C. A.	48	1:16		
	8. Morogoro	1926	600	577	M/F	C. A. IID	32	1:18		
	9. Mpwapwa	1926	500	731	M/F	C. A. IID	37	1:10		
	10. Songea	--	420	451	M/F	C. A.	30	1:15		
	11. Tabora	1969	360	409	M/F	C. A.	35	1:12		
B	12. Ilonga	-	140	131	M	C	11	1:12		
	13. Kasulu	1970	150	150	F	C	7	1:21		
	14. Mandaka	1934	150	181	F	C	12	1:15		
	15. Mhonda	1970	200	187	F	C	12	1:16		
	16. Monduli	1971	150	148	M	C	16	1:9		
	17. Mututunguru	1952	130	131	M/F	C	14	1:9		
	18. Musoma	1970	130	220	M	C	13	1:18		
	19. Ndala	1952	150	149	F	C	11	1:16		
	20. Ndwika	1911	150	181	F	C	11	1:16		
	21. Singa Chini	1928	160	165	M	C	11	1:15		
	22. Sumve	1951	130	134	F	C	12	1:11		
C	23. Bustani	-	120	199	M/F	C	14	1:14		
	24. Kitangali	1975	160	224	M/F	C	11	1:20		
	25. Mbinga	-	200	212	M/F	C	10	1:21		
	26. Mpunguso	-	320	332	M/F	C	10	1:33		
	27. Patandi	-	200	209	M/F	C	10	1:21		
	28. Tandala	-	300	238	M	C	10	1:24		
	29. Urambo	-	150	138	F	C	10	1:21		
	30. Tarime	-	180	236	F	C	10	1:24		
	31. Usangi	-	200	190	M	C	11	1:17		
	32. Nachingwea	-	480	400	M/F		15	1:27		
TOTALS:							8,860	9566	630	1:15

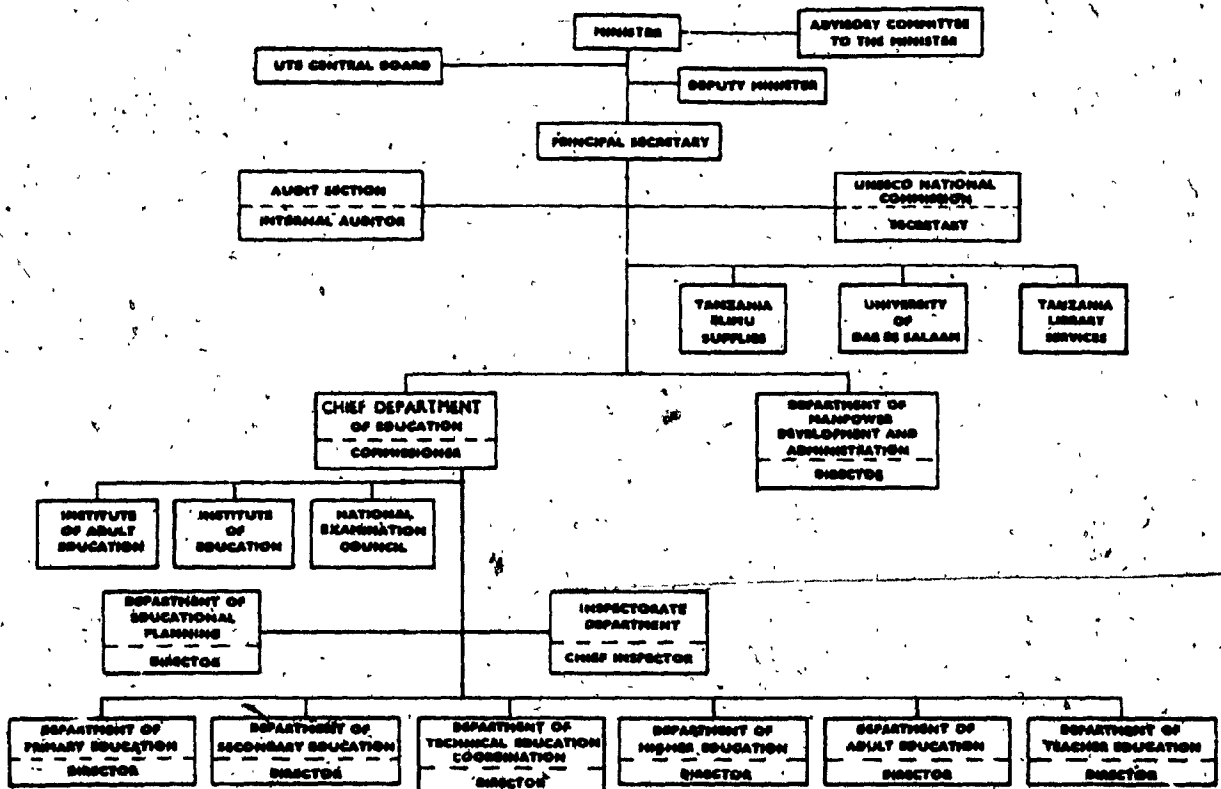
48 Ministry of National Education, Planning Division, April 1976. Sections A, B, C respectively indicate three categories of CNEs in relation to size and development origins.

Conclusion,

As we have seen in this chapter, demand for education rose tremendously since the attainment of independence. Unfortunately, the level of educational manpower resources was woefully inadequate at that time due to underdevelopment of teacher training institutions under the British rule. In the beginning, expatriate teachers were hired to fill the gap in secondary schools. The primary schools were staffed by the local teachers trained by missionary and government teacher training institutions. In spite of these developments, there was a feeling among Tanzanians that independence meant complete access to educational opportunities and control by local Tanzanians. This, in turn, led to the new educational policies that introduced the new values under the policy of Education for Self-Reliance. Ideologically, education - as defined in the Arusha Declaration - became the main vehicle of political and socio-economic development under Ujamaa socialism. Table 34 on the following page demonstrates the structure of the Ministry of National Education whereby every department within the Ministry co-ordinates its activities in accordance with the directives from the Minister through to the Commissioner of Education and the Director of Manpower Development and Administration. This structure is highly politicized, relying heavily on party policy and ideological pronouncements.

TABLE 34
Major Sections of Administrative Structure

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION—TANZANIA



SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, 1980.

It can be said then, that the original demands of the people have been met, i.e. more schools and teachers (see Table 35), educational integration, and Africanization or localization of the teaching staff. However, coupled with this progress is the precedence of political education in the curriculum. Emphasis is on the elimination of the individual's personal ambitions for the higher goals of the nation to be achieved in a co-operative fashion, as outlined in the Arusha Declaration. This trend has made Tanzania the champion of socialistic manifestation and has, for the past 20 years, been geared to implement the new social and political values. However, there are certain salient features which have made these efforts to face diverse reaction within the leadership and the society in general. The last chapter will attempt to uncover some of these reactions and analyze the socio-political consequences of this policy of Education for Self-Reliance.

TABLE 35
SUMMARY OF STATISTICS IN EDUCATION⁴⁹
1978

Type of Institution	No. of Inst.	No. of Learners	No. of Teachers	Teacher: Pupil Ratio
Primary (Public)	9,549	2,990,361	63,740	1:47
Secondary (Public)	85	41,972	2,392	1:17
Secondary (Private)	63	19,213	803	1:24
Adult Ed. Centres	70,000%	5,800,000	100,000%	
Folk Dev. (FDC)	51	n/a	192	
Teacher's Coll.	35	9,934	728	1:15
Teachers (Distance Teaching Approach)	1,955	45,634	2,400	1:19
University	1	2,281	514	1:4
University (E.A. & Abroad)		1,069	--	--

⁴⁹ Ministry of National Education, Statistics Section, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, 1978.

CHAPTER V

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

Overview of the Concept of Self-Reliance

In the early 1930's the colonial government in Africa attempted to introduce some educational reforms which connected with the process of community involvement with the schools. In Tanzania, Mumford carried out this innovation at Malangali Secondary School.¹ The idea was to impress upon the local communities, through the school and its teachers, the importance and appreciation of certain traditional skills such as crafts and farming. Traditional history, customs and values were to be a part of the local curricula.

It was also noted that not all knowledge is to be acquired in school through traditional methods. Trade, technical and agricultural knowledge were also important under this program, and could be of use for an individual and the community to which he belongs. The local watambuli (elders with traditional experience) participated in Mumford's innovative curriculum project, and as noted by Thompson, "...an excellent response was met with, particularly in Unyamwezi and Usukuma where the schools at Ibadakuli and Kizige were held up as models of this new kind of schooling."²

¹W. B. Mumford, "Malangali School", Africa, III, London, 1930.

²A. R. Thompson, Education and Development in Africa, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981, p. 38.

Nyerere, like Mumford and other educators have demonstrated their imagination in striving to transform individuals and their communities using traditional and modern values in the context of education for social change. What actually took place in 1930 was the Mumford experiment and the enactment by the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, of the Native Authority Act, both of which generated the incentive to restructure the local education system in order to allow the Africans to maintain and develop their traditional values and at the same time integrate them into the modern development process.

Objectively, this trend of development must be looked at positively because it made Nyerere and others to observe and critically evaluate the overall colonial policy in Tanzania, and questioned their motive in relation to the stagnant situation of African advancement in education. Because "literary education of a Western type was kept to a minimum",³ (which was earlier made open by the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report) the colonial government was advised to develop the right sort of education for African children.⁴

This attempt to introduce certain traditional values into modern curriculum in schools was good in theory, but as one of Mumford's successors as headmaster commented,

³ Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, cited in Thomas Jesse Jones (ed.), Education in Africa and East Africa, New York, 1925, pp. 193-4.

⁴ David Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case. London: Heinemann, 1976, p. 58.

The system did not work in practice because neither pupils nor natives wanted half and half education. Those who came to school wanted European education.⁵

Further, the separate curriculum for Asians, Europeans, and Africans also created a backlash, specifically to the majority of Africans in catching up with Asian and European quality of Education.

In this context, the Africans began to understand the benefit of Western education, and as Philip Foster points out, to certain educated and sensitive Africans, "traditional and/or rural environments appeared as a means of perpetuating the inferior status of their race."⁶

This historical context led Nyerere and others to discredit the colonial perception in relation to education, especially when it was felt that no one else would be capable of understanding the need of rescuing the African's forgotten past and traditional values. The Ujamaa policy and the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance came as the result of the above phenomenon.⁷

Arusha, Ten Years After - 1967-77

In the overview of the concept of Self-Reliance, we demonstrated an historical base of colonial concern about

⁵D. Morrison, p. 58.

⁶P. Foster, p. 9.

⁷See Tanzania, Ten Years After Independence, 1961-1971.

the traditional values of the Africans. Particular emphasis is made here on this one aspect because it actually demonstrated certain salient features of misunderstanding that existed within the colonial leadership. This misunderstanding in fact, led the colonial administration to commit certain blunders resulting in the Africans totally ignoring these attempts to 'preserve their culture' as mere token gestures aimed at further submission.

In the preceding chapters, we have discussed the Arusha Declaration, its objective and what it meant in the overall ideological process of social change in Tanzania. Our aim in this section is to limit this debate to the actual progress and failures that have taken place since its enactment. In addition, the introduction of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance and its social, political and economic consequences will be considered in light of the Arusha Declaration, as it is contended that "to achieve meaningful success, any educational reform must take place concurrently with the reform of the society."⁸

In any attempt to analyze the process of Tanzania's ideological manifestation, it is important to appreciate the kind of leadership accountability exercised by an individual such as Mwalimu Nyerere. It is very rare in Africa to see the head of the state bother to clarify or offer

⁸ UNESCO, Educational Reforms and Innovations in Africa, Paris: UNESCO, 1978, p. 31. (Official views cited in the Ministry of Education Policy in Tanzania).

a detailed appraisal and personal criticism of his government policy. Now and again, Nyerere had demonstrated this calibre of personal accountability on local and international levels. It is this nature of his personality that has made the failures and successes of the Ujamaa policy to have initiated greater interest inside and outside Africa.

To underpin the above observation, Nyerere's report, "The Arusha Declaration - Ten Years After", contended that:

Ten years after the Arusha Declaration, Tanzania is certainly neither socialist nor self-reliant. The nature of exploitation has changed, but it has not altogether been eliminated. There are still great inequalities between citizens. Our democracy is imperfect. A life of poverty is still the experience of the majority of our citizens

The report demonstrates the existence of some facts pertaining to the people's sufferings as a result of preventable diseases and ignorance. The society cannot afford to care for the aged and disabled to live in decency, or provide them with guaranteed social security, though the Arusha Declaration committed to do so. Tanzania, the report challenges, is a country which is still economically dependent upon the vagaries of weather and upon economic and political decisions taken by other people without her participation or consent.

Within this ten years, Tanzania has attempted to follow its declared goal of a socialist orientation, which, according to the report, managed to reverse a

⁹J. K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration: Ten Years After, 1967-77, Dar Es Salaam: Government Press, 1977, pp. 1-2.

national drift towards the growth of a class society, based on the mechanism of inequality and some form of exploitation of the majority for the benefit of a few.

What must be looked upon as a positive feature within the ten year framework is the ability of the leadership to have established some of the attitudes which were necessary in the process of the development of socialism in Tanzania. These attitudes have convinced the society and specifically the gifted few who are involved in economic activities and otherwise, have acquired a general recognition that it is wrong for certain people to continue living in luxury while others are destitute.

It is interesting to note that certain Tanzanians have recognized the importance of the above premise, but how can the society make this idea acceptable to the majority of the people? The policy noted that:

Co-operation for common benefit rather than the relentless pursuit of individual advancement, is now the more generally approved social behaviour, even in the modern sector of our society. A person is therefore beginning - only beginning to be judged for what he contributes rather than by what he acquires.¹⁰

The ideology has in fact, within the ten years, established a socialistic national ethic, which calls for well-being for all, and is geared to less material-oriented individuals. Strategies have been worked out within these ten years for socialist advancement whereby public, finan-

¹⁰ Arusha Declaration: Ten Years After, p. 3.

cial, productive, and social organizations are firmly serving the people's needs and actively forging the socialistic new values. In all these efforts, one is bound to make mistakes, and this perception is clearly demonstrated in Nyerere's understanding of the development of a socialist society as it appears within these ten years of experiment. The mixture of success and failure are witnessed in Nyerere's critical observation of the ten years since the introduction of the Arusha Declaration. It is well documented that Tanzania in her deliberate policy of Ujamaa has managed to provide basic health needs which did not exist previously. Life expectancy has increased in Tanzania since the development of the health care system in the last ten years, pushing the figure up five more years. This development is attributed to what actually happened in 1972, when the government policy on health became a major issue for the survival of the society. It is indicated in the report that:

In 1967, there were only 42 rural health centers in operation; in 1976 there were 152, with many more under construction. And there were 610 more maternal and child-care clinics in 1976 than were operating ten years before. There was also a 200% increase in the number of Rural Medical Aides and a 270% increase in the number of the Medical Assistants at work in the country.¹¹

¹¹ Arusha Declaration, p. 14.

The policy related to health service was to provide most of the medical needs in the village dispensaries and health centres, because in doing so, the services will be directed to where the majority of the people live, rather than providing major medical resources in big, urban medical centres. Mass education campaigns were conducted to encourage the public to use the community health centres where preventive medicine was available. The slogan of "prevention is better than cure" was followed by a Swahili campaign in which slogans were used such as "Mtu ni Afya" or "a Person is Health", and "Chakula ni Uhai", or "Food is Life". The objective of this campaign was to inform the people on disease caused by malnutrition and teach them how to provide a balanced diet, and to encourage peasants to diversify food production in order to make Tanzania self-reliant. The community hygiene campaign was conducted through adult education programmes. For example, the digging of latrines and general cleanliness appears to have had greater importance than before.

Education for Self-Reliance: Critical Phase and Reforms

In relation to education, it is our aim to critically observe some of the strategies behind the educational reform. The attempt here is not to discuss the objective of Education for Self-Reliance but to look beyond the mechanism applied for the eventual success of the intended education for self-reliance innovation.

The first approach which was considered useful in the area of education

was to train Tanzanians for the middle and senior posts in the administration and the economy of the country...it was necessary immediately after independence to emphasize the creation of secondary and post-secondary educational facilities.¹²

This policy generated the need for updating teacher training facilities in order to provide enough good teachers to manage the newly created secondary and post secondary schools.

The first ten years of educational reform were geared to basic education for everyone and at the same time, secondary and higher education, especially teacher training, continued to be expanded.¹³ This expansion in educational facilities and tremendous jump in population of the children registered in primary schools indicated that the Africans began to sense the real benefits of Western education. For example, in 1967, the year in which the Arusha Declaration was pronounced, we witnessed that

There were about 825,000 pupils in Tanzania primary schools. In 1975, the comparable figure was 1,532,000 pupils, and...in 1976, there was a still further increase in the school population as 665,621 children entered school for the first time, compared with a total of 187,537 who entered Standard I in 1967.¹⁴

¹²The Arusha Declaration, Ten Years After, p. 11.

¹³The Arusha Declaration, Ten Years After.

¹⁴Annual Reports of the Ministry of National Education, 1968 and 1977, Dar Es Salaam: Printpak/MTUU, 1978.

During this period of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, there were many activities which were aimed at increasing the awareness of the usefulness of education. For example, there was the illiteracy eradication campaign, which within five years had

five million people registered themselves in literacy classes and of these, some 3.8 million sat for the literacy test conducted in August 1975...further, 1.9 million people passed the literacy test at the 3rd or 4th level, which means that they could read, write, and do simple sums with ease.¹⁵

In relation to the above, Tanzania had clearly made a tremendous achievement in a very short period of time. Although the effort deserves recognition in the adult education and literacy program, it is questionable when one attempts to evaluate pupils in the secondary school level. The question of quality has in fact been a major problem in the implementation of the policy of education for self-reliance. It has been argued that Tanzania's ideological position radicalizes the individual who plays a role as an administrator of the policy, and this has an adverse affect on the level of competence and professionalism in the teachers. This attitude tended to create a problem in the area of public relations, especially between teachers and headmasters.

¹⁵The Arusha Declaration, Ten Years After, p. 12.

As indicated earlier, the teaching morale in the schools was low due to the political indoctrination which played a major part in determining teachers' motivation in political matters vis a vis his role as a teacher.

Mismanagement of school funds, the distribution and sale of the school's agricultural products and other school properties created a bad feeling between the school community and the parents of the children who attended. Economically, the idea of Education for Self-Reliance which was intended to make the school self-supporting, fell short of its expectations, and also did not generate agriculturally-inclined students at all. However, many of these problems basically derived from lack of experience in managing the school and other community matters. As a result of this school committees were established in all primary schools which were to be elected by the parents of the pupils.

The idea behind these committees was to

help determine the school curriculum at least in respect of those local orientations which are to be built around the national core curriculum and those practical production activities which are to be jointly conducted by the school and the local community.¹⁶

The spirit of community involvement is one of the greatest achievements in fulfilling the need and desire of the people to be fully involved in the development of their community.

¹⁶A. R. Thompson, p. 278.

But the majority of the people who are active on these school committees are basically not able to understand the organization and management of school administration. More importantly, the committees are politically chosen and do not have an objective perception in relation to the development process of the school, and most are not educated themselves. Therefore, decision-making and planning do not appear to be important because of their lack of understanding. Nyerere realized these problems, and argued that:

It will be sometime before people in the villages learn to exercise power in matters relating to their area. The popular belief that people will take up power and responsibility as soon as it is offered to them is not true. People have to be educated in the democratic process.¹⁷

Nyerere's argument is well-taken; what is left then is to wait until Tanzanians become attuned to the meaning of democracy. In Tanzania today, criticism is still levelled at the administration and political supporters on the effectiveness of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance in terms of economics as the projections have failed to materialize positive results. Also, the critics of socialist educational reform argue that the success of the policy depends upon the creation of a socialist society in Tanzania.¹⁸ This prediction on the part of Tanzania was not abnormal.

¹⁷J. K. Nyerere in an interview with A. Gauhar, The Guardian (London), January 8, 1979.

¹⁸Zaki Ergas, "Can Education be Used as a Tool to Build a Socialist Society in Africa: The Tanzanian Case", Journal of Modern African Studies, No. 24, #4, 1982.

It is natural for a political leader and in fact even a farmer when he plants an orange or apple tree, he hopes to reap the fruits. But when lack of rain or some other natural calamity destroys the tree, this cannot be the end of hope or expectation of normal course of action on the part of the farmer. Nyerere might appear to others as inexperienced in leading a socialist cause in Tanzania, but his main objective was to introduce an idea which he did, and in the process, he expected to educate the masses toward that objective. With all the mistakes that have been made, Tanzania has demonstrated consistency and eagerness in pursuit of her socialist policies. However, some criticism is sometimes helpful in examining objectives and implementation.

Zaki Ergas' observations on socialist society in Africa appear to be a criticism leveled at Tanzania by measuring its development process on the basis of Western development outlook. However, it should be clear that the foundation of the Tanzanian policies was to move from a central equilibrium (of colonial and Western dominated economic structure and social values) and began a new process of establishing an indigenous political and economic base of power.

It is evident that Tanzania, like many other Third World countries, has immeasurable social and economic inequalities. These conditions are universal, yet Tanzania with its limited resources, has confronted the imposed economic

conditions by adopting socialistic policies. Each nation has different perceptions in dealing with its economic, social, political and educational problems. But the most significant of all in relation to Tanzania is that in the area of education, the schools were operating in terms of conditions initially created by the colonial system which established a way of life foreign to Tanzanians. In order to overcome this legacy, it was necessary to devise some mechanism to introduce a policy which would establish a new value system very much related to the socio-cultural aspects of the new Tanzania.¹⁹

This was the very serious problem which faced the Tanzanian leadership when it was discovered that the inherited school system failed to prepare the students for the way of life which the nation had chosen. Therefore, corrective measures were taken.

1. Education for Self-Reliance was officially pronounced in 1967.
2. The period 1967-74 was one of development of political consciousness based on a true nationalistic socialistic orientation. This process was designed to combat internal and external forces of capitalistic and individualistic tendencies and was labelled by Nyerere as the "liberation of man". At the end of 1974, the Musoma Resolution was passed, which dealt directly with the objectives of socialist policies with emphasis on strengthening the leadership and ensuring the implementation of Ujamaa policy.

3. From 1975 onwards, Tanzania has been consistently carrying on with Ujamaa policies but with tremendous internal and external pressures.¹⁹

However, it must be admitted that, by and large, Tanzania's socialist policies have failed to attract neighbouring African countries, especially Kenya. The economic base of Kenya, developed under its mixed economy with a complete blessing from the West has, to a certain extent, penetrated the Tanzanian public, and managed to influence a certain portion of the ruling elite. In addition, the dislocation of the East African Community and the Ugandan-Tanzania war created an enormous political and economic pressure on Tanzania. In fact, some of the problems faced by Tanzania such as that of the war with Uganda in 1979, were of her own making. It is fair to say that the U.N. would have established a buffer zone in order to create a situation in which war could have been avoided. That situation raped Tanzania's revenues on an unnecessary war. These factors together played a major defeatist role in the path of Tanzania's ideological process.

However, the Tanzanian critics tend to look into the failures of the country in terms of inequality which of course, exists not only in Tanzania but in a few of

¹⁹ M. Kisanga and M. Nikudiwe, Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania, Dar Es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1980.

the neighbouring countries. Untrained manpower, lack of accountability, shortage of essentials, low quality of education since the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance, and many other factors which Tanzania must deal with. As Chamungwana writes:

The educational system in Tanzania has little capacity to socialize our next generation to internalize Ujamaa values ... Thus the schools still continues to initiate students into elitism and the mass continues to be alienated. No fundamental social change can occur through exposure to education.²⁰

This appraisal was made in 1974, eight years after the introduction of the Education for Self-Reliance policy. In fact, the basis of such an appraisal is easy to be made when one looks into the condition and also the structure of the educational system that is in the process of being built.

The critics must exercise some caution specifically when one is attempting to deal with social and cultural reproduction of a colonized people deprived of various opportunities.

It is important to note that social and political orientation cannot be internalized overnight or in the manner one wants. Social inequality in relation to inherited educational differentiation, can only be changed when socialistic values are strong enough to challenge practice mobility which perpetuates social class. In order to strengthen universalization of

²⁰W. M. Chamungwana, cited in Zaki Ergas, 1982, p. 82.

primary education, policies must assist to transfer the disparities into different levels, in order to make each and every aspect of reform as part of economic and political change.

Looking into the history of Education for Self-Reliance we find that: "Tanzania is one of the few countries in Africa in which major attempts have been made to do this."²¹ But it must be noted that Tanzania's attempts to equalize educational opportunities have not failed, rather it is faced with an increasing development of class conflict, which of course has something to do with the state power. It is the nature of these classes to compete for control over production and wealth in order to gain enough power to secure their goals. This is done with an objective particularly aimed to fashion the institutions of the state to reflect their interests.

The community-oriented policies of Education for Self-Reliance was actually aimed to eliminate this situation. What might appear as a continuous struggle against the ever-powerful classes which dominate political power, must also be understood that the forces of Ujamaa must continue to emphasize the abandonment of traditional approaches in community organization. The current situation of economic and social disparities which exist in Tanzania

²¹Mark Bray, "Policies and Progress Towards Universal Primary Education, Journal of Modern African Studies, V. 19, No. 4, 1981, p. 556.

require a clear-cut reorganization based on integrated policies in all levels of societal reforms. Because we have seen that from 1961-67:

- a) Government managed to adopt racial integration policy of all schools which was the greatest challenge to those who failed to adopt this fundamental democratic approach towards education in Tanzania.
- b) Control of the means of economic discrimination was reduced and some equitable distribution was made available to the majority of the citizens.
- c) Educational opportunity became a right of the individuals and school fees were abolished to allow local peasants to send their children to school.
- d) Swahili became a national language and was later introduced to schools curriculum.
- e) The change of syllabus to fit the African perception. African history began to be taught in schools within the context of an African view.
- f) The promotion of African teachers and Headmasters in manning primary and secondary schools.

The curriculum became more Africanized, which meant that subjects introduced in schools were clearly perceived to be appropriate for social, political and economic conditions of Tanzania.

Education for Self-Reliance in fact was the only means which would create hope for the future of the young generation. First, rural areas of Tanzania were locked in, and could not benefit from the services available. In this regard,

²²Mark Bray, pp. 556-57.

1) The idea of integrating the school with the surrounding community was the only means of bringing all public service to that school. This was done in order to change the physical environment.

2) More importantly, the strategy to bring forward the idea of Education for Self-Reliance to the community and make the people learn about it more closely, was to convert the school into self-contained institutions, so that it can provide education for the young and the adult also. In fact, this strategy was part and parcel of the Ujamaa ideology first to shape the mind of the young, and reactivate the minds of the elderly. In this regard, the young and the elderly could both participate in learning without inhibition. For the young, it is appropriate that they become more active in self-reliance activities at this school level to learn practical technical work, farming, and workshops. This is aimed to make the school self-reliant, and a transformation of socialist values.²³

We have also witnessed that the strategy of education for self-reliance was not merely to make each and every individual a socialist overnight, rather, to inculcate the values which would make Tanzania a socialist nation which could manifest its destiny. These efforts have

²³ Idrian N. Resnick, Tanzania: Revolution by Education, Dar Es Salaam: Longmans of Tanzania, 1968. See especially pp. 62-90 for Nyerere's views on Education for Self-Reliance.

been witnessed in areas such as university where education used to be for a special class. The method of accepting individuals on the basis of their academic achievements was discontinued because it usually meant that many pre-conceived notions are placed upon the individual who might wrongly be discriminated. An adult-entry mechanism was worked out to allow each and every Tanzanian to have an opportunity to acquire higher learning.

There has been some complaint based on the method of application and in the manner in which an individual is scrutinized to the extent that it becomes very difficult to be admitted to the university without one's socialistic political views being known. Some nepotism does exist at this level, and to a certain extent, this is one of those circumstances which dominates Africa's decision-making process.

Problems and Prospects: Management Perspectives

It is difficult to discuss national development programs in Africa without thinking about national planning and certain aspects of its entire system.

It appears that the first idea which actually dominated the mind of certain African leaders in the early 1960's was the economic development planning of their new regimes. What was important to this leadership was to speak on what they wanted to do in the near future and possibly act upon the new strategy of economic development programmes that had

already been formulated. What was actually perceived to be crucial, unfortunately, came late in this process of planning and that was the idea of managing the affairs of the states. In fact, this was not a deliberate attempt, but rather that the new regimes had not had a chance to adjust themselves with the realities of the management process of government business.

In the case of Tanzania's process of ideological socialization of its society, we have noticed that efforts are now being made to re-evaluate the programs which were already introduced and certain changes are made in order to adopt the desirable objective which the government is seeking to achieve.²⁴ In the context of education and political socialization which has dominated the entire society since the post-Arusha period, the new movement of consciousness based on societal involvement, actually has helped to generate mass support. But all these indicators are not enough when one looks into the question of management.

Tanzania has encountered many difficulties and shortcomings which are basically derived from inefficiency,

²⁴ See The Economist, June 11, 1983, Vol. 287, #7289, pp. 84-88. Detailed critical analysis on political and economic problems of Tanzania.

administrative bureaucratic sluggishness, due to political manipulation. Discipline and individual accountability has been replaced by the attitude of political loyalty to the party officials instead of believing in the work ethic and responsibility for what has to be done according to the set rules. Economic and educational innovations which were aggressively injected into Tanzania's society by the Arusha Declaration policies carries forceful dogmatic appeal. It appeared that the majority of the leadership spent much of their energy attacking ills of colonialism in order to keep the nationalistic feeling at a high level and thus maintain political support. This radical trend backfired when in reality, the leadership in Tanzania had not yet successfully decolonized its administrative personnel which was susceptible to all material aspects that had its foundation in the colonial past.

In the process of social planning, the expatriates played a major role in supporting the manpower needed in the area of research and planning. These expatriates being professionals, and contracted workers, had no other choice but to do what they had been hired for, and in fact could not change the bureaucratic machine which was inefficient and politically dominated. On the aspect of political nepotism, these bureaucrats have never been reprimanded or fired, and they have thus continued to misuse the public funds and this led Tanzania to have faced many economic and

financial problems in meeting her social objectives and totally failed to manage the entire bureaucratic machine.

Because of this weakness in individual top administrative officials in various regions in Tanzania, the central government decided to give power back to the regions so that each problem can be easily dealt with at the local level.

It is important to note that education has been taken seriously as the main force for social change and in fact, Tanzania's ideology cannot be more meaningful if its educational process does not have a serious and responsible personnel, which has the capacity to interpret the instruction passed down through them. The low quality of education which has been disputed by the Tanzanian critics, since the introduction of Education for Self-Reliance, seems to suggest that some hard questions have to be raised about the effectiveness of the new social values of Ujamaa. Is it that the Tanzanian administrators seem to be unprepared or lack the capacity to manage and carry the responsibility of its low level administrative officers? Is it possible that there are a multitude of reasons which bind individuals at this level to have no will to transmit that which can facilitate social change?

What is significant here is to look into the efforts and energy that the Tanzania ideology has carried to the

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people. Still it is difficult to pinpoint certain aspects of weakness that has contributed to what is now described as the total failure of Ujamaa ideology.²⁵ Perhaps it is the work of the psycho-sociologist who will examine the essence of socialistic values and capitalistic orientation, which forms the inherited value system of Tanzania's historical background. What actually is aimed to enlighten us here is the current economic and social problem which Tanzania is facing, and in fact, most of the argument is directed at the lack of economic management, and it is said that socialist policies have failed to attract the western countries to invest heavily in Tanzania, as it usually does in Kenya. For example, there is a certain truth that some Tanzanians did not want to go to live in registered Ujamaa villages because of the previous bad results of others who moved into areas which were not suitable for normal human habitation. And people did not like the idea of force and political command being applied to them in order that they can participate in Ujamaa activities. Another discouraging factor of Ujamaa policies was the abolition of voluntary co-operatives, some of them which were as old as the colonial rule in Tanzania. Instead, the government introduced state-run marketing boards and regional trade corporations which were manned by ill-trained

²⁵The Economist, June 11, 1983, Vol. 287, #7289, p. 84; "Tanzania's Socialist Safari Lost in the Bush".

and politically selected managers who lacked proper management training. Things did not go well, even when the policy of decentralized decision-making approach was applied. This seemed to indicate that the idea of self-reliance was in jeopardy, because it failed to rule out accepting increasing amounts of foreign aid, which rose from \$10 million a year at the time of Arusha to \$650 million in 1981-82.²⁶

Other factors which caused the hardships in maintaining stable process of Ujamaa policy in all sectors of social activities was the increase of OPEC oil prices and bad weather in the early 1970's. In fact, this was one of the major factors that created an adverse economic strain on Tanzania. Private farmers and villagisation were all affected with the drought which made the production very low and then completely declined. In the year 1973-79, Tanzania managed to do better in her economic forecasts, and it met OPEC's demands much better than the average African oil importer.

It must be noted here again that in 1973, there was a drought which led to a poor harvest, the break-up of the East African Community (common market) in 1977, and the Uganda-Tanzanian war in 1979. All these factors destroyed Tanzania's ability to maintain steady terms of trade; however, there was no choice for her better economic performance. But foreign aid made all the above possible.

²⁶ The Economist, June 11, 1983, p. 84.

What has been demonstrated here are some of the characteristics of management by crisis which Tanzania is not alone is utilizing. But Tanzania's economic policy-makers have to face the reality of these challenges. Economic hardships are not facing the government but it actually destroys the spirit of Ujamaa and most of the young school leavers have lost interest in pursuing technical education because the government has failed to pay better salaries and working conditions do not improve. Schools must be the base for ideological indoctrination, however, with the decline of economic stability, which has led to the shortage of essentials, one is led to believe that there is a need of a clear re-examination of the overall policies of Ujamaa.

Nyerere's government has begun to take serious measures leading to some conclusion of which the critics have leveled against Tanzania. On June 1983, the Tanzanian shilling was devalued by 20% against the U.S. dollar. The budget for the financial year beginning in July of the same year indicated heavy spending cuts. Corruption, economic saboteurs, smugglers, hoarders, black marketers - some times connected with certain party members - have made Nyerere's government launch a campaign against these elements who are regarded as the enemies of Ujamaa policies.

This problem runs deeper than what a Tanzanian leader can dare to admit. Therefore, in the context

of what the future of Ujamaa is, we must examine the basis of what the Tanzanian leadership is willing to deal with. However, in the meantime, what it appeared before the perception of the Tanzanian critics is that Ujamaa was a failure, but that it did deserve some credit in sustaining the momentum of carrying on the well-defined policy of socialism which requires total support from the Tanzanians. Apparently, there are forces of disunity which might have been successful in creating immoral and economic social situations. Also, these above assumptions call for Tanzania to review her political ideology especially the idea of a single political party which has tended to silence the majority of her citizens to not speak openly about their personal dissatisfaction with the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (The Revolutionary Party).

More importantly, the rigidity of the education now offered under the Self-Reliant policy does not seem to have created a feeling of competition and has discouraged the young from exercising personal choice in furthering their education. It is contended that the Government should divide its secondary school graduates who can be channelled through certain training of government choice, and let the rest compete for higher education without government restriction. This assumption does indicate some serious feeling that exists among Tanzanian families who wish that their children could benefit from higher education elsewhere and in return could be of use for Tanzania in the future. Ideological pragmatism, however,

must be accompanied by an awareness that certain Tanzanians will remain opposed to the Ujamaa ideology as long as there exists no personal freedom in the advancement of individuals. President Nyerere appears to be more flexible in recent years, and this is due to economic problems that his regime has, to a certain extent, been responsible.

Conclusion:

In this chapter we have attempted to demonstrate first the historical foundation of the idea of Self-Reliance, the purpose it could serve in the new society and the main aim. The method used in articulating this concept varied, and over the years the Tanzanian government has spent a great deal of time and effort to explain the reasons which seem to indicate that the purpose of Self-Reliance is to re-define the inherited foreign values in order that the individual Tanzanian will be set free of any outside influence.

In fact, this idea of Self-Reliance is not new to Tanzania but the method of its application and ideological content represents different perspectives in relation to the socio-political and economic changes that are pursued.

In a broader context, we have seen that an attempt has always been made to apply the idea as the basis of re-organization of the Tanzanian community. In fact, the ideology has to a certain extent made Tanzania an exception in the way it confronted the social and political characteristics of instability. It actually mobilized the people in a uniform manner, and motivated them to a spirit of

nation-building. But despite these excellent concepts and good intentions, the economic situation of Tanzania remained hopeless due to external forces. Further internal weakness in the area of organization and the lack of accountability by the politicians and civil servants created more problems for Tanzania also. Scarce essentials, rationing of gas, and a downturn in the educational standard of the primary and secondary schools resulted in a steadily deteriorating situation. In addition, there is a constant class or power struggle to maintain political control. In this sense, the concept of Ujamaa ideology does not work because the idea itself does not grasp the fact of international and local pressures in the East African region.

In this regard, Tanzania must begin to re-assess her options of development, political and economic relationship with her neighbours especially Kenya and Uganda. What actually seems to be a Tanzanian way of development can always remain so but its isolation to the realities of geo-political circumstances may in one way or the other create domestic instability over time.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As we have attempted to show in this study, many factors must be analyzed when trying to understand Tanzania's present situation. Historically, the country developed from the monsoon trade on the Indian Ocean resulting in its Arab-Islamic influence in Zanzibar and the mainland coastal strip. This early friendly contact with traders and other outsiders can be seen as the beginning of Tanzania's traditional welcome to all visitors and settlers and the basis of its present-day multi-cultural society. Further religious development took place with the coming of the Christian missionaries in the 19th century, a move which coincided with the German colonization of the country. This period saw the promotion of the Swahili language and the establishment of a formal Western style educational system.

The British were 'awarded' Tanganyika after the First World War, and exerted their influence on the country for the next 47 years. In that time, as we have discussed, educational development was minimal and left mainly in the hands of the missionaries to whom they gave a relatively 'free hand' in administration of the schools. Racially segregated schools were allowed to develop, and without private assistance, the Africans fell far behind in enrolment and graduation. The situation at the time of independence was such that there were not enough Africans to take over the civil service and schools, so ex-patriates, i.e. British officers, and their colonial policies, remained.

As the country's political party - TANU - began to push for Africanization of manpower and more school places, an educated elite began to materialize. Nyerere saw this as a threat to the nation's egalitarian development and in 1967 the Arusha Declaration was pronounced. From this time on, as we have elaborated, Nyerere and the party attempted to bring about a change in the 'attitude of mind' of the Tanzanian people in the form of Ujamaa socialism.

The policy of Education for Self-Reliance was a cornerstone in the development of this new ideology. It was aimed to be a process of political socialization and education whereby the young people would be trained to understand the concept of Ujamaa and Self-Reliance, and be willing to participate as co-operative adults in the country's development.

Human factors of mismanagement, corruption, lack of expertise and political nepotism, as we have shown, had an adverse effect on the implementation of Education for Self-Reliance in particular and the concept of Ujamaa in general. External economic factors such as the quadrupling of oil prices in 1974 and world wide inflation as well as domestic problems of drought and poor distribution of agricultural products have all contributed to Tanzania's current problems, including those of an ideological nature.

In the introduction of Chapter I, we outlined some ideological formations and slogan applications which were aimed to emphasize a political stance that would inject a political consciousness in the minds of the Tanzanian public.

These slogans grew periodically during the independence struggle in Tanzania, and the political parties applied different tactics in order to win the support of the masses. For example, it was common for a politician to call upon the masses to work hard for the attainment of a free Tanzania. The concept of hard work and freedom does indicate that no one would give Tanzania its freedom unless the Tanzanians are ready and able to work hard for it. The idea of hard work came to eliminate the colonial attitude that the local Tanzanians were supposedly lazy, and may not attain the so-called independence. In this regard, Nyerere and others used the term 'Uhuru na Kazi (Independence and Work) as an incentive to work hard toward political independence. From 1954, when Tanzanians started to organize themselves for the removal of the colonial government, it did not believe that Tanzania would be able to attain her independence in 1961. This attitude from the colonial authorities generated a serious consciousness and made Tanzania victorious.

When one examines the essence of these political slogans, they clearly represent a process of continuity of political purpose. The purpose of being the master of one's own house, is to have the ability to organize and take care of one's business. This awareness was the beginning of the serious thinking which Tanzanians were forced to adopt. How did this happen? One answer to this question is that, no independence would be meaningful unless there is a program which integrated people and made them work together. In this regard the following slogan 'Uhuru na Maendeleo' (Independence and Development) became the key concept, because it kept the people and the nation into the movement of social and political integration.

According to the concept of development, Tanzania was to be built on the inheritance from the former colonial government, i.e. the physical structure and appearance of the nation. However, the social and cultural attitude needed to be re-organized in order to suit a new Tanzanian political and economic outlook. In the course of our study, we have encountered one major problem of social development in Tanzania which is similar in most of the developing world - lack of supportive, trained, efficient manpower which could carry on the responsibility of what they have inherited from the colonial authorities. In this regard,

Tanzania, as indicated earlier, recruited foreign experts to help reorganize and manage her social, economic and educational institutions. Although this situation was perhaps unavoidable at the time, certain circumstances such as Britain's intransigency in finances, the West German aid threat, and the growing inconsistencies between TANU party policy and the lifestyles of the government representatives, all led to the country's leader facing the concept of independence more aggressively. Nationalistic aspirations among the people also ran high and acted as a pressure point for Nyerere, and the concept of Uhuru na Kujitegemea (Independence and Self-Reliance) became the cornerstone of the ideology of Tanzania's socialism.

This process of slogan development has been part and parcel of Tanzania's political culture. From 1954 when the political movement started up to 1967 when the Arusha Declaration was introduced, Tanzania was constantly readjusting her colonial experiences and attempting to decolonize the people through political slogans which became an abbreviation for the development of a national 'Ujamaa socialism' ideology. This in itself can be seen as a good political strategy in the process of political socialization.

The year 1967 represented a radical departure from the immediate post-independence strategy Nyerere had

thus far pursued in the political development of the country. It was a combination of nationalistic appeal and a determination to enact a social change which led economically poor Tanzania into a radical political ideology. The post-Arusha slogans such as Ujamaa na Kujitegemea (Socialism and Self-Reliance) Elimu ya Kujitegemea (Education for Self-Reliance) clearly attempted to disassociate the people from the inherited political and social structure which had dominated the economic life of Tanzanians.

The purpose of these new approaches, as we have observed in the study, was to try and eliminate an alien system of government and at the same time, psychologically satisfy the Tanzanian population that they are capable of managing their own affairs. In reality however, these efforts have failed to generate the anticipated economic gains. For example, the problem of educational inequality which Tanzania inherited and attempted to change through the policy of Education for Self-Reliance was riddled with problems of teacher shortage, mismanagement of funds earned from schools' self-reliant activities, a drop in the quality of education offered, and lack of support from parents who wanted their children to receive a "Western" education. However, the national education program of desegregation of schools and the emphasis on education as a community matter did meet with some success.

We noted how these new ideas were introduced and a development strategy clearly pursued in order to try and combat the economic and educational inequalities. We have also drawn on the enormous amount of literature on Tanzania criticizing her approach and perception in relation to the ills of inequality left behind by the colonial administration. However, most critics believe that the apparent setbacks in relation to change in Tanzania are based on the norms of the umbilical cord, and that each step must be taken according to natural rules which will allow the harmonious development in the life of the two. This can be attributed to the economies of international concern between the developed and the developing syndromes of the Western and Third World countries.

It is apparent, however, that Tanzania - in the context of its development strategies and political ideology - has failed to take radical and serious measures against its elite which encourages nepotism, corruption, and political subjugation of the peasants. This has caused very serious setbacks in the area of developing the existing infrastructure. Petty and irrelevant excuses which lead to inefficiency and lack of organization have never been condemned or properly dealt with in a systematic way. Haphazard and politically-influenced decisions have often left the perpetrator of the crime with his freedom and had the innocent peasants punished.

What we actually can attempt to indicate here is the problem of the developing world. In the context of this study, education has been treated as the basis of the overall social and economic change desired. The assumption, then, is to educate the people, make them literate, and eventually they will emerge as intelligent individuals who will make their valuable contribution to the economic and social life of the country. But with the inconsistencies between the political rhetoric and the social and economic realities growing deeper since the attainment of independence, Tanzanian parents, peasants, politicians, educators and students alike have complained that the objective of education is obscured, standards are falling, and that performance is below average. Nyerere still contends, however, that radical change in the purpose, curriculum, and organization of education is the ultimate cure because that system was a product and a legacy of colonialism, a system which made class distinction the basis of human equality.

In relation to educational reforms, we have examined the problem of implementation of these reforms. The main expectation of educational change under the new African regimes were the educational benefits which had been enjoyed by so few for so long. The elites everywhere in Africa and Tanzania in particular, have tightly observed their position and maintained educational distribution to the few. This exploitation has been noticed to be an attempt

by certain politicians to use colonial justifications in order to serve their own tribe or region. Tanzania has boasted that her educational approach was aimed to eliminate a racial system designed to dominate the African vis-à-vis the European and Asian groups. Tanzania's present integrated educational policy was the first of its kind that made all schools for all Tanzanians, yet social and educational inequality still exist. Despite the reform strategies and ambitious programs of educational change, the school system still produces "academic" secondary school graduates incapable of and uninterested in any employment but clerical or managerial work.

Lack of capital formation and tight government control of enterprise according to the socialist ideology, has resulted in stagnation of the Tanzanian economy. The community or co-operative farming system which has caused poor agricultural production is another factor of Tanzania's economic instability, at times held together only by international economic aid. However, this may soon end:

...even Tanzania's long-time friends are getting fed up. Important donors are no longer willing to increase or even maintain their help unless Tanzania reaches an agreement with the IMF and make radical changes.¹

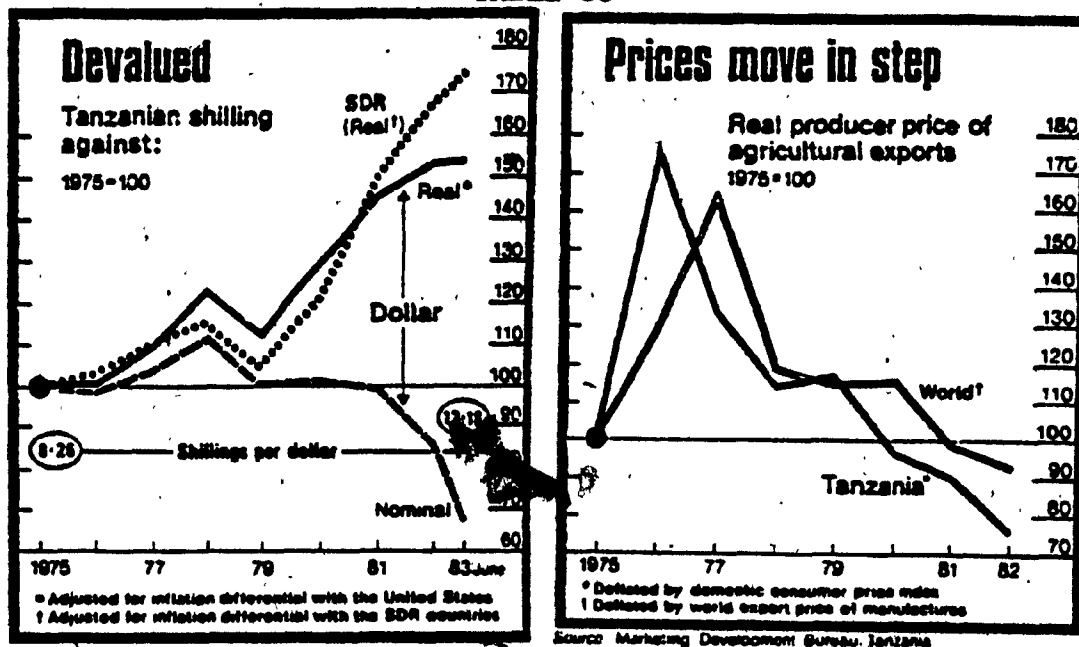
¹The Economist, June 11, 1983.

The IMF has consistently requested Tanzania to make the following economic changes to revive the failing economy:

...raising produce prices and devaluing the shilling to pay for them, and encouraging private farming, both small-scale and large-scale,...and a smaller role for the state-run marketing monopolies²

The following tables demonstrate Tanzania's economic state and what the IMF would like to see done to overcome the existing situation.

TABLE 35



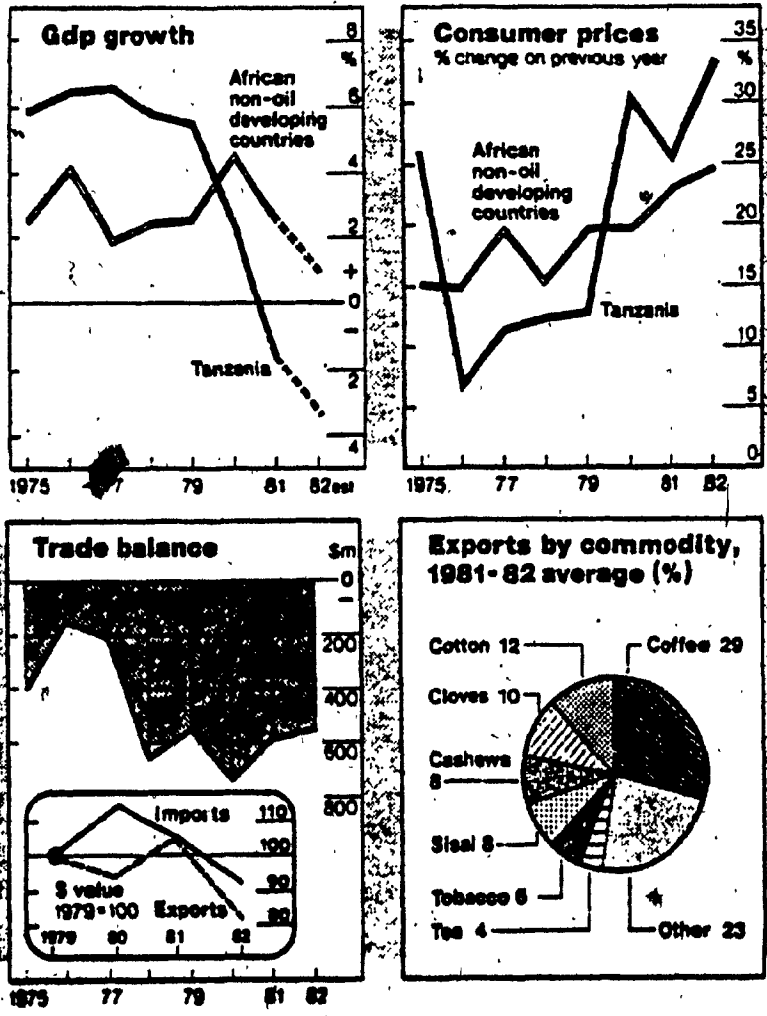
Source: Marketing Development Bureau, Tanzania, as cited in The Economist, June 11, 1983.

²The Economist, June 11, 1983.

The general picture of the economy has been declining since 1975. The communal agricultural policies needed some appraisal and critical evaluation but due to the one-sided thinking of the government and the political monopoly over the decision-making process, no changes were made and the private Tanzanian farmers have reacted coldly since the introduction of the Arusha Declaration policies. The following tables show the economic trend which makes Tanzania lag behind.

TABLE 36

Tanzania trails behind



SOURCE: Ministry of Agriculture, Department of Planning and Economic Development, cited in The Economist, June 11, 1983.

As indicated here, economic and educational progress in Tanzania have had an adverse effect on each other. The self-reliant school activities, in fact, have for the most part been ignored, and political organization has taken its place. Students are not motivated, and the teachers have no other alternative but to remain in the classes where no school supplies exist and where no real learning is taking place. Educators and students alike look forward to a bleak future.

This situation is actually happening in many other Third World countries. In an oil-producing country such as Nigeria, where the researcher worked for 2½ years in a Teachers College, a similar situation to the one described above existed in relation to the lack of motivation between teachers and students. Because the economic situation is so harsh, students have no time for serious homework study and the teachers have no time to prepare classwork, and thus use the easy way, i.e. the book and blackboard-copying. Teachers in both countries have been denied teachers better working conditions, and Labour-management relationship. Salaries are not regularly upgraded, and promotions are continually based on nepotism. In Nigeria, however, there is a free enterprise system so that the teachers can always find an extra job to supplement the

extended family requirements. In Tanzania, a teacher cannot own a private business, nor can he demand better working conditions because the socialist policies do not allow him to do so.

From the evidence presented, it is clear that time is running out for Tanzania to come to terms with the unreality of its ideology in relation to its current economic situation. Under normal circumstances, when government policy is found lacking in meeting the needs of the people, it is changed. Although certainly progress has been made in Tanzania since independence in the increase in the numbers of school places, increase in health care clinics and in indigenous control, a response to the thousands of secondary school graduates who are now unemployed, is needed. Education for Self-Reliance is still a sound educational policy in theory, but it has not yet succeeded in capturing the hearts and minds of the country's young people to 'pull together' as one for the sake of Tanzania. Along with new economic strategies to stimulate growth and employment must come development of new educational policies to respond to the current crisis.

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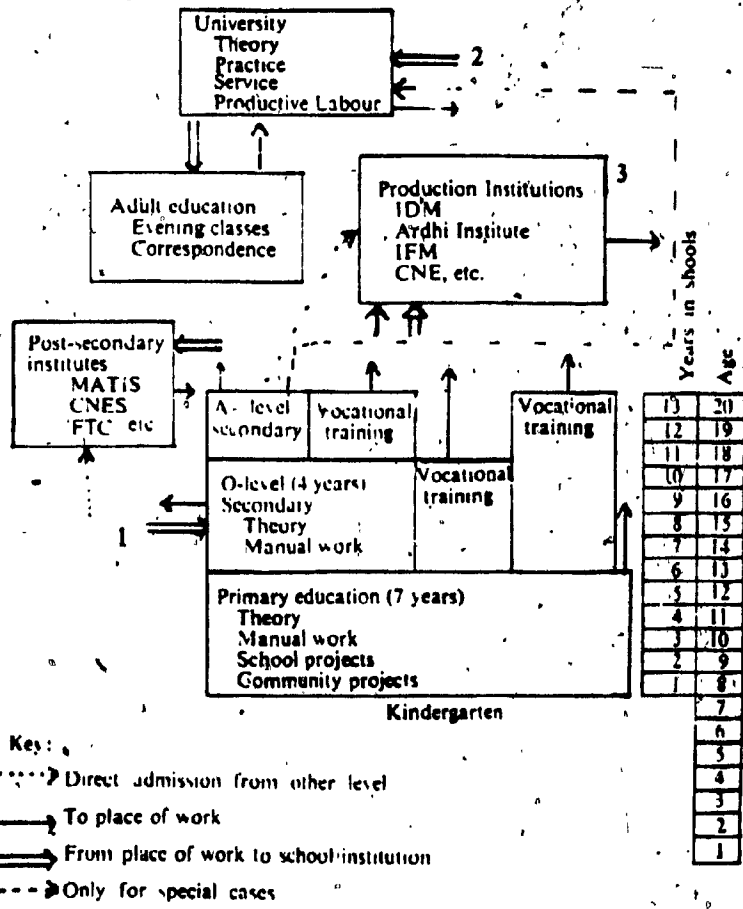
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The Structure of Education in Mainland Tanzania—1979



*(From G. Mman, Directive on Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance: Work as Part of Study in all Schools, P. 20, 1975)

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania. Ministry of Education, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam. 1980.

Number of Pupils in Secondary Schools — 1979

	FORM 1			FORM 2			FORM 3			FORM 4	
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Public Secondary Schools	5,916	2,856	8,772	5,915	2,878	8,813	6,590	2,901	9,491	6,592	3,166
Private Secondary Schools	5,463	3,004	8,467	5,029	2,923	7,952	4,080	2,205	6,285	3,185	1,697
TOTAL	11,379	5,860	17,239	10,964	5,801	16,765	10,670	5,106	15,776	9,777	4,863

	FORM 5			FORM 6			TOTAL			
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
	9,758	1,320	421	1741*	1,311	412	1,723*	27,664	12,614	40,298
	4,882	170	43	213*	173	31	204*	18,100	9,903	28,003
	14,640	1,490	464	1,954*	1,484	443	1,927*	45,764	22,517	68,301

*NB. 185 Form V and 138 Form VI pupils taking Science and Education at Mkwawa College of National Education are not included in the above statistics.

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam. 1980.

**Unit Cost per Student in Public
Secondary Schools, 1979**

(Enrolment 41, 800; teaching staff 2392)

ITEM	PLANNING		FINANCE	
	Total Cost	Unit Cost	Total Cost	Unit Cost
Personal emoluments	98,238,360	2350.20	71,123,560	1,726.30
Workers and farmers Housing Dev Fund	1,964,770	47.00	1,422,470	34.55
Travelling	2,944,810	70.45	2,692,420	65.35
Office expenses stationery, electricity, water, postage, uniforms	15,374,040	367.80	6,613,200	161.00
Maintenance and Running expenses	10,456,270	250.15	4,680,320	113.60
Miscellaneous and other charges	4,393,180	105.10	183,340	4.45
Upkeep of stations	14,360,390	343.55	4,812,150	116.80
Special Expenditure	10,450,000	250.00	4,241,540	102.95
Conferences and Committees	418,000	10.00	321,360	7.80
Transport of pupils	16,093,000	385.00	11,000,400	267.00
Catering	83,600,000	2,000.00	43,012,800	1,044.00
Welfare of students	662,530	15.85	150,380	3.65
School Materials	14,535,375	350.25	5,846,280	141.90
Hospital services	909,150	21.75	418,180	10.15
TOTAL	274,399,875	6,567.10	156,538,410	3,799.50

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, 1980.

**UNIT COST PER STUDENT IN COLLEGE OF
NATIONAL EDUCATION (ENROLMENT 7,400)**

ITEM	PLANNING		FINANCE	
	Total Cost	Unit Cost	Total Cost	Unit Cost
Personal emoluments	25,900,000	3,500.00	32,697,000	3,500
Workers and farmers Housing Dev. Fund	518,000	70.00	635,940	70
Travelling	963,850	130.25	1,844,578	197.45
Office expenses electricity, water, postage, uniforms, stationery	3,096,900	418.50	1,717,060	183.80
Maintenance and Running expenses	2,221,110	300.15	2,337,836	250.25
Miscellaneous charges	1,372,330	185.45	121,446	13.00
Upkeep of stations	3,188,660	430.90	2,006,195	214.75
Special expenditure	3,372,920	455.80	937,003	100.30
Conferences and Committees	148,000	20.00	16,816	1.90
Teaching practice	8,510,000	1,150.00	—	—
Pre-service Allowances	3,328,000	720.00	6,726,240	720
UPE allowances for student teachers and equipment	84,150,000	1,870.00	—	—
Transport of students	3,333,330	450.45	4,065,638	435.20
MTUU Seminar costs	1,393,050	188.25	—	—
Catering	22,459,000	1,035.00	13,499,190	1,445
Welfare of Trainees	149,110	20.15	77,539	8.30
School Materials	2,887,850	390.25	2,070,187	221.60
Hospital Charges	186,110	25.15	249,899	26.75
TOTAL	169,178,220	13,360.30	69,020,567	7,388.20

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer, Dar-es-
Salaam, 1980.

**UNIT COST PER STUDENT AT
UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM**
(Enrolment: 2650 students)

ITEM	PLANNING	
	Total Cost	Unit Cost
Personal emoluments	37,104,003	14,001.50
Workers and farmers Housing Dev. Fund	742,080	280.00
Other charges (catering, boarding, etc.)	61,840,224	23,335.95
Special expenditure 32,856,158	12,398.55	
— Faculties	9,663,467.40	
— Admin.	3,284,387.50	
— Allowances, travel, etc.	19,908,301.10	
Books and other materials	13,478,054	4,331.35
Field attachment	7,180,000	2,709.35
TOTAL	151,200,519	57,056.80

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, 1980.

Subjects and Allocation of Periods—1980

PERIOD	CLASSES AND ALLOCATION OF PERIODS			
	I—II	III—V	V—VI	VII
1. Kiswahili	12	9	7	6
2. Mathematics	8	7	7	8
3. Art	4	1	3	3
4. Home Economics				
Health Science	1	2	2	2
5. Physical Education	2	2	2	2
6. Handicraft	1	1	2	2
7. Religion	2	2	2	2
8. Science Agricultural				
Science	—	2	4	1
9. English	—	4	4	4
10. Political Education	—	2	2	2
11. Geography	—	2	2	2
12. History	—	—	—	—
Total	10	15	40	40
Total number of periods per week	6	7	8	8

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer, Dar-es-Salaam, 1980.

Technical Bias for forms 3 and 4

SUBJECTS		
GROUP		PERIODS
COMPULSORY SUBJECTS	Technical Subjects	9
	Political Education	2
	Kiswahili	3
	English	5
	Mathematics	6
	Physics/Engineering Science	4
	Chemistry	4
	Religion	2
Total number of periods per week		45
OPTIONAL SUBJECTS	Biology	4
	Art	3
	Teaching Methods	2
	Music	3
	Physical Education	3
SELF RELIANCE PROJECTS		8 hours
PHYSICAL EDUCATION		2 hours

A student must take one of the following courses

COURSE	SUBJECTS
A. Mechanical Engineering	1. Auto Mechanics 2. Fitting and Turning 3. Welding, Metal Fabrication and Foundry
B. Civil Engineering	1. Plumbing 2. Blockwork Masonry 3. Carpentry and Joinery
C. Electrical Engineering	Electrical Installation

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer. Dar-es-Salaam. 1980.

Agriculture Bias for forms 3 and 4

SUBJECTS		PERIODS
GROUP	SUBJECT	
COMPULSORY SUBJECTS	AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE	10
	Political Education	2
	Kiswahili	3
	English	3
	Mathematics	6
	Chemistry	4
	Biology	4
	Religion	2
Total number of periods per week		36
OPTIONAL SUBJECTS	Additional Mathematics	4
	Physics	4
	Geography	3
	History	3
	Home Economics	4
	Foreign Languages	1
	Teaching Methods	2
	Art	3
	Music	3
Physical Education	3	
SELF RELIANCE PROJECTS		10 Hours
GAMES & SPORTS		2 Hours

Home Economics Bias for forms 3 and 4

SUBJECTS		PERIODS
GROUP	SUBJECT	
COMPULSORY SUBJECTS	Home Economics	10
	Political Education	2
	Kiswahili	3
	English	3
	Mathematics	6
	Chemistry	4
	Biology	4
	Religion	2
Total number of periods per week		36
OPTIONAL SUBJECTS	Additional Mathematics	
	Physics	
	Geography	
	History	
	Foreign Languages	
	Teaching Methods	
	Art	
Music		
SELF RELIANCE PROJECTS		10 hours
GAMES & SPORTS		2 hours

SOURCE: Some Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania.
Ministry of Education, Government Printer. Dar-es-
Salaam. 1980.

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIAAbbreviated Facts

1. Political System: Single party state, democratically elected government.
2. Area: Approximately 360,000 sq. miles
3. Population: Approximately 18 million, growth 2.5.
4. Culture/Religion: Majority Muslim. Christian animist, and Hindu minority groups. 120 different ethnic groups, of mainly Bantu, Nilotics, but also Arab and Asian descendants.
5. Language: National language Swahili, but English, local, and Indian dialects also used.
6. Health: Child Mortality, 1-4 years: 1.8%
Access to clean water: 39%
Life Expectancy: 52 years.
7. Literacy: increased from 10% to 66% since independence, state-provided education.
8. Economy: G. N. P. is approximately \$260 per year..

SOURCE: Statistical Section of the Planning Division,
Ministry of National Education, Dar Es Salaam:
Government Printer, July, 1980.