

Figure 1. Republic of Tanzania: regions and major towns.

Source: McHenry, Dean E., *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages*.  
 Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1979.

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## MAIN ABBREVIATIONS USED

DE:	Department of Education
DSM:	Headquarters of the Ministry of Education, Dar es Salaam
ESR:	Education for Self-Reliance
GEE:	General Entrance Examination
LEA:	Local Education Authority
NBCC:	National Brigades Coordinating Committee
NSE:	New Sociologists of Education
TANU:	Tanganyika African National Union
TAPA:	Tanganyika African Parents Association
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPE:	Universal Primary Education
UTS:	United Teaching Service

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## INTRODUCTION

Changing the educational system has come to mean the search for and construction of alternatives to existing formal and non-formal education (Fantini, 1977; Coons and Sugarman, 1978; Fernig, 1978; Gillette, 1979; Hummel, 1977). As Hummel states at the outset of his review of Education Today for the World of Tomorrow (1979, p. 13), "Everywhere in the world, reforms and innovations are among the most urgent preoccupations of educational circles."

For the African countries, in particular, two tasks were assigned to their school systems after independence (Nyerere, 1967, 1968, 1971, 1974; Coombs, 1968; Mengot, 1974; Unesco, Paris, 1974, 1976):

1. the schools have to facilitate the development of skills necessary for national reconstruction; and
2. the schools have to act as agents in transforming societal attitudes and values, and as symbols of national cohesion.

To what extent the new models are achieving these broad goals rests solely on individual governments and ministries of national education (Asiachi, 1979; Zaki, 1981; Baregu, 1981). However, new forms of education in Africa portray certain commonalities and differences. The basic similarity among these new programs in many African countries is the emphasis on the concept of self-help (Mugo, 1970; Bholá, 1981; Asiachi, 1979; Zaki, 1981). As Asiachi (1979) explains, in self-help projects human resources are employed rather than material investments alone. This human investment in self-help programs involves the

contribution of free labor in order to obtain desired project objectives (Zaki, 1981).

Other common elements of alternative forms of education in Africa include their rural operational base and their revolutionary nature (Bhola, 1981; Zaki, 1981; Mugo, 1970). The problems arising from the attempt to implement self-help related educational programs cannot merely be understood in terms of the sources of the variance in their definitions. Some of these programs operate as rural or agricultural educational schemes. It does not matter. The diversity of the African peoples and the political, economic and cultural contexts in which various programs and educational settings are placed reflect varying applications of the concept of self-help. Thus, the efforts to mobilize not only the school children but also the masses in both formal and informal ways in order to enable them to develop a sense of self-reliance may take the form of "Ujamaa" in Tanzania, or "Harambee" in Kenya, or "Animation Rurale" in Senegal, or the "Young Brigades" in Botswana (Torsh, 1974; Mengot, 1976).

The major differences in self-help programs may be found in their level of organization and structure and the degree of community participation in their implementation. Also, the success of self-help programs will depend on the political leadership of a particular country, the level of emphasis given to the programs and who benefits from them. In terms of educational policy analysis, however, there is need for finding which alternative educational strategy provides the potential for success in terms of whether or not the program goals were achieved with minimum social and economic costs.

### Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to examine Nyerere's educational thought in relation to his four reform proposals: the integration of the educational system, education for manpower, education for self-reliance and the decentralization of decision making in the educational system. Specifically, the intent is to determine the degree to which education is a potent force in changing the Tanzanian society and whether the notion of self-help as conceived by Nyerere is sufficiently rich and diverse to create the type of schooling that is consistent with the needs and interests of those in Tanzania who are affected by self-help programs.

It will become clear that Nyerere's rhetoric exceeds the limits to which schools can be used as reform agents. It will also be evident that alternative concepts of self-help are needed if the system of schooling in Tanzania is to meet the diverse goals of those who attend them.

### Thesis and Its Implications

Education is only part of society and one of the social institutions. For social change to occur that would involve the whole society, other equally important parts of the society, the political and economic institutions, have to be mobilized. Limited to changing only the educational system itself, Nyerere's educational strategy, embodied in the four reform proposals, may have the potential for lowering the costs involved in Tanzania's educational development. It may also lower the rising expectations of those who attend self-help schools.

But these reform proposals may not be sufficient to address all the problems of students affected by self-help programs.

If Nyerere's strategy is not the only strategy for reform, educational leaders in Tanzania have to start redefining other alternative educational models in order to find better ways of meeting the diverse needs of those using the school system to prepare for future careers.

The focus on Tanzania raises the concern over the possibility that a fairly restrained and intact system of education, from colonial days, may conflict with the new educational strategy proposed by Tanzania's President Nyerere (Zaki, 1981; Simmons, 1979). The concern is over the contrast between the present political, economic and social orientation, summed up in the concept of "Ujamaa" and that of the former colonial power, Britain. If the goals of the educational system differ from those of the other sub-systems within the Tanzanian society, conflicts may arise in attaining the overall goals of national development. The beginning of a new phase in the life of a nation, Naik (1979) argues, should be followed by corresponding changes in the education of the young.

As Gezwein (1980:250) argues, "...we are witnessing such rapid historical, social and economic change that new forms are needed of passing an experience . . . in human knowledge and behavior." He argues that changing circumstances require new educational objectives and the elaboration and implementation of corresponding educational models and management systems (Gezwein, 1980). But according to Naik (1979), education cannot be transformed in a vacuum. It is a dependent

sub-system of the society. Consequently, simultaneous efforts have to be made to change society and the educational system in a complementary direction to get the best results. Naik argues that there are three forms of power: political power, economic power and knowledge power. He maintains that if we desire to have an equitable distribution of knowledge power, we must have an equitable distribution of political and economic power to achieve our objective (Naik, 1979).

Tanzania offers an excellent case in which to examine the results of educational changes responding to political and economic structural changes which the country has undergone for over fifteen years. Tanzania has a typical traditional and colonial history, prior to independence. Since 1967, however, changes in the political and economic institutions have tended to emphasize a new form of Tanzanian socialism known as "Ujamaa" (familyhood). The educational system appeared to be quick to respond to such changes by altering its own instructional structures, content and pedagogy.

### The Organization of the Study

The study is organized in four parts, in addition to an introduction in which are described the problem situation, its significance together with the limitations and research strategy employed in analyzing Nyerere's writings and public statements on education in Tanzania. Part One provides the context of educational development and reform in Tanzania. This context reflects (1) the general socio-economic and political characteristics from which educational policy can be interpreted, (2) the historical evolution of Tanzanian education

from pre-colonial to the eve of Nyerere's revolution by education, and (3) the present structure of the educational system. In Part Two, Nyerere's broad national goals are described and his conception of the role of education in a socialist state. These provide a critical framework in which to analyze his educational reform policies in Part Three. In Part Four interpretations and implications of the thesis are developed.

### Significance of the Study

To what extent is the gap in our knowledge to be filled by studying Nyerere's notion that self-help in education can be a potent force for social change in Tanzania?

In a paper presented at the Conference of the African Studies Association at Bloomington, Indiana, on "Reflections on Education, Rural Development and Socialism in Tanzania," Mwesiga Baregu, a Tanzanian, provided one answer to the above question (Baregu, 1981:1):

With the proclamation of the Arusha declaration on socialism and self reliance in 1967 the country aroused considerable interest both from those who were in search of alternative educational development strategies in the face of the failure of United Nation's first development decade, and from those who were much happier with traditional approaches to education. But of equal importance is the fact that among those who sympathize with the Tanzanian educational model, there is need to find out whether this alternative is a bridge between the past and the present educational systems. This will enable us to know where we are heading to.

It is this vacuum which this study intends to fill. There is a need also to know, among other things, whether Nyerere's model is succeeding in building the kind of socialist state he advocated in 1967 (Nyerere, 1967, 1968, 1974). The major problem facing educational

reformers in developing countries, according to Simmons (1979), is how to meet the diverse and often conflicting needs of students, parents and employers without sacrificing national priorities. In terms of the operation of the school systems in the Third World, this problem manifests itself in the following ways: the way the total school enrollment is regulated; the extent to which selection, examination and promotion procedures provide children with access to schooling; and the way growing unemployment of graduates is checked. If Nyerere's educational model shows potential for addressing these problems, other developing nations may wish to employ similar guidelines in reforming their own school systems.

#### Limitation of the Study

The study will be limited to formal education, i.e., to schooling. The five-year social and economic development plans only stipulate different roles schools should play in achieving national goals for development. Education for self-reliance, the turning point in Tanzania's current educational reform, is concerned with criticizing primary, secondary and higher educational levels of the early 1960's.

Although Nyerere's educational strategy reflects a broad perspective, providing some sort of learning for all citizens, particularly adult peasants and craftsmen in rural areas, it is mainly concerned with proposing alternative developments for different levels of schooling, especially at the primary level. Goals for non-formal education are not mentioned in Education for Self-Reliance (Gillette, 1979) and in other government documents and development plans

(Coulson, 1979).

Overall Research Strategy: The Case Method and the Choice of Tanzania

The Case Method is the primary means used in this study to examine the development of "Ujamaa" (familyhood) in Tanzanian schools.

Compared to a survey study which tends to examine a small number of variables across a large sample of units, the case study tends to examine a single unit across a large number of variables and conditions (Mayer and Greenwood, 1980). Using primary documents and evidence from current research, the extent to which national reform policies have been implemented in the educational system of Tanzania will be examined. To test the authenticity of these reforms it would be necessary, critically, to assess important elements of the education system prior to and following national independence.

There are reasons which justify the use of the single case for this study. The case study method is relevant to the problem at hand: it helps in discovering all the important elements involved in the history and development of Tanzania's national educational system since independence in 1961. In a case study, the advantage of depth provides the researcher with an insight into schooling in Tanzania, the unit of analysis. Information is collected from documents on the past and present state of Tanzania's educational system integrating it with changes in the overall development of the nation.

Another advantage of the historical case study as research is its unobtrusiveness (Mayer and Greenwood, 1980). The researcher is not physically involved in the situation or unit to be studied. There

is only limited danger of experimenter-subject interaction. But threats to the validity and reliability of historical case study findings can possibly overwhelm the advantages. Subjective interpretation of documents, especially concerning the qualitative impacts of national policies on basic changes in Tanzanian education can influence the findings. Selective judgements may rule certain data in and out, or assign a high or low value to their significance, or place them in one context rather than another. The fact that the researcher was detached from the unit of analysis (schooling in Tanzania) was not the only way of dealing with the threat posed by the subjective interpretation of documents. Perhaps another selection of documents dealing with the development of education in Tanzania since independence will not lead us to a different interpretation.

The statistical documents used in this analysis only terminate with the 1975/76 school year, corresponding with the Third Five Year Development Plan. According to the organization of the Ministry of National Education, Statistical data for the Fourth Five Year Development Plan are not available until after 1984, the end of the plan. Thus, the extent to which the data for the First, Second, and Third Five Year Development Plans can be used to make valid generalizations about the present and future of education in Tanzania is limited. However, the study can be useful in determining the trend of educational development and the problems encountered by policy makers. The study can also help to generate hypotheses which can be tested later through a more rigorous field investigation.

The choice of Tanzania as a case study also can be justified for a number of reasons.

1. Compared to many other African countries, Tanzania has unique characteristics. The country has a set of clearly formulated national policies that provide specific guidelines for educational development (Gillette, 1975).

In addition, there is an "explicit and articulate educational philosophy" (Hatch, 1973:9) as demonstrated by Education for Self-Reliance.

2. Our examination of the extent to which national reform policies have been implemented in the educational system in Tanzania can offer some lessons to other African countries. East African countries, especially Uganda and Kenya, which have followed after Tanzania's political leadership by adopting the one party system, would also gain from the experiments in Tanzania's educational system since independence (Kurtzt, 1977).
3. As a principal source of information, Tanzania has been selected because of the availability of documents and historical records suitable for this analysis.

## PART ONE

### THE CONTEXT OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND REFORM IN TANZANIA

There are two sections dealing with the context of the Tanzanian educational reform movement. The general setting is the reflection of the nation's historical, political and socio-economic characteristics. Section One is the more specific and it will deal with the historical development of education in Tanzania from the pre-colonial period leading to the eve of the revolution that brought about Nyerere's educational reform policies. Section Two will reflect the present structure of the Tanzanian educational system. Both the history of Tanzanian education and the present characteristics of the nation's political and economic developments have broad implications for assessing the implementation of educational reforms in Tanzania.

#### The General Setting

Tanzania, on the east coast of Africa, is one of Africa's low-income countries. It has \$250 in per capita income, 365,000 square miles in area, and a population of 18 million. Population density is sparse, only 42 persons per square mile, with a 95% rural population (Due, 1980:8). Before the plan to consolidate many of the villages after 1967, most of the rural population lived in scattered homesteads, outside villages and urban cities, where social amenities were not abundant. Subsistence agriculture is still the dominant form of rural production with a continuing decline in per capita income of those in the agricultural sector. This decline has been accompanied by a rise

in income of those in the urban business and public sectors, reflecting significant and growing inequalities in the distribution of income and other items of social welfare. On the eve of the socialist revolution in 1967, there were only 373 doctors in the country, one for every 31,842 people. Infant mortality is very high, 140-160 per 1,000, while the life expectancy is about 45 (Bose, 1980).

Mainland Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika) became a British mandate after World War I and received independence in December 1962. Prior to World War I, Tanganyika was ruled by Germany (1885-1914). Earlier, the Bantu ethnic groups that occupied the land developed trade links with Moslems (Gillette, 1979). Although the Moslem influence was not pervasive as that of the European colonizers, their influence was important and still persists today. In April, 1964 Tanganyika joined with the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba (long British protectorates) to form the United Republic of Tanzania (Due, 1980). At independence the Europeans dominated almost all major business and industrial activities while Asians controlled the retail trade; local entrepreneurship was stifled. In 1967, however, the party that led the struggle for independence, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), declared an African socialist orientation based on "Ujamaa" (familyhood) (Morrison, 1976). Subsequent organization of government was based not only on an Africanization policy but also was accompanied by a strong move to centralize government. The increase of the power of the central government ministers was accomplished at the expense of local government, especially at a time when local participation was needed for the implementation of rural development programs, including those in

education. And when Nyerere's Decentralization policy (now referred to by party militants as the Musoma Resolution) came into being in 1974, it was almost too late to replace an entrenched centralized top-down administration patterned after the British colonial model (Simmons, 1979).

However, the government has shown interest in trying to develop programs in education and agriculture to improve the conditions for the rural population, despite limited resources. Education has been given the priority because, according to Nyerere, it is a tool to be used in building a socialist state (Nyerere, 1968). This reliance on education and schooling, the concern of this study, is reflected in the country's recurrent annual budget where education receives 20% of its total (World Bank, 1980). Although the Arusha Declaration in 1967 endorsed economic development based on local resources, dependence on foreign capital for the development budget has increased from 63% in 1972-73 to over 73% in 1974-75. In order to obtain the foreign exchange needed to pay loans and buy manufactured goods, the country's agricultural products (coffee, cotton, and sisal) are used mainly for export rather than for internal processing or consumption. In 1974, agricultural products accounted for 80% of the total export value (Mbilinyi, 1979:105). This has placed an extraordinary burden on the nation to sustain its economy intact.

An attempt to place Nyerere's educational reform policies within a more general context cannot be complete without referring to the influence of external factors, some of which were beyond the control of the new government following independence. These included: rapidly

escalating oil prices, deteriorating terms of trade, adverse weather conditions, and underwriting the cost to enable Uganda to overthrow Idi Amin (Ergas, 1981). The cost of imported oil represented about 50 percent of Tanzania's total export earnings in 1980 and this percentage, it is predicted, may show an increase in the future (Ergas, 1981:3). Nyerere himself observed recently that even though Tanzania imported less oil in 1979 than in 1972, it had to pay nine times as much (Smiley, 1980). In terms of trade, the exchange ratio between the agricultural commodities that Tanzania exports and the manufactured goods and raw materials that it imports has worsened over the years. Floods in 1970, 1975 and 1979 were followed by inadequate rainfall in 1972, 1977 and 1981 (Ergas, 1981). The war with Uganda was estimated to have cost Tanzania about \$550 million, excluding disruptions in the manpower and transportation sectors (African Economic Digest, 1980).

### Summary

Clearly, Tanzania is representative of many nations today that must struggle to spread limited national resources over a host of competing national needs, not the least of which is the need to develop the nation as a nation itself. Tanzania seems unique, however, in the extraordinary role its government assigned the public schools to treat some of the nation's most profound social, economic, and political problems.

## SECTION ONE: THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

In order to appreciate the reasons leading to Nyerere's adoption of the four major policies in education and the factors that conditioned their implementation, it is essential to look at the historical development of education in Tanzania from pre-colonial times to the eve of the revolutionary period. According to Gillette (1979), principal factors that seemed to influence Nyerere's educational policies after independence were the values regarding education and schooling held by parents, pupils and teachers, and the attitudes of Tanganyikans toward foreign educational domination.

The history of Tanzanian education leading to independence in 1961 divides itself into three major periods: Traditional African education, prior to foreign penetration; Islamic education; and Western education. The Western educational period covers three phases: Missionary education, German education, and British education.

### Traditional African Education

Before there was a Tanganyika and a modern Tanzania, there were the African people. In the area now identified as Tanzania, the people were largely BANTU, a loose confederation of diverse ethnic units (Cameron, 1967).

Gillette (1979) cautions about the attempt to be very specific about traditional African education in Tanzania for two reasons: the absence of contemporary written records of its nature and evolution and the differences "among the various groups of Bantu people" who "descended from those who first settled the area which is now known as

Tanzania about two millenia ago" (Gillette, 1979:28). However, there is a scholarly consensus that before the coming of the Europeans into the area there was an educational system, the purpose of which was to pass on to the younger generation the values and beliefs which gave the people some identity in order to preserve their existence (Cameron and Dodd, 1970; Zanolli, 1971; Yarkvisser, 1973; and Gillette, 1979).

Judged in terms of setting, timing, audience, content and method, traditional African education reflected some unique characteristics. The setting of traditional education was life itself; it was undifferentiated from other spheres of human activity (Gillette, 1979). The integration of the child's learning and life grew first in the family, then through the fields and compounds of the child's neighbors to members of the larger clan (Zanolli, 1971). Traditional education pervaded the child's total existence. It was not restricted to a specific place, nor was it confined solely to a special time of the child's day or period of life.

The content of traditional education was both relevant and functional. The skills learned were relevant and useful to personal, social and civic needs of the learners and of society. The only variation in the content was with age and sex but this content was oriented to vocation. Boys were prepared to become warriors, hunters, fishermen or farmers, while the girls were assigned both domestic and productive agricultural roles, emphasizing their roles as future wives and mothers (Cameron and Dodd, 1970). Some minimum expectation for correct behavior, including sexual behavior, were set by the clan to which the child belonged. These were: "...good manners (ababu), good

character (tabia), obedience (utii), and respect, especially for elders and superiors (Kuheshima watu)" (Zanolli, 1971, p. 38).

In pedagogy, traditional African education was, in part, oral. Ideas and information were passed on in casual conversation from household to household and in the fields. It was through this oral medium of instruction that was used in telling moral stories (Cameron and Dodd, 1970). As passive as this form of learning could be, however, it was calculated to help children become proficient in surviving.

Perhaps the more attractive features of traditional education to development educators such as Nyerere can be seen from the fact that no separate professional personnel was required to impart learning. All members of the society "were simultaneously educating and being educated." Traditional African education was therefore communal and universal. It was formal in that those who acquired certain basic skills taught them to others (apprentices). Parents passed on values to their children and the elders acted as models of behavior for the young (Gillette, 1979).

But traditional African education had its own faults. As Gillette (1979) points out, not only did its content discriminate by age and sex, severe corporal punishment was meted out to disobedient learners. Learners had to conform to prescribed behavior without questioning the source of knowledge. According to Zanolli (1970) if a member of the community put extra effort to bring about a larger crop yield than was necessary for the family's subsistence, the other members would frown. The neighbors became jealous and either destroyed or stole one's crops. Some deviant learners were treated as outlaws.

Yet, the organic integration of education and society has survived a hundred years of colonial rule under the Moslems, the Germans and the British. The apparent persistence by Nyerere to base his reform policies on the processes of indigenous education, incorporating similar principles now known as "ujamaa" or familyhood, should be understood from the view that traditional education, unlike its modern counterpart, had the likelihood of being in harmony with society. And Nyerere is not the only Tanzanian convinced by the relevance of traditional education. Zanolli's (1970) field study of educational development in Tanzania revealed the same impression from students surveyed. The majority of the pupils interviewed in Upper Primary School told him that their parents, not their teachers, had taught them most. This suggests that the children consider the general rules of behavior learned at home and their daily tasks more important than the subjects they learn at school.

### Islamic Education

Islamic penetration of Tanganyika may be traced from 1840 when twenty-five Arab traders established a large base at Tabora and settled there. But it was not until 1920 when Islamic religious and educational influence over Tanganyika were felt (Cameron and Dodd, 1970). Gillette (1979) argues that Islamic religious and educational policies did not overthrow the traditional African society nor did the opening of Koranic schools replace traditional forms of African education. Gillette (1979) offers two reasons why Islamic penetration did not result in a conflict with traditional African culture and education.

First, the spread of Islām to East Africa as a whole was not by conquest. Islam penetration of East Africa was not through a holy war such as the jihad that swept men and institutions from its path as it cut across the Magreb and into Spain (Gillette, 1979:35). Entering from the coastal regions of Tanzania with heavy populations in Zanzibar, the new visitors were welcomed, partly because of their peaceful trade and partly because they were carriers of a "great and international" religion (Cameron and Dodd, 1970:50).

Second, Islamic penetration of East Africa had no motive of colonization. Davidson (1959) contrasts this East African penetration with that of North Africa. He maintains that while Kairouan and Rabat in North Africa became the capitols of Islamic Kingdoms controlled by Arab colonists, Kilwa, an Islamic city in Tanzania, remained a trade and communication outpost. The social, economic and political institutions in Kilwa were essentially African.

Islamic educational policy, however, was different from traditional African education because it reflected a "formal non-indigenous" structure. Islamic education was formal because it took place specifically at the Koranic School at a particular time. Its content was prescribed and limited, to a larger extent, to religious instruction with the three R's given little attention (Gillette, 1979). Islamic education was non-indigenous in that it brought a new religion, a new language and apparently a new civilization. Its devotion to the study of the Koran and the absence of instructions in vocational or civic education might have formed big contrasts with the traditional African education.

Yet, there was no major conflict between Islamic and traditional education. Islamic influence was limited to the coast of mainland Tanzania and to Zanzibar; Koranic schools therefore reached a very small number of African pupils. Cameron and Dodd (1970:50) report about 700 schools with 8,000 pupils in these schools in 1924 when Islam was at its peak even after the arrival of Europeans. The continuation of Islamic education in Tanzania after 1924, according to Gillette (1979), was due to the influx of Asian Moslem traders and clerks than to its revival among Tanzanians. The long-term impact of Islamic contact and education have remained symbolic in Tanzania today. The coastal language and culture, now Africanized, "are still known by Arab-root name: Swahili" (Gillette, 1979:37), from the Arabic Sahel, meaning "coast." Davidson (1959:210) reflects this lasting impact when he says:

The history of the coast of the medieval period [in Tanzanian history] is more easily intelligible if it was the history of an African culture gradually Islamized than if it is merely the history of Islamic colonies from the Persian Gulf.

## Western Education

### The Early Missionary Phase

The most widely used phrase that sums up African reactions against the European missionary drive to convert and educate Africans is quoted by Dumbledam (1970:9): "To live in Nasa is to fear the school." Missionary influence led by the Protestant Missionary Society in 1870 and followed in 1878 by the Catholic Holy Ghost Fathers and the White Fathers soon met with African resistance because these pastors and priests were too zealous in getting parents and pupils to comply with

their standards. For example, they encouraged local African rulers to impose fines on parents whose children did not attend the new schools. This practice conflicted with the German government, although logically, the Africans contributed to the armed opposition to German occupation, 1898-1914 (Gillette, 1979:38).

The Missionaries, despite opposition, expanded their educational stronghold on Tanganyika. According to Cameron and Dodd (1970) there were 600 mission schools in Tanganyika with 50,000 African pupils enrolled. In some respects, the content of missionary education reflected the African traditions. Instruction was given in local vernaculars and schools were open to both boys and girls. Access to schooling was not limited to the children of chiefs as it was the case with German educational practice.

Gillette (1979), however, thinks that the apparent egalitarian character of missionary education was merely a surface tactic designed to undermine the traditional African society and its education. The manipulation of local leaders, the mistrust of, and the desire to regard African traditions as symbols of pagan values, were among the factors that influenced the educational history of Tanganyika. These very factors also encouraged Africans to strive to preserve their own traditions and their educational system.

Christian missionary education also gave impetus to the concept of graded education, with the selection of pupils' age groups for instruction. This concept of schooling became firmly established during German occupation of Tanganyika resulting from the "partition of Africa in 1885." Germany ruled Tanganyika until 1919 when it was

defeated by a coalition of Britain and France in the first World War, part of which was fought in the territory (Cameron and Dodd, 1970; Davidson, 1959). It should also be noted that the missionary influence over Tanganyika and over education in particular coexisted with German rule.

#### The German Phase--1885-1914

The Germans believed schooling was the key to the source of a nation's economic and political strength (Zanolli, 1970; Nyerere, 1967, 1968). But, rather ironically, Africans were kept from getting more than a primary education by the Germans for fear that if they became well schooled the colony would lose the cheap manual labor that was needed to support many of the German plantations. It was German policy to use the educational system to improve the physical well being of the Africans. This ran into conflict with the missionary policy of colonizing the Africans morally.

In fact, for the first time in Tanganyikan history in general, and educational policy making in particular, a conflict between the state and the church came into being. German educational policy and the methods employed by the government to run the schools were criticized by the mission church authorities.

The missionaries favored vernacular-language instruction for all pupils and they concentrated their evangelization in the rural areas of Tanganyika. The German government stressed teaching in Swahili "for the sons of coastal chiefs, through whom they exercised direct rule" (Gillette, 1979:41). While the missionaries favored co-education, the

German government preferred to school only boys. Unlike the missionaries, German colonial government was not willing to endorse any policy of expanding the school system in order to provide access to all those boys and girls who needed it. According to Cameron and Dodd (1970), there were only 60 government village primary schools, 9 middle schools and one high school provided by the German administration. These figures sharply contrast with the 600 mission schools that existed in the same period.

In terms of content and function, while the missionaries gave priority to religious education for the purpose of evangelization, the government was concerned with vocational, civic and general education (Gillette, 1979). The Germans trained clerks, tax-collectors, interpreters and artisans in order to use the native population to facilitate their administration. The purpose of civic and general education was to inculcate a liking for order, cleanliness, diligence and dutifulness and a sound knowledge of German customs (Cameron and Dodd, 1970). Indeed, while the missionaries were bent on salvation for the African's soul, the German government focused on those aspects of African development most likely to keep the Germans in power.

But differences between missionary and government educational policies and practices at the time were of degree, not of kind. While these priests, pastors and administrators differed in their methods on how best to wield education as a tool of domination, they were in agreement on the fact that the aim of their education was to dominate the Africans (Gillette, 1979). According to Zanolli (1970:100), the

"prevailing European attitude was that the African's salvation lay in complete change."

Educational policies in Tanganyika under the Moslems, the missionaries and the Germans had another common feature. Their policies gave a new meaning to the concept of education-schooling. The concept that any learning could only occur in a special institution at a special time and by a special staff was in contrast to traditional African education which stood for life itself. Although "Swahili" was derived from the Arabic word Sahel, which means "coast," it had no word for "school" because traditional education was not equivalent to schooling. The impact of German education in this connection is symbolic of the appearance in Swahili of the word Shule from the German word Schule which means "school" (Cameron and Dodd; Gillette, 1979).

#### The British Period--1919-1961

In 1918, the Germans evacuated Tanganyika. British government was imposed formally in 1919 and Tanganyika became a crown colony of the British Empire. The British set about installing their own instruments of government, including schools for potential civil servants (Cameron and Dodd, 1970). The issues involving educational policies in Tanganyika under British colonization were not those of conceptualization or even consolidation as before 1914. British educational policies were similar to the broad colonial administrative policy of "divide and rule." They hastened the disintegration of the school system by race, region, religion and sex (Dubbledam, 1970). These issues became crucial after independence 40 years later and to Julius Nyerere, the

first President, the dream of reforming the school system based on the apparent egalitarianism that marked the traditional African educational period became a goal to be achieved.

The initial issues focused on the quantity, content, and administration of education in British Tanganyika. According to the British Administration's First Report (1920), the purpose of education was "to develop the people . . . on their own lines and in accordance with their own values and customs..." (quoted in Cameron and Dodd, 1970:60). This separate but equal doctrine resulted in three racial systems of education corresponding to three groups in Tanganyika--the Africans, the Asians and the Europeans. But the three systems of education were far from equal. In terms of per-pupil expenditure, children who attended European schools were most favored. African children attended the poorest schools, if at all. The separate but equal doctrine must be considered to be mere rhetoric because in reality it reflected an educational system designed to teach a few pupils to dominate, and most to be dominated (Gillette, 1979; Morrison, 1976).

There also was segregation and discrimination by sex and region, the details of which will be analyzed in Part Three. Cameron and Dodd (1970:104) report that no single female had gone beyond primary school by 1947, and that, in 1956, the ratio of girls to boys in primary schools was just 1:3. Less than ten percent of school-age children attended school, although the Africans' demand for more schooling was more than the government and the missions were willing to provide (Gillette, 1979).

Some scholars of Tanzanian colonial history seem unwilling to give British Administration some credit where it was due (Gillette, 1979; Morrison, 1976; Zanolli, 1970). The British government's restrictive educational policy at the time was based on rational political and economic theory, but that theory was not applied uniformly to all schools and pupils, irrespective of race, region and religion. The policy linked school expansion to the job-market. It limited schooling at all levels to foreseeable employment prospects for graduates. The policy acknowledged the possibility that an oversupply of educated but unemployed Africans could lead to unrest and the potential overthrow of the colonial government. It would create socio-economic expectations for white-collar jobs and for salaries that the empire could not afford. It was this fear of spreading the "diploma disease" that dominated British educational policy-making (Dore, 1976). Surprisingly, Nyerere later employed this very policy of restricting educational expansion to sell his Education for Self-Reliance in 1967 (Nyerere, 1967, 1968).

But it was over the issue of the content of education that the British educational policy at the time can be given more approval. The basic concern involved a conflict between academic and vocational training. Criticisms that British colonial education was "bookish" and examination-oriented cannot be denied. But as Gillette (1979) and Cameron and Dodd (1970) later argued, the British made a serious attempt to relate education to the demands of the local environment. A "localization" of curriculum was therefore the concern of British educational policy. Gillette (1979) reports that the administration urged (with missionary approval) the adoption of an agriculture-oriented

curriculum implemented at the Mwānza Central School in 1931, where a 35-acre farm existed. The effort was to prepare the pupils for what they reasonably could expect in their life after leaving school.

In the 1950's a rural-oriented curriculum was developed not unlike that proposed by Nyerere in his Education for Self-Reliance. The rural education program was based on a terminal primary education strongly biased toward village-level agriculture and crafts. But this model was dropped because of African opposition. Zanolli offers an answer why the Africans rejected this relevant model by the British (1971:42):

...curriculum development alone will not solve the problem [of the relevance of education]. The fact is that school leavers' views of their vocation in life are determined largely by what happens outside the school, in the society, and the economy.

What African parents saw beyond the school was a dual society: the rural poor versus the affluent city dwellers. The only possible bridge between these two was academic education. This was the main contradiction in British educational policy. It offered Africans a route to success as was defined by the way educational facilities were open to European and Asian children in the cities. But at the same time, British policy restricted the African children to inferior alternatives in the countrysides. The fact that the Africans finally accepted the British school, a factor Gillette (1979) employs to explain the full internalization of alien values and behaviors, was to enable some of them to get out of the inferior status in colonial society.

Although the Africans fully accepted the imperial model of society and its schooling, the British administration did not relinquish educational policy-making to them (Gillette, 1979; Thompson, 1965). The government, however, encouraged and even assisted Native Authorities to administer their own schools, a situation which created a third kind of educational establishment, apart from the mission and government institutions. Comparatively, while British educational policy for Asians and Europeans was being made in consultation with Asian and European leaders, the Africans were subjected to government-enforced curricula and its control. Cameron and Dodd blame Africans for their failure to "attune Western influences to local needs and to regenerate African society from within" (1970:231). But as Gillette (1979) argues, that kind of regeneration of African society could not be possible because the Africans lacked the source of power to influence policies in their favor.

At the time of independence in 1961, the typical 18 year old African male had received only four years of schooling just beyond his own clan. He could not enter the middle school (Standard V - VII) like his European counterpart at the same age. Yet, he looked forward to the kinds of opportunities for jobs, more schooling and a better standard of living. The 18 year old female had fewer prospects still. Colonial education had exacerbated this situation, to be sure.

The contradictions of colonial education were resolved, in part, in 1961 when Tanganyika gained independence of Britain. Africans came to control their schools. But behind that accomplishment lay a long history of educational problems: the need to integrate the separate

racial school systems, to adapt the content and administration to suit the new national objectives, and to bring schools in line with the African parents' desires for social progress among their children. It would prove difficult to reverse a century of economic exploitation, political and cultural (including educational) domination. How far, if at all, Nyerere has succeeded in his reform policies toward this broad goal is the substance of this study.

## SECTION TWO: THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

Things are evidently better in Tanzania in 1982. But contradictions still appear. The educational system of Tanzania is organized into formal and non-formal settings. Formal education (schooling) is offered at three levels: primary, secondary, and post-secondary or university levels. Non-formal education consists of selected types of programs for adults and others who need skills in basic literacy. While formal educational programs are offered by both public and private sectors, university education and non-formal education are solely the responsibility of the state.

### Primary Education

Unlike Kenya and other East African countries, nursery education (kindergarten) does not exist in Tanzania as part of the formal educational structure (Asiachi, 1979). This absence is explained by Nyerere's educational policy of raising the pupils' entry age from five to seven years in order that primary school graduates would be

old enough to participate productively in agricultural programs. Primary education is therefore considered terminal and not a route to secondary and higher education. However, children from wealthy families attend day-care centers for two or three years before they enter primary schools (Mbunda, 1976).

Primary education is organized in seven standards (grades). An important change after 1967 was the phasing out of the eighth standard. The old system required a break at primary four or six in order to transfer to a senior primary school. This practice was attacked as elitist and was abolished (Mbunda, 1976). The reorganization envisaged a free and universal primary setting. The result was an increase not only in enrollment but also in the need for teachers, classrooms and equipment, as shown in Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3. The Education Act of 1969 marked the end of 80 years of missionary administration of education.

The curriculum and teaching materials are designed today to meet national interests. But the growing dissatisfaction with these interests still do not reflect parents' and pupils' educational goals. More private schools have opened to address these concerns. The trend towards universal education has been extended to handicapped children with three schools for the blind, two for the deaf and six others mainstreaming the blind. There is still a disparity between boys and girls in terms of access to primary schools.

Table 1.1  
 Numbers of Schools, Pupils and Teachers, 1967 to 1975  
 (Public Schools only)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Number of Pupils</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>
1967	3,865	753,114	16,271
1968	3,852	765,169	15,725
1969	3,811	776,109	16,577
1970	4,070	827,984	17,790
1971	4,133	902,619	19,786
1972	4,495	1,003,596	21,926
1973	4,838	1,106,387	23,168
1974	5,185	1,228,886	25,000
1975	5,804	1,589,008	28,752

Source: Statistics Section, Planning Division. Dar es Salaam:  
 Ministry of National Education.

Table 1.2

Additional Teachers Needed  
for Universal Primary Education

Year	Grade C	Grade A	Total
1975-76	1,947	1,493	3,440
1976-77	4,546	1,222	5,768
1977-78	2,914	999	3,913
TOTAL	9,407	3,714	13,121

Table 1.3

Additional Classrooms Needed  
for UPE at Standard I

Year	Classrooms
1975-76	6,075
1976-77	9,298
1977-78	10,913
TOTAL	26,286

Source: Unesco/Unicef, Report of a Conference-Workshop on Teacher Education for Basic Education. Basic Education Resource Centre for Eastern Africa, 1976.

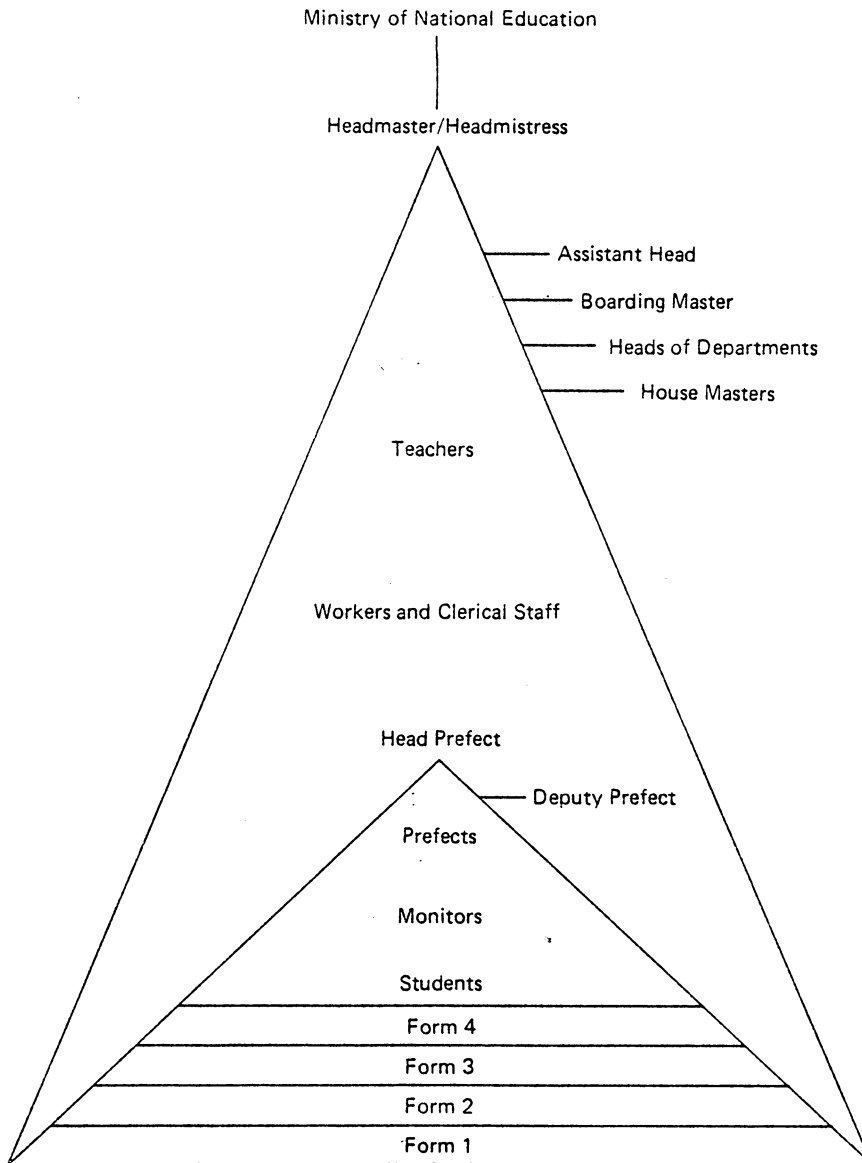
## Secondary Education

The formal administrative structure of secondary education is shown in Table 1.4. This structure does not reflect Forms V and VI because they operate as separate high schools in order to prepare students for university entrance. At the top of this organizational pyramid is the Ministry of National Education with students at the bottom, although in daily relationships the Headmaster or Headmistress is the sole intermediary of the Minister. Places in Form I in public schools are limited and competition for admission is keen, another condition necessitating the increase in the number of private secondary schools against government policy (Nyerere, 1967).

A set of hierarchical relationships among students such as the Prefect System not only links them to the overall structure of the school but also reminds them of the top-down administration practiced by the civil servants. The prefect system originated from the British colonial educational system. The powers of the Head Prefect are a reflection of the Headmaster's or Headmistress' own powers (Mbunda, 1976). Student councils exist, except in private schools where the number of councils is small. In public schools, student council leaders automatically become the party's (TANU) Youth League Leaders.

According to the "Vocational Diversification Program", secondary school students have different curriculum choices (Mbunda, 1979:105). There is specialization in agriculture, commerce, domestic science and technical work for students in Forms III and IV. All students in Forms I and II take the general education courses in Political Education, History, Mathematics, Swahili, English, Culture and Religion.

Table 1.4  
Secondary School Structure, 1976



Source: Mbilinyi, M. J. Secondary Education, in Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, Hamburg UNESCO, 1979, p. 103.

However, the bias in diversification does not offer students wider occupational choices to be productive when they leave school. The number of places offered in Form I is unevenly distributed by region as Table 1.5 shows. Regions with dominant groups, according to Mbunda (1979), show high concentrations of secondary schools. Moreover, the growth of private schools in areas already endowed with public secondary schools enhances this uneven regional distribution. Girls have historically had limited access to post-primary education. About 27% of the Form I places available and 14% of those in Form IV are occupied by girls. The ratio of boys to girls is fixed by the number of places available. There were, in 1975, 44 boys' schools, 18 girls' schools and 18 co-educational schools in the public school system as against 21 boys' schools, 5 girls' schools and 18 co-educational schools in the private sector (Ministry of National Education, 1975:73).

#### Post-Secondary or University Education

Tanzanians receive university education at East African universities: the University of Nairobi, Kenya and Makerere College, Uganda. The Tanzanian national university centers include--the University of Dar es Salaam, the Institute of Education, Ardhi Institute, Institute of Development Management and the National College of Education (Meena, 1979). The structure of these post-secondary institutions varies in programs and duration of studies, ranging from two years for a diploma (associate degree) to five years for a degree in medicine.

The University of Dar es Salaam established in the same year in 1970 as the University of Nairobi, Kenya, remains the central national

Table 1.5

## Regional Distribution of Education Resources (1974)

Regions	Primary Schools (1965-73 av.)	Public Secondary Schools*	Private Secondary Schools*	Total Secondary Schools*	% of Mainland Total*	Pop. in % of Total Mainland Pop.**
Arusha	182	3	3	6	4.2	0.5
Pwani	188	3	0	3	2.1	6.4
Dar es Salaam	188	9	6	15	10.8	
Dodoma	222	5	1	6	4.2	5.8
Iringa	202	7	2	9	6.5	5.6
Kigoma	140	1	1	2	1.4	3.8
Kilimanjaro	367	9	15	24	18.0	5.3
Mtwara	303	5	0	5	3.6	8.5
Lindi	---	1	2	3	2.1	
Mara	193	3	3	6	4.2	4.4
Mbeya	287	4	1	5	3.6	7.9
Rukwa	---	1	1	2	1.4	
Morogoro	250	4	4	3	5.7	5.6
Mwanza	311	6	2	8	5.7	8.6
Ruvuma	172	3	2	5	3.6	3.2
Shinyanga	201	2	1	3	2.1	7.3
Singida	183	2	1	3	2.1	3.7
Tabora	188	5	2	7	5.0	4.6
Tanga	318	5	2	7	5.0	6.3
W. Lake	303	5	4	9	10.8	5.3
Total	4198	83	53	136	100.0	100.0

Source: Ministry of National Education, Statistics, 1974.

university. It has an integrated program with the civil service, offering refresher courses for permanent government secretaries and senior educational and administrative officers. These officers also share their work experiences with faculty and students (Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, 1979).

The law provides for national service for two years as a requirement for Form VI graduates seeking admission into the university. One year during this period is spent in camps taking courses in political education while the other year is spent at the job place. Students receive a small allowance for meeting incidental expenses while studying party ideology, or practicing military craft or farming methods. There is also a mature students' scheme for entry into institutions of higher learning, but the varied admission criteria set for these special students has raised concern and has threatened university academic standards. This policy issue will be considered later in Part Three, Section 3, dealing with Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance." However, Tables 1.6, 1.7 and 1.8 show, respectively, estimated university entry and output, 1969-74; the enrollment of Tanzanian students for degree courses in East African universities, 1961-74; and Tanzanian degree and non-degree students studying in foreign countries in the 1973/74 academic year. The heavy increase of science students over those of arts in Table 1.6 reflects the Second Five-Year Development Plan's directives on the need for university-level occupations in that area. But the attempt to produce enough high school graduates qualifying for entrance resulted in a high rate of wastage (Meena, 1979).

Table 1.6

Estimated University Entry and Output, 1969-1974

Year	Number of Students		Offered Places		University Output	
	Science	Arts	Science	Arts	Science	Arts
1969-70	247	318	247	318	165	186
1970-71	456	380	436	360	192	259
1971-72	540	419	510	389	203	245
1972-73	611	425	581	395	198	286
1973-74	684	430	654	400	349	324
1969-74	2,538	1,972	2,428	1,862	1,107	1,300

Source: The United Republic of Tanzania Tanzania Second Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development..., Vol. I (1969)

Table 1.7  
Enrollment of Tanzanian Students for Degree Courses in the East African Universities, 1961-1974

Institution	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
University of D'Salaam	7	17	34	89	261	454	711	964	1223	1313	1557	1481	1894
Makerere University	122	102	160	144	140	159	187	204	212	180	176	200	163
Nairobi University	49	38	68	104	173	178	278	289	305	274	412	100	221
TOTAL	178	157	262	337	574	791	1176	1457	1740	1767	2145	1781	2278

Source: Sectoral Planning Takwimu za Elimu ya Fuu (Higher Education Statistics Schedule) Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education (1975).

Table 1.8

Tanzanian Degree and Non-Degree Students  
Studying Outside the Country, 1973-74

Course	Males	Females	Total
1. Accountancy	245	18	263
2. Administration	13	--	13
3. Agriculture	272	38	310
4. Architecture	50	2	52
5. Arts	524	82	606
6. Commerce	35	6	41
7. Economics	18	3	21
8. Education	513	86	599
9. Engineering	424	3	427
10. Forestry	39	--	39
11. Horticulture	1	--	1
12. Lands	59	--	59
13. Law	95	11	106
14. Management	11	--	11
15. Marine Technology	2	--	2
16. Medicine	548	36	584
17. Music	3	--	3
18. Nursing	2	23	25
19. Religion	20	4	24
20. Science	365	48	413
21. Social Studies	9	3	12
22. Veterinary	83	3	86
23. Various Others	39	12	51
TOTAL	3,370	378	3,748

Source: Sectoral Planning Takwimu za Elimu ya Fuu (Higher Education Statistics Schedule) Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education (1975)

## Teacher Education

Tanzania trains teachers of different types to teach at different levels of the educational system (Mmari, 1979:119-120).

1. Primary school teachers are those who have had either the full seven year primary school education plus teacher training or a full additional four-year secondary school education plus teacher training.
2. There are diploma teachers who have had an equivalent of six years of secondary education plus one year of teacher training. These teachers are trained to teach either the academic secondary school subjects or vocational ones such as business education, agriculture or domestic science.
3. There are the university-trained teachers who are expected to teach at all levels of the six-year secondary program. Some outstanding ones in this category are retained to teach either at the university or the Institute of Education.
4. There are also teachers for the handicapped--the blind, the deaf and the dumb. But the training for these specialist teachers can only be obtained abroad.
5. A new corps of teachers now coming into the scene consists of relatively untrained teachers for the universal primary education scheme required by Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance. The role of these teachers in implementing this policy will be assessed in Section 3, Part Three.

Generally, however, teacher training programs in Tanzania are characterized by the following features:

1. Until Nyerere's self-reliant scheme for universal primary education in 1967, Tanzania had a reputation for having a high percentage of trained teachers in Africa (Auger, 1968). Many of the teachers in public schools, by 1967, were trained.
2. The teacher training programs combine academic with professional training. This trend can be verified from Table 1.9.
3. There is, however, a high teacher-student ratio at the primary level. This ratio rose from 1:45 in 1961 to 1:53 in 1976 during the post-revolutionary period.
4. The quality of teacher training is encouraging at all levels, although this condition also reflects the increasing number of expatriate teachers. Tables 1.10 and 1.11 show both trends while Tables 1.12 and 1.13 show, respectively, the number of teachers at all levels in 1975/76 and the total enrollment of teachers in training by the educational level they are prepared to teach.

### The Non-Formal Setting

The concept of non-formal education in Tanzania and in other African countries closely approximates adult education, although basic literacy or life-long learning are not ruled out (Malya, 1970). As a national endeavor, President Nyerere designated 1970 as Adult Education Year. He stressed the broad objectives of adult education, e.g., (1) providing people with the skills necessary to bring about change in their environment and (2) fostering understanding of policies of socialism and self-reliance. Backed by the party (TANU), the Ministry

Table 1.9  
Teacher Training Pattern in Tanzania

Teacher's Grade*	Primary Schooling (years)	Secondary Schooling (years)	Teacher Education (years)	Total (years)
C	7(8)***	-	2	9(10)
B**	8	2	2	12
A	7(8)	4	2	13(14)
Diploma (EO III)	7(8)	6	1	14(15)
EO IIB	7(8)	6	2	15(16)
B.A. (ED.), B.SC. (ED.)	7(8)	6	3	16(17)
PGD (Post-graduate Diploma of Education)	7(8)	6	3+1	17(18)

Source: Auger, G A (ed.), (see Note 2) p. 67, expanded by writer

\* Designations have been changing over the years, e.g., Grade B used to be Grade I and Grade C used to be Grade II. EO III is today's Assistant Education Officer, etc. It is therefore necessary to pay attention to the number of years rather than to the designation at the end of the course.

\*\* There are no more Grade B teachers by training. In their place one finds Grade B teachers by promotion on merit from Grade C.

\*\*\* Figures in parenthesis refer to the period before primary education was shortened from eight to seven years, which was done in the mid-sixties by phases taking a few regions at a time; now all schools are seven-year primary schools.

Table 1.10  
Staffing Teacher Training Colleges (Tanzanians), 1961-1974

Year	Graduates	Diploma Holders	Grade A	Others	Total
1961	1	2	48	40	91
1964	8	19	25	148	200
1965	21	35	9	18	83
1974	129	224	47	24	424

Table 1.11  
Staffing Teacher Training Colleges (Expatriates), 1961-1974

Year	Graduates		Diploma Holders	Grade A	Others	Total
	Trained	Untrained				
1961	21	3	9	27	--	60
1965	38	62	8	6	21	135
1974	10	1	3	1	--	15

Source: Ministry of National Education Statistical Handbook 1961-1974 Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1974 (Swahili, mimeo.)

Table 1.12  
Total Number of Teachers, 1975/76

Primary Schools	28,783
Secondary Schools	1,947
College of National Education	612
University	434

Table 1.13

## Total Enrollments by Educational Levels 1975/76

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Primary Schools	1,532,953
Secondary Schools	38,327
Colleges of National Education	9,080
Universities: Dar es Salaam (Tanzania)	2,644
Makerere (Uganda)	89
Nairobi (Kenya)	125
Overseas	907
 TOTAL	 1,584,125

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Source: Elinewing, I N Budget Speech, Ministry of National Education Estimates for 1976/77  
Dar es Salaam, 1976

of Education established a directorate of adult education charged with the responsibility of coordinating adult educational activities in each district through a network of primary schools. Apart from catering for schooling needs of the young, primary schools had to be used as adult education centers. This integration of the school and the community as reform policy will be analyzed in detail in Part Three.

In order to reduce illiteracy in 1980, some organizational steps were taken by the Ministry of National Education (Malya, 1970:141):

1. National Advisory Committees on Adult Education were formed at regional, district, divisional, ward and cell (village) levels in order to identify and report literacy problems to appropriate centers.
2. Adult Education Officers were appointed at all levels to coordinate adult educational activities.
3. There was training of permanent teams of trainers at all levels. The Institute of Adult Education provides continuing education, trains adult educators, conducts research in the field of adult education and supervises mass educational campaigns.
4. A Literacy Project was set up to develop primers and other teaching materials to be used in adult literacy centers.
5. Communication facilities such as radio and newspapers have been used for literacy campaigns across the nation.

### Summary

There has been considerable expansion and modernization of public education in Tanzania since independence. Political and economic opportunities for the typical Tanzanian remain limited, however. The extent to which the schools and the products of the schools have been benefitted by the national policies of the post-independence government will be examined in the section to follow.

## PART TWO

### THE EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT OF JULIUS NYERERE

This part of the study deals with a critical evaluation of Nyerere's educational thought as a background to the analysis of his four reform proposals in education. The philosophical base from which President Nyerere has drawn his national goals will be analyzed by reviewing briefly the assumptions underlying "ujamaa" (familyhood). The intent is to assess the implications of Nyerere's thinking that education can foment social change. Is a social revolution possible by education?

But in analyzing Nyerere's educational thinking, perhaps, it is essential to treat him both as a scholar-policymaker and as a reformer-politician. In this connection, it is important to analyze his reform proposals in terms of: (1) what Nyerere is trying to do for Tanzania, (2) what actually has been done, and (3) whether there is progress, after all.

Nyerere's conception of education in general, and of schooling in particular, as instruments of building a socialist state for Tanzania evolved within his overall national policy of creating a new society based on justice and equality (Nyerere, 1967, 1968, 1974). The new socialist state would come into being, Nyerere believed, if all Tanzanians subscribed to the principles of "ujamaa", or "familyhood", that would precede a socialist revolution by means of education (Nyerere, 1968). Changing the educational system (the structure, the

context, and the pedagogy) to fulfill his great objective became Nyerere's educational philosophy from independence in 1961 to the present. In many of Nyerere's public statements and writings on the role of public schooling in nation building, he articulates the need for a revolution by education (Nyerere, 1967:53):

Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design the educational system to serve our goals. We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity, sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts, work by everyone and exploitation by none.

The concept of "ujamaa", according to Nyerere (1967, 1968), is rooted in the historical and social units that evolved in Tanganyika to suit and meet ecological and social demands of the people. The underlying purpose of the Tanzanian society is man and his well-being. Nyerere views society as an extension of the family that should widen to encompass the ethnic group, the nation, and the world of mankind (Nyerere, 1974). In this connection, "ujamaa" is based on three major overlapping principles which can be traced from Nyerere's statements. These principles are based on an acceptance of human equality, sharing cooperatively, and a work ethic--"an attitude of wanting to work, in whatever work there is . . ." (Nyerere, 1971:186). These three concepts of "ujamaa" are further expanded into eight ethical principles, often referred to as Nyerere's National Ethic" (Nyerere, 1967). The concept of "ujamaa" therefore suggests that there cannot be a true, free and harmonious society without hard work, cooperation, and an acceptance of human equality.

Some of the areas with which education is concerned, such as the development of the individual, home, family, civic and social responsibilities, are implied in the four basic goals of Nyerere for Tanzania.

1. The goal for self-reliance (Nyerere, 1967) is focused on each individual. He should be a healthy person contributing to his own well-being and society through his ability to communicate, to read, to inquire, and to provide for the necessities of life.
2. Nyerere's goal for human relationship is based on the principles of "ujamaa" with education functioning as a unifying agent that fosters attitudes and prepares youths to live and serve in a socialist community. There should be love, respect and unity involved in school activities. Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance" (Nyerere, 1967) reflects specifically the functions of the school in society.
3. The goal for economic efficiency stems from Nyerere's work ethic (Nyerere, 1968). He views people and their hard work as the chief natural resources in Tanzania. He advocates the formation of "ujamaa" farms as part of the rural economy and encourages those schooled in doing manual work.
4. Nyerere's objectives of civic and social responsibility encompass the duties of citizens to cover a spectrum of activities, such as social justice, critical judgement, law observance, political participation at local, national and international levels (Nyerere, 1974).

No other document deriving from President Nyerere's policy pronouncements best sums up the task assigned to the educational system for the development of Tanzania than "Education for Self-Reliance." In "Freedom and Socialism" Nyerere (1974:267) spells out the role of the educational system:

This is what our educational system has to encourage. It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings, cars, or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned. Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past.

The four major national policies that were generated toward changing the educational system in response to proposed changes by Nyerere for the new Tanzanian nation were: the integration of the school system, the development of skills for needed manpower, education for self-reliance and the decentralization of the school system.

### 1. The Integration of the School System

This policy was to respond to the overall strategy of nationalism rather than tribalism, unity rather than any divisions based on ethnic, racial or religious differences. The removal of the three racial systems of education promulgated by the colonial government and the establishment of local education authorities were some of the goals to be achieved (Nyerere, 1967). Of equal importance was the reshaping of the enrollment pyramid by enabling the mechanisms of access to schooling (selection, examinations and promotion) to be sensitive to

the needs of children from low income families (Nyerere, 1968). After 1967, the concept of integration shifted from racial, regional and religious balance among pupils and schools to the integration of the school itself with the community. School facilities would also be used for supporting non-formal educational programs which enlisted adults. The "...pupils should be integrated into the village life" (Nyerere, 1967:66).

## 2. The Development of Skills for Manpower Needs of the Nation

The expansion of secondary and university education for manpower requirements in the 1960's was seen as responding to the national party's policy: to fill the labor vacuum caused by departing expatriate personnel (Nyerere, 1973).

## 3. Education for Self-Reliance

This policy was to respond to the Arusha Declaration which was aimed at promoting the objectives of Tanzanian socialism. Schools had to become part of the communal life of society and the curriculum had to be made relevant and practical. The individual's progress at school and after has to be seen in terms of his or her well-being through the cooperation of others in the community (Nyerere, 1967, 1975). Primary education was to become terminal and complete in itself rather than being a stepping-stone to secondary education.

## 4. Decentralization of Education

This policy was to complement the self-reliance policy. The policy was aimed at increasing participation at the local village

schools, thereby undercutting the power of administrative elites. Those who work in the village agricultural schools should control and own them. These schools should also serve their interests.

### Social Critique

As seen from Nyerere's policy statements, education in Tanzania is purpose-oriented. Nyerere clearly defines the nature of the task assigned to the educational system: "It has to foster the social goals of living together..." (Nyerere, 1974:267). Nyerere interprets the role of education in development within the Tanzanian context. That context is the overall gradual development process geared toward a socialist state formation in which education and society are seen as dialectically related. The content and structure of the educational system are to reflect the stage of socio-economic development of Tanzania: "...education cannot be considered apart from society. The formal school system cannot educate a child in isolation from the social and economic system in which it operates..." (Nyerere, 1974:60).

The idea that education, as part of society, should function to reproduce the culture of that society is not new and it does not originate from Nyerere. What raises concern among scholars about Nyerere's educational thought is two-fold: (1) Nyerere's concept of "ujamaa" that he identifies with the revival of African traditional roots in the political, social and educational orientation (Zais, 1967; Ergas, 1981). (2) Nyerere's concept that education can, by itself, foment social change (Apple, 1978; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970; Collins, 1977). While efforts to reform the educational system in

Tanzania continue, perhaps it is important to reexamine Nyerere's concept of education in terms of changing circumstances and the limited role of the school system in bringing about socio-economic development. In this connection, two assumptions can be submitted as criteria not only for verifying the nature of Nyerere's thinking in particular, but also to guide against misconceptions and misplacements of the function of education and schooling in society in general.

The first assumption is that the attempt to revamp traditional African education should be placed within the changes that have affected education within the last two decades corresponding to Nyerere's period of leadership in Tanzania from 1960. The second assumption is that education by itself has a very limited capacity in equalizing socio-economic conditions, let alone in building a socialist state. Each assumption will be considered in turn.

The first assumption places Nyerere's educational reforms within a time perspective by encouraging more open and flexible policies to prevent students from being locked into occupational dead-ends. The more flexible students programs become in content, it can be argued, the more they have opportunities for adapting their skills and the more they become occupationally mobile. The changes in one's occupation are dictated by changing circumstances. It is therefore essential to consider these broad changes to which educational policies have to adjust.

The first consideration in planning alternative educational programs in developing world is the effect of changes in science and technology on the curriculum since the 1950's (Zais, 1976). In this

connection, it is essential to reexamine Nyerere's statement (Nyerere, 1967:63):

We should not determine the types of things children are taught . . . by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist or administrator needs to know . . ., our pupils will never be any of these things.

Tanzania requires men and women trained in science and technology if the nation has to strike for greater economic development. Leaders who intend to revamp traditional educational practices should consider adopting them to present milieu.

Another consideration is the need for international understanding. Economic interdependence of the world's nations and the shifting international economic order make the narrow outlook of the past outdated and dangerous (McNamara, 1979). The younger generations must understand that they are the members of the world's family of nations. Man's understanding of the environment is important and reforms should initiate school programs which are rich and diverse in content.

Moreover, man's dissatisfaction with his institutions and the human conditions of uncertainty necessitate flexible policy alternatives for every human activity such as schooling. There should be a constant reassessment of established values and practices because human life is a function of responses to the environment (Zais, 1976). Unless some of the elements of traditional African education (content, structure and method) are modified, their revival is likely to conflict with the post-independence conditions in Tanzanian schools.

The second assumption recognizes the limitation of schooling and education in resolving problems of socio-economic inequality in

Tanzania in order to give way to a socialist state formation based on Nyerere's "ujamaa" guidelines (Nyerere, 1967). The concept that it is possible to promote social justice and equality in society by means of extending access to schooling to relatively underprivileged groups such as poor peasants may be the most enduring in modern times (Bowles and Gentis, 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970; Ergas, 1981). Many scholars agree that it is the general improvement of the living standards of the people, including that of the underprivileged classes that promotes progress and equality (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970; Ergas, 1980; Collins, 1979).

According to Bowles and Gentis (1976:8), "Education over the years has never been a potent force for economic equality....This has been a fundamental misconception of the historical evolution of the educational system." Moreover, the literature seems to suggest that political and economic factors are more important than factors within the educational system in changing the society (Simmons, 1979; Swartz, 1977). Bourdieu and Passeron further explain the role of the dominant groups in society in shaping educational reforms (1970:22):

Dans une formation sociale determinee, l'action pedagogique... correspond...aux interets objectifs (materiels, symboliques) des groupes ou classes dominants...

As Bourdieu and Passeron argue, educational policy in a social system serves the interests of dominant groups or classes. These groups possess what the New Sociologists of Education (NSE) now refer to as cultural capital--"the sum total of language forms and abilities, beliefs and traditions, tastes and norms of behavior, values and attitudes which belong to the dominant groups in society" (Ergas,

1981:15). It is essential to deal critically with the work of the New Sociologists of Education (NSE) in order to understand the application of their concept of "cultural capital" to the Tanzanian case.

According to Apple (1978:495), "The reproduction and legitimation of a social order is not simply economic and political, but also ideological and cultural--meanings and symbols are created, supported and controlled." The new sociologists believe that cultural capital enjoys undisputed legitimacy in society, because it belongs to wealthy and powerful groups. Culture mediates relationships among social classes, and educational patterns merely reflect the kind of society. What the NSE thought underlies is that the root problem of inequality is society itself, and that any proposal to reform the society should be supported by the dominant upper class that controls the cultural capital.

The intellectual proposition that is being made by the New Sociologists is that political and economic factors are more important than factors within the educational system in fomenting social change and that educational reforms have very little effect on economic growth and social equity. According to Mugo (1970), the preeminent position of the dominant group in control of "cultural capital" is a contributing factor to the problem of implementing self-help educational programs in many African countries. There is need to examine the extent to which this dominant group has influenced the policy making process by supporting or inhibiting educational policy formation and implementation in Africa. The dominant class (the petty bourgeoisie) has become prominent in many African countries after their

independence. It is composed of professionals, intellectuals and teachers, and the top administrative and military officials (Simmons, 1979). It is essential to examine, briefly, how the promotion of the interests of this class has inhibited the implementation of self-help programs in some African countries.

The aims of the sponsors of "Animation Rurale" in Senegal may appear very plausible, "to breathe life into the new social institutions created after independence by changing the social environment in which both men and institutions work" (Hapgood, 1968:49). However, the attempt by animators to promote activities at the grassroots has been hindered by two factors working against the aims of the sponsors (the government): first, because the decision to accept the ideas of change must be made by the village leaders according to village rules, it has become impossible for new programs not based on traditions to fail. Moreover, moral support from the elites, the dominant economic groups, has been lagging behind. These groups have often viewed peasant movements with contempt (Diejomaoh and Sheffield, 1973).

Similar problems beset the government's attempt to persuade proprietors of Harambe schools in Kenya to abide by standard procedures of educational quality governing the teacher-pupil ratio, the qualification of teachers, the curriculum and the maintenance of school plant facilities (Mugo, 1970). According to Asiachi (1979), Harambe schools do not participate effectively in extra-curriculum activities not only because they lack funds and the personnel with requisite expertise to promote these activities, but also because they allocate more time to examinable subjects which enable graduates to gain entry into elite

post-secondary institutions. Thus, Harambe schools only function according to the interests of the community they serve and not according to national interests. And some of these community interests are those of the dominant socio-economic groups in Kenya--the Wa and the Jalu who are in support of elite institutions. As instruments for developing nationalism and for advancing selected social and cultural values, Harambe schools are weaker than government schools. But the dominant economic groups who operate these schools use them for big business and therefore oppose government regulations.

The Botswana self-help model, the Young Brigades, may be the exception to the rule of nursing conflict between the government and the community interests, especially the interests of the dominant groups. Many expatriates involved in privately sponsored brigades were at first apprehensive concerning a possible government take-over, by force, of the brigades. Two basic problems identified with the activities of the brigades, however, brought the Botswana government to the realization of the need for their support. These two problems were (Diejomaoh and Sheffield, 1973): (1) the need to integrate various projects within an overall strategy and to minimize duplication of effort; and (2) national governments cannot keep up with changing local needs nor can they generate sufficient resources to support non-formal educational programs.

To handle these problems, the government set up the National Brigades Coordinating Committee (NBCC) with representatives from various brigade centers and government officials from different ministries (Diejomash and Sheffield, 1973). This committee, with its secretary

from the Ministry of Education, has helped to sustain the relationship between the government, the brigades and the local community unlike what is experienced in other African countries where self-help programs have been initiated. It has been suggested that in implementing self-help programs in Senegal, Kenya and Tanzania, local interests and needs have not often coincided with the aims of assisting institutions, public and private. The interests of the dominant groups have never coincided with neither the needs of those at the level of implementation, the peasants nor the national goals of those in power (Mugo, 1970; Griffiths, 1968; Asiachi, 1979).

In Tanzania in particular, the petty bourgeoisie has been created and strengthened by colonial policy and according to Shivji, it has remained in power because it was "the only class in the position to lead the Uhuru struggle against the colonial state" (1973:253). Although the Tanzanian peasantry joined with this class to provide massive support for independence, the control of business, trade and political functions by Africans only served the interests of the latter. Some concessions were made to urban workers and rich farmers, primarily to maintain the security of the dominant ruling class. But little was gained by the poor peasant class after independence in 1961 (Simmons, 1979).

Despite the egalitarian commitments of the Party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), there were individuals in key political or bureaucratic positions who, after independence, followed the examples of their colonial masters in attitudes, life style, and acquired tastes. They endeavored to attain the symbols of wealth:

the big car, the big house, the big office and the big position of power and authority. There was little concern for the welfare of the common man or woman, and for the peasant, who has become stricken with poverty, illiteracy and disease (Simmons, 1979). And for all this social cleavage, from 1961, the reform of the educational system was still seen as a panacea for all Tanzania's problems, and that stood on a step to the formation of a socialist state in Tanzania (Nyerere, 1974).

But Nyerere should not be treated solely on intellectual grounds, using the thoughts of the New Sociologists of Education (NSE). He should be seen not only as the scholar but also as the reformer-politician who is rising above his contemporaries by trying to create a way of thinking. Nyerere's strategy, "Education for Self-Reliance" is one of the alternatives to addressing some of the problems that faced the school graduates and the illiterate peasants after independence. His strategy may not be the only alternative. Nyerere's educational thought in relation to his four reform proposals should therefore be analyzed in the context of the forces that were operating inside and outside Tanzania's educational system immediately after independence.

In 1961, only 3 percent of the Tanzanian population had completed one year of secondary education and the literacy rate for those fifteen years of age and over was only 14 percent for males and 5 percent for females. The educational system itself was elitist and examination-oriented (Resnick, 1968). There were also very few Tanzanians with a higher level of education to take over from the jobs which were vacated

by British officials after independence. Nyerere's reform proposals were therefore the logical reactions to these conditions at home after independence.

Abroad, Nyerere was also reacting to international forces, especially the 26th Article of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights: the right of everyone to education. Education, the article insisted, should be free, at least, at the primary and secondary levels (Nwargu, 1978). For the period, 1961-1980, the African Conference of Ministers held in Addis Ababa in 1961 made recommendations setting targets for universal, free and compulsory education at the primary and secondary levels. Nyerere was, therefore, responding to both an international demand for mass education as well as pressures at home for manpower needs.

In examining Nyerere's reform policies in Part Three, it is important to consider what he was trying to do, what actually happened and what seems to explain his success and failure. Perhaps, it may be equally important to raise the question: Is there any progress made in Tanzania at all?

### Summary

The purpose of this section of the study was to relate Nyerere's broad national goals to his reform proposals in education. This relationship is needed if Nyerere's educational thought has to be understood in terms of the role he assigns to education in order to bring about Tanzania's overall development. In treating Nyerere as a scholar as well as a reformer-politician, it has been argued that his

reform proposals should not be analyzed merely on intellectual grounds but also on the efforts of a leader to bring progress to people in a new nation.

Nyerere's conception of education as a force for social change was critically analyzed based on the work of the New Sociologists of Education (NSE). The NSE thought maintains that political, economic, and social forces are more important in fomenting social change than forces within the educational system. In terms of the relevance of the content of education to the African peoples, Zais' (1979) guidelines for planning change in education were used to argue that the need to revive traditional elements of African education should allow for adaptation to the present conditions in time and space. The content of education in Tanzania should reflect the changing national as well as international situation.

It has, therefore, been suggested that the analysis of Nyerere's reform proposals should be placed within the context of Tanzania at independence and within the reactions of a leader who has been trying to adjust to the problems of his time rather than within the context of the scholarship of his thinking. With this in mind, the following section dealing with Nyerere's reform policies will be considered.

## PART THREE

### AN ANALYSIS OF NYERERE'S EDUCATIONAL REFORM POLICIES

This part of the study will consist of four sections corresponding to the four major reforms in education that have been initiated in Tanzania since independence in 1961: (1) the integration of the school system; (2) education for manpower requirements; (3) education for self-reliance; and (4) the decentralization of education. While each of the four reforms addressed a particular issue in time, all of the reforms shared certain common characteristics. These were:

1. The reforms were initiated in response to immediate problems. They were intended to solve specific problems arising from the colonial educational experience in Tanzania. The integration of the three systems of education (African, Asian, and European) inherited from the colonial period was intended to unify peoples of all races, regions and religions into one educational system. The standardization of syllabi and the reform of examination and promotion procedures were intended to provide equitable access to educational places by race, region, sex and religion (Simmons, 1979; Nyerere, 1967, 1968). In the same connection, the expansion of the secondary and tertiary levels of the educational system was an attempt to respond to the need for manpower to fill the gaps created by the departure of colonial officials after independence. Also, the "Education for Self-Reliance" was

designed to prevent or retard the exodus of primary school graduates from the rural areas to the cities where employment opportunities were limited.

2. The four educational reforms were tied to the sequence already established for other national political, and economic reforms. The first period of national development, 1961-1966, was characterized by a need to emphasize "nationalism" during the post-independence era. These forces of nationalism markedly affected the first two educational reforms, namely: the integration of the school system, and education for manpower needs. The Arusha Declaration in 1967 marked another turning point in government policy (Nyerere, 1967). This declaration promoted the objectives of socialism and became the party's and government's basis for subsequent policies, including those affecting education. The revision of social goals after Arusha appeared in Nyerere's document, "Education for Self-Reliance", the third reform which demanded that the school should become a major part of the economic and social life of the community (Nyerere, 1967). The basic objective of this policy was to change the elitist attitude of students and graduates from a bias to a bookish education to a more practical orientation. The most recent reform, the decentralization of education, followed the party's commitment to participatory government embodied in the "Mwongozo" (decentralization) resolutions of 1971 (Nyerere, 1974). This decentralization policy was

geared toward the involvement of the masses in the decision making process in order that they may participate in implementing self-help programs at the local level.

The sequential nature of the reforms also may be explained by the fact that each reform was a response to the shortcomings of the preceding reform policy. Although each reform policy was expected to resolve certain problems in education, each also created still other problems, necessitating additional steps to correct unintended policy effects. For example, the first reform, the integration of the school system was intended to equalize access to those educational facilities which had become segregated by race during the colonial period. By expanding the educational system, unemployment of graduates was heightened and many of these graduates migrated from rural to urban centers.

The attempt to analyze each reform policy-effect will not support a final verdict since some of the forces of reform are still continuing. Efforts by the present government to respond to several shifts in the problems of education after independence also are continuing. However, an attempt has been made to determine the extent to which Nyerere's reform policies have been implemented in the nation and to identify those problems that may have inhibited significant achievement of policy objectives. In the next section of this part of the study, the integration reform policy will be considered.

## SECTION 1

## THE INTEGRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The concept of integration that was introduced into the Tanzanian educational system just after independence (and which will be employed in this section) involved "the unification of disparate racial, social, cultural, and economic groups into one impartial educational system" (Cameron, 1968:38). This unified educational system was to reflect a uniform curriculum and teaching service and to provide equal access to places available at all levels for all pupils without regard to their race, domicile, religion and sex. In a wider context, educational integration was to become the process whereby a vast majority would take steps through its newly acquired political power to terminate what was regarded as discriminatory practices against African pupils by small privileged minorities of non-Africans (Gillette, 1979).

In December 1962, the new Tanzanian government inherited three systems of education, differentiated by administrative structure, curriculum and instruction. These were: African, Asian, and European. These systems corresponded to three differentiated social and economic tiers. The bottom tier consisted of nine million Africans, a small fraction of whom lived in urban areas where they were provided unskilled or semi-skilled labor in the lower echelons of government service (Cameron, 1968:39). There were also 90,000 Asians, diverse in religion and language. They manned the middle posts of civil service and corresponding clerical posts in industry. A very small number of

Asians overlapped the dominant European tier of people who were mostly British and numbered foreigners about 22,000. These foreigners manned the senior service posts in government and in the commercial and industrial concerns, as well. The Arabs, numbering about 25,000 and mostly residents of the coastal areas, lived among the Africans with whom they intermarried. Some of their children attended African schools. Most attended special Asian schools (Zanolli, 1971). These social classes were reflected in three divisions of the educational system: the African, the Indian and the European. There was also a Non-Native Education Authority in law but its powers were delegated mostly to the European Educational Authority (Non-Native Education Ordinance of 1948). Each of these educational authorities was dependent on grants from the government.

The Africans gained very little access to educational places at all levels, in the efforts of the British to get the people of Tanganyika ready for independence. Only 39% of the African children ages seven to eleven had places in the primary school. Although 548 African students entered secondary school in 1952, only 20 reached Makerere College in Uganda five years later, the only source of higher education for Tanzania students at that time. In contrast, the number of places offered to European and Asian children seemed unrestricted. In fact, more Asians than Africans were enrolled in Standards IX through XII in 1960 despite an Asian to African population ratio of 1:100 (Morrison, 1979). Moreover, government expenditure for the three systems of education reflected the same disparity. The expenditure and enrollment figures in 1956 revealed 38 pounds (sterling) spent

for each European pupil, but 4.4 for each Asian, and only 1.9 for each African pupil (Simmons, 1979:259).

Such were the educational problems inherited by the new Tanzanian government in 1962. The main objective of the first reform was to reduce the colonial influence on schooling by unifying the separate systems of education. The most important instrument that addressed this issue was the Education Ordinance of 1962. It embodied 26 recommendations of the Integration Committee's Report. This committee formed in 1958 under the chairmanship of the Director of Education in the British government was firmly committed to the idea that "the development of one educational system must be the ultimate aim . . . of government policy" (Cameron, 1967:47). But events toward independence hurried its deliberations over issues involving educational integration. The sections of the committee's 26 recommendations embodied in a report included (Government Paper No. 1, Dar es Salaam, 1960):

- a. The three [separate education] Authorities should be abolished and with them the education tax levied on non-Africans.
- b. These Authorities and the Advisory Committee on African Education should be replaced by an Advisory Council on Education representing all races.
- c. Admission to all secondary schools should be by competitive examination.
- d. Where necessary, the names of schools should be changed so that no reference to race was included.
- e. Integration should take effect from January 1, 1962.
- f. A common syllabus covering the basic subjects of the curriculum should be introduced in all primary schools.
- g. Any child should be eligible for admission to any school, provided that his knowledge of the language of instruction is such that he should be able to maintain his place in the school, and provided that in the case of a primary school, priority in admission should be given to

- the children of the community for whom the school was established.
- h. Ultimately the length of the primary course should be eight years in all schools.
  - i. No tuition fees should be charged in Swahili language primary schools. For a period of five years following the introduction of the integrated system, tuition fees should be charged at other primary schools on the same basis as at present (remission of fees being made in necessitous cases), and the position should be reviewed at the end of the five year period.

As promising as recommendations under the headings (a) to (f) were, those from (g) to (i) may be interpreted as a maneuver to thwart integration. Efforts to integrate the school system were begun under the British government. Opinion was divided among members of the new government over some policies, for example, the fee policy. However, the leaders of the new government, most of them young graduates from British schools, and principally from elite African families, were dedicated to integration. These leaders can be credited for their recognition that integration demanded some tolerance and mutual trust on the part of communities and races for it to work. In this connection, some modifications were made to the recommendations of the Integration Report. For example, a time limit was placed on the priority in admission recommended under (g). The new government also failed to support the fee policy in (i) (Government Paper No. 1 of 1960). The tasks of those who attempted to implement the Education Ordinance of 1962 can be classified into the following areas:

#### 1. Eliminating Separate Racial Systems of Education

The process of implementing a single unified educational system was begun by opening all government and government assisted secondary

schools to those students, regardless of race, who passed a selection examination at the time they reached Standard VIII. Year after year from 1962 onwards, integration moved upwards from Form I, especially in those urban-day secondary schools, the enrollment of which was predominantly Asian (Morrison, 1979). Integration at the primary level was slow. The three racially segregated primary schools that existed in the urban areas used different languages of instruction. These were: Swahili in the African schools, English in the European schools, and Asian languages such as Gujarati in Asian schools. A common curriculum and promotion procedure after Standard VII was devised in order to foster integration. Major promotion and entrance examinations were to be in English. In the second half of the full primary course (Standard V-VIII), English also replaced other languages as the medium of instruction. By 1962, instruction in the Asian languages ceased (Nyerere, 1962)..

Another step taken to bring about racial integration was the government's effort to lower tuition in the European schools. The structure of tuition for urban schools became as follows, in pounds (sterling) (Simmons, 1979:261).

1. English-Language Schools - 21 per year.
2. Former Asian Schools - 6 per year.
3. Swahili-Language Schools - 0.5 per year.

But these changes did not guarantee that all African children would have equal access to former European schools (which were better staffed and equipped). Distinctions based on family income levels became the criteria for discrimination in school admission because only Africans

with high incomes could afford to pay the fees at these former European schools. Tuition was therefore abolished in all government-aided secondary schools in 1963 to put an end to the economic discrimination which mainly kept poor African parents to the favored schools (Simmons, 1979).

## 2. The Unification of the Teaching Service

The creation of the Unified Teaching Service (UTS) established common regulations for teachers. In the old system, teachers who were employed by government and native authorities enjoyed better salaries and fringe benefits than those who worked for the voluntary agencies (mission schools). With the new system, the conditions of service were based on uniform criteria such as teachers' qualifications, professional training, and years of service. Thus, salaries of teachers, including fringe benefits, were independent of where teachers worked (UTS, Circulars No. 3 and 4 of 1963 and 1964).

## 3. The Structure and Administration of Education

The formula for structural changes within the educational system was a continuation of the one which was begun, half-heartedly, by the British, prior to independence. The Government's White Paper No. 1 of 1960 states their formula for integration, namely:

The general education policy is simple. Higher Education in East Africa is organized on non-racial lines....It is now planned to organize on similar lines Teacher Training and Secondary Education and, of necessity more slowly, Primary Education.

Thus, integration began with Africans competing on equal terms with non-Africans for secondary school places, beginning with the lowest

grade of the secondary school. Staff integration proceeded slowly. Three types of schools emerged at the primary level based on the medium of instruction: the Swahili-medium, the English-medium, and the Asian-medium. But this did not perpetuate racial divisions as before because Asian and African parents started sending their children to English-medium schools. The Asian-medium schools were connected to either English-medium or Swahili-medium schools depending upon their location.

The length of primary education was also cut from eight to seven years. Between 1964 and 1966, all former junior and middle schools were converted to full primary schools of seven Standards. The separate examination that was administered to Standard IV students for entry into Standard V also was abolished. These changes were undertaken to unify the separate middle and junior primary schools under different racial systems into full primary schools under a single system.

An important corrolary development also was undertaken by the new government in the central administration of the educational system at Dar es Salaam. It must be remembered that although the colonial school system was divided into three racially segregated divisions, the final authority always rested in the central colonial government (Simmons, 1979). The new government centralized education in two ways. First, it abolished the racially segregated divisions. It also took over certain private secondary schools in order to extend uniform control over all elements of the education system.

In 1963, the new central government took over the responsibility of fees in secondary schools, leaving local authorities with the

responsibility of meeting the cost of primary education. The central government also provided tuition-free teacher training for post-secondary students in order to reduce the high drop-out rates. University students enjoyed bursaries, including free room and board, since many families could not afford university education (UTS: Circular No. 4, 1964). Simmons compares the average university student bursary of 18,000 (Tanzanian shillings) with the gross earnings of an employed university graduate of about 18,240 shillings per year to show the enormous commitment to university education then (Simmons, 1979:264).

### Barriers to the Implementation of School Integration Reform

#### Policies After 1961

Although integration of schooling was a government tool aimed at providing equal access to educational resources, certain unforeseen problems got in the way of successful policy implementation. Although the country enjoyed considerable success in striking down racial segregation, other aspects of discrimination in education persisted during the immediate post-independence era. These were: discrimination on the basis of the students' place of residence, his religion, and the economic status of his family.

#### 1. Barriers to Racial Integration

##### The Curriculum

The Phelps-Stokes Commission Reports of 1922 and 1924 and the Tanganyika Ten Year Development Plan of 1947 have placed emphasis on agriculture as the main focus of the African education curriculum,

since only a few of the African students would ever have a chance to go further in the educational system, anyway. At the time of independence, it was widely believed that the colonial administration accepted this report because it provided a check for undesired nationalistic consciousness among Africans by tying them to the land (Resnick, 1968). This seemed to be particularly clear since agriculture was limited to the curriculum of the African-medium and did not appear in the English-medium schools where the children of British residents and those of elite Africans matriculated. The same reasons given by the commission for emphasizing agricultural education also were given by Nyerere when he launched his Education for Self-Reliance in 1967 (Nyerere, 1967). Therefore, following independence, the new government, in the provisions of the Education Ordinance of 1962, removed agriculture and other related subjects from the middle school curriculum. In so doing, they sought to broaden the curriculum in ways that would open up access to secondary schools for greater numbers of African pupils.

But by 1967, it was clear, at least to Nyerere, that agriculture may well have been the single most important subject for study by young Africans in the primary school and he so stipulated in his reform proposal, Education for Self-Reliance, in 1967. However, by that time, agriculture and selected vocational studies were so clearly associated in the public mind with colonial political oppression and racial discrimination that Nyerere's later proposals would be resisted by the very Africans he purported to serve. The irony in this situation was that the new government's success in unifying and centralizing

the education system ultimately became a major barrier to the achievement of Nyerere's companion national policy of economic integration.

### Language Diversity

In an attempt to discourage cultural separation, the Ministry of Education also made Swahili and English the only media of instruction in the primary schools in 1963, despite several protests from those Asians who chose to remain in the country after independence. Indo-Pakistani languages such as Urdu and Gujarati were removed from the curriculum even as optional languages for study (Morrison, 1979). English remained the basic language of instruction in secondary schools and the university, although, later in 1967, Swahili was made a compulsory subject of study in final examinations for secondary school graduation. However, the government's policy requiring all students, without regard to race, to take the selection examination in English still proved to be disadvantageous to children from Swahili-medium schools.

The problem of language is still far from being resolved today. Although most of the government papers are written in English and Swahili, English still remains the language of commerce, of the legal system, of the military, of the press, and of parliamentary debates (Morrison, 1979). This means that those ethnic groups still lacking in English skills--written or oral--are very limited in their access to the national institutions where English language is predominant. And the problem of language also continues to hinder those who lack English language skills from gaining entry into the professions--teaching, law, medicine and, after independence, politics, as well (Ergas, 1981).

c. Differential Fee Structure: The Issue of Citizenship

Before independence, European and Asian parents of children in Standard IV had to pay, respectively, thirty and ten times the tuition charged African pupils. Before independence, the rates of tuition were set by the independent non-African educational authorities (Cameron, 1968:44). Beginning in 1962, however, all schools were open to African children under one central African education ministry, but only a tiny minority of African parents could afford to send their children to English-medium schools because of high tuition rates (Morrison, 1979).

The issue of differential fee structure as a barrier to racial integration became compounded by that of non-citizenship. Education was believed to be an investment by government in the skills of succeeding generations. This was the government basic development policy. Accordingly, the new government decided that only the children of citizens--the children of those who by birth or individual decision belonged to, or had identified themselves with Tanganyika--should have access to places in public secondary schools. Non-citizens, it was argued, could leave the country. Therefore, whatever their children gained through public education could be lost to the country (Cameron, 1968). Whatever the economic wisdom of this policy may have proved to be, the policy did not help the integration of the school system because those non-citizens who had the skills necessary for building a new independent state had to leave the country. Their departure created gaps in the nation's manpower pool which the crash-manpower programs could not fill for a long time (Ergas, 1981). The Asians were affected most by the government policy that ensured special preference

Table 3.1  
Rates of School Fees--1959

Level	Educational Authority	Tuition Fee	Boarding Fee
		Per Annum	Per Annum
		(in pounds sterling)	
Primary	African	0.5 maximum	no boarding schools
	Asian	5-6	no boarding schools
	European	15-51	75-93
	Other Non-Native	8-9	60
Middle (or upper primary)	African only	nil	12.5 (boys) 6-13 (girls)
	African	nil	15
Secondary	Asian	average 12	45-75 (hostels)
	European	35-51	90-105
	Other Non-Native	12-18	60

Source: Annual Report, Department of Education, 1960.

Table 3.2(a)

Sources of Revenue of Non-African Authorities, 1951

Authority	Expenditures	Revenues (in pounds sterling)		
		Fees, etc.	Education Tax	Government Contributions
Indian	149,089	11,289	53,045	94,446
European	172,918	58,984	36,468	81,454

Source: Annual Report, Department of Education, 1951.

Table 3.2(b)

Sources of Revenue of Non-African Authorities, 1959-60

Authority	Expenditures	Revenues (in pounds sterling)			
		Fees, etc.	Education Tax	Government Contributions	Balance in Fund
Indian	631,740	82,055	175,000	218,612	116,760
European	402,686	84,563	105,000	215,491	70,800

Source: Report of the Committee on the Integration of Education, Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1960.

for Africans by reserving an admissions quota of only 2% of post-primary places for all non-citizens. The children of European expatriates were not hurt by this policy because most of them studied outside Tanganyika, anyway (Cameron, 1968). Of the 17 non-citizen Asian teachers who were asked by Morrison (1979) why they planned to leave Tanzania, five gave insufficient educational opportunities for their children as the main reason.

## 2. Barriers to Integration by Region

The first Tanzanian Development Plan, 1964-69, placed emphasis on educational expansion and this favored the richer and more endowed regions. By independence, the concentration of schools in major cities meant that few places were available for children from the rural areas because children attend schools within the district in which they live (Cameron, 1968). Tables 3.3 and 3.4 clearly show the inter-regional disparities that existed in 1965 in terms of the proportion of school-age children enrolled in the aided and non-aided primary schools. In both tables, enrollment figures for Kilimanjaro Region far exceeded all the other regions. It also exceeded the enrollment of the other four rural school districts in 1966. Morrison (1979) explains that regional differences in the availability of places at various standards (grades) of the primary school provided politicians with the need to justify their request for more facilities for their particular region, district or community. This means that perhaps regional enrollments were inflated in order to fulfill such needs.

Table 3.3

Approximate Percentage of School-Age Population Enrolled  
in Aided and Registered Primary Schools by Region, 1965

Region	Aided Enrollment	Unaided Enrollment	Total Registered Enrollment	Estimated School-Age Population <sup>a</sup>	% School-Age Population Aided Schools	% School-Age Population Unaided Schools
1. Kilimanjaro	78,445	8,655	87,100	130,338	60	67
2. West Lake	52,941	9,718	62,659	108,864	49	58
3. Tanga	56,360	6,889	63,249	122,044	46	52
4. Ruvuma	28,119	900	29,019	62,815	45	46
5. Coast	42,487	1,781	44,268	100,906	42	44
6. Singida	30,353	nil	30,353	70,037	43	43
7. Mtwara	55,263	10,455	65,718	155,005	36	42
8. Morogoro	43,718	545	44,263	111,013	39	40
9. Mara	35,748	484	36,232	101,694	35	36
10. Mwanza	57,529	2,097	59,626	171,220	34	35
11. Arusha	31,040	3,914	34,954	99,269	31	35
12. Tabora	28,118	355	28,473	83,030	34	34
13. Dodoma	36,164	380	36,544	115,954	31	32
14. Mbeya	48,321	9,534	57,855	182,633	27	32
15. Kigoma	22,342	155	22,497	75,947	29	30
16. Iringa	31,755	1,934	33,689	130,658	24	26
17. Shinyanga	31,497	1,352	32,849	138,653	23	24
Total	710,200	59,148	769,348	1,958,603	36	39

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, Central Statistical Bureau, *Statistical Abstract 1966*, DMS, GP, 1968, p. 176; United Republic of Tanzania, *1967 Population Census*, DMS, GP, vol. 3, 1971, Table 201.

<sup>a</sup>The age-group 9-16 inclusive in 1967, which closely approximates the age-group 7-14 inclusive in 1965.

Table 3.4

Some Comparisons of Primary School Enrollments in Registered Schools,  
Five Rural Districts, 1961 and 1966

District	Region (Old Province)	Year	Std. I	% Inc.	Std. V	% Inc.	Std. VII	% Inc.	All Stds.	% Inc.
Kilimanjaro	Kilimanjaro (Northern)	1961	7,535	43	1,674	275	1,234	160	34,684	68
		1966	10,527		8,736		6,795		62,691	
Njombe	Iringa (S. Highlands)	1961	3,410	24	360	315	320	140	13,313	39
		1966	4,210		1,495		775		18,500	
Kisarawe	Coast (Eastern)	1961	886	24	209	130	61	300	3,289	35
		1966	1,095		480		245		4,443	
Iringa-Mufindi	Iringa (S. Highlands)	1961	2,250	28	723	50	315	72	10,881	27
		1966	2,880		2,082		541		13,809	
Rufiji	Coast (Eastern)	1961	945	24	90	250	90	150	2,944	25
		1966	1,170		315		225		3,681	

Source: Regional Education Offices, Moshi, Iringa, and Dar es Salaam.

But the most glaring example of regional inequality was in the distribution of secondary school places. At the secondary school level, selection by quota governed such distribution. The quota system was based on the conception that out of the total number of places available in a given year, each region was entitled to a quota based on the number of competitors at the General Entrance Examination. However, as can be seen in Table 3.5, the percentages of successful pupils varied from 12 in Singida and West Lake to 20 in Mt. Ware. While the explanation for these differentiations by region is not known, they certainly do not reflect an effort to equalize access to secondary school places by region. The number of public Form I places per thousand of population allocated to each region still shows the same inconsistencies, as evidenced in Table 3.6. Accordingly, place of residence is still the single most important factor in determining a student's educational opportunity in Tanzania, all efforts to the contrary notwithstanding.

There is also evidence of the relative advantage of urban over rural children in gaining access to school facilities (Morrison, 1979). Urban children are advantaged even if they do not come from wealthy and literate families; they live in an environment that gives them comparatively better appreciation of the value of schooling. Table 3.7 compares enrollment in standards IV and V in 1966 in three pairs of urban and rural local authorities. In each pair, urban children seemed to be assured of passing through primary school without facing selection barriers. Only in Kilimanjaro had the children a comparable advantage (Regional Education Office, Dar es Salaam, 1967). Moreover, influential

Table 3.5  
Secondary School Selection by Region, 1966

Region	Candidates All Schools	Candidates 'A' Schools <sup>a</sup>	Places Offered (Assisted Schools)	% Places All Candidates	% Places 'A' Candidates
1. Mtwara	1,199	1,167	240	20	21
2. Iringa	920	908	184	20	20
3. Ruvuma	900	837	154	17	18
3. Coast <sup>b</sup>	5,972	5,947	1,052	18	18
5. Kigoma	507	487	84	17	17
6. Tabora	827	827	136	16	16
6. Mbeya	2,167	1,453	235	11	16
6. Dodoma	1,293	1,260	196	15	16
6. Mwanza	3,169	2,763	427	14	16
10. Shinyanga	1,011	980	135	13	14
10. Tanga <sup>b</sup>	5,446	4,958	682	13	14
10. Arusha <sup>b</sup>	2,951	2,577	354	11	14
13. Morogoro <sup>b</sup>	3,352	3,352	435	13	13
13. Kilimanjaro <sup>b</sup>	11,904	8,465	1,071	8	13
13. Mara	1,275	1,186	150	11	13
16. Singida	1,193	1,193	143	12	12
16. West Lake	2,580	2,127	247	10	12
Total	46,666	49,487	5,925 <sup>c</sup>	13	15

Source: M.E., Statistics for 1966.

<sup>a</sup>Schools approved for central government subventions.

<sup>b</sup>These regions had approximately double their shares of candidates and places because Standard VIII was phased out at the end of 1965.

<sup>c</sup>An additional 980 places were offered by unassisted schools.

Table 3.6

Approximate Percentage of Primary School-Age Children Enrolled in Registered Primary Schools, Four Rural Districts, 1961 and 1966

District	Year	Enrollment Standards I-VIII	Estimated School-Age Population (000s)	% School-Age Children Enrolled	% Increase
Kilimanjaro	1961	34,684	85.0	41	18
	1966	62,691 <sup>a</sup>	106.3	59	
Njombe	1961	13,313	59.3	22	5
	1966	18,500	68.4	27	
Rufiji	1961	2,944	18.0	16	4
	1966	3,681 <sup>a</sup>	18.1	20	
Iringa-Mufindi	1961	10,881	61.2	18	1
	1966	13,809	84.2	19	

Source: Regional Education Offices, Moshi, Iringa, and Dar es Salaam: Appendix III, Table III.4. Kisarawe, included in Table 7.3, is omitted here because boundary changes between 1957 and 1967 make it impossible to estimate school-age population. The assumptions on which these estimates were made and the basic data are in Table III.4.

<sup>a</sup>Standards I to VII only (Standard VIII was phased out in these districts in 1965). This means that the percentage enrollment figures for these districts would be higher in 1966 if one took as the school-age population the group aged 7-13 inclusive rather than 7-14 (on which these estimates are made).

Table 3.7

A Comparison of Enrollment in Registered Standards IV and V,  
Three Urban and Three Rural Lea's, 1966

LEA	Enrollment Standard IV	Enrollment Standard V	Index of Enrollment Std. V: Std. IV <sup>a</sup>
Dar es Salaam (U)	3,123	3,018	.97
Kisarawe (R)	953	600	.63
Iringa (U)	359	345	.96 (.62)
Iringa-Mufindi (R)	2,612	1,084	.41 (.32)
Moshi (U)	390 <sup>b</sup>	409 <sup>b</sup>	1.05 (.18)
Kilimanjaro (R)	9,781	8,736	.89 (.23)

Source: Regional Education Offices, Moshi, Iringa and Dar es Salaam.

<sup>a</sup>Taking enrollment in Standard IV as the base 1.00. 1961 figures, where available, are in parentheses.

<sup>b</sup>There were equal numbers of streams in Standards IV and V, but enrollment was higher in the upper year.

politicians usually favored their own ethnic groups in the distribution of places to secondary schools. In 1966, for example, there were criticisms of Mr. Eliufoo, the Minister of Education from the Chagga ethnic group in Kilimanjaro on grounds that his region was privileged (Native Authority Debates, 1966, p. 738). Despite gains made by the government, the structure of education still reflects imbalance.

### 3. Barriers to Integration by Social Class

The existing fee structure in Tanzania, even when tuition was lowered after the Education Ordinance of 1962, favored those parents of the dominant class--the petty bourgeoisie--who were able to pay for existing places in primary and secondary schools. This elite group, commanding high status and living standards, consists of senior politicians and civil servants, managers, professionals, businessmen, and commercial farmers. In the lower echelon of this class are local groups who may be less privileged but better-off than the masses. These include clerical employees, non-graduate teachers, medical assistants, skilled and semi-skilled workers, and small shopkeepers (Morrison, 1979). The high material standards that the elite families enjoy, and the strong urban and literate environment in which they live, and the bookish western-oriented nature of the competitive entrance examinations used in filling the Form I places give children of elite families a distinct cultural advantage over students from low-income families.

Moreover, many such children attend high tuition (former European) primary schools where the instructional materials and the level of teaching are superior to those in Swahili-medium schools. These

cultural advantages are further reinforced by the political influence of their parents. Morrison suggests that despite integration reform policies, members of the elite groups have been in the forefront in the efforts to continue the operation of separate and superior European schools for the benefit of their own children. What this evidence seems to indicate is that educational privilege and reward have been inter-generational in Tanzania despite public policies to the contrary. If entry into the elite group in Tanzania is left open to members of other social classes (the masses) evidence seems to suggest that the children from elite families will still have a better chance of achieving elite status in adulthood than children from other economic or social strata (Cohen, 1971; Olson, 1972).

#### 4. Other Barriers to School Integration

There also has been unequal access to school facilities by reason of religion or sex. The Education Ordinance of 1962 did not seek to redress the imbalance in educational facilities enjoyed between Christians and Muslims. According to Morrison (1979), religious discrimination became prevalent in Tanganyika in pre-independence days because each school was permitted to admit pupils in accordance with its own standards. The establishment of regional selection boards after independence seemed to control overt religious discrimination. However, Fundikira and other Muslim spokesmen still complain about the wide gap that separates Muslims and Christians from equal access to school facilities. Regretably, there are no correct statistics about the extent to which this gap exists today.

In terms of sex, the enrollment of girls at all levels had always lagged behind the enrollment of boys. This is an extension of the old biases against formal education for women stemming from the tradition of the people. Despite the efforts made during the implementation of "Education for Self-Reliance", the enrollment of girls in public schools is still dropping (Nyerere, 1967). In 1968, the percentage of enrollment of girls in primary schools was 38%. In 1969, only 27% of the total enrollment in Form I were girls and this percentage remained the same in 1971-72. Although the absolute number of women students entering universities generally has increased over the years, the proportions of women to men students continue to be low. The percentage of women freshmen fell from 16% in 1970 to 11% in 1974. In the 1976/77 academic year, it fell as low as 10% (Simmons, 1979:265).

All this suggests that the post-independence efforts to eliminate discrimination in the education of the nation's pupils have not been able to overcome deep rooted ethnic biases, religious or racial prejudices or the insidious effects of the distribution of wealth and income.

#### Summary on the Effect of School Integration Policies

In light of the deeply rooted discriminatory practices, it is still early to reach final agreement on the effect of integration policies. The steps taken by the new independent government of Julius Nyerere in connection with the integration issue seem to be well conceived, moderate, and sympathetic. Many of the policies stemming from the Education Ordinance of 1962, the major instrument for

integration, were responsible for the gradual closure of the gap between the underprivileged Africans and the more privileged Europeans and Asians in terms of providing access to existing educational facilities. However, due to the uneven and uncontrolled primary and secondary school expansion, and the sometimes self-serving behavior of politicians, civil servants, and top businessmen, disparities in educational provision shifted from race to region, ethnicity, social class and religion (Morrison, 1979). Moreover, while the extension of access to educational facilities to Africans might have contributed to the lessening of their resentment, these policy efforts left the Asians worse off. The Asians lost much of their technical and educational lead. They had to accept the position of a small minority without any special collective rights, while competing with a huge majority of newly enfranchised Africans for their share of education and employment opportunities (Cameron and Dodd, 1971).

The colonial educational system had promoted inegalitarian and elitist values based on race. After independence, educational and occupational structures continued to set apart a group of privileged Africans from the masses of Tanzanian citizens. The shortcomings of the Education Ordinance of 1962 and subsequent integration policies thereafter were apparently unable to contain the new danger to an equitable educational system: "the danger that privilege will have to generate and reinforce privilege" (Morrison, 1979:189). Nyerere's response to this and other problems awaited his "Education for Self-Reliance" which will be examined later.

The failure of integration policy was not due to government policy but due to the corrupt privileged elites. No other policy, without their support should have succeeded. Here in this section, we see how privilege can be confronted at one level but not overcome because of resistance on the part of the privileged.

## SECTION 2

### EDUCATION FOR MANPOWER NEEDS

The purpose of this section is to respond to the question: How did the expansion of the school system at the secondary and tertiary levels prepare graduates in those manpower skills necessary for meeting the challenges of an independent state? In an attempt to respond to this key question, it will also be essential to respond to other questions which will place this section in proper perspective. These are:

1. Why was manpower planning adopted as national policy after independence in 1962?
2. Why was the educational system geared to manpower considerations for national development?
3. What were the strategies employed for manpower development in post-independence Tanzania?
4. What were the barriers to the implementation of those strategies?

Manpower planning, as a government activity, can be traced from the early 1960's in the history of many African countries immediately

after their independence (Resnick, 1968). Comparatively, the first formal survey of manpower requirements in Africa was made in Uganda in 1959. A similar manpower survey and the introduction of a manpower planning unit followed in Ghana in 1961. In Tanzania, a survey took place in 1962 followed by the establishment of a manpower planning division in the central government planning organization in July 1963. Similar early exercises took place in Kenya in 1965, Zambia in 1966, and Sudan in 1967, spreading to other African countries thereafter (Saul, 1972).

In an attempt to analyze the role of education in manpower planning in Tanzania, the following factors should be taken into consideration.

1. Manpower planning is a new phenomenon, an on-going process occurring at different stages of Tanzania's overall national development (Government of Tanzania, Five-Year Development Plans, 1964-69; 1969-74; 1974-1980). This process will be analyzed in two phases corresponding to two important stages in Tanzania's national development.
  - a. The first phase can be characterized by a manpower strategy of planned expansion of secondary and tertiary levels of the educational system, a commitment to the production of high level manpower required by the new nation. This phase stretched from independence to 1967 (Morrison, 1979).
  - b. The second phase followed Nyerere's historical statement, the Arusha Declaration, an explicit commitment of the

party and government to socialism. Two documents were issued in 1967: Education for Self-Reliance and Socialism and Development (Nyerere, 1967). The paper, "Education for Self-Reliance" was particularly directed against the contradictions and failures of an elitist manpower policy that did not impose controls on the expansion of the educational system at all levels. The document also provided an alternative way of dealing with the manpower problem by suggesting ways in which primary and secondary school graduates can benefit from self-employed rural projects which are within the limits of the nation's available resources (Nyerere, 1967).

This second phase can be characterized as a strategy to develop manpower for self-reliance (self-sufficiency). The educational system after 1967 was geared not so much to the provision of high level manpower skills needed by a small section of the economy, but to the provision of skills and training in agriculture and crafts that would be useful to the vast majority who would neither continue with further schooling nor obtain jobs in the cities (Nyerere, 1967). This phase of manpower development which was a corrective measure to the first phase, will be analyzed together with the broad policy reform, "Education for Self-Reliance," in Section Three. Section Two will consider only the first phase of manpower development strategy.

2. Manpower planning has an impact on many national institutions and upon all sectors of the economy. As a new activity in developing nations planning, it brings about changes in the traditional ways of recruiting, training and employing people. These changes frequently are resisted by dominant occupational groups which have long benefitted from the traditional practices. In the traditional process, a high civil servant usually works his way up the job-ladder from the bottom without requisite training for the position. He gets ahead by attending faithfully to the job and pleasing his superiors. Accordingly, bright, able, well-schooled candidates from the outside are distrusted by civil service employer as being too theoretical and insufficiently experienced (Thomas, 1968). It is therefore essential to examine the extent to which issues in the manpower-education field have been handled in Tanzania in an attempt to fill the gaps created by the departure of colonial officials after independence.

#### Reasons for Adopting a Manpower Approach

Like other African countries, Tanzania, after independence in 1962, found it necessary to tie educational planning to manpower requirements. The British government had pooled out its bureaucrats and technical personnel from Tanzania after independence. Top priority in the allocation of resources available for education was given to the expansion of secondary and higher education during the period covering

the first Five Year Development Plan (Five Year Plan, Government Press, 1969). The reasons for this policy commitment were varied and compelling. They were:

1. The Nation Needed Trained Technical and Leadership Personnel

By independence, Tanzania had a very thin occupational structure in the monetary sector. Of the ten percent of the population working for wages in Tanzania immediately after independence, about one percent was made up of Tanzanians. At the time of the 1964 manpower survey there were only 18 architects in Tanzania, 156 civil engineers, 4 chemical engineers, one industrial engineer, 27 chemists, 75 agronomists, 2 dieticians, 146 professional accountants, 9 librarians, and 49 pharmacists (Thomas, 1968:110). The demand for occupations of this kind, as well as those for technicians, teachers and office workers of various kinds, was at a similar low level. Under circumstances such as these it was essential to plan to produce not the needed skills in the critical required areas, but also to assure that scarce resources are not wasted in producing skills in excess of the ability of the economy to utilize them.

2. The Scarcity of Tanzania's Financial Resources in Relation to Total Development Costs

Tanzania is a very poor nation by all standards; for every Tanzanian shilling of resources, there are a dozen equally important and urgent competing claims for social services, transportation, and investment in productive firms. The resources available and estimated to become available are so small in relation to total needs that

Tanzania is forced to make hard choices and set priorities for its economic development. In making the choices it did Tanzania had to weigh the claims to provide access to education for all citizens against many equally competing claims to health services, good water supply, good roads and food.

### 3. Political Continuity in a New Era

Political independence of Britain after 1962 would be rhetorical if Tanzania failed to assume its responsibility in directing national affairs. In this connection, it would not be appropriate for Tanzania to continue indefinitely to depend on foreigners for middle and high-level manpower (which was the situation at the time of independence). These administrative posts required a secondary or higher educational qualification for effective performance. Tanzania had very few such people at the time of independence. According to Simmons (1979:265-66), in 1961, out of the total population of 10 million, only 200 were enrolled at the university. In 1963, only 17 students out of 351 graduated in science at the University of East Africa. The new government thus set a target for 1980, as a matter of development policy, and by which time it planned to assure that the country was fully self-sufficient at all the levels of skills needed (Government of Tanzania, Five Year Development Plan, 1964-69).

#### What the Government Considered To Be the Reasons for Tying Education to Manpower Development

The new Tanzanian government shared the conventional wisdom of the time that certain trained manpower was essential to the development

and maintenance of a productive economy and that schools were the most efficient way to train needed manpower (Coombs, 1968). What was not taken into consideration at the time was whether or not the economy would be able to make good use of these resources. The concept of manpower planning, within the context of a program of economic development, involves "making the best estimates possible of the economy's present and future skill requirements, planning program actions which will result in those requirements being met, and seeing to it that the planned actions are taken by the institutions and individuals responsible" (Thomas, 1968:107).

Based on the concept of manpower planning above, educators and economists practicing in the development world believed that education is a good investment in national development. This assumption holds that the educational system will produce the kinds and amounts of human resources required for the economy's growth and that the economy will make use of these resources. Since the educational system plays a central role in developing skills and provides an educational base essential for the acquisition of many skills which can be acquired on the job, the argument continues, its operations must be guided by manpower considerations.

An inquiry into the implication of relying on the above assumption, with reference to the Tanzanian manpower planning efforts after independence raises two questions: (1) What happens to the national economy if the educational system falls short of turning out the right numbers and combinations of manpower needed for optimum development? (2) What will be the impact if the educational system turns out the

right "mix" of manpower (i.e., in numbers and combinations) but the economy does not use it well?

In order to respond to these and other questions and to examine the extent to which a planned expansion of the educational system was achieved, it is essential to consider the various strategies employed by the government to deal with the manpower shortage in Tanzania. There were, however, two developments which reinforced the commitment to place priority on secondary and higher education in order to produce the required manpower for the nation. These were:

1. The Tobias Report on High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Tanganyika

The commitment to the production of high level manpower was reinforced by the government's decision to adopt the manpower planning strategies pioneered by American economists such as Frederick Harbison and Charles Meyers (1964, 1965). George Tobias was the first American to be sponsored by the Ford Foundation, at the request of the Tanzanian Cabinet, to conduct a study of the country's middle and high-level manpower requirements and ways and means of meeting them. The Tobias Report recommended that "all possible emphasis should be given to the development of secondary education for more students as fast as teachers and facilities become available" (Government Paper No. 2, DSM, GP, 1963:8-12). Implicit in this study was the view that elementary education was essentially nonproductive, except as a base for the recruitment of students to higher level institutions. According to directives issued by the Ministry of Development Planning, any increase in

educational resources at the primary school level, beyond minimal levels, would mean a diversion of resources vital to secondary, technical and higher education and as a result a reduction in the essential skill development on which the nation's economic development depended (Ministry of Development Planning, 1964).

## 2. The UNESCO Conference on African Education

UNESCO was invited to provide an educational planning mission to make recommendations in relation to the Three Year Plan and the goals set at the Addis Ababa Conference of African Ministers of Education. The UNESCO sponsored conference had adopted 1980 as the target for achieving compulsory universal primary school education for the entire continent. However, the UNESCO Mission rejected this goal for Tanzania (Report of the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission for Tanganyika, 1963:10-11):

As in many other countries...there is a popular demand for an increase in the provision of school places. This pressure from parents manifests itself in the setting up,...of private illegal primary schools, thus forcing a horizontal extension of the base of the educational pyramid that the country cannot afford at a time when the most urgent priority is the strengthening and expansion of the upper levels of the system....Secondary education should continue to have first call on all resources....

The UNESCO Mission recommended an annual expenditure on secondary education almost equal to that spent on all the levels of education for the last three years (Morrison, 1979). Targets for secondary, technical and higher education were set geared to the general goal of self-sufficiency in manpower by 1980. Nyerere defended the order of priorities set by this target referring to secondary school expansion

as an economic function and purpose of government expenditure on education (Nyerere, 1964). However, it is essential to note that this order of priority remained unchallenged until the Arusha Declaration. Nyerere changed the approach to the role of education in manpower planning (Nyerere, 1967).

### Strategies for Producing High Level Manpower

The Tanganyika Three Year Development Plan for 1961-64 set the guidelines which were accepted by the TANU government. The highest priority was placed on secondary and higher education because of the belief that no direct economic benefits flowed from primary school development. The plan stated specifically that there would "not be an increase in the number of places available for children entering Standard I" (Development Committee of the Council of Ministers, 1960: 36). After the TANU government was sworn in 1964, government leaders, in face of the small pool of skilled manpower available for effective and efficient management of national affairs, considered immediate strategies for filling administrative gaps.

#### 1. Africanization of the Public and Private Sectors

The government faced criticisms from some of its own followers who demanded immediate Africanization of most of the high level positions. But this strategy did not bring about the quick returns anticipated. In the short run, it was not possible to fill some of the positions occupied by colonial officials; the services of many of the expatriates had to be retained because the Minister of Education cautioned that Africanization would fail if it meant merely going out

in the streets and picking someone for a job just because he was African (Morrison, 1979). However, the Africanization program was necessary for both political and practical reasons. As Simmons (1979) argues, the Tanzanians would serve their nation with greater commitment and their salaries would be lower than those paid to expatriates. These considerations outweighed the problem that quickly promoted African executives sometimes lacked the requisite skills and experience.

## 2. Expansion of Secondary and Higher Institutions

The government adopted the following strategies in order to provide more access to educational facilities at the secondary and higher levels:

1. Streams of classes were increased from 35 to 40 students, thereby decreasing the teacher-pupil ratio (i.e., from 1:35 to 1:40). This strategy was adopted in order to maximize the available human and capital resources, thereby decreasing the cost of education at the marginal level (Simmons, 1979).
2. The government also increased the expenditure on secondary education. In 1961-62, the expenditure on secondary education was, in Tanzanian shillings, 30,926,080. This amount rose to 51,433,310 in 1966-67 school year and to 105,708,200 in 1975-76. The expenditure in teacher education was also increased. Indeed, it rose about 9 times between 1962-63 to 1976-75 (Simmons, 1979:266).
3. The government introduced the payment of allowances to students from Form IV-VI and those in universities. These

allowances were intended to reduce the drop-out rates and to help students from poor families. Moreover, government subsidies were offered to almost all post-primary students (Saul, 1972).

### Educational Provision: Planned or Actual Expansion?

The official manpower policy of Tanzania after 1962, as indicated by the first two development plans and the strategies employed by the government was to emphasize secondary and higher education because it was believed that returns from those levels of the educational system would be greater and more immediate. All resources were geared toward expanding the secondary and tertiary levels of the educational system in order to develop the necessary manpower skills required by those needed to serve at different managerial, teaching and clerical levels (Tanzania Five Year Plan, 1961-63; 1964-69; Nyerere, 1964; Morrison, 1979). For the purpose of policy analysis, however, it is essential to determine the extent to which this policy of "planned" expansion was achieved. It is essential to consider: (1) the growth of educational provision at all the levels to determine the extent to which controlled-expansion of the educational system was achieved, (2) public expenditure on education, and (3) why it was difficult to control the expansion of primary education.

#### 1. Educational Provision at the Primary School Level

Table 3.8 compares percentage increases in primary school enrollment in the period before independence (1956-61) with those in the period in which the first two development plans were implemented

Table 3.8  
 Percentage Increases in Enrollment in Aided  
 Standards I, V, and VII and in Total Primary  
 School Enrollment, 1956-61 and 1961-66

	1956	1961	1966	% Increase 1956-61	% Increase 1961-66
Standard I	111,514	121,386	154,512	9	27
Standard V	13,368	19,721	58,653	47	200
Standard VII	8,084	14,649	46,816	69	225
All Standards	382,141	482,121	740,991		

Source: D.E. and M.E., Annual Report, 1956 and 196; and M.E.,  
 Statistics for 1966, mimeo.

(1961-69). The percentage increases in primary enrollment after independence are out of place with the official manpower policy of restraint. Total enrollment grew almost three times more rapidly in the latter period than in the former. The rates of increase at the levels of increase to each Standard were even greater. The growth in primary school enrollment also corresponds with the increase in Central Government current expenditures (Saul, 1972). The causes of the discrepancy between planned and actual expansion of primary schooling will be considered later.

## 2. Educational Provision at the Secondary Level

The rates of growth at the secondary level compared to those at the primary level were the reverse. As shown in Table 3.9, they were lower in 1961-66 than in 1956-61, although absolute expansion in later years was greater. In the earlier period, physical facilities were often opened late because of short-falls in external aid and construction delays. But overall enrollment increases were close to targets projected. Enrollment in aided schools rose from 5,288 in 1956 to about 24,000 in 1966. Enrollment in unaided schools (not shown in the table) grew from 21 in 1956 to 3,819 in 1966 (Morrison, 1979:113).

Secondary technical institutions were opened with an agricultural bias. Commercial subjects were introduced to supplement practice with theory. The enrollment in the Technical College grew from 420 to 700 and two additional vocational centers were opened to train nurses and medical assistants.

Table 3.9  
 Percentage Increases in Enrollment in Aided  
 Forms I and V and in Total Secondary School  
 Enrollment, 1956-61 and 1961-66

	1956	1961	1966	% Increase 1956-61	% Increase 1961-66
Form I	2,491	4,196	6,377	68	52
Form V	51	236	826	360	250
All Forms	5,288	11,832	23,836	125	100

Source: D.E., Annual Report 1956; and United Republic of Tanzania, The Annual Plan for 1972-73, DSM, GP, 1972, p. 44.

### 3. Teacher Education

The expansion of teacher training colleges did not keep pace with the demands created by the primary school expansion. Many qualified secondary school teachers had moved to civil service level jobs leaving the Ministry of Education to rely on expatriates than it had planned to. During the period between independence and the Arusha Declaration in 1967, expansion in enrollment was low in the three basic two-year teacher training courses: A for Form IV graduates, B for Form II graduates, and C for Standard VIII graduates. As shown in Table 3.10, rates of growth in A and B were lower than the rate in C. The number of students obtaining university or other advanced qualification for teaching increased from 36 in 1961 to 180 in 1966, but this output still fell short of demand (Ministry of Education Annual Reports, 1961 and 1966). The efforts to phase out the Grade C class of teachers by training more Grade A and B teachers came to a halt because of lack of finance. The number of places opened in teachers' colleges fell short of targets set in the First Five Year Plan (Government of Tanzania, Five Year Plan, 1969, vol. 11:16). However, a program was initiated in 1965 to tie university bursaries and places to a commitment to teach for five years (N.A. Debates, 1, 7th, 1965). By 1967, over 500 students with a formal education equivalent to Form VI were enrolled in graduate teaching courses (Eliufo, 1967).

### 4. Higher Education

Table 3.11 summarizes the growth in university enrollment during the pre-Arusha Declaration period, 1962-1967. The growth of Tanzanian

Table 3.10  
Students Enrolled in Teacher Training  
Courses, 1961 and 1964

	Number of Institutions		Enrollment		% Increase
	1961	1964	1961	1964	
Type A B	5	5	461 <sup>aa</sup>	472) 50)	13
Type C	21	21	1,261	1,566	24

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1961 and 1964.

<sup>a</sup>Unfortunately, the figures for 1961 are not broken down into Types A and B; however, most would almost certainly have been B at this time.

Table 3.11

Growth in Higher Educational Provision for  
Mainland Tanzanian Students, 1961-62 and 1966-67

	1961-62	1966-67	% Increase
<b>A. <u>Intake</u></b>			
University of East Africa	102	511	400
Foreign Universities	348	190	45
Total	450	701	56
<b>B. <u>Output</u></b>			
University of East Africa	45	174	290
Foreign Universities	150	330	120
Total	195	504	160
<b>C. <u>Total Enrollment</u></b>			
All Degree Courses	926	2,026	120

Source: United Republic of Tanzania, The Annual Plan for 1972-73,  
DSM, GP, 1972, p. 44.

students in the University of East Africa (see Table 2.7) and in universities abroad could not meet with the targets set in the First Five Year Plan. The low secondary output of graduates was partly the cause for the decrease in enrollment in the University College, Dar es Salaam, opened in 1964 (Tanzania, Annual Plan for 1972-73, DSM, 1972, p. 44).

#### 5. Government Expenditure on Education

Table 3.12 shows a comparison of public spending at two-year intervals from 1962 to 1966. Data for 1961 are not available because during that last year of colonial rule, published expenditures were classified racially rather than functionally (see Table 3.1). During the period, 1962-1967, total public expenditure increased, especially at the higher level than at the primary level where increase in enrollment was more visible (Ministry of Education Annual Reports, 1962, 1964, 1966). Two factors seem to explain the fluctuation in primary school spending (Morrison, 1979:117).

1. Local education authorities spent more from their own resources in 1966 and 1964 than in 1962. But total expenditures by the two levels of government increased by 17 percent from 83.2 million to 97.1 million (Tanzanian shillings).
2. The government estimates, in order to encourage the growth of secondary education, provided for twenty-three times as great an expenditure on a secondary school pupil as on a primary school pupil. Moreover, in the primary schools

Table 3.12

Central Government Current Expenditures on  
Education, by Category, 1962, 1964, and 1966

		Expenditures (million Shs.)	% Increase	% Total Expenditures
Higher	1962	7.70		8.6
	1964	9.06	18	8.9
	1966	17.24	90	11.7
Secondary and Technical	1962	22.26		24.9
	1964	33.70	52	33.1
	1966	45.08	34	30.6
Teacher Training	1962	5.24		5.8
	1964	8.00	53	7.9
	1966	12.52	57	8.5
Primary	1962	47.82		53.5
	1964	41.56	14	40.9
	1966	60.70	46	41.2
General Administration	1962	6.42		7.2
	1964	9.36	46	9.2
	1966	11.78	26	8.0
Total	1962	89.44		100.0
	1964	101.68	31	100.0
	1966	147.34	46	100.0

Source: M.E., Annual Report, 1962 and 1964: The Standard, June 28, 1966. (The 1966 figures are estimates and thus not strictly comparable.)

salaries and maintenance expenses are lower than at the secondary school level. There was also a difference between secondary and tertiary expenditure. The ratio of expenditure was 1:34 in amounts spent per pupil at the secondary and tertiary levels (Morrison, 1979:119).

#### 6. Discrepancies Between Planned and Uncontrolled Expansion of Primary Education

Compared to other African countries, it is not surprising that enrollment in primary education in Tanzania increased three to four times the enrollment before independence. What really calls for concern over the primary school expansion in Tanzania is the fact that it was not planned as the case with Nigeria, Ghana and Zambia in the same period. In some respects, Tanzania went further than many other African countries in integrating secondary and higher education and manpower planning. Moreover, in the provision of mass primary schooling, Tanzania lagged behind many African countries. Table 3.13 provides an estimate of primary school enrollments as percentages of total populations from selected African countries in 1960, 1965 and 1970 (Skorov, 1966). Even Malawi, the only territory with a lower per income capita than Tanzania during the period, had a higher percentage of enrollment.

At the secondary school level, the growth in enrollment in Tanzania in the same period, measured as a proportion of total population was the lowest increase compared to other African countries in Table 3.14. But in examining educational development in terms of

Table 3.13

Primary School Enrollments as Percentages of Estimated Total Populations, Selected African Countries<sup>a</sup>, 1960, 1965, and 1970

Country <sup>b</sup>	Year	Primary School Enrollment (thousands)	Estimated Population (millions)	% Population in Primary Schools <sup>c</sup>	Increase
Ghana (1957)	1960	664	6.78	9.8	6.3
	1965	1,414	7.74	18.4	
	1970	1,390	8.64	16.1	
Kenya (1963)	1960	781	8.12	9.5	3.2
	1965	1,102	9.60	11.5	
	1970	1,428	11.25	12.7	
Malawi (1964)	1960	285	3.49	8.2	-0.3
	1965	331	3.91	8.5	
	1968 <sup>d</sup>	334	4.22	7.9	
Tanzania (mainland) (1961)	1960	448	9.98	4.5	1.9
	1965	710	11.33	6.3	
	1970	828	12.90	6.4	
Togo (1960)	1960	103	1.44	7.2	4.4
	1965	156	1.64	9.5	
	1970	229	1.97	11.6	
Zambia (1964)	1960	288	3.21	8.9	7.8
	1965	410	3.71	11.1	
	1970	695	4.15	16.7	

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook 1971, Paris, 1972, Table 2.11; and United Nations, Demographic Year Book 1970 and 1971, New York, 1971 and 1972, Table 4.

<sup>a</sup>These countries were chosen because they are the only sub-Saharan African countries for which data are available for Tables 3.13 and 3.14. Enrollment data for Uganda appear unreliable, but it is included in Table 3.14 to provide a comparative perspective on educational finance for all three East African countries.

<sup>b</sup>The dates of independence are shown in parentheses.

<sup>c</sup>Even if the school-age population comprised approximately the same proportion of total population in each country, these percentages would not be strictly comparable because school programmes varied in length and in the number of promotion barriers within them. However, the figures do provide a rough standard for comparison.

<sup>d</sup>Statistics of enrollment in 1970 are not available.

Table 3.14

Secondary School Enrollments as Percentages of  
Estimated Total Populations, Selected African  
Countries,<sup>a</sup> 1960, 1965 and 1970

Country	Year	Secondary School Enrollment (thousands)	Estimated Population (millions)	% Population in Secondary Schools <sup>b</sup>	Increase
Ghana	1960	83.8	6.78	1.2	1.0
	1965	162.4	7.74	2.1	
	1967 <sup>c</sup>	179.0	8.14	2.2	
Kenya	1960	19.4	8.12	0.2	0.9
	1965	49.2	9.60	0.5	
	1970	126.9	11.25	1.1	
Malawi	1960	1.5	3.49	0.04	0.1
	1965	8.3	3.91	0.2	
	1968 <sup>c</sup>	9.3	4.22	0.2	
Tanzania (mainland)	1960	9.8	9.98	0.1	0.1
	1965	21.9	11.33	0.2	
	1970	31.2	12.90	0.2	
Togo	1960	4.9	1.44	0.3	0.6
	1965	11.3	1.64	0.7	
	1969 <sup>c</sup>	16.7	1.82	0.9	
Zambia	1960	2.6	3.21	0.1	1.2
	1965	17.2	3.71	0.5	
	1970	52.5	4.15	1.3	

Source: UNESCO, *Statistical Year Book 1971*, Paris, 1972, Table 2.12; and United Nations, *Demographic Year Book 1970 and 1971*, New York, 1971 and 1972, Table 4.

<sup>a</sup>See Table 3.13, note a.

<sup>b</sup>See Table 3.13, note c.

<sup>c</sup>1970 enrollment figures not available.

economic factors, Tanzania contributed a high proportion of public funds to education compared to other African countries. As Table 3.15 shows, estimates of educational expenditures as a percentage of total public expenditures in Tanzania almost compared with other African countries.

In spite of the low growth of school enrollments compared to other African countries, growth rates were higher than anticipated at home at the primary level. They rose from 17 percent in the period before independence (1956-1961) to 42 percent by the end of 1966 (Ministry of Education Annual Reports, 1956-1966). Table 3.16 shows this increase in growth rates in selected standards and in all aided primary schools. However, it is essential to consider why it was difficult to control expansion at the primary school level as planned:

1. Mass Enthusiasm for Schooling and Its Anticipated Rewards

The passionate desire of African parents to give their children a better life in the city than the one in the village could not be resisted by the government. The realization that education was no longer a privilege of the few increased pressure for expansion.

2. Party Pressure at Local Level

Although in Tanzania, as in many other African countries, the party and government are one, the party's (TANU) involvement in education by urging parents to send their children to school negated official government manpower policy. Private schools initially did not use central or local government funds. But once they were established, they soon called on local education authorities to assume financial responsibilities for them. The promoted African educational

Table 3.15

Government Expenditures (Current and Capital) on Education as Percentages  
of Total Government Expenditures and of Gross Domestic Product  
(at Current Purchasers' Values), Selected African Countries,<sup>a</sup> 1965<sup>b</sup>

Country	Currency	Educational Expenditures (millions)	Total Expenditures (millions)	GDP <sup>c</sup> (millions)	% Educational Expenditures: Total Expenditures
Ghana	Cedis	66.0	369.5	1,608	18
Kenya		6.8	67.4	357	10
Malawi	Kwacha	5.5	41.7	179	13
Tanzania (mainland)	Shillings	168	980	6,140	17
Togo	Francs	814	5,361	43,500	15
Uganda	Shillings	138	951	5,863	15
Zambia	Kwacha	28.8	180.8	650	16

Source: United Nations, Statistical Yearbook 1970, New York, 1971, Table 179; and 1971, New York, 1972, Tables 178 and 194.

<sup>a</sup> See Table 3.13, note a.

<sup>b</sup> Because of differences in accounting techniques and generally unreliable statistics, this table provides only a rough measure of comparison. The Kenyan percentages would probably be somewhat higher if monies transferred from the central government to local authorities for educational purposes had been reported as educational rather than (as seems likely) local government expenditures.

Table 3.16

Percentage Increases in Enrollment in Aided Standards I, V<sup>a</sup>, and VII and in Aided Primary Schools, 1956-60<sup>b</sup> and 1961<sup>b</sup>, 1962, 1963, 1964

	Enrollment Std. I	% Increase	Enrollment Std. V	% Increase	Enrollment Std. VII	% Increase	Enrollment All Stds.	% Increase
1956	111,514	5	13,368	34	8,084	39	382,141	17
1960	116,574	4	17,919	10	11,263	30	447,692	8
1961	121,386	3	19,721	36	14,649	7	484,121	8
1962	125,521	9	26,803	51	15,730	17	518,663	14
1963	136,541	3	40,508	8	18,444	34	592,104	7
1964	140,341		43,610		24,657		633,678	
1960-64		20		145		120		42

Source: D.E. and M.E., Annual Reports, 1956-64.

<sup>a</sup>These standards were chosen to illustrate growth because promotions from Standards IV to V and VI to VII respectively were not automatic and depended upon examinations and other means of selection.

<sup>b</sup>The figures for 1956, 1960, and 1961 are sums of totals in the four racial systems. Although the non-African primary courses were of six years' duration and the African ones of eight, the enrollment in the first eight years of all systems are included.

administrators were in sympathy with the desires of parents at the expense of government policy (Morrison, 1977). Politicians within party and local government structures used expansion to strengthen their positions (Simmons, 1979). They urged the government to introduce free and compulsory primary schooling.

### 3. Bureaucratic Incapacity and Double Standards

During the period 1960-1966, communication channels between the local and central governments were weak. The relationship between these two bodies was continually being defined and politicians and bureaucrats were uncertain of their roles. Civil servants were inexperienced and neither the party nor the civil service "was an effective instrument of mobilization and control" (Morrison, 1979:154). Politicians, parents and the private and voluntary educational agencies were able to capitalize upon these weaknesses. There was also a Ministry of Education torn between the conflicting aims of all political colleagues and its technical advisers.

There were also double standards on the part of those with the power to redistribute places of access to schooling by region, religion and social class. Many planning officials favored their own regions in the opening of new schools thereby increasing unanticipated enrollments. The need for Christian voluntary agencies to patronize "bush" schools led to further primary expansion as did the need to reduce the imbalance in educational opportunity between the Christians and Muslims after the Education Ordinance of 1962 (Cameron, 1968).

## Educational Barriers to Tanzania's Manpower Requirement Approach

The classification of high level manpower occupations in terms of minimum academic qualifications, according to the Survey of the High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources for Five-Year Development Plans, 1964-69 and 1970-74, has raised serious implications about the reform of education for manpower. The high-level manpower plan in Tanzania, since 1964, defines jobs according to the following categories with corresponding educational minimums for entry into each category (Tobias, 1965:123):

Category A -- Jobs normally requiring a university degree. [These include what are usually termed the 'professions' and certain jobs in the upper echelons of the government and private sector managerial ranks.]

Category B -- Jobs which normally require from one to three years of formal post-secondary (Form 4) education/training. [These include medical personnel below the level of physician, and technicians in various fields, as well as primary and secondary school teachers without university degrees.]

Category C -- Jobs which normally require a secondary school education for standard performance of the full array of tasks involved in the occupation. This category includes skilled office workers and the skilled manual workers in the 'modern crafts' (those involving precision metal working, electricity and electrical machinery).

The above categorization, based on educational minimums for entry into high level occupations has the following implications:

1. It narrows the broad concept and function of education to manpower production. The classification of jobs in terms of minimums of entry means that there exist certain technical prerequisites such as English or Math for

performing the tasks associated with jobs in this category. However, this approach does not consider other alternative ways of acquiring these skills without formal schooling--secondary or tertiary. Moreover, the approach ignores those potential applicants for jobs who may have the knowledge and relevant skills but have no certificates because they have not past through the formal educational system where minimums are set. Accepting educational minimums as standards of manpower requirements ignores the fact that existing manpower may not be properly utilized.

2. The approach has an adverse effect on the Africanization of manpower. There is some inconclusive evidence (Resnick, 1966) that private employers often hire Tanzanians with less than "minimum" schooling and train them to perform some of the tasks associated with various jobs but do not allow them to proceed up the occupational ladder to more supervisory positions. They are supervised by foremen (usually non-citizens) who have the full requirements of the occupations. This seems to mean that educational minimums used to define occupational requirements are used by the private sector as a barrier to entry for Tanzanians.
3. The acceptance of educational minimums in Tanzania affects the formation of attitudes by the educational system. Certificates, diplomas and degrees received for various forms of schooling must be presented by those who possess them in order to be employed into high-level occupations. The civil

service (as does the private sector) advertises its jobs specifying educational minimums for applicants (Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, 1979). But in a country where the government is the employer of over 50 percent of non-agricultural workers (Due, 1980), it may be acknowledged that the inequitable distribution of income existing in the country is largely the responsibility of government policy. What it means is that those who have been fortunate to obtain post-primary education are further rewarded with incomes higher than those who have a primary education or less. Although it may be argued that peasant incomes will rise with the rise of production, a total leveling of income would have no effect on the lives of the vast majority of Tanzanians. And the government, however, cannot reconcile these vast manpower policies and discrepancies with a socialist policy. In effect, the barriers to success without formal education reinforce the formation of attitudes that economic survival depends on completion of secondary schooling. This thinking is contrary to the broad concept of learning how to think; it may also be contrary to the development of Tanzanian socialism.

#### Other Barriers to the Implementation of Manpower Reform Policy

In the face of many forces at work as discussed earlier, attempts to impose controls on primary education expansion such as curtailing subsidies to local education authorities did not succeed. But there

were other problems which the official manpower policy failed to contain.

1. The manpower development approach did not take into consideration low-wage jobs, except in the teaching profession. The first Five Year Plan had identified the need for well-qualified craftsmen. But this development was still postponed until after 1975 during the implementation of Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance (Simmons, 1979). Nor was the need to diversify secondary education by orienting it toward vocational preparation achieved in the period 1961-1966.
2. The consequences of the Adu Report (1961), by raising both salaries and wages, widened the gap between urban workers and the peasants. Rural life was regarded as drudgery, while urban life offered more attractive but few job opportunities. It seemed as if there was still, in 1966, a continuation of the elitist values held during the colonial regime (Simmons, 1979).
3. Although the manpower reform was a successful one in terms of its explicit objectives, i.e., to expand post-primary education and professional training by filling vacancies created by those who left the country after independence and by the growing economy in the mid-1960's, the formal educational system also created so many dysfunctions (Mengot, 1976):

- a. The school system, in functioning only to select a relatively few for secondary and university education, failed to prepare primary and secondary school graduates either for life or for further education. Those students who failed to gain admission into post-primary institutions became frustrated, unemployed and adrift.
- b. The total educational system, too, increased disparities between the urban and rural populations, by regions and by social classes. It seems as though education has had much force in tearing societies apart instead of binding them together as Nyerere thought (1964). As Myrdal (1975:2) puts it, "Everywhere greater equality and raising the levels of living of the masses have been pronounced as goals, but lamost everywhere the actual trends have been going towards greater inequality."

### Section Summary

1. An attempt to analyze the role of the educational system in manpower planning in this section has been limited to the period after independence up to the eve of the Arusha Declaration for a socialist state formation in Tanzania in 1967. The evidence (which is not conclusive) on the difficulty of controlling educational expansion at the primary level in this period and the subsequent barriers to the strategies for producing high-level manpower is based on (1) Morrison's field study on Education and Politics in Africa (1979); (2) Simmons' World Bank Sponsored Project Report on

Educational Changes in Developing Nations (1979); (3) Sections of primary resources drawn from Tanzanian Government Records, Policy Papers and Embassy Reports, Ministry of Education Annual Reports and Development Plans, all dealing with the relationship between education and manpower planning; and (4) other case studies on problems of manpower planning in Tanzania and in Africa by prominent authors such as Resnick (1968), Thomas (1968), John Saul (1972), and Mengot (1976).

2. In order to meet manpower requirements for jobs which require a secondary school or university diploma the government planned and succeeded in filling those jobs which became vacant immediately after independence. Indeed, it was remarkable progress that by 1968, over 9,600 personnel were trained locally and overseas at degree and associate degree levels (Simmons, 1979:268).
3. However, in an attempt to fill these jobs by matching government approved manpower categories with minimum educational qualifications necessary for entering them, a vast majority of primary school graduates and peasant farmers with experience but without certificates and diplomas, was left out in the sharing of the national cake (Morrison, 1979; Simmons, 1979; Saul, 1972).
4. The government proved incapable of containing the expansion of primary education partly because of the inexperience of members, but partly also because of their role conflict as Cabinet Members and as party officials passionate to the demands of parents for more education. Despite all these evident gains, the results were not altogether beneficial. Primary school expansion as an

unintended policy effect meant the increase in the number of primary school graduates. Among the dysfunctions of the educational systems which this situation created were: unemployment of primary school graduates and a rural exodus to cities by those graduates thereby increasing crime and housing problems already existing there (Mengot, 1976; Morrison, 1979; Saul, 1972).

The purpose of public policy, even for manpower requirements, is not to leave a section of the population worse-off, at least, not in a country such as Tanzania, that was preparing for the formation of a socialist state in 1967. Indeed, by 1967, Nyerere himself entertained radical "mid-course" changes in national policy. He still clung to the notion that education drives the economy. But this time, rather than focus on the preparation of the bureaucrats and technicians and expect the benefits of their labor to "trickle down" to others, he preferred the training of the masses of citizens in agriculture so that they should become self-reliant.

What can be learned from the manpower reform policy? The focus on secondary and higher education to meet manpower needs in a country where 90 percent of the people are not involved may not be fully productive in the absence of mass literacy. Other strategies are needed to generate jobs at the lower-wage levels.

## SECTION 3

## EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

The purpose of this section is to attempt to answer the question: To what extent has "Education for Self-Reliance" integrated the school system with the community and provided relevant skills that would stop the migration of graduates of the program from rural areas to the cities for white collar jobs? In order to respond to this question, it is important to note the extent to which Nyerere had changed the target of his policy in education from the training of a few selected secondary and university students to the training of the masses. But Nyerere still clung to the notion that education has to make a world of difference. To Nyerere "Education for Self-Reliance" was both a complement to and a corrective measure against the manpower reform policy.

Education for Self-Reliance was a complement to the first reform policy that was geared toward integrating the school system. The provision of equal access to educational facilities to all pupils irrespective of race was accomplished by the reform to integrate the school system. But disparities in educational provision merely shifted from race to region and social class. Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance" was intended to integrate the school with the community (Nyerere, 1967). What Nyerere advocated was a primary school cycle designed to prepare the majority for rural life and work. The school has to serve as a human resource development center and community hub. It also has to be used for adult group discussions and social functions

as well as classroom instruction, including a practical room for handi-crafts (Gillette, 1979).

Education for Self-Reliance also was a corrective measure against the elitist bias in education as reflected in manpower requirement approaches that set educational minimums as criteria for obtaining jobs (Thomas, 1968). In order to meet these criteria, it was necessary for applicants to pass certain examinations which only favored pupils from families with high socio-economic status. Nyerere intended to correct this bias by encouraging teachers to prepare students not merely to pass examinations but to face the tasks in their community (Nyerere, 1967).

Moreover, Nyerere also was convinced that schools had to become an integral part of the local communities. This demanded a complete revolution of the school system:

1. There was need to change the negative attitudes among students toward agriculture and rural life. The expansion of secondary and post-secondary institutions after independence in many African countries enabled those fortunate to graduate from them to develop aspirations of prospective elites. They soon became arrogant and convinced that they could control their destinies by influencing the affairs of state. In Tanzania, in particular, many university students and graduates, after independence, thought that they were not given the opportunity of obtaining the jobs and privileges to which they were entitled (Morrison, 1979). Nyerere intended to change these attitudes in order that students should become dedicated to the party and its ideology.

2. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 was a revolution directed against the contradictions facing the educated Tanzanians who held senior government sponsored jobs. The Education for Self-Reliance was an arm of the Arusha Declaration (Coulson, 1979). It was directed at those who were still in school. The Arusha proposals rejected the attitude of dependence on foreign aid (in both human and capital resources) as an instrument of developing Tanzania. Instead, Nyerere (1967) stressed the dependence on the available national resources, especially land. He reassured Tanzanians that the party (TANU) was a party of farmers and workers. Nyerere intended to use the "Education for Self-Reliance" as an instrument for testing the proposals of the Arusha Declaration in the educational system.

Despite Nyerere's efforts to bring about changes in the educational system that would reflect the nature of the problems faced by school graduates and the masses in society, the schools at all levels still would be identified as being instrumental to the formation and/or the reproduction of inequalities and elitist attitudes in society. This reproduction occurs through the extension of the privilege of the dominant groups (ruling classes) right into the classroom by means of a hidden curriculum (Ergas, 1980). The schools in Tanzania, as elsewhere in Africa, would not be used to build a socialist society as Nyerere advocates (1967). This is because the schools seem to reflect reality as it exists in society, and this reality in Tanzania is apparently not socialist (Ergas, 1980; Morrison, 1979).

If this is the situation in Tanzania, as elsewhere in Africa, it holds compelling evidence for agreeing with (1) Philip Foster that the school is a prisoner of society and cannot be used to initiate changes in attitudes and behavior (1963), and (2) Ivan Illich, the prophet of deschooling, that the very structure of formal education inherently impedes radical change (1971).

It is therefore essential to examine Nyerere's attempt to apply socialist educational principles in Tanzanian schools by considering (1) the antecedent forces leading to the policy of Education for Self-Reliance, (2) the policy content of Education for Self-Reliance, and (3) its implementation in schools at all levels.

#### Antecedent Forces to the Declaration of Education for Self-Reliance

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 necessitated a reassessment of the role of the educational system in a self-reliant socialist state which Nyerere advocated (Nyerere, 1967). Nyerere, perhaps influenced by the Cuban and the Chinese models of cultural models of educational revolution advocated a combination of classroom study with productive labor on farms, gardens and handicraft centers by students at the primary, secondary and university levels. This unity between mental and manual work was to serve the purpose of breaking the entrenched barriers between the elites and the masses in Tanzania. But there were two developments that acted as catalysts to Nyerere's attempts to use the educational system as an instrument of political socialization.

## 1. The Primary School Graduates' Crisis, 1966

Although Tanzania joined the rest of the African countries in experiencing the dysfunctions of the educational system because of the overproduction of primary graduates, it was not until 1966 that the effects of uncontrolled primary expansion became so pronounced as to assume major political importance in Tanzania (Mengot, 1976). Of the 46,000 seniors who competed for places in secondary schools by writing the General Entrance Examination in 1966, only 7,000 were admitted into Form I. Table 3.17 shows the percentage of primary school graduates not obtaining secondary school places from 1960 to 1966 in public and private schools.

This situation was almost the same as that in Ghana, Eastern and Western Nigeria, and Kenya in the early 1960's (Foster, 1965). In Tanzania, parents and their unsuccessful students protested in queues formed outside District and Regional Educational Offices with threats of breaking into office buildings. In many cases, the frustration of parents led to the withdrawal of their children from Standard I (Morrison, 1979). Although President Nyerere argued that the government's intention was to provide primary education to all citizens principally because they should help themselves in life and not because they could obtain jobs or go to secondary schools, he could not convince parents (The Nationalist, 1966). The government responded to the problem with the following measures:

1. The government encouraged the opening of private secondary schools but not similar to the Harambee schools in Kenya. The new private schools were to maintain reasonable high

Table 3.17  
 Percentage of Primary School Leavers Not Obtaining  
 Secondary School Places, 1960-1966  
 in Public

Year	Standard VIII Enrollment Year 1	Form I Enrollment Year 2	Unsuccessful Students Year 2	Percentage Unsuccessful Students
1960-1	10,316	4,196	6,120	59
1961-2	11,912	4,810	7,102	60
1962-3	13,730	5,013	8,717	64
1963-4	16,633	5,302	11,331	68
1964-5	20,348	6,400	13,948	69
1965-6	46,666	6,903	39,763	85

Sources: D.E. and M.E., Annual Report, 1960-1964; and M.E.,  
 Statistics for 1965 and 1966.

standards of education comparable to those in Public Secondary Schools. But despite Nyerere's concern about class privilege, it was likely that those private schools would further provide elite and upper class children with more opportunities because their children could afford to pay high fees (Kawawa, 1966).

2. The government also encouraged schemes to provide employment or training opportunities for primary school graduates set up by the party (TANU).
3. The government reintroduced agriculture into primary schools with the desire to change the school curriculum. Initially, some experimental programs and pilot studies began in 1967 with 15 school farms. But these did not last when Nyerere faced yet another crisis with students over National Service (Morrison, 1979).

## 2. The National Service Dispute

The conflict between the government and students over the conditions of compulsory national service gave Nyerere the cause for promoting his vision of a socialist state. The National Service was formed in 1963 as part of the Defense Force to train party militants and youths with little formal education in order that they could contribute to development. They were to participate in construction, road building and similar projects (East African Standard, Oct. 4, 1963). The trainees followed a program for three months involving short courses in politics, history, bookkeeping, Swahili and physical education

(Tordoff, 1967). After this training, these young recruits served the nation for 20 months receiving a monthly allowance of twenty shillings.

The government's decision to recruit university graduates for compulsory National Service in 1965 because of the lack of volunteers for this scheme was resisted by students. Conditions of service for graduates for two years included 41 percent of their regular annual salary. But the students argued that they were being asked to make more sacrifices while the "big men" in the party and the civil service continued to enjoy big houses and cars (The Nationalist, Oct. 15, 1966). Four hundred university students led a demonstration to the State House in October 1966. But Nyerere responded by closing the university and sending the students home until they promised to abide by new policies in education--"Education for Self-Reliance." A revolution in education was Nyerere's thinking.

#### Policy Content of Education for Self-Reliance

Implicit in the reform policy, "Education for Self-Reliance," was Nyerere's desire to help the nation to direct its educational system more to the needs of the vast majority who do not go beyond primary school than to the tiny population who do. But "Education for Self-Reliance" (ESR) also was definitely an attempt by Nyerere to apply socialist educational principles in Tanzanian schools (Nyerere, 1967). The main requirements of this reform policy were (Nyerere, 1967; Ergas, 1980):

1. the promotion of egalitarian values and attitudes;

2. the introduction of a work ethic stressing the value and importance of manual labor; and
3. adult education both as a right and as a necessity for development.

These principles later developed into operational policies such as the following:

1. the integration of schools with surrounding social and physical environments;
2. primary education to be a complete cycle of education, an end in itself and not to be used solely as a stepping stone to secondary education;
3. the need for secondary schools to become self-supporting, that is, they should become institutions capable of generating sufficient income to cover a significant part of their expenses;
4. the control of secondary school expansion to prevent the enrollment from using all resources available in the nation; and
5. the socialization of university education, i.e., university education has to be seen as a means whereby graduates serve their country rather than a vehicle for personal advancement.

The national party (TANU) did not implement this first phase of policies of "Education for Self-Reliance" until eight years later, in 1975 (Morrison, 1979). It was in November 1974 that the national executive committee of the party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, i.e., the Party of the Revolution) met in Musoma to discuss how to implement Nyerere's

"Education for Self-Reliance." The outcome of this meeting came to be known as the "Musoma Resolutions," which were essentially the following (Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, 1979):

1. Universal Primary Education (UPE) to be achieved by November 1977;
2. The transformation of the existing "elite" secondary education into a mass educational system; and
3. The conversion of university education into an adult education in which selection will be made not only on the basis of the applicant's performance in the Form VI examinations but also on the basis of positive reports and recommendations from the employer regarding the candidate's character and work discipline, and reports from relevant party organs regarding the candidate's political consciousness and commitment to national policies.

With the Musoma Resolutions, the government and the party reinforced the assumption that education could serve as a tool for building a socialist Tanzanian state (Nyerere, 1974). But it is assumed in this study (right from Part Two) that the educational system is not a potent force for social change, especially in an attempt to bring about socio-economic equality in society. Instead, the school system merely reflects the reality in society (Collins, 1977; Apple, 1978; Swartz, 1977). This reality in the Tanzanian society is the presence of a dominant group (the petty bourgeoisie) that imposes its own culture of "privilege" on the educational system and prevents any effort by Nyerere to implement policies intended to equalize access to educational

facilities (Morrison, 1979; Ergas, 1980; Mbilinyi, 1979).

However, it is important to analyze the various programs initiated under "Education for Self-Reliance" in order to appreciate the extent to which improvements in the educational system were made in the attempt to integrate the school with the community and to lower the expectations of graduates by enabling them to become self-supportive on the farm as a means for their livelihood. The reform policy (ESR) had five programs covering primary education and teacher training, secondary education, examinations, and adult education. Each of these areas will be considered using evidence from current research project sponsored by the Institute of Education in Tanzania, the World Bank Reports and similar case studies by individuals used to judge the extent to which intended goals are being achieved.

### Primary Education

The aim of ESR in primary education is to prepare the primary school graduate for life in Ujamaa villages. Subjects taught in the primary school should be related to agriculture.

1. Self-Help Projects: Every school should have a school farm where local cash and food crops can be grown and farming techniques can be practiced. The school farm should be organized on a communal basis. The produce from the farms should provide food for the children and can enable the purchase of extra school and sports equipment. Teachers and pupils should be fully involved in these self-help projects,

the teacher acting as the link between the school and the village (Nyerere, 1967).

2. School Committees: School committees have four main functions:
  1. They are intended to promote full integration of the school with the community. Each committee has to be democratically elected by the parents.
  2. They should assist the teachers in solving problems concerning uniforms, attendance, land for farming, and other disciplinary matters.
  3. They should supervise the proper use of school farm produce; and
  4. They are to demonstrate to parents, through practical activities, better farming methods used on the school farm.

Many research project reports and case studies on the impact of the ESR programs at the primary school level, in terms of what they were intended to achieve, are not encouraging, so far:

1. A workshop on the effect of the ESR held at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1974 concluded that primary education is inferior to what it was prior to ESR because of the manner of its implementation. "Farms and workshops are attached to schools in such a way that learning does not even occur... Self-reliance actually is separate from the rest of the work and is mainly tedious labor..." (Mwobahe and Mbilinyi, 1975: 13-14).

2. In a study of 140 schools in Bagamoyo, Arusha and Masai District to determine the extent to which the school and the community cooperate in school work such as curriculum development, Ishumi (1974:253) concluded that "Not a single school was found to have formulated its syllabus with representatives of the community. There was no conscious, purposive or functional interaction between the school and the community."
3. Gesase surveyed parents in an ujamaa village in the rural area to determine the conditions there in terms of relations over the admission of pupils and the attitudes of teachers. He reported that there is favoritism, corruption, and greed on the part of teachers who favor the children of dominant groups (Gesase, 1974:84):

The head teacher admits an extra 30 pupils, children of the elite....In the school shamba, pupils' work becomes like slave labour, teachers beat them with sticks, the money is swindled....It is strange to note that 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. All those who join the government school come from families of teachers and in rare cases from the mission workers.

Gesase, however, concluded that the degree of corruption found in the school and committed by the head teacher, teachers as well as the school community was not unique to the area surveyed. "Almost daily we read letters to the editors of our daily newspapers about similar cases all over the country" (Gesase, 1974:95).

### Universal Primary Education

Another component of Nyerere's ESR which was aimed at providing basic education to all citizens, was "technically" achieved on target. As Sheffield reports, "Enrollment (in primary school) has grown from 825,000 in 1967 to 3 million in 1977...(and) practically, 100 percent of the children have been enrolled in Standards I to III" (Sheffield, 1979:104). In terms of policy analysis, however, quantity is merely achieved at the expense of quality and Tanzania must recognize the implications of this trade-off.

The financial implications of this growth in enrollment for both recurrent costs of paying for the new teachers and the capital costs of building and equipping the new schools are staggering. The situation became serious when the central government shifted the responsibility for the construction and furnishing of classrooms and teachers' houses to the Regions. The Regional Authorities, instead of building and equipping the schools according to a uniform standard, only allocate materials (worth \$625 per classroom and \$865 per teacher's house) to villages which would in turn construct the buildings by self-help (Sheffield, 1979:105). The value of local labor and materials may be difficult to estimate but there are problems concerning the lack of critical materials such as nails, cement, lumber, and corrugated metal sheets. There exist limited facilities for the transportation of materials. As a result, many classes have no materials at all; some "meeting under a tree or in some local unit when possible, without any desks, tables, books, paper, blackboards, and chalk" (Sheffield, 1979: 106). Many self-help classrooms are mud buildings, some of which

collapse in the first heavy storm.

The use of Swahili as the medium of instruction throughout the primary cycle might have helped to minimize the psychological distance between school children and their parents. But this advantage becomes a disadvantage when primary school seniors compete for places in secondary Form I in the General Entrance Examination (Gesase, 1974; Ergas, 1980; Morrison, 1979).

### Teacher Education

Teacher education was affected by self-reliance policies. The role of Teachers' Colleges was seen as producing teachers who possess the right attitudes towards the nation and towards manual work (Nyerere, 1967). As a condition for producing the desired type of teachers, each teacher training college was required to have an agricultural farm to grow their own food or cash crops. Simmons reports about one case-- Korogwe National College of Education, with a farm of 83 acres. Forty-eight acres of this farm were of maize from which they obtained 182 bags while from 8 acres of rice, 38 bags were harvested annually. In addition, the students got about 1,000 eggs daily from their poultry and meat from their 93 pigs, 4 goats, and one sheep (Simmons, 1979:257).

However, an examination of the methods employed in training of teachers to cope with the universal primary education (UPE) scheme shows again that the quantity of teachers trained has been done at the sacrifice of quality.

## 1. Crash Programs

In order to train 40,000 teachers needed to implement the UPE scheme, the Directorate of Teacher Education in the Ministry of National Education initiated "crash programs." These programs ranged from the reduction of teacher training courses from two years to six months. In some cases, Grade A student teachers have to remain in training for less than six months. It was not uncommon for students to arrive for training two to three months late (Kahinga, 1976).

## 2. Distance Teaching Approach

Even with the use of "crash programs" direct training was not possible for as many as 40,000 teachers (Ergas, 1980:25). An alternative apprenticeship scheme known as "Distance Teaching Approach" has been devised. The apprentices are selected primary school graduates with some years of work experience. These graduates go directly into the primary schools and begin their three years of teacher training under the direction of itinerant teacher educators (Stabler, 1975). In the first year, the apprentice teaches 10 to 15 periods a week under supervision. In the second and third years, the apprentice teaches full-time and also enrolls in inservice courses. From the above methods of training of teachers, it is important to understand the difficulties faced by teachers in adapting themselves to the syllabus revisions and other sweeping changes in the educational system required by the ESR policies.

## Secondary Education

The ESR intends to prepare pupils in secondary schools for life in the village instead of preparing them for university education. Each school has to obtain suitable farming land as an initial practical step taken to implement ESR. Activities such as poultry, dairy, fruit and vegetable gardening, growing of cereals, fish ponds, bee-keeping, ornamental trees and shrubs (Nyerere, 1967). Current research on self-help activities in secondary schools reveals the following:

Simmons (1979:273) in a World Bank sponsored project on "Lessons from Educational Reform" has shown the extent to which secondary schools are operating farms. But he has conceded, however, that "maintaining a self-reliant enterprise efficiently has been a real problem at many schools." He noted that the revenue received by secondary schools in Tanzania in the year 1970 offset government expenditure on secondary education by 2.5 percent. Some schools, according to Simmons' report, have started to organize such activities as bookkeeping, wood-carving and the making of farming implements. A few cooperative shops have been established to provide a chance of teaching pupils about cooperative organization.

However, Maliyamkono's (1976) attempt to correlate students' academic performance after four years of secondary school with their productive effort in farming, handicrafts, and workshops revealed that: (1) private schools show less effort in productive activities than public schools; (2) girls' schools are less productive than boys' schools; (3) schools in rural areas seem to be more productive than schools in the urban areas; and (4) there is no relationship between

academic performance and productive effort, meaning that what schools do academically is totally unrelated to what they do in their productive activities (farming, workshops, etc.).

Although Nyerere (1967) has concentrated efforts in the expansion of education at the primary and adult levels, giving lower priority to secondary and higher levels, the critical issue is that there will be an inevitable demand for secondary schools by parents when the nation comes closer to 100 percent primary enrollment. By prohibiting the establishment of any new private secondary schools, the government has eliminated the option pursued by parents in Kenya and other African countries to develop self-help secondary schools (Sheffield, 1979; Ergas, 1980). The fact that the proportion of primary school leavers going on to secondary schools (this proportion is often called the "index of opportunity") has dropped steadily from over 15 percent in 1966 to less than 5 percent in 1978, is the reality to which policies must adjust. Sheffield (1979:105) estimates that by 1983 when the impact of the first batch of UPE graduates will be felt in full, the index of opportunity will hit an incredibly low level of 1.8 percent, probably the lowest in the world by then.

By way of contrast, Kenya, with a slightly smaller population, absorbed about 95,000 primary school graduates into the secondary school system: 35,000 went to government schools; 60,000 to unaided or partly subsidized "harambee" schools. This constitutes a total of 34 percent of the "index of opportunity." The equivalent figure for Tanzania is 15,000 or about 5 percent (Ergas, 1980:26; Sheffield, 1979:105).

## Examinations and Promotional Procedures

The emphasis on examinations has remained the same in spite of ESR (Simmons, 1979). One is promoted to a higher class according to performance during the examination. The following selection procedures have been introduced since the declaration of ESR in 1967 (Nyerere, 1973).

### 1. The Pre-Selection Procedure for Form I Entrance

In an attempt to encourage equitable distribution of secondary school places between primary schools, the top pupil in each school, according to cumulative grade points, is pre-selected. By this method, all schools have a fair chance of sending pupils to Form I each year, therefore limiting the possibility of better equipped schools sending a disproportionate number of students to secondary schools. But a passing examination is decisive in the final selection and pre-selected students who do not get high passing marks are left out (Simmons, 1979).

### 2. Regional Selection by Formula

The allocation of secondary places by region, to avoid a disproportionate number of students being selected from urban areas, is by a formula (Simmons, 1979:299):

$$A = \frac{B \times D}{C}$$

A = number of Form I places to be selected for the region,

B = number of candidates in the region,

C = number of candidates in Tanzania, and

D = number of available vacancies for the whole nation.

Suppose there were 500 candidates in Region A for Form I and the number of candidates in all schools in Tanzania was 20,000 and the number of available vacancies for the nation was 1,000. The number to select in Region A would be:

$$A = \frac{B \times D}{C} = \frac{500 \times 1,000}{20,000} = 25$$

Despite these procedures, according to O'Conner (1974), the dominant class has created loopholes in order to by-pass government regulations, "In certain areas, pupils are transferring at Standard VI to schools in districts where primary schools are weaker in order to emerge on top the following year" (O'Conner, 1974:7). Other pupils repeat in Standards VI and VII in order to gain a competitive edge over others in selection examinations (Simmons, 1979).

### 3. Selection into University

The implementation of the Musoma Resolutions in 1974 set up university entry requirements and categories of entry as follows: (1) high school diploma based on Form VI Examination for high school graduates, (2) mature-age entrants through recommendations from the party and from the employer, and (3) holders of other certificates and awards.

The "mature-entry scheme" was developed to attract students who have the motivation for doing practical work and those who have the new commitment to society. Mmari (1976) analyzed 437 applicants for the bachelor degree in Social Sciences for the academic year 1975-76 to determine whether the selection by the faculty respected these categories in their final selection. Of 32 candidates accepted as freshmen,

90 out of 115 candidates who applied were selected in category one; 56 out of 102 for category two; and 86 out of 200 for category three (Mmari, 1976:15). Entry into the university is now dependent upon satisfactory recommendations of local administrative and political leaders who are more concerned with productivity and attitudes than mere achievements. Since examinations generally favor the children of urban, better educated parents, this system may be more equitable for children from poorer backgrounds. However, as the statistics above indicate, only a smaller percentage of the Form VI graduates who qualified on academic grounds were turned down because of poor attitudes, indicating that school officials are hesitant to abolish a rather bookish but objective system of selection in favor of a subjective system (Mmari, 1979; Sheffield, 1979).

### Adult Education

Adult education is considered to be one of the successful programs of ESR, "comparable in achievement and magnitude to those in China and Cuba" (Stabler, 1975:51). Perhaps the effort of the government in organizing mass campaigns to inform the public about (1) the Nation's Development Plan, (2) basic health needs, and (3) nutrition and food, is the most successful part of adult education programs (Sheffield, 1979; Ergas, 1980). Each of these campaigns has involved the training of instructors and the distribution of materials to groups, supplemented by radio programs throughout the nation.

In terms of quantity, adult literacy rate in Tanzania is pushing toward 100 percent since all adults are enrolled in various levels of

literacy classes (Kassam, 1979). These programs are, however, being undertaken with financial and technical assistance from UNESCO and the World Bank. Tanzania contributes barely 8 percent of its national budget to adult education programs (Government of Tanzania, Development Plan, 1969-74). An elaborate structure of non-formal education has been set up since 1970 when Nyerere declared "Adult Education Year." As shown in Figure 2, this committee structure is coordinated at regional, district, and village levels. However, as Kassam (1979) reports, the effectiveness of the committee structure is hampered by the absence of regular meetings. Moreover, plans made by the committee are seldom implemented. These problems arise partly because of the multiple organizations, groups and ministries assuming some kind of role in implementing adult education programs.

Although Tanzania has trained over 100,000 adult teachers and produced over 40 million texts for adults, the functional literacy classes are taught by "volunteers" (Sheffield, 1979:5). The number of people from various organizations teaching in non-formal education programs, as shown in Table 3.18, reflects a higher proportion of primary school graduates used as teachers. Many of the adult education students, however, enjoy facilities such as (1) a special monthly newspaper, Elimu Haina Mwisho (Education Has No End), (2) radio programs, and (3) rural libraries established in the villages. A list of the subjects taught places emphasis on rural development (Tanzania Second Five-Year Plan, Vol. 1, 1974) (see Table 3.19). The Institute of Adult Education (IAE) prepares materials, trains instructors, and runs formal courses in regular academic subjects for students who have

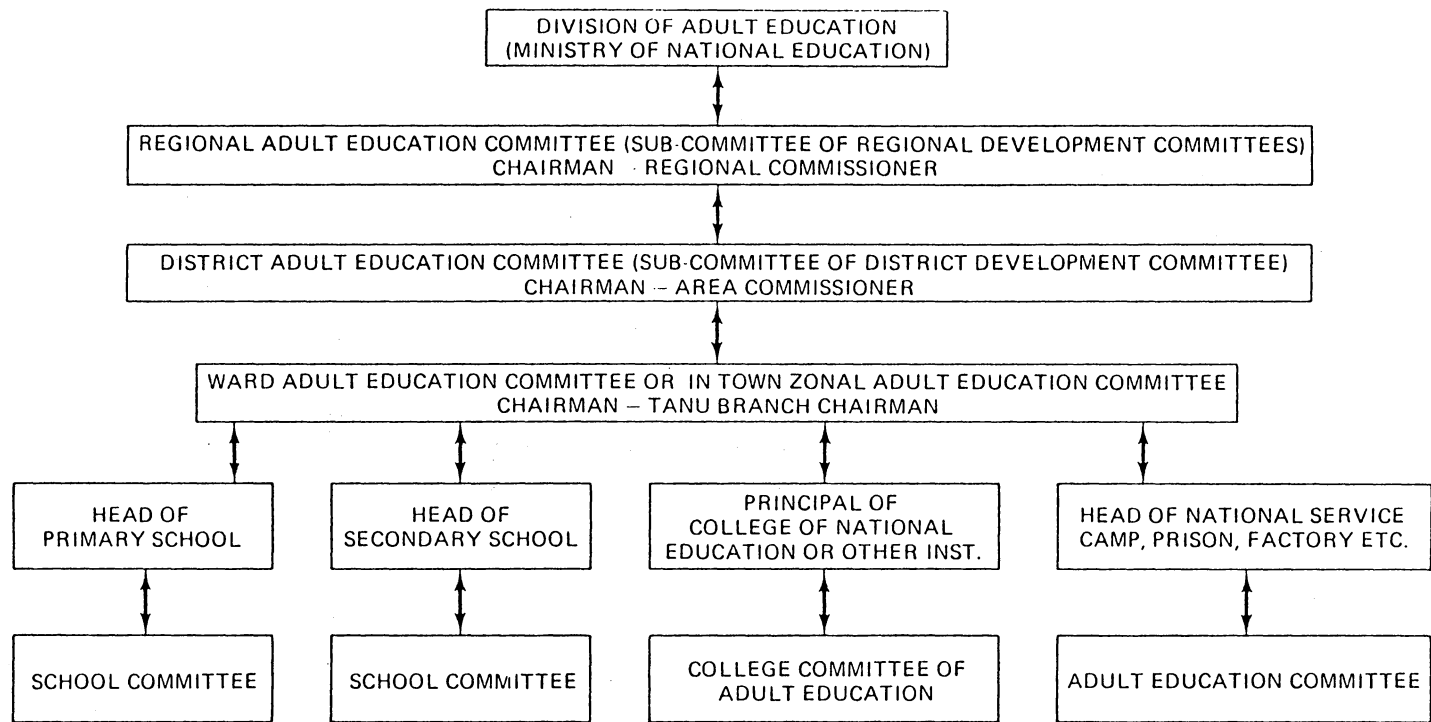


Figure 2

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

Source: Hinzen, H. and Hundsdorfer, V. H. Education for Liberation: The Tanzanian Experience. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education, 1979.

Table 3.18

Number of People from Various Organizations Teaching in  
Non-Formal Education Programs Organized by the  
Ministry of National Education, December 1973

Organization	Number of Teachers
Primary school teachers	20,672
Secondary school students	2,893
TANU	3,310
Ministry of Agriculture	1,129
Ministry of Health	1,575
Prime Minister's Office	4,449
Religious bodies	644
Others (mainly volunteers)	59,590
Total	94,262

Source: Ministry of National Education: Adult Education Statistics, 1979.

Table 3.19  
 The Number of Participants by Subject in  
 Non-Formal Education Organized by the  
 Ministry of National Education, December 1973

Subjects	Number of Participants
Political Education	1,272,080
Agriculture	1,370,000
Health	1,171,606
Literacy	2,586,702
Home Economics	750,335
Kiswahili	2,203,933
Arithmetic	
History	
Typing	43,375
English	224,701
Technical subjects	81,046
Economics	81,999

Source: Ministry of National Education: Adult Education Statistics, 1979. (An individual may be enrolled for more than one subject.)

dropped out of the regular school system.

However, as efforts are being made to reach the 100 percent literacy mark in Tanzania, some concerns also are being raised as to whether the assumptions which were made earlier concerning the policy goals of ESR hold true in terms of evidence on (1) the practical integration between formal and non-formal education, and (2) the correction of elitist bias in education. The relationship between formal and non-formal education was defined by the Second Five-Year Development Plan (1969-74) which required every primary school to operate as a center of adult education in addition to providing primary education. Reports on studies, however, provide evidence to the contrary, pointing to the fact that adult education programs are not meeting their objectives:

1. Kassam (1979) reports that although primary school teachers have acquired a high degree of political consciousness and have readily responded to the national call for adult education, a majority of the teachers surveyed complain of being overloaded with work. They said they cannot teach children during the day and teach adults in the afternoons and evenings. Also, the shortage of teachers and materials is complicated by the fact that many Tanzanians interpret the "honorarium" of 30 shillings received by the voluntary teachers of adult classes to mean that non-formal education is inferior to formal education.
2. Rwabwisho (1980:34) studied the unity of "mental and manual" work in self-reliance adult programs in Kinondoni District in Tanzania and concluded that "...teachers and learners do

not put theory and practice together simultaneously during literacy classes. Classes are used strictly for teaching the 3Rs and are independent from practical work."

3. Mbilinyi studied the adult education situation in urban areas and noted that workers initially enroll in adult literacy programs with the expectation of getting promoted later (Mbilinyi, 1979).

The implication of these and other studies and reports only negate the assumptions that (1) the ESR policy reform is facilitating the integration of the school with the community, and (2) correcting the elitist bias toward education. Indeed, a move toward the achievement of 100 percent literacy rate seem only to suggest an enormous demand for further secondary and higher education. Moreover, the creation of stages in the adult education courses taught by the Institute of Adult Education reflecting equivalent courses leading to forms and examinations also taken by those students in the regular secondary cycle up to university entrance, merely suggests that the ultimate goal of any form of education in Tanzania (formal or non-formal) is to pass through the secondary school to the university. The following are the stages set by the Institute of Adult Education (Sheffield, 1979:106):

- Stage 1 -- courses leading to a qualifying examination to Form II in the secondary school
- Stage 2 -- courses leading to the Form IV national examination
- Stage 3 -- courses leading to the national Form VI examination and university entrance
- Stage 4 -- "mature-age courses" for older people who take a special qualifying admission test for university entrance

Stage 5 -- courses for industry workers in different subjects which (not to function in their roles) but to eventually seek admission into one of the above stages and to the university.

### Summary of Section on ESR Reform Policy

1. "Education for Self-Reliance" was meant to integrate schools into the community activities and to change the students elitist bias to education by emphasizing the importance of combining mental and manual work in agriculture and handicrafts. To help reduce unemployment among primary school graduates, the school entry age was raised to 10 years so that pupils would graduate at age 15-17 and hence be more employable on land (Nyerere, 1967).
2. The ESR reform policy also provided for a basic compulsory and universal education to all pupils at the primary school level and to adults, while the expansion of secondary and higher educational sectors was controlled.
3. Education for Self-Reliance may work in the future. But the available information is insufficient to predict that. However, the evidence from current studies reveals that many factors are still standing in the way to the implementation of the operational policies of ESR in various programs in the educational system.
  1. There are indications that schools are more productive than they were before the declaration of ESR. But this improvement can only be seen in a few rural schools (Simmons, 1979; Sheffield, 1979). The aim of integrating the school with the community has presented problems, especially the lack of instructors to teach children and adults in the same physical

environment. Moreover, instead of emphasizing practical work in primary and adult education classes, there is the tendency to teach the 3Rs and courses which merely serve to prepare students for examinations at various secondary grades leading to university entrance (Sheffield, 1979).

2. Increase in enrollment in primary and adult education has raised the demand for further education, a reality which self-reliance policies are not adjusting to. It seems appropriate for leaders not to underestimate the continuing need for high level manpower to provide political and administrative leadership, even in the rural areas. As the "index of opportunity" for primary graduates in gaining places in the secondary schools continues to drop yearly, there is concern that an acute shortage of manpower is imminent (Sheffield, 1979: Gesase, 1976).
3. The National Executive Committee of the party (TANU) has objected to the use of examinations for the purpose of students' promotion and admission into university. Other measures such as recommendations from principals, employers and party leaders have been encouraged (Sheffield, 1979). However, any system replacing examinations must protect against favoritism, particularly in Tanzania, where geographical regions, religions, ethnic groups, and social classes may become means of discrimination. There is some evidence suggesting that the party's system of recommendations for student admission is subjective

and tends to favor students from the dominant ruling class (Gesase, 1976: Kassam, 1979).

4. The belief that self-help is a concept to be practiced only in schools also hinders the implementation of ESR (Simmons, 1979). Other public institutions should also introduce self-reliance activities, otherwise, the school system will merely continue to reflect the reality in society because it is not a potent force in bringing about radical change, more or less in the formation of a socialist Tanzanian state.
5. The "Education for Self-Reliance" reform proposal may be exportable to other countries facing problems similar to those faced by Tanzania. However, it is important to note the difficulties faced by Nyerere in implementing this policy. The lack of public support for the reform, perhaps, was due to the belief by the masses that Nyerere's introduction of agriculture was merely a renewal of the oppression of the masses by the British colonial administration. Agriculture has been associated with colonial tactics to hold down the masses on the farms and prevent them from progressing to managerial and political positions (Cameron, 1968).

## SECTION FOUR

## THE DECENTRALIZATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The barriers to the implementation of the first three educational reforms in Tanzania may be linked directly or indirectly with the role played by the dominant group (the petty bourgeoisie) in Tanzania in exploiting every opportunity to reinforce its own privilege (Morrison, 1979; Ergas, 1980):

1. The first reform apparently achieved the integration of the educational system by race. However, inter-regional disparities still remained and elite children still enjoy the privilege of more access to educational facilities.
2. The reform aimed at providing the nation with the required manpower was characterized by elite job categories requiring minimum qualifications. These requirements could only be met by candidates from families of high socio-economic status who are able to pay for the cost of secondary and higher education.
3. The Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) faced resistance from the dominant group, especially older civil servants. As members of this dominant group continue to preserve their privilege, the educational system appears to be impotent in reforming itself, more or less in bringing about socio-economic changes in society in general. The educational system merely reflects the reality of inequality and elitism in society. It is essential to determine to what extent

the power and control over the decision making in the classroom, school farms and cooperatives was delegated to teachers and school administrators without antagonizing the petty bourgeoisie in Tanzania and its top-down administration in the Ministry of National Education.

Since the fourth educational reform, the decentralization of the educational system, was initiated by and bound up with the party's guidelines of 1971, culminating in the 1972 TANU paper, Decentralization (Nyerere, 1974), it is essential to place this policy within its overall social basis by considering in perspective (1) the need for the decentralization of the Central Government Administration, (2) the TANU Party Decentralization Scheme and its application to the educational system, and (3) barriers to the decentralization of the structure of decision making in the educational system.

#### The Need for the Decentralization of the Central Government in Tanzania

1. To break the monopoly of economic and political power by the dominant class (the petty bourgeoisie).

After independence, political and economic power became increasingly centralized in the hands of a few administrative officials. This ruling segment of the dominant class had succeeded in banning many of the pre-independence trade unions in order to secure their control of the state apparatus in decision making (Mushi, 1976). Since there was no other strong group with a political base in the country, the ruling elite found itself dominant and unchallenged. However, changing

political circumstances required a shift in the decision-making mechanism from the few to the majority:

1. National integration or fostering national unity among different racial and ethnic groups as well as among different religious groups required the creation of a flexible decentralized and efficient administrative system.
  2. The widespread use of Swahili as a language of the majority of Tanzanians was another factor linked to the need to decentralize the decision-making process and break down the monopoly of those in control of the decision-making process.
2. The key to the success of any agent (foreign or national) involved in policy implementation in a poor country is its relationship or linkage with the masses (McHenry, 1979). The masses are those whose compliance is sought in policy implementation.
1. The masses at the grass-root level know local problems better and therefore also can decide on how to resolve these problems. It is the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches.
  2. The need to cope with local variations in implementing self-help programs is the need to respond to multiple interests. It is also the need to determine the extent to which variations in local projects seem to enhance their capacity to reach their target groups successfully. In program implementation, it is essential to establish a relationship between variability and program success in each local setting in order to allow local programs to be judged on their terms (Elmore, 1979). In this connection, only in a decentralized decision-making structure

can it be possible to diagnose the causes of non-compliance and failure on the part of the receptors of the program, rather than enforcing uniform compliance from the top.

3. The implementation of policies for delivery services such as education, health and housing should depend on delegated control (Elmore, 1979). Delegation of control is the involvement of people at the levels of the decision-making structure. Those for whom the programs are targeted have to be involved and their problems should be solved using their standards rather than those standards imposed by the top administrators (Elmore, 1979).
3. The government administrative structures, including education, that were inherited by Tanzania at the time of independence were highly centralized. Almost everything that was to be done at regional or district levels had to be cleared with the headquarters in Dar es Salaam (Simmons, 1979). The party, TANU, recognized that the concentration of power in the hands of a few at the top ran contrary to the egalitarian objective of involving people in decision-making. In education, in particular, the Education Ordinance of 1962, by integrating the educational system, had merely increased the power of the Minister of Education (Morrison, 1979):
  1. The scope of independent action available to the voluntary educational agencies (Protestant, Catholic, Baptist) in running the schools was curtailed.

2. A closer control by the Ministry of National Education was enforced over local education authorities, even parent-teacher associations.
3. The voice of the head teacher and classroom teachers was reduced over matters involving curriculum, method of teaching, and the selection of primary school graduates into Form I of the high schools.
4. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 surfaced in the appearance of many new forces linked with some progressive thinking. The forces for self-determination on matters of local interests were growing stronger. The new policy, officially known as "Socialism and Self-Reliance," was based on community action. This development strategy required the participation by many who also have to contribute to the decision-making framework of the nation. The Arusha Declaration started with sweeping national changes:
  1. The large-scale manufacturing, commercial, and financial sectors were nationalized, "changing from 90 percent of the firms being foreign-owned in 1967 to 80 percent public sector majority-owned in 1972" (Coulson, 1979:27). But Tanzania only took over a controlling interest, rather than complete ownership of foreign-owned firms.
  2. Priority was placed on correcting urban/rural imbalances and collective local and agricultural development through the Ujamaa villages (Nyerere, 1968).
  3. Efforts were made to democratize the one-party TANU rule and to attack authoritarian and bureaucratic forms of work

organization (Nyerere, 1967).

### The TANU Party Decentralization Scheme

The government hired the McKinsey Company, Inc., to recommend on the decentralization of the central government administration, which included the educational system. In 1972, the government declared decentralization to be official government policy. Powers were given to the regions and ultimately to the district and village levels. The TANU guidelines had also emphasized the need for "worker participation." The 1972 TANU paper, Decentralization, summed up the rationale for decentralizing power and decision making (Coulson, 1979:36):

The purpose of both the Arusha Declaration and of Mwongozo was to give the people power over their own lives and their own development. We have made great progress in seizing power from the hands of the capitalists and the traditionalists, but we must face the fact that, to the mass of the people, power is still something wielded by others--even if on their behalf.

Thus it has gradually become obvious that, in order to make reality of our policies of socialism and self-reliance, the planning and control of development in this country must be exercised at the local level to a much greater extent than at present....These proposals in fact follow logically from the Arusha Declaration and from Mwongozo, and from the basic principles of Ujamaa. For they imply putting trust in the people. And if we cannot do that, we have no claim to be socialists.

The Mwongozo (worker participation) was the outcome of party discussions aimed at strengthening the position of workers, peasants for their participation in local decision making in the rural areas (Nyerere, 1974). Thus, the policies initiated in 1972 brought about a substantive shift in the political consciousness of peasants and workers. The implications of the Mwongozo resolutions for the educational system

were extended to primary and adult education, with an attempt to deal with some of the problems revealed by "Education for Self-Reliance."

The dual goal was (Simmons, 1979):

1. to increase participation in local decision making, and
2. to reduce the power of the administrative elite.

### The Restructuring of the Administrative System of Education

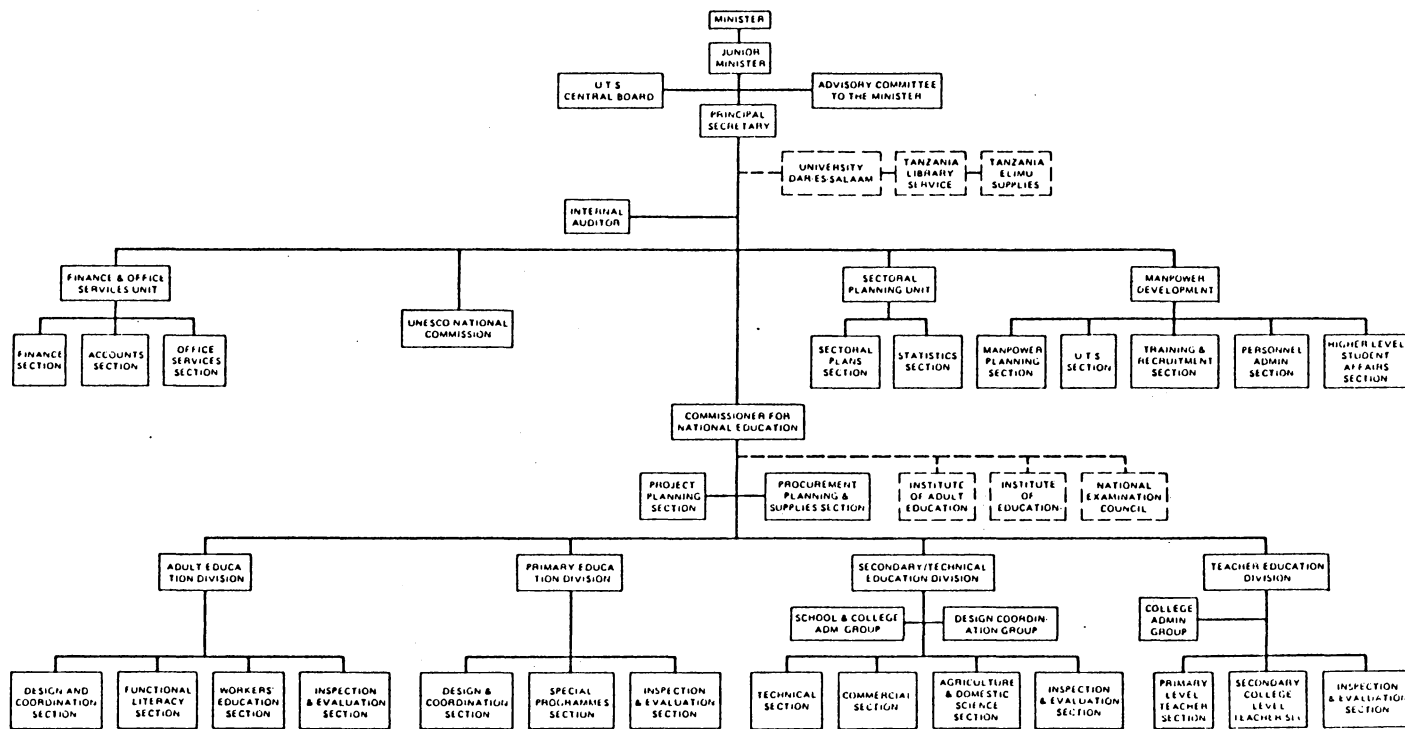
The Ministry of National Education implemented some of the McKinsey recommendations for the decentralization of government, restructuring the functional operation of the school system at national, regional, district and division levels as shown in Figure 3.

#### National Level

Structural positions in the organization have remained almost the same but a slightly greater degree of specialization of activities and a clear division of responsibilities have been introduced. Some titles have been changed: the Director of National Education has been renamed Commissioner of Education. The primary, secondary and teacher education divisions have been reorganized to effect a closer coordination between one another, but they still retain the emphasis on the different types of programs.

The Secondary Education Division has been reorganized into 3 program sections (Hinzen and Hundsdorfer, 1979):

1. The Secondary Technical Section, which manages programs of technical education,
2. The Commercial Section, and
3. The Agriculture and Domestic Science Sections.



This chart shows reporting relationships only and not necessarily relative status

Figure 3

Ministry of National Education--New Structure

Source: Hall, B. L., The Structure of Adult Education and Rural Development in Tanzania. (IDS Discussion Paper No. 67), Brighton: University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies (January 1975), App. II.

Other sections that provide support include:

4. Inspection and Evaluation, which serves as inspectorate for all programs to ensure conformity with national policy and the effectiveness of programs,
5. Design Coordination, and
6. School and College Administration.

The decentralization of primary education has been carried out at regional and district levels, although secondary and teacher education have remained nationally controlled. Heads of secondary schools and colleges of national education communicate directly with their respective directorates in the ministry's headquarters. The primary and adult education divisions have been most involved in the decentralization scheme.

#### Primary Education at Regional and District Levels

Primary education in the region is the overall responsibility of the Regional Development Director, but the Ministry of National Education coordinates the educational activities of all the regions. The Regional Education Officer assists and advises the Regional Development Director on education affairs. The Regional Education Officer is assisted by three education officers--one for inspection, one for logistics and supplies, and one for adult education.

At the district level, the regional structure is repeated. The District Education Officer is one of the functional managers under the District Development Director (Malinyamkono, 1979).

### The Decentralization and Management Plan

According to the decentralization plan, all decision making and planning procedures are supposed to start at the ward or village level. An educational project such as the opening of a new school is supposed to be discussed at the ward level in the Ward Development Committee, to which all headquarters of primary schools also belong. The Committee also includes delegates from the Tanganyika African Parents Association (TAPA), a national parents' educational organization. The Committee is charged by the ward TANU chairman. The issue is then passed on to the District Development Committee, and from there to the Regional TANU Development Committee. The decision is then communicated to the Regional Development Director, who instructs the Regional Development Committee to take the appropriate action.

The government's rapid policy of decentralization in an attempt to shift many of the policy-making and administrative responsibilities to 21 regions, 80 districts, and according to the 1975 Village Act, to 8,000 villages and wards, has to be given some time to work before determining its impact in terms of changing circumstances (Sheffield, 1979:101). However, it is essential to start considering, given the available information, whether the institutional structures of the educational system, for this matter, are functioning as they have been described above. The reform to decentralize the educational system created new chains of command among professional educational administrators, party cadres and government officials. It is essential to determine (1) the extent to which directions from the party, the government and professional educators (teachers and head-teachers) are

received and implemented without conflicts, (2) who actually controls the day-to-day policies on school farms, cooperatives, and curriculum and instruction. The evidence from studies done so far suggests that contrary to the hope that greater citizen involvement would strengthen the democratic processes required by Tanzanian socialism, the decentralization reform has, in all areas of national life, tended to create a local process of bureaucratic control (Malinyamkono, 1977; McHenry, 1979; Mapolu, 1973).

### Barriers to the Decentralization of Decision Making in the Educational System

#### 1. The Creation of Multiple Structures of Decision Making Hinders Implementation

The structural layers between those who are supposed to participate in decision making and those of the central decision-making body are so many. The involvement of the party (TANU) in school decision making complicates the decentralization process because the party has an elaborate hierarchy of structures. These structures comprise the following (McHenry, 1979:62):

- Central Committee
- National Executive Committee
- National Conference
- Regional Working Committee
- Regional Executive Committee
- Regional Conference
- District Working Committee
- District Executive Committee
- District Conference
- Branch Executive Committee
- Branch Conference
- Sub-Branch Executive Committee
- Sub-Branch Conference
- Cells

With this elaborate hierarchy of structures, important decisions affecting the state such as universal primary education are being made by a smaller group of individuals led by the President. This means that the chains of command in the organizational structure of government often result in problems. Within the Ministry of Education, for example, the Regional Education Officer is responsible to the Regional Development Director, while at the same time receiving instructions from the Ministry of National Education Headquarters. In some cases, the directives from these two sources have been contradictory (Malinyamkono, 1977).

2. Party-government struggles for domination of the state and educational policies have led to de jure supremacy of the party in policy formation but de facto domination of the government in policy implementation. The links between the party and the government, according to McHenry (1979) are forged by the party in an effort to oversee the implementation of its policies. However, many of the links are positions that fulfill dual functions and holders of these dual roles tend to experience role-conflict when making decisions affecting the implementation of policies at the lower levels of the administrative structure. This role conflict seems to hinder implementation by suspending certain policies because of the supremacy of the agent of implementation--the party or the government. The President of Tanzania is both head of the government and head of the party. Members of the Parliament (MPs) are members of a subcommittee of the TANU National Conference but they

are also directly responsible for overseeing government action. The TANU chairmen at various levels serve on a range of committees that involve both party and government officials. The party constitution is a part of the state constitution. Such links between the party and the government seem to have provided more government leverage in the party than party leverage in the government. However, party leaders have often interfered in the day-to-day running of schools, especially at the local levels. And the President was reported to have issued a stern warning against abusing power by interfering in the implementation of the day-to-day policies directed by the party, "Implementation of all directives should be left to the Government alone" (McHenry, 1979:70).

3. But leaving the government alone to implement policies which it does not enact merely complicates the government's role as an agent in implementing programs involving "Education for Self-Reliance" at the grass-roots.
  1. As Shivji (1973) reports, instead of viewing the Arusha Declaration and the decentralization that followed as efforts to involve the masses in decision making in order to implement "Education for Self-Reliance," the governmental elite attempted only to consolidate its power by extending its own political base leading to the formation of new local bureaucrats.
  2. The continuous modification of the structures of administration, according to McHenry (1979) has interfered with the establishment of stable patterns of participation by parents

and school officials in the implementation of educational programs, especially at the local level. Although there were only two major post-independence changes (the Arusha Declaration and the Decentralization of Administration) there were several minor alterations that took place as shown in Table 3.20.

3. In his Analysis of Ujamaa Villages, Ergas (1980) reports that bureaucrats in general are allergic to dialogue with peasants: "They regard them (peasants) as ignorant, conservative, and irrational, and propose that their resistance to change be broken by energetic, authoritarian action" (p. 389). This seems to explain the fact that there exists a wide gap between policy enactment and policy implementation and why everytime the central government in Tanzania attempts to give decision-making powers to those at the grass-roots, a number of bureaucrats will exploit the opportunity to reinforce their own authority.
4. The top-down administrative control in implementing educational programs is exercised by the Minister of Education. According to Mbilinyi (1979), the organization of school and classroom in primary and secondary schools is contrary to the objectives of decentralization. The classroom is run in a bureaucratic fashion, one-man rule at the top, students powerless at the bottom. Teachers are equally powerless because they teach curricula which they do not design and prepare students for examinations which they do not construct nor grade. Teachers

Table 3.20

Characteristic Administrative Forms Before and  
Since Tanzanian Independence

Colonial System (1960)	Early Independence System (1963)	Decentralization System (1972)
Provincial commissioner	Regional commissioner  Administrative secretary	Regional commissioner  Regional development director  Regional planning officer Regional personnel officer Regional financial officer  Regional development committee
Functional officers	Functional officers	Functional officers
District commissioner	Area commissioner  Area secretary   District council  Executive officer	Area commissioner  District development director  District planning officer District personnel officer District financial officer  District development council
Functional officers	Functional officers	Functional officers
Native authorities	Divisional executive officer  Assistant divisional executive officer  Village executive officer  Village development committee	Divisional secretary   Ward secretary  Ward development committee

Source: McHenry, Dean E., Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages. Berkeley:  
Institute of International Studies, 1979, p. 75.

and head-teachers carry out directives from above (the Ministry of National Education). Perhaps, the way to create and enrich meaningful school curricula, through social practice, is to involve teachers and students and other forces such as parents, party leaders and peasant workers in its evaluation and redesign. Teachers do not join students in productive or manual labor. What they do is to supervise students who have no control over major decisions about what to produce and the distribution of proceeds. Students are ordered to grow food in a given location and to sell it at an imposed price (Mbilinyi, 1979). This is the contradictory nature of implementing Education for Self-Reliance in a decentralized educational system, which seems to suggest a form of exploitation by those at the higher echelons of the administrative structure.

4. The Party and Government, according to Sheffield (1979), have always ignored the public reaction to major decisions affecting the masses.
  1. In the appointment of about 4,000 "village managers," as in many other areas such as the declaration for universal primary education, both the party and the government went too fast in making certain decisions without adequate planning and phasing of implementation, more or less in considering public reaction to these policies.
  2. Several letters from parents petitioning the Ministry of Education over the tight control of secondary school expansion, as the index of opportunity for primary graduates has been

dropping, have never been given attention (Mmonyo, 1978). The irony inherent in Nyerere's socialism in Tanzania is that "...despite frequent references to participation by the people in decision making in all sectors, the bureaucracy continues to make decisions for the people....By stifling self-help in education as in other sectors, the Government makes people more passive and less self-reliant" (Sheffield, 1978:19).

#### Summary of Section Four

1. The reform to decentralize the educational system was carried out in order to staff the schools locally, giving the students, teachers, parents and principals an opportunity to cooperate with the community in order to fully implement "Education for Self-Reliance." However, current research has revealed that students, teachers and principals have been passive in the day-to-day policies affecting the school programs (Mmonyo, 1978; Sheffield, 1979; Mbilinyi, 1978; Ergas, 1980; Simmons, 1979). Teachers and principals have no voice in curriculum development and in selection devices for promotion or entry into secondary and higher institutions.
2. The decentralization of the school system was only part of a large national design intended to create an elaborate hierarchy of administrative structures both for the party and the government. However, instead of the multiplicity of administrative layers created in 1972 in helping to close links with the people, they have only set them apart. The party-government struggles for domination

of the state apparatus for decision making have led to the supremacy of the former in policy formation and the latter in policy implementation. Decentralization efforts, especially in the educational system, have not increased popular participation. The dependence of the party on government finance and government manpower to keep the schools running has increased the power of the ministers who make major decisions from top-down to the other subordinate layers.

3. Conflict is not only reflected in the divided roles of the party and the government as agents of policy formation and implementation. The dual role of junior officials at the bottom of the hierarchy is often confused because they have to receive contradictory directives from a variety of sources from those in the upper echelons. For the educational system, in particular, the delegation of power and control by the Minister of National Education to teachers, principals and parents over school activities is still to be awaited (Mbilinyi, 1979; Ergas, 1980). And until that happens, problems involved with the implementation of Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance" will continue to be analyzed using standards imposed by the top administrators without involving those for whom the "self-help" programs are targeted.

PART FOUR  
INTERPRETATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This part of the study deals with the summary interpretations and possible implications of the thesis advanced earlier in the study. While the overall research strategy employed in the study to analyze the impact of four major reforms on basic changes in Tanzanian education could not permit the rigor which would produce a verdict in the evidence, however, there is need to provide information for professional educators and policy makers in Tanzania, and other developing countries contemplating similar reform strategies. It is important to consider Nyerere's efforts in alternative education in terms of what he (as reformer and political leader of his time) has achieved, the barriers to the implementation of his reform proposals and objectives, and what should be done further to enrich alternative self-help programs if schooling in Tanzania is to motivate those to be affected by these programs.

Considered collectively, the four major reforms in education that were initiated by President Nyerere after independence were progressive in intent and character and were often well designed from a technical prospective. The evidence that is summarized in Appendix B of this study reflects some success in the achievement of policy objectives although this progress is in quantitative rather than in qualitative terms:

- The growth in educational provision at all levels in terms of increases in the percentage of those who have enrolled in and graduated from the various programs, especially universal primary education and adult literacy schemes. Total enrollment has grown from 825,000 in 1967 to 3 million in 1979 and 100% of pupils have been enrolled in Standards 1 to 3.
- The increase in the number of school farms since Education for Self-Reliance was declared in 1967.
- The increase in the number of teachers trained from 28,700 in 1961 to 40,000 in 1976 or 39% increase.
- The increase in the number of schools from 3,865 in 1967 to 5,804 in 1976 or 66% increase.
- The creation of many layers of administrative channels within the Ministry of Education at national, regional, district and village levels.

The analysis, in Part Three of this study, suggests that the liberal political leadership of Nyerere that had the power to pass the legislation on educational reform in Tanzania after independence did not receive public support to implement and enforce many of its operational policies. Although the implementation of some of the programs stemming from Nyerere's declaration of reform policies is still continuing, the evidence from the literature suggests that there are four major barriers to the efforts being made to change the educational system. These are:

1. Misconception About Education as a Tool for Socio-Economic Change and Development

Educational administrators and policy makers need to re-examine the uncritical thinking that education is a potent force for socio-economic change and development. There was little evidence in the literature to suggest that formal education can promote social justice and equality in society even by means of extending access to school facilities to pupils from underprivileged families. There was also little evidence to suggest that providing mass education to all in society will eventually uplift the socio-economic conditions of the rural poor. While the limitation of schooling in fostering social goals has to be acknowledged, the literature suggests that the determinant factor is the general improvement of the standards of living of all the people, including the underprivileged classes. Since educational changes aimed at influencing the life of a nation cannot produce desired results in the absence of support from the political, social, and economic institutions, the school system merely continues to initiate a few students into the bourgeoisie class while the rest of the masses continues to be isolated.

2. Failure by the Government and Party to Stop the Petty Bourgeoisie (the Dominant Class) from Exploiting Educational Policies to Their Advantage

The four major educational reforms, collectively, were initiated to respond to specific immediate problems. Manpower needs required secondary and university expansion. The reform of the examination and

promotion procedures was intended to provide equitable distribution of school places. The standardization of syllabi and school integration was intended to eliminate religious and racial discrimination. "Education for Self-Reliance" was intended to orient primary school graduates to rural life and employment. The decentralization of education was geared toward delegating some of the power of the Minister of Education to school local boards, committees, teachers, principals, and parents. However, both the Government and the Party (TANU) have failed to curb the power of the dominant groups (the petty bourgeoisie) in using the operational policies of major reforms to exploit available opportunities in order to reinforce their privilege. As a result of attempts to implement reform policies, the literature suggests the following unintended developments favoring the dominant groups, e.g.,

1. The integration reform policies encouraged other elitist differentiations in the educational system by region and social class.
2. Manpower policies encouraged rigid classification of employees according to academic credentials which only candidates from families with high socio-economic backgrounds could obtain.
3. Education for Self-Reliance increased enrollment in primary and adult education by raising the demand for further education. This demand has reinforced the use of examinations as basic selection criteria into secondary and higher

institutions. Universal education, meanwhile, has faced the problem of resource constraints.

4. The decentralization of the educational system, instead of delegating power to those at the target of policy implementation, has created many layers of local bureaucratic machinery for control.

### 3. The Failure by Policy Makers to Regard the Components of the Educational System as a Coherent Unit

The literature suggests that it may be difficult to manipulate one of the levels of the educational system without incurring consequences in other levels (Ergas, 1980). In this connection, it seems to be impossible to declare "terminal" and universal primary education in Tanzania while at the same time checking the growth of secondary education (Nyerere, 1967). The disproportional growth between primary and secondary education may result in negative consequences, e.g., the shortage of manpower in critical administrative areas and the failure to create career options other than farming for primary school graduates.

### 4. The Difficulties Involved in Implementing Policies to Serve Multiple Competing Interests

Perhaps, it is important to interpret Nyerere's difficulties in terms of the hard choices he had to make in order to satisfy competing interests in Tanzania. These interests are represented by parents, students, educators, and the dominant elite group (the bourgeoisie) which controls the wealth and power in Tanzania. The objective of each

of these groups was to use the reform policy to serve the group's interests:

- Elite parents perceive education as a preservation of their status quo. To them formal education at the secondary and higher levels should enable their children to obtain jobs that would uplift them to elite status.
- Underprivileged parents perceive that education is a means by which their children will escape from rural life to city life for upward occupational mobility.
- Students perceive that a secondary school diploma or university degree is the essential requirement for achieving social mobility and secure employment. They resent having their hopes raised by the promises of more education, only to discover that promises have little meaning for obtaining employment.
- Educators would want educational policies to protect their profession and jobs.

The lack of public support for the implementation of reform policies can be explained by the difficulty encountered by the government to satisfy all the competing interests on major issues, e.g., how to provide jobs for the graduates or how to reduce the migration of graduates from rural to urban areas. It is important to judge Nyerere both in terms of what his policies have failed to achieve as well as what can be done with what progress has been made. In this connection, the growth in educational provision at all levels in terms of increases in the percentage of those who have enrolled in and

graduated from various programs raises some questions which have implications for educational planners and policy makers in Tanzania:

1. What can a government such as Tanzania do for the unemployed graduates, especially the two million graduates who will soon suffer the same fate, when the universal primary education scheme and the adult literacy program attain 100% literacy rate?
2. What can the government do to reduce the migration of the unemployed graduates from rural to urban Tanzania?
3. What can the government do to eliminate a dual system of education which trains those in urban areas for mental labor and others in the countryside for manual labor?

How can the government resolve the issues raised by the above questions without alienating the support of the major interest groups in Tanzania? If, for example, the government decides to reduce the number of new graduates from high schools and universities, would the elite group which helped to put the government in power not withdraw their support? This group demands more school places at the secondary and higher levels for their children. Moreover, members of this group, especially the landlords, require a cheap labor force and, therefore, would not want unemployment to shrink.

If the government decides to expand the non-formal educational programs such as self-help "ujamaa" projects in rural areas, what implications will this expansion have on the reinforcement of a dual educational system whereby one side (the non-formal) will train pupils for rural employment and the other side (the formal) for urban employment?

The reinforcement of a dual system of education will reinforce the social and political status quo. While Nyerere's integration policies might have destroyed a system of education based on race, a new system based on rural-urban separation might have been created instead.

The concentration of alternative self-help programs in the rural sector suggests the reinforcement of a dual system of education.

This dual system lacks the support of educators as well as high and low-income parents for the reason of preserving self rather than national interests. Educators may be hesitant in lowering academic standards by adopting self-help methods. Upper-class parents may feel that formal education is relevant to their needs. They may fear that opening more primary schools for the rural poor may mean losing places for their children at the secondary schools and the university. Low-income parents would object to a dual system of education that would stream their children into manual jobs while the children are still in the primary schools.

Perhaps what the government can do, given the limited resources at its disposal, is to devise a policy that would help those who are adversely affected by the expansion of the educational system: the unemployed primary and secondary graduates. The basic consideration by the government could be to devise some incentives that would reduce the mismatch between the labor market and the types of skills graduates acquire from self-help programs. Leaders in Tanzania could consider ways of devising incentives in order to meet an essential demand of school graduates: the striving for upward occupational mobility.

Because of the need to bridge the gap created by a dual system of education which differentiates between urban and rural graduates, it is important to raise the following questions for consideration by those in authority:

1. How could the school curriculum in rural self-help schools be changed in order to provide for content in areas which will open students to alternative career choices and to enable them to be competitive in the labor market in both urban and rural settings?
2. Are the graduates offered jobs in community services (agriculture, health, nutrition) with the promise to reward them by promoting them to higher positions after their service?
3. Are promotion mechanisms of all civil servants dependent on whether they contribute part of their period of service in various rural communities? This question takes into consideration a common experience through participation by groups in the community. The school appears to be a poor agency for community development unless there is a team spirit developed among the school, the party, the bureaucrats, and the church. Recognizing the role of power structure in the community, civil servants can join other groups in common experiences in rural settings. The participation of every one is crucial and stabilizes social change.
4. Is the system of land tenure in Tanzania open so as to enable graduates to acquire the land needed to produce food? Government can create incentives by making it easier for

graduates and others who need land to acquire it.

The above questions are not exhaustive, but they point to the need for the leadership, given the available resources, to motivate all those who are affected by the new patterns of self-help programs that have been introduced since independence. There is need to motivate the graduates of these programs who are caught between two worlds: life in the countryside and life in the cities. The major question for the leadership is: What can be done to help young graduates fulfill or lower their rising expectations?

In whatever way the leadership chooses to motivate those affected by reforms, several inferences can be made about the new patterns in educational policies that have been forming in post-independence Tanzania:

1. Nyerere has committed Tanzania to a revolution in education that has affected the majority of the people--young and old. Nyerere's leadership has articulated national goals and has been shaping up the nation's resources for maximum use toward achieving these goals, despite the existing conflict of group-interests.
2. The educational planners appear formally committed to the principles of socialism, through a thorough revision of educational structures, content and methods at all levels. But the formal education of a nation's citizens is only one function of the educational institutions in the community. An integrated front by all members of the community (with all other institutions and departments offering their

expertise) should be considered essential for practicing socialist principles and self-reliance.

3. There may not be any blueprint that all citizens can follow to development. Nyerere's strategy may not be the only alternative. Therefore, all experimentation is trial and error. Tanzanians and their leaders could continue to push for further experimentation with Nyerere's self-reliance model.

#### Policy Implications for Other Developing Countries

Is Nyerere's strategy exportable to other developing countries?

The impact of educational reforms in Tanzania, i.e., the extent to which the policy reforms achieved their objectives, may have very limited implications for similar alternative educational reform measures in other developing countries unless the following conditions are met:

1. The educational systems of countries adopting Nyerere's model should face problems similar to those faced by Tanzania. Most of the policy reforms in Tanzania were intended to respond to specific problems within Tanzania and unless the educational systems of other countries reflect similar religious, racial or other differentiations, it would not be appropriate to apply a reform to integrate the school system. In the same connection, unless a country is facing the problem of acute shortage of manpower, expanding secondary education would merely aggravate the problem of unemployment.

2. The educational systems of countries adopting Nyerere's model should reflect the same kind of society as Tanzania. Reforms are conditioned by the nature and objectives of the society. A country with a policy and history of strong entrepreneurial and individualistic attitudes may find it difficult to adopt "Education for Self-Reliance", which seems to emphasize cooperative group work and the rejection of the dependence on foreign capital. However, Nyerere's alternative educational strategy embodies some common elements which can meet the concerns of other nations experimenting on alternative education models.
3. The charisma of Nyerere in inspiring social change may be an element in countries experimenting with educational models. In many developing countries, effective development is dependent on leaders who will clearly articulate the nation's goals, given the limited resources at their disposal. Many nations should be concerned about the rising costs of education. National leaders, educational planners, and international agencies sponsoring alternative educational programs in developing nations should realize that education is competing with other social services such as public health for funds from a common public purse. The economic implications of Education for Self-Reliance is significant from the point of the attempt by Nyerere to mobilize society through a relevant education based on available national resources in agriculture. But this

mobilization has to gain the support of other sectors of national life in order to effect changes

4. The experience from Nyerere's alternative educational reforms may be encouraged in other developing countries because they provide room for experimentation. The advantage of Education for Self-Reliance is that the policy encourages activities which are unique to each school because communities are not uniform in local methods of production, means of communication or in their historical traditional values.
5. Most of the countries in the Third World have similar problems of poverty, illiteracy and shortage of manpower. As a result, the policy reforms adopted by Nyerere might be adopted by other countries, depending on time, political support, leadership and social awareness of the need for self-help. The children of the leaders and others in the top administrative hierarchy should have the same access to educational facilities as children of peasants. An integrated system of education is, therefore, an important element in Nyerere's reform strategy which can be exported if the different groups can cooperate for the integration to be achieved by race, religion and social class.

This study raises the following questions:

1. What are the effects on academic standards of changes resulting from alternative self-help programs in Tanzania in respect with:
  - a. Changes in content?

- b. Changes in the language of instruction (English versus Swahili)?
  - c. Changes in students' attitudes to self-help programs?
2. To what extent does the present system of education prepare pupils for their eventual contribution to the development of the community?

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APPENDIX A  
DEFINITION OF TERMS

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Content of Education. The curriculum, the syllabus, or a course of study.
2. Educational Reform. Simmons' definition of educational reform is widely accepted (Simmons, 1979, p. 2): "changes in educational policy which bring about major shifts in the way the education budget is allocated,...enrollment shaped, what students learn in school and the extent to which admission procedures succeed in placing students at secondary and university levels of education."
3. Educational Structure. The form of the administration of levels of the educational system; primary, secondary and tertiary. The structure may be centralized or decentralized.
4. Form. This is a term used in the present educational system of Tanzania which refers to secondary and high school grades. Form I to VI would be equivalent to grades 8 to 12 of the U.S. educational system.
5. Formal and Non-Formal Education. Coombs and Ahmed (1974:8) define non-formal education as "any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular sub-groups in the population, adults as well as children."

Formal education is defined as "institutionalized, chronologically graded, and hierarchically structured educational system spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university."

6. High School. Some of the present secondary schools in Tanzania have two years post-secondary education level which is not regarded as "university education." This post-secondary level runs from Form V to Form VI, ages 19 to 20. It is referred to as high school to differentiate it from secondary school level.
7. Integration of the School System.
  - a. The concept of school integration, as discussed in Part Three, Section 1, is to break the barriers to access to schooling by class, region, religion, and race (Nyerere, 1967).
  - b. In analyzing "Education for Self-Reliance," the concept means the integration of the school with the surrounding social and physical environments (Nyerere, 1974).
8. Secondary School. This is the second level of education in Tanzania after seven years of primary schooling. Secondary school level normally lasts four years.
9. Self-Reliance. This concept is described by Nyerere to mean that the Tanzanian citizens have to take initiative, to rely on themselves by working hard for their own political, economic, and social progress instead of relying on foreign aid (Nyerere, 1967).
10. Standard. A term applied to primary school classes in the system of education in Tanzania. Classes in primary schools run from Standard One to Standard Seven. Standard is the equivalent to grade in the United States educational system.
11. Ujamaa. This concept means family-hood. The idea is that the local population will increasingly organize themselves cooperatively and will participate in the communal economic and social activities.

APPENDIX B  
SUMMARY TABLE

Table 3.21

## Summary Effects of Educational Policy Reforms in Tanzania Since Independence in 1961

Policy Reform Objectives	Success in Achieving Reform Objectives	Failure to Achieve Objectives or Unanticipated Outcomes	Reasons for Apparent Failure of Reforms
<u>The Integration of the Educational System</u>			
1. To unify the 3 racially and religiously-separate systems.	Abolition of Segregation in schools by race and religion.	The basis of school segregation changed from race to region and social class. The unification of school system increased the power of Minister of Education.	Lack of public support for complete integration.
2. To expand primary school enrollment to provide equitable access to children from poor families.	Increase in primary school enrollment from 20% in 1961 to 72% of school age population in 1979.	Migration of primary school graduates from rural to urban areas.	The policy of differential fee structures in terms of citizenship hurt rather than helped integration.
3. To standardize curriculum.	English and Swahili extended as media of instruction in all schools.	Language policy failed to consider Asian pupils.	Failure of public policy to address appropriate issues.
4. To eliminate school fees.	Gradual elimination of school fees in schools.	Selective examinations are still administered in English.	
5. To unify teaching service.	The creation of a unified teaching service.	Integration reforms had little effect on changing economic conditions and inequality.	
<u>Education for Manpower</u>			
Expansion of secondary and higher education to meet manpower needs.	Increase in number of required trained personnel from 10,000 in 1968 to 30,000 in 1976.	The shift in labor demand from primary and secondary graduates to university graduates increased unemployment and further migration to urban areas.  Manpower policy on wage increase widened gap between urban workers and rural peasants.	Failure of policy to provide low-wage jobs for majority.  Government incapacity to enforce planned expansion.

Table 3.21 (continued)

Policy Reform Objectives	Success in Achieving Reform Objectives	Failure to Achieve Objectives or Unanticipated Outcomes	Reasons for Apparent Failure of Reforms
<u>Education for Self-Reliance</u>			
1. Integrating the school with the community by orienting primary and secondary school education to agriculture.	Schools in rural areas have increased the production of	Policy objective not implemented in urban schools; schools in urban areas do not operate farms. Policy to unite mental and manual work only in theory.	Public opposition to policy: - The social ethos of according higher status for non-manual and liberal education is still deeply-rooted.
2. Universal and compulsory primary education.	100% of school age population enrolled in Standards 1-3.	Shortage of materials, personnel and classrooms to cope with the declaration of universal primary education and mass literacy campaigns for adults.	- Elite parents do not prefer their children to become farmers or semi-skilled workers after primary and secondary education.
3. Mass adult literacy campaign	70% of population over 10 years of age are literate by UNESCO literacy test standards.		- Underprivileged parents think ESR prevents their children from an escape from rural to city life for upward occupational mobility. - Admission policies favor students from common schools rather than "ujamaa" schools. - The job market also shows similar preferences in employing graduates. - Exams reinforce elitist education. Details and phases of ESR were not fully

Table 3.21 (continued)

Policy Reform Objectives	Success in Achieving Reform Objectives	Failure to Achieve Objectives or Unanticipated Outcomes	Reasons for Apparent Failure of Reforms
<u>The Decentralization of Education</u>	The creation of layers and channels of structure in educational administration from national to village school level in the Ministry of Education.	Every minor decision on curriculum or discipline still has to come from the Minister from Dar es Salaam.  Decentralization has not ensured delegation but top-down administrative control.  Students have no control over prices of their produce from school farms.	worked out and tested in pilot studies before implemented. Failure to separate policies dealing with poverty from those dealing with educational provision or improvements in instruction.  Teachers and school principals have no control over decisions affecting curriculum, personnel or school plant.  Conflict between party and government over the formulation and implementation of educational policies.  Failure of government and party to recognize public reactions to educational policies.

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THE EFFECTS OF POST-INDEPENDENCE REFORM  
POLICY ON PUBLIC EDUCATION IN AFRICA:  
THE CASE OF TANZANIA

by

James A. Tabetah

(ABSTRACT)

The purpose of this study was to examine Nyerere's educational thought in relation to his four reform proposals: integration of the educational system, education for manpower and for self-reliance, and the decentralization of school decision making. Also, it was intended to determine the extent to which these proposals could be a potent force in changing the Tanzanian society.

Using government records and case studies, these reform policies were analyzed in terms of their intended and unintended policy effects on the structure, content and governance of Tanzania's educational system.

The analysis revealed that despite increases in school enrollment at all levels, the notion of "self-help" in education has not created the type of schooling that is consistent with the diverse needs of those who have been affected by its programs. The educational system seemed to be limited in changing the Tanzanian society. Political, social and economic factors are more important in fomenting social change than factors within the educational system.

But the efforts of Nyerere in using his four reform proposals in education in changing the Tanzanian society should not be interpreted in terms of the failures of a scholar but in terms of the progress made by a politician who had to satisfy many competing self-interest groups: parents, students, bureaucrats and professional educators.

In this connection, the effort to eliminate racial discrimination in the educational system was successful, but because of the self-serving interests of various groups, deep-rooted ethnic biases, regional imbalances, and the insidious effects of the ill-distribution of wealth, disparities still remain in the system. The number of trained personnel has increased from 10,000 in 1967 to 30,000 in 1976. But low-wage jobs were not provided for the masses, the majority of Tanzanians. The Universal Primary Education Scheme has increased the number of graduates but it has also heightened their unemployment and migration from rural to urban sectors. The emphasis on alternative self-help programs only in the rural sector has the effect of reinforcing a dual system of education that would stream pupils in the urban sector into mental jobs while those in the rural sector into manual jobs.

The policy implications of these developments for Tanzania were considered in the light of creating alternative self-help education programs that are rich and diverse in order to motivate all those to be affected by these programs.