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HALL, Budd Lionel, 1943-  
ADULT EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
SOCIALISM IN TANZANIA.

University of California, Los Angeles,  
Ph.D., 1974  
Education, adult

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Adult Education and the Development of

Socialism in Tanzania

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Budd Lionel Hall

1974

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Dedicated to

The Adult Educators of Tanzania

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEC	Cooperative Education Centre
IAE	Institute of Adult Education
NIP	National Institute of Productivity
NUTA	National Labour Union
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union--the political party
TAPA	Tanzania African Parents Association
UWT	Union of Women of Tanzania

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Professor Jack London interested me in Tanzania, encouraged me to work in the field of adult education, read my drafts, wondered aloud when the drafts stopped coming and kept me up-to-date with letters filled with new sources, ideas and inspiration.

Diane Hall read and criticized my drafts, edited them, typed early versions, made coffee and encouraged me without ever saying, "When are you going to finish that thing?"

Bengt Simonsson, Lennart Grenholm, Folke Albinson, Yusuf Kassam, Johanna Westman, Patrick Mtenga, Honorable Daudi Mwakawago, Minister of Information and Crispin Hauli read various sections of the draft and made useful suggestions.

Chris Zikambona, a colleague in the Institute did a great deal of excellent research into the early provision of adult education.

Pascales Rwinyagira typed the final draft under difficult conditions and Massie Oshita typed the finished version while sitting 10,000 miles away.

Professor Wendell P. Jones made sure that I could finish the dissertation and file while still in Tanzania.

The University of London Press has given permission for the map of Tanzania to appear.

To all, I say, "Thank you."

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Adult Education and the Development

of

Socialism in Tanzania

by

Budd Lionel Hall

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 1974

Professor Wendell P. Jones, Chairman

Tanzania is a nation undergoing a process of socialist construction. Since 1962 and the first introduction of the concept of Ujamaa, there has been a steady move towards the development of socialism in Tanzania. Socialist ideology underlines all aspects of development in Tanzania. As has been said many times by Nyerere and TANU leaders, socialism does not occur overnight. The fact that the Tanzanian people have accepted the task of building socialism has implications for the development of adult education.

This study has two purposes. First, this study documents the development of an adult education network in Tanzania from Independence, December

12, 1961 to the TANU meeting in May, 1972 which issued the Iringa Resolution entitled, Siasa ni Kilimo. Second, this study investigates the hypothesis that adult education in Tanzania has undergone changes in functions and emphasis as a result of its commitment to socialism. The assumption made is that the construction of a socialist society which stresses participation in decision-making and the elimination of exploitation requires certain changes in educational policy, particularly with regard to the education of adults within the society.

This study is a social history of adult education in Tanzania. While following the general pattern of historical research with its consequent emphasis on documents, it is supplemented by interviews whenever necessary to fill the gaps in information. Several considerations have influenced the methodology applied here. There has been a conscious attempt to avoid applying a system of measurement or design which would be interesting because rigor in research design is often valued as virtue or art in itself. Secondly, the author has deliberately become entangled in the events which have been studied. This has been done out of practical and ethical considerations. Paulo Freire's ideas on "thematic investigation," with the consequent involvement of the people and the author together with trying to understand the nature of the relationship of adult education and socialist construction have further influenced the methods involved.

The major findings of this study include the following: First, the adult education network has expanded quantitatively in terms of organizations, operations, financial commitment, enrollment and personnel involved since the

formal acceptance of socialism as marked by the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Second, it is suggested that the increased emphasis on adult education since the Arusha Declaration is a conscious one and is based on the requirements of rapid rural development, involvement of the population in the control of their own development and the transformation to socialism. Additionally, the functions which adult education is expected to fulfill within the development strategy has changed since the formal acceptance of socialism. Fourth, it is suggested that adult education programs are shaped and guided by the existence of a well-articulated ideology of development. Finally, it is demonstrated that the attempts at socialist transformation and the attempts to adjust the adult education programs to the accepted national ideology of development have affected some of the adult education programs in terms of approaches and methods of recruitment and teaching.

In conclusion, it has been said that Tanzania has embarked on a unique social experiment. While other nations have followed similar paths, there is perhaps no other nation in the developing world which has placed so much faith in or expects more from the education of its adults. At the root of this faith is a trust in the wisdom and judgment of the people themselves.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

Tanzania is a nation undergoing a process of socialist construction. Since 1962 and the first introduction of the concept of ujamaa, there has been a steady move towards the development of socialism in Tanzania. Socialist ideology underlies all aspects of development in Tanzania. As has been said many times by Nyerere and Tanu leaders, socialism does not occur overnight. Because Tanzania nationalized many foreign-owned businesses in 1967, it does not mean that Tanzania is in fact a socialist nation. The years of colonialist and neo-colonialist education and contacts with the West have created attitudes, habits of making decisions and views of development and cooperation which are decidedly non-socialist. The fact that the Tanzania people have accepted the task of building socialism has implications for the development of adult education.

The purposes of this study are twofold: First, this study will document the development of an adult education network in Tanzania from independence, December 12, 1961, to the TANU meeting in May, 1972, which issued the Iringa Resolution entitled, Siasa ni Kilimo.

The second purpose of this study is to investigate the hypothesis

that adult education in Tanzania has undergone changes in functions and emphasis as a result of the commitment to socialism. The assumption made is that the construction of a socialist society which stresses participation in decision-making and the elimination of exploitation requires certain changes in educational policy, particularly with regard to the education of adults within society.

A useful example of this shift can be seen in the case of Cuba. One of the first educational tasks of the revolution was the literacy campaign of 1961. Since then there has been a continued emphasis on workers and peasants' education, clearly a departure from the educational interests of pre-revolutionary Cuba (Bowles, 1971:472-500).

#### METHODOLOGY

This study is a social history of adult education in Tanzania. While following the general pattern of historical research with its consequent emphasis on documents, the study is supplemented by interviews whenever necessary to fill the gaps in information. Several considerations have influenced the methodology applied here.

Perhaps the first consideration is the desire to avoid the dilemma which Cicourel mentions of, "The social scientist who imposes a strong system of measurement even when he is not sure whether it is warranted" (1964:37). This, of course, is a familiar pattern which is often followed because rigor, in its various disguises, is valued as virtue or art in itself.

Another consideration has been the fact of my involvement in the adult education movement in Tanzania for four years. Young has said that the, "Understanding of society is promoted by the social scientist deliberately entangling himself in action rather than trying to keep clear of it" (1965:vii). I would go further and say that in many important ways the understanding of society is not possible without "entangling" oneself in those events which one studies. This would be equally true for work done in one's own culture as well as work done in another culture. The basis for this is epistemological and ethical.

Paulo Freire has provided the final considerations for method, both from his writings and from several talks and seminars while he was in Tanzania. His ideas on "thematic investigation" as discussed in chapter three of Pedagogy of the Oppressed, particularly the emphasis of involvement of the people of the social situation with the investigator in together trying to discover the "truth" or the objective reality of the situation, have guided my thinking (1972:62). In recognizing Freire's influence, I am quite aware that his application was to an alternative learning situation, while a study of this type is not usually considered to be a similar kind of situation.

As each section of this study was completed in draft, it was circulated for discussion with staff members of the Institute of Adult Education and some other institutions which are discussed within. The dialogue which ensued modified and clarified some of the original work. There has been a conscious effort to avoid those practices of individual and institu-

tional research which extract information from people and documents only then to analyze the materials in isolation for presentation as a completed product in another country at a later date. The result of all of these considerations, it is hoped, is a more valid and useful social history of socialism and the development of adult education in Tanzania.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM AND REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

The role of adult education in the development of nations of the third world is becoming increasingly recognized. Development planners, economists and educators are increasingly convinced that priorities in planning and financing of development, particularly rural development, need to be readjusted in order to emphasize the importance of adult education. W. A. Lewis suggested in 1955 that "expenditure on bringing new knowledge to peasant farmers is probably the most productive investment which can be made in any of the poorer developing countries" (1955:38).

The Director General of Unesco said in a conference in Abidjan in 1964,

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

The Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development which met at Kericho, Kenya in September, 1966, suggested in their conclusions that "a more significant contribution to rural development can be made by a much strengthened, more clearly thought-out and effectively coordinated educational service to adults than by alternations in or expansion of the existing system of primary and secondary schools" (Sheffield, 1967:22).

Philip Coombs when commenting in 1967 in his influential work, World Crisis in Education, said, "In most developing countries too small a share of total available educational resources has been allocated to non-formal education" (1968:144). By 1971 Coombs noted the increased interest in non-formal education when discussing the planning process for out-of-school education. He remarked, "There is growing recognition that developing nations will need to give much greater emphasis in the 1970s to out-of-school education, especially in the rural areas . . ." (1971:1).

Further evidence for increased awareness of the potential of adult education is seen in the address of Rene Maheu to the Third International Conference on Adult Education held in Tokyo in August 1972. In his speech, Maheu indicated that the Unesco budget for adult education was going to increase significantly. Given the difficult financial position of U.N. agencies, this is significant.

In Tanzania, President Nyerere mentioned when introducing the Five Year Plan to the Parliament in 1964 that, "First, we must educate adults.



Our children will not have an impact on our own development for five, ten or even twenty years."

Going even further, the President declared 1970 as Adult Education Year, a year in which every citizen should dedicate himself to learning what he does not know and teaching others what he does know.

Still more indications of this increased recognition of adult education as a priority development investment can be seen in the number of studies on the planning, provision and financing of out-of-school, non-formal and adult education which have taken place in the early seventies. In order to understand this recognition and interest, it is necessary to look at some of the reasons why this emphasis has occurred.

Much of the new focus on adult education comes from the growing disillusionment with the performance of formal primary and secondary schooling in development. Economic planning in the 1960s was characterized by the "discovery" of the investment functions of education. Manpower planners and ministry planning units emphasize heavy expenditure on formal education. The Conference on the Planning of Education in Africa in Addis Ababa in 1961 devoted nearly all its attention to setting targets for expenditures and enrollment on formal schooling. The failure of high enrollment and expenditure to bring about increased economic productivity has led planners to begin a review of general weaknesses in a formal educational investment approach. The most common criticism of formal schooling which has led to more concern with adult education include the

following:

1. Formal schooling is becoming prohibitively expensive.

Table 1 shows quite clearly the dilemma of school financing. The growth rate for expenditure is far outstripping the growth of the national economies. It is clear that before long, following existing financing patterns, that the money for education will simply run out. In Tanzania, for example, GNP is expanding at a rate of 1 per cent while educational recurrent expenditure alone is increasing at an 8.2 per cent per year rate. This does not take into account the very heavy capital investment in new schools which is necessary.

TABLE 1  
PER CAPITAL RATES OF INCREASE OF GNP AND  
EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION, 1960-1965

<u>Country</u>	<u>GNP</u>	<u>Recurrent Expenditures of Education</u>
Ethiopia	2.5	13.5
Ghana	0.4	14.9
Ivory Coast	2.8	14.8
Kenya	1.3	4.5
Malawi	1.0	25.5
Nigeria	3.0	6.6
Senegal	1.3	10.6
Sierra Leone	2.0	18.2
Tanzania	1.0	8.2

Values given are for average annual per cent increases per capita.

Source: Resnick, J., Maruhnic, J., and Harbison, F. H. Quantitative Analyses of Modernization and Development. Princeton: Industrial Relations Section, 1970, p. 189.

2. Large proportions of the population have had little or no access to formal schooling.

Despite the great increase in expenditure and enrollment, the majority of people still have not had a chance to attend formal schools. The figures in Table 2 indicate the proportion of school age population in various countries now attending primary school. The problem is increased by the rapid drop-out rates in the higher primary grades.

TABLE 2  
PRIMARY ENROLLMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF AGE GROUP  
(1970)

Ethiopia	15	Malawi	39
Gambia	30	Nigeria	31
Ghana	71	Sierra Leone	36
Kenya	61	Somalia	9
Liberia	36	Tanzania	33
		Uganda	43

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Source: Unesco Regional Office for Education in Africa. Selected Statistical Data on 35 Countries of Sub-Sahara Africa. Dakar, 1972.

3. Formal schooling has not proved as flexible and open to innovation as adult education.

Despite the fact that African educators have been calling for an end

to colonial inheritances in the formal schooling system since long before Independence, the practice of formal schooling in Africa continues to reflect predominantly the model of former colonial or modern neo-colonial powers. The area which has had the most attention and has undergone the most change is that of curriculum. The literature on African education abounds with examples of students being taught the structure of animals that had to be imported from Europe for dissection. Now, ten years or more after political independence most nations have made substantial changes in the subject matter of courses like history, biology and botany.

With the exception of these curriculum changes, little other change has taken place in the formal schooling systems. The schools are still preparing students for secondary examinations and the hope of places in universities. Teachers are still seen as absolute authorities of knowledge, while students are still expected to enter mountains of notes into exercise books for memorization. The primary school for most places exists as a part of the outside world even though found in the rural setting. Even in Tanzania, despite the attempts at reform as outlined in Education for Self-Reliance, planning of the school's program is isolated from the people in the village which should benefit from its own primary school.

Adult education, partly because of its wide range of activities and sponsors, has offered a much more diversified approach both in terms of curriculum and approach to teaching. Programs attended voluntarily by adults, underfinanced and practically-oriented have been forced to a

flexibility just in order to survive. Those programs which are not attended or do not produce any results often die out. Adults with busy schedules are quicker to leave an unproductive class than children who are in class, many times, by law. Harbison says it simply, "Non-formal education affords greater opportunity for innovation than the often encrusted formal education establishment" (1971:12).

4. The benefits of formal education are often lost without adult education.

Looking back it seems so clear--why should educational planners expect change to take place in rural communities with only the young being educated? Even if the young man who finishes primary school returns to his village filled with new ideas about modern health practices and better agricultural techniques, he will not be in a leadership position in the village, he will not have land of his own to farm and he will not have access to books on still more ideas. The receptivity of a village of unschooled adults to a young school leaver will be low. There are many cases of school leavers returning to their homes and eventually lapsing into illiteracy because of no interest or availability of materials for further learning. In order for the benefits of formal education to be most utilized, the adults in the community need to be introduced to concepts of change and innovation as well. A receptive adult population allows progressive education to multiply as educational planners have often envisaged. Hopkins explained the situation by saying, "The rural population has to be prepared to accept educated children

or this developmental effect will be lost" (1965:53).

5. Children in schools are not in a position to put new ideas to immediate use.

Even if the schools teach material which is possible to apply in the village practically, the children are not the ones who are in a position to apply these new ideas. In some cases, it will be many years before these children will have control over their own households and be able to use what they have learned. The farmer who is growing cotton or rice can benefit immediately by new knowledge of hybrid seeds or cooperative marketing facilities. The wife who learns about the value of beans in the family's diet can cook the beans immediately.

In terms of learning, it is generally felt that learning occurs fastest and most thoroughly when it is most relevant and applicable. To most primary school students dreaming of places in secondary schools outside the village, the practical aspects of their education may often be lost.

6. Formal education has produced an ever-widening gap between the educated and the uneducated.

In terms of social justice, as well as national development, this gap leads to uncomfortable problems. As societies have moved from traditional to modern social systems, education has been one of the main factors in producing more social stratification. The highly educated quite clearly form the basis of a bourgeois class which seeks to adjust the entire development pattern in directions which allow for their own ideas of development.

Exploitation of the uneducated by the educated occurs in all sectors of developing societies. In Tanzania, Mwalimu Nyerere has warned that continuing inequalities in the provision of education to Tanzanians might result in the domination of the less educated by the highly educated. As Mwalimu stated it, "Education is power" (Daily News: September 5, 1972).

7. Even the best formal schooling is inadequate for a life-time's education.

Change is occurring world-wide at an ever increasing rate. These changes in developing nations are in relation still faster. Quite simply, formal schools at best can only teach that which is known at the time of schooling. If new knowledge is to be created at a later date with people, it must be through some form of adult education. Upgrading of skills in agriculture, business, teaching and home care is necessary for continuous development.

#### INCREASED EMPHASIS ON AGRICULTURE

Another broad reason for the increased attention to adult education is the increased emphasis on agricultural growth as a key to development. In the early sixties, there was much discussion among economists about introducing modern industrial projects directly into developing nations and skipping some of the intermediate steps of development which Western nations had gone through. A shift in thinking seemed to occur in the middle 1960's, however, as more and more economists saw that the path towards

eventual industrialization lay in the development of agriculture.<sup>1</sup>

Guy Hunter has outlined the arguments of priority investment in agriculture well. He makes the following arguments:

- a. It is cheaper in capital than most forms of industry (capital output ratio is lower).
- b. It creates purchasing power to buy domestic industrial output.
- c. It affects the bulk of population and the biggest single sector of national income both politically and economically necessary.
- d. It earns, subject to the market, vital foreign currency for industrialisation of both rural and urban sectors.
- e. It creates a food surplus which is increasingly needed not only by the future growth of industry but by increasing population.
- f. It diminishes the differential between the agricultural and industrial urban sector, and should reduce the flow of labour towards towns to a volume which is acceptable and employable there.
- g. It is labour intensive in a labour surplus situation. (1967b:39)

President Nyerere said it more simply in Education for Self-

Reliance when he stated,

"... the truth is that our United Republic has at present a poor, underdeveloped and agricultural economy. We have very little capital to invest in big factories or modern machines; we are short of people with skills and experience. What we do have is land in abundance and people who are willing to work hard for their own improvement. ~~It is the~~ use of these latter resources which will decide whether we reach our total goals or not. (1967:5).

The emphasis on agriculture and rural development has implications for educational planning. If one is improving agriculture, then the person



to be reached is the peasant farmer. Agricultural and other rural technical skills need to be taught to the adult population.

## FUNCTIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN DEVELOPMENT

The increased interest in the adult educator's role in development and the rationale for this interest have been built by looking at the failure of the formal school system to meet development expectations. The positive contributions and expectations for adult education have only been lightly mentioned or implied. The specific role of adult education can be grouped roughly in three categories: economic, social and political.

### 1. Economic Functions

#### a. Up-grading of the partially trained.

Adult education can provide for in-service on-the-job training or follow-up courses for the many people who have received some training, but who need more for increased effectiveness and productivity. This function mentioned by Callaway, Coles, Coombs and London includes such areas as industrial training for those already working in factories, in-service training for teachers, rural development assistants, political education officers or agricultural extension workers and apprenticeship arrangements in areas such as construction or building (Callaway, 1965; Coles, 1969; Coombs, 1971; London, 1970). This increase in skill can often be accomplished in the institutions concerned and can have direct economic benefit, particularly in cases of industrial training.

b. Provide training for school leavers.

One of the most discussed problems in African education is the question of the unemployed school leaver. The largely academic nature of the formal school system produces large numbers of young people who despite increasingly realistic expectations are not able to perform skills which are needed in the industrial or rural sectors. With the reality of employment possibilities clear after leaving school, young men are motivated to take part in programs which lead to some kind of employment (Callaway, 1965; Coombs, 1971; London, 1970).

Programs may include artisan training in welding, pipefitting, electrical repair or machine maintenance. For rural areas programs in farming, chicken raising, cattle rearing, rural technical skills and construction may be useful. These kinds of adult education programs are most successful when tied directly to actual employment needs and not merely started in the hope of finding jobs.

c. Provide training for agricultural improvement.

It may be that the most useful form of adult education that can be offered in African countries is agricultural training and education (Coombs, 1971; Hunter, 1967a; Lewis, 1955; London, 1970). The case for agricultural investment has already been made in this chapter. What is additionally clear, however, is that this is uniquely a field of adult education. Farmers' training centers, agriculture extension, agricultural study groups and rural radio dramas centered on agricultural improvement for

women as well as for men are all methods that are being used and could be much improved and expanded. Certainly, in Tanzania the future of economic development will depend upon how well this function of adult education is carried out.

d. Keep the highly educated up-to-date.

One of the strong arguments for adult education is that the skills and knowledge that one learns in formal school will, no matter how well-taught, not suffice for a lifetime. Obsolescence and the explosion of knowledge will quickly erode any person's claim to erudition. This if, of course, true for developed as well as developing nations. The case for this kind of up-dating of information can be made even more strongly for developing nations. The highly educated administrators and specialists of the 1970s are very often the men and women who succeeded in passing through the narrow academic educational process of the colonial systems. At Independence, those people who had acquired the necessary certificate and diplomas were placed in the senior positions vacated by the out-going colonialists. The nature of colonial education and the goals of imperialism were not adequate preparation for independent political and economic status. There has been and still exists a strong need to modify and add to the knowledge acquired during colonial times in order to meet the new needs of total sovereignty (Bertelsen, 1965; Hopkins, 1965; London, 1970).

At the same time there is a need for up-dating the technical skills of planners, engineers, economists, educators, agronomists and others.

This function of adult education will have a most direct economic benefit. In the view of some planners, this function is often identified as one of the most important of all, as the highly educated are seen to influence the less educated in authoritarian, bureaucratic structures--a kind of educational "trickle-down effect."

e. Provide vocational and technical education.

To the child in school, the relevance of various technical and vocational education may seem doubtful. It is difficult to plan specific vocational training for each person in secondary or primary school; the needs of the economy will vary in time and geography. Vocational and technical training need to be specifically planned to relate to occupational possibilities and economic goals. Mature adults who are immediately available and able to apply these skills will learn faster and thereby make possible more rapid economic return (Coles, 1969; Hopkins, 1965; London, 1970).

2. Social Functions

a. Increase the capacity for change.

One of the sources of unrest in society is said to be due to the gap between the rate at which change occurs in developing societies and the societies' ability to adjust to the change. Although this argument probably ignores class conflict as the major source of conflict in society, it is

nevertheless one of the functions most often stressed by Western adult educators themselves. Prosser, in fact, goes so far as to define adult education as "that force which in its ideal application can bring about a maximum of readjustment of attitude within a society to any new and changed situation in the shortest possible time" (Coles, 1969; Prosser, 1967). Adult education should provide programs which disseminate knowledge to all adults, train individual minds in objective reasoning and teach the skills necessary to allow individuals to play their complete role in development. While Prosser overstates the case in this author's opinion, it is reasonable to admit that change is occurring whether or not it is desired. Peasants in rural areas are being assaulted daily with new concepts and values through radios, schools and travels. Each individual's ability to make use of this information depends to some extent on his education. Adult education can allow individuals and groups to make a more rapid adjustment to change, if this education is closely tied to the needs of the society. It is doubtful whether all kinds of adult education are useful. It may be, in fact, that certain kinds of liberal education which stress individualism, competition and elitist academic goals will, in the long run, cause more conflict than they seek to avoid.

b. Provide basic education for those who have never attended school.

It is a unique function of adult education to cater to the needs of this large portion of the population. As has been pointed out in an earlier

section of this chapter, the vast majority of adults in developing countries have never had an opportunity to attend formal school of any kind--useful or not. Even in 1972, many people do not have a chance to go to school. In Tanzania, for example, only 50 per cent of the school-age children enroll in the first year of primary school. An improvement in the quality of life for each person in developing nations will mean training and education for the vast majority.

It is in fulfilling this form of adult education that the most creative energies are needed (London, 1970). Our ability to carry out effective adult education among rural populations has been severely hampered by our thinking along traditional literacy lines. It is common for the rural educator to rely on textbooks, classrooms and charts to explain concepts and skills. Much more thought should go into non-literate techniques. Freire has reported on alternative and effective approaches for adults in Latin America which differ radically from traditional literacy in Cultural Action for Freedom (Freire, 1972:50).

Radio study groups can be developed still more, teaching through demonstration, tape recorders and even video-tape should be explored.<sup>2</sup> There is at least some evidence in Tanzania that agricultural knowledge can be taught in a functional literacy program even though the participants never learn to read and write (Evaluation Unit: 72).

c. To create an awareness of national goals and the role of the individual in fulfilling them.

Hopkins and Callaway discuss this function in some detail (Hopkins, 1965; Callaway, 1965). Adult education can, they argue, transmit information about national development plans and government programs which in turn will create a climate more favorable to change. It might be argued that this function belongs in the area of political functions as it may also be closely connected to the climate for favorable acceptance of government and party desires as well as those specific programs which might improve the health or economic conditions of families.

The implications are clear, however, people tend to be suspicious and uncooperative about those changes which they know little about. The assumptions here are that by increasing the flow of information about government policies or community development programs, the people will have a better understanding and will be more cooperative. This of course assumes that the policies are sound and in the interest of the people. If the programs are not basically in the interest of the people, an increase in communication and information will lead to instability. In both cases, however, adult education operates in favor of the people.

### 3. Political Functions

a. To provide political education for motivation and responsibility.

This function of adult education is particularly relevant to Tanzania.

It is not chance that authors discussing this use of adult education have had some experience in Tanzania (London, 1970; Bertelsen, 1965; Cliffe, 1966). It is stressed in most socialist nations where the relationship between ideology and development is most clear. Political education in the writings of Mao-tse-tung, for example, occupies the most important place of all (Price, 1970). Cuba offers another example of how adult education can serve as an important vehicle for political education. In Tanzania, it has been said that political education is the first stage of adult education; it motivates the people to change. Other forms of adult education then provide the skills for the people to turn their ideological motivation into action (Hall, 1972a).

There is an additional special role of adult education in democratic socialist nations.<sup>3</sup> In the colonial government, decisions were made by administrators in a hierarchical fashion. The most important decisions were made by the highest position holders, the least crucial by the lower ranks. In no cases were decisions about actual development put in the hands of the people.

Democratic socialism stresses the people's participation in decision making. The contradiction occurs because the people still have colonial habits regarding making decisions. There is still a tendency to wait for the leaders, the civil servants, to make the decisions. In such a case, it is the necessary function of adult education to assist in bringing about a change in these attitudes. This can be done through direct teaching, but



also through the very methods used for learning. Democratic learning situations which practice an equality between the educator and the pupil should be used. As Freire has put it, the liberating educator must rely on different methods than the oppressive educator (Pedagogy, 1972b).

b. To train leaders.

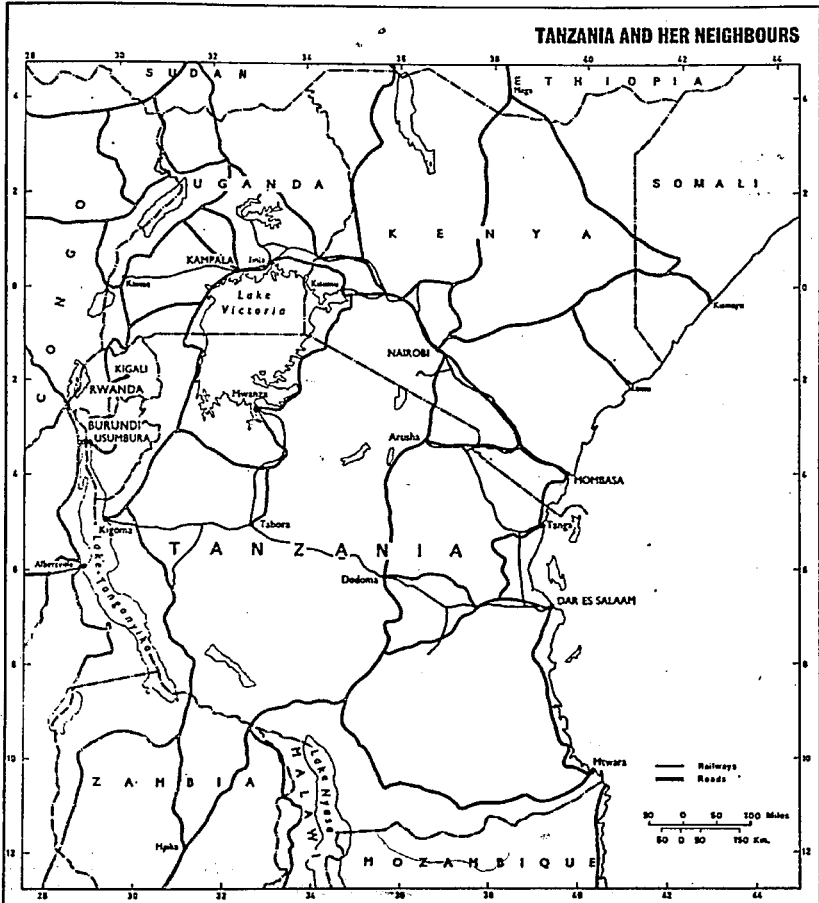
Although formal schools will continue to provide skilled manpower for leadership positions in all nations, it is important that leadership recruitment not be limited to the very narrow strata of educational elite if rural development is to occur. The emphasis on recruitment of leadership from ranks of the population should be based upon recognized leadership skills and not on paper qualifications. This is true whether development is based on democratic participation in decisions on a grass-roots level as is the intention in Tanzania (London, 1970) or on the selection of animateurs as in the French-speaking African countries focusing on animation rurale (Bertelsen, 1965). As President Nyerere has said, "There are two factors which are essential in the development of people. The first is leadership through education and the second is democracy in decision-making" (1965:3).

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See for example, W. A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth, 1955; Hans Singer, International Development: Growth and Change, 1963; S. R. Sen, The Strategy of Agricultural Development, 1962, Bauer and Yamey, The Economics of Underdeveloped Countries, 1957.

<sup>2</sup>For further discussion, see Idrian Resnick, "Prescriptions for Socialist Rural Education in Tanzania," in Rural Africana, Vol. No. 9, 1969, pp. 13-22.

<sup>3</sup>See R. F. Price, Education in Communist China, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Ellen P. Mickiewicz, Soviet Political Schools, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.



## CHAPTER II

### BACKGROUND ON TANZANIA

#### THE LAND

The United Republic of Tanzania obtained its name when in 1964, Tanganyika and the island of Zanzibar united, forming a new political unit. Tanzania now consists of a large mainland portion of 361,800 square miles, and two offshore islands, Zanzibar and Pemba. Located just south of the equator, Tanzania is bounded on the east by Indian Ocean. The northeast and west are bounded by Lakes Victoria, Tanganyika and Nyasa as well as eight countries. Kenya and Uganda are to the north and have the longest historical ties with Tanzania. The three countries, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda form the East African Community. The Community provides for a common market as well as common transportation and communications services. To the west are found Rwanda and Burundi, both very small and somewhat over-crowded countries. The Republic of Zaire, formerly known as Congo Kinshasa, extends the entire 400 miles across the shores of Lake Tanganyika. Zambia and Malawi are on the southwest boundary, while Portugal retains the colony of Mozambique along the southern frontier.

The physical features of Tanzania are remarkable for their variety. Three main zones divide the country--the island and coastal, the inland

plateau and the lake basins. The altitude varies across the center of the country from sea level at the coast to about 4,500 feet in the center, dropping again to 3,000 feet in the basins of Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika. The Great Rift Valley cuts through the country from south to north in two forks while a mountain system provides extreme relief in the north with somewhat lower elevations in the south. The most extreme geographical feature is Mount Kilimanjaro, a snow-capped peak of 19,380 feet which protrudes from the clouds a little over 100 miles from the sea and a few degrees south of the equator. Mt. Kilimanjaro is but one of the examples of the infinite and scenic variety of Tanzania.

The physical features, although beautiful, are deceptive. They create a feeling of rich land and abundant crops. Unfortunately, the rainfall patterns in Tanzania are irregular and unreliable. The effect of the monsoon on weather has created a situation where the rainy seasons vary in length and starting time from year to year. It is not uncommon for some areas in the central plateau to go without rain for an entire year only to be deluged with four or five inches at one time. Even those areas with high annual rainfall may have four or five months of dry weather. This means that most farmers have a very difficult time due to the extreme variation in growing seasons. Those areas which do have sufficient rainfall to allow for more regular planting are now quite heavily settled. These land use patterns mean that about 90 per cent of the population lives on one third of the land area (Cameron and Dodd, 1970:23).

## THE PEOPLE

The 1967 census placed the population at about 13 million. Of this total 99 per cent are Africans, the remaining 1 per cent being persons of Asian descent and a trace of Europeans.

In ethnic terms, Tanzania is unique in sub-Saharan Africa. There are a large number of ethnic groups, about 120, but none are large enough or powerful enough to dominate national political life. Tribal conflicts that have taken place in other African nations have not occurred in Tanzania. The population of the ten largest tribes does not reach 50 per cent of the total population. So unlike Nigeria or Kenya, one does not find political factions based on ethnicity. This even ethnic distribution is thought by many to have been one of the stabilizing factors in national development.

The Asian portion of the population, although numerically small, has had and continues to have a role out of proportion to its size in the economy of the nation. Most of the Asian population is made up of the descendants of either Hindu or Muslim immigrants from Pakistan or India. The largest group of Asian Tanzanian citizens are the Ismaili sect, followers of H. H. the Aga Khan.

Having come during the construction of the East African railroads, eventually settling in the urban areas, the Asians became involved in trade at an early date and eventually came to dominate nearly all aspects of wholesaling and much of the retail trade, particularly in the urban areas. Many of the economic reforms since 1967 have been aimed at removing or

severely limiting the private control of trade in favor of governmental control. This action has succeeded in limiting the influence of the Asian population on the economy. Asians have found themselves the subject of much resentment by those who see their continued occupation of many middle level civil service jobs as a blockage to ambitious Africans.

Still another aspect of the population that has bearing on development and adult education is the geographical distribution of the population. It has already been mentioned that those areas with good rainfall and soil are densely populated. In fact, when viewed from above, the clusters of high population appear as islands of people distributed about the periphery of a land sea. It is curious that most of the population centers of Tanzania are nearer the capitals of neighboring countries than they are to Dar es Salaam. Dar es Salaam and its 350,000 inhabitants are isolated from the other population centers. In the north, the high population areas of Moshi and Arusha are close to the Kenya border. Mwanza, the second largest town, is at the shore of Lake Victoria across from Uganda. Bukoba with its high density rural population is also near Lake Victoria. Kigoma and Ujiji are twin towns on Lake Tanganyika in the extreme west, while Mbeya and Tukuyu in the Southern Highlands are near the Zambian border. Two other population clusters are both on the coast--Mtwara in the south and Tanga in the north. The problems of communication and transportation that this pattern imposes are complex. It is only in 1972 that the major link road has been macademized (asphalted) and the railroad is nearing

completion between the south and Dar es Salaam.

When looking at the population patterns, it seems that an overall density of between 30 to 35 people per square mile represents a country with much room for expansion. The densities of places with good rainfall and soil possibilities, however, such as the Mt. Kilimanjaro area (near Moshi) or the Bukoba area may be as high as 450 to 500 people per square mile (Moore, 1970). In terms of development and education, this means that better use of labor-intensive agriculture and higher productivity is needed rather than resettlement, although there are many people in the less populated areas of the country who have yet to live in a village.

Another demographic factor important to educational planning is the degree of urbanization. Communication is usually faster, cheaper and more efficient in urban areas. About 5 per cent of the population are living in urban areas with populations of 5,000 or more. These areas, as has been mentioned, are scattered for the most part on the edge of the country. The vast majority of Tanzanians live either in villages or in isolated homesteads far from all weather roads or railroads. The most pervasive communication networks in rural Tanzania are the Ten-House cell system of TANU and the transistor radio (Mytton, 1968:89-100).

### LANGUAGE

The national language of Tanzania is Kiswahili, which falls within the Bantu classification and has made liberal use of Arabic and English



neologisms. The fact that an African language has been designated as the official language is unique in Africa where the languages of colonialism still predominate. Kiswahili is spoken by about 85 per cent of the population and understood by about 95 per cent. Its use by TANU in the drive for independence and more recently in the national literacy campaigns has not only spread usage but also boosted the prestige of the language. The widespread use of Kiswahili has had a significant impact on the educational system.

English is still of major importance to Tanzania. The science subjects in secondary school and all subjects at university are taught in English. Many of the published reports of the Ministries are in English, although all TANU publications are in Kiswahili. The English newspaper (Daily News) is still the most prestigious one. Outside of the urban areas, however, the use of English is slight.

### THE ECONOMY

By most conventional measures of national wealth, Tanzania is a poor nation. With a per capita GNP of 89 dollars in 1971, Tanzania falls into the category of the poorest 25 nations in the world. Even when compared with other African nations, Tanzania is poor. Using the index of economic development worked out by Harbison, Maruhnich and Resnick, Tanzania ranks 21st out of the 31 sub-Saharan African states compared (Resnick, 1970:18). Nigeria, Dahomey, Zaire, Niger, Chad, Mali, Ethiopia, Malawi, Upper Volta and Somalia fall below Tanzania when ranked by this index. To have even a brief understanding of reasons for the present situation and the

possibilities of change, it is necessary to look at three aspects of the economic development: the imperialist inheritance, socialist development strategies and the present position.

### IMPERIALIST INHERITANCE

Lord Lugard, who played such a major role in the development of British Imperialist policy as the Governor of colonies in both West and East Africa, explained the value of African areas to Britain in the following way:

The backward condition of the people, and their preference for agricultural pursuits, offer the prospect of continued markets for manufactured goods. The tropics produce in abundance a class of raw materials and foodstuffs which cannot be grown in the temperate zones, and are so vital to the needs of civilized man that they have in very truth become essential to civilization. It was the realization of this fact which led the nations of Europe to compete for the control of the African tropics. (Lugard, 1965:43)

This improvement of production of raw materials accounted for nearly the total investment of capital in Tanganyika in the early colonial periods. The colonial period could be viewed from two perspectives, Tanganyika as a producer of inexpensive raw materials and Tanganyika as a market for manufactured goods.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of Independence, Tanganyika's export production was characterized by foreign-owned estates and African peasant farms. The estate sector, built initially by the Germans prior to World War I was expanded by the British during the Mandate period and after World War II. Early German estates concentrated on the production of sisal, rubber and coffee. In order to market the sisal and other crops more efficiently, the

Germans built a railway from Tanga on the coast to Moshi passing through the early sisal developments. A second area was opened up to the sisal exploitation when the central line from Dar es-Salaam to Kigoma passing through Morogoro was opened.

In addition to the agricultural production in the estates, Tanganyikan peasants produced cash crops which were ultimately sold at the low prices established by the colonial government.

At Independence, 2.6 million acres were owned by estates. This represented about 5 per cent of the total cultivated area in Tanganyika. These estates employed 192,924 Tanganyikan workers.

Despite the fact that both Germans and the British emphasized the development of large scale farming, the self-sufficient peasant households were able to produce vast quantities of cash crops for sale at low prices set in Britain or Europe. In 1954, it was estimated that 55 per cent of the total agricultural exports came from small holder farms (Ruthenberg, 1964). While estate agriculture concentrated on sisal, tea and coffee, peasant agriculture concentrated on the production of coffee and cotton. Coffee was grown in the Bukoba and Kilimanjaro areas, while cotton was grown in the Lake Victoria area. Coffee and cotton production were stimulated after World War II, when the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union and the Nyanza Cooperative Union began to expand and provide credit facilities and marketing possibilities to small holder farmers. Both of these cooperatives were marked by their African initiative and development. At Independence it was estimated

that there were about 400,000 coffee farmers, 250-300,000 cotton farmers and 60-80,000 pyrethrum farmers. About half the farmers in Tanzania were engaged in the production of these crops alone.

The only important mineral export at the time of Independence, and still the major mineral export, was diamonds. In 1962, diamonds accounted for about 10 per cent of the total export earnings (IBRD, 1961:257). The diamonds, all from one mine in the Shinyanga area, were discovered by a European prospector in 1940. The mine operated as a private company until 1958 when Williamson died and the colonial government acquired controlling interests in the project. The diamonds are still sold through a subsidiary of DeBeers of South Africa, a company holding a monopoly on all diamond business in the non-socialist countries.

The production of raw materials was necessary to expand the cash available for the purchase of manufactured goods. But it was not only manufactured goods that were imported. In 1962, about half of the imports in Tanzania were for consumer goods including foodstuffs. Tanzania suffered from a lack of industrial development to a greater degree than did either Uganda or Kenya. Given the apparent certainty of control in Kenya, the larger market and the larger white population, Kenya became the center of East African industrialization. Tanzania's industrialization at Independence consisted largely of tinned meat for export, beer, tobacco, shoes, soap and paint. These were mostly owned by larger British firms which returned most of the profits to England or elsewhere.

The infrastructure that was built in Tanzania was primarily designed to facilitate the export of raw materials and the import and sale of manufactured goods. The railroads, as has been mentioned, were built from the export crop areas to the ports. Electricity in Tanzania was produced at Pangani for use in Tanga and Mombasa, export centers for both countries. Schools and hospitals were built mainly to meet the needs of the same export sector. The students produced were trained to be clerks and administrative workers in the exploitation of Tanzania. Only in those areas with large white populations did quality schools develop, and these excluded African children from attendance.

In short, at the time of Independence, Tanzania's economy consisted of a large subsistence agricultural sector and an export sector. The export sector consisted mostly of cash crops with the addition of diamonds. The sales of the export crops generated cash for the purchase of manufactured and consumer goods from industrialized nations. A very limited infrastructure existed, but only in areas which supplied the cash crops or the labor for the cash crops. It is perhaps ironic that the poverty and lack of infrastructure that Tanzania met at Independence may have served as an advantage to the introduction of the development of socialism later.<sup>2</sup>

#### SOCIALIST ECONOMIC STRATEGIES

President Nyerere has said in the Arusha Declaration accepted by TANU on the 29th of January, 1967, "The poor man does not use money as a weapon." From Independence to the time of the Arusha Declaration,

there had been a tendency for development to be seen as being the by-product of capital expenditure in needed fields of development. Agriculture, for example, could be transformed from subsistence to modern levels by the infusion of capital for the purchase of tractors and modern equipment. Technical training schemes depended on heavy expenditure on sophisticated machines and teaching equipment. The Arusha Declaration introduced two major concepts. The first was the acceptance of socialism, ujamaa, as the principal guiding force of Tanzania; the second related concept was that of self-reliance, dependence on Tanzanian resources for Tanzanian development. Since Arusha, numerous additional policies and actions have been made that relate to economic development. The major concepts, however, include:

1. Priority to rural and agricultural development;
2. Nationalization of industry and banking;
3. Decentralization of government.

If permanent development is to occur in Tanzania, then this development must be built upon the resources of Tanzania. The four resources which Tanzania has are people, land, good policies and leadership. If money is to become available for other development activities, it will come from the surpluses created by increase in cash crops and a decreased dependence from outside on staple food products. It is necessary, therefore, for Tanzania to direct its development attention to the rural areas and to the expansion of agricultural production. A better balance between rural and

urban equality is another obvious benefit to rural emphasis. The main focus of rural development was outlined in "Socialism and Rural Development" following the Arusha Declaration (Nyerere, 1968c:237).

An ujamaa village is a cooperative village where people live together and produce cooperatively the wealth of the village. In many areas of Tanzania it had not been the practice for people to live together in villages at all. People lived in scattered areas in economically isolated units. These villages are based on the traditional concepts of ujamaa, familyhood, found in the common sharing of traditional life in the past. Decisions on what crops should be planted, what community projects to embark on and how revenue is to be shared are made by the village members and the village committee in open meetings.

The villageization of rural areas brings about definite economic advantages. In the first place, the provision of infrastructure and services is virtually impossible when people are living in scattered areas. Living in one place also facilitates the spread of innovations, more ideas and education. From the agricultural production aspects, larger farms mean economies of scale in the use of hybrid seeds, fertilizers and mechanized equipment. A diversification of subsistence crops is encouraged as each family will not have to produce all of the crops needed for food by themselves. The total effort of people working together will lead to an expansion of total land under cultivation. In Tanzania where there is still some good land that is not under cultivation, one way of increasing production is to increase total

acreage under cultivation. The expansion of cash crops such as cotton, cashew nuts, tobacco, maize and pyrethrum means more money flowing into Tanzania from outside for further development programs.

The Arusha Declaration adopted by the TANU National Executive Committee in February, 1967, announced the government's intention to take control of banking and certain industrial and trade enterprises in order to bring the major means of production under the control of peasants and workers. All banks were nationalized, the insurance business, the sisal industry and a number of firms engaged in food processing. Although the nationalization attracted a lot of attention, the manufacturing sector accounted for less than 8 per cent of the GDP. As Nyerere has said, "You can't nationalise nothing" (Bienen, 1970:441).

Nationalization did not, however, mean an end to heavy involvement with capitalist firms. At the time of nationalization and still continuing in 1972, two types of foreign economic involvement were maintained in the Tanzanian manufacturing sector. One type is through minority partnership with a nationalized company. British American Tobacco and General Tyre of Tanzania are examples of this kind of arrangement. In cases like this, some profits continue to be exported overseas.

A second type of continuing economic involvement is through management contracts. Under this arrangement, a contract is negotiated with an European firm involved in the same type of production, sometimes the same company that was nationalized, for the management of Tanzanian firm for a



specific number of years. Because of the lack of trained personnel in the specific industry, these contracts are often drawn up under very generous terms for the capitalist managers. Profits, however, after the management has been paid do remain in Tanzania.

### THE ECONOMY IN 1971

In 1971, Tanzania completed its first ten years of independence. It is useful, therefore, to review the strength and trends in the 1971 economy before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of the ideology of development.

The per capita GDP in 1970 was 89 dollars, representing an annual growth of 5.4 per cent since 1964. (Source: Economic Survey, 1971-1972:5). Subsistence production amounted to about 29 per cent of the national income. In terms of relative contribution to GDP, agriculture has decreased since 1964 as can be seen in Table 3.

Because Tanzania needs to buy so much from other countries, the sources of foreign exchange become very important. The value of Tanzania exports has risen from 1,141 million shillings in 1962 (\$3,195 million) to 1,927 million shillings in 1971 (\$5,396 million). The principal changes have been a decrease in the importance of sisal with an increase in cloves, cashew-nuts and petroleum products. Coffee and cotton were the biggest export earners with 221 million shillings (\$32 million) and 217 million shillings (\$31 million) respectively. This is up from 132 million shillings (\$18 million) and 148 million shillings (\$21 million) in 1962. Tanzania incurred a balance

TABLE 3

## CONTRIBUTION TO GDP BY SECTOR

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Percentages 1964</u>	<u>Percentages 1971</u>
Agriculture	46.7	38.1
Trade (wholesale, retail restaurants and hotels)	11.9	13.5
Manufacturing	7.1	9.7
Transport, storage and communication	6.9	10.0
Construction	3.4	4.7
Mining	2.5	1.9
Others	21.5	22.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: The Economic Survey, 1971-72.

of trade deficit of 703 million shillings in 1971, due in large part to increase expenditure for defense and the Tanzam railroad.

### TANU

#### The Cell System

The cell structure in the TANU organization was begun in August, 1963 as a result of a decision made by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of TANU. Although originally organized as one cell for each ten individuals, it was seen clear that there should be one cell for each ten houses. The leader of each ten-house cell is elected by the members and

serves as the representative to the branch annual conference (Njohole, 1971:2).

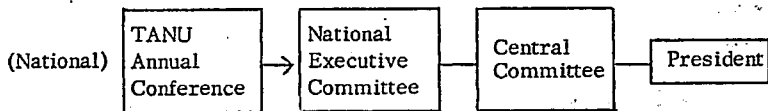
The purposes of the cell system has been spelled out by the late Dr. Wilbert Klerruu (Klerruu, 1966:5-6). The cells are intended to:

- (a) Enable our people to express their views and opinions to TANU and its Government, at the same time the policies of TANU and Government will be communicated to the people easily.
- (b) Consolidate our unity and extend the leadership to the village level so that leaders can easily be accessible to the ordinary people for this way the relationship between leaders and the people will be maintained.
- (c) Obtain all sorts of information regarding social and economic development, for it will be the duty of the leaders of the party cells to gather information and forward it to the branch organs of TANU.
- (d) Ensure the security and survival of the Party, Government and the Nation by seeing to it that all the laws and regulations are obeyed.

The cell leaders have played key roles in the literacy work in Tanzania. They have been responsible for taking the census of illiterates in their ten house cells and then for the encouragement of people to participate once the classes begin. The grass-roots structure of TANU makes it

the major motivating force for development in Tanzania.

In addition to being the most important communications link in Tanzania, TANU serves the still more important role as the source of ideology for the nation. TANU is the source of all national policy. The government with all of its ministries and offices carries out the policies as articulated by TANU. On a national level, TANU is organized as follows:



Source: TANU. Katiba ya TANU. Dar es Salaam: TANU, 1971.

The TANU annual conference is made up of the President, Vice President, District TANU officials, M. P. s; N. B. C. member, and representatives from affiliated TANU organizations. (See appendix for list of abbreviations.) There are about 800 representatives at this conference. The National Executive Committee is composed of the President and Vice President, eighteen elected representatives from the National Conference; five members appointed by the President; General Secretaries of NUTA, UWT, CUT, TAPA; Regional TANU Chairman, two representatives from TYL, Principal Secretaries of the Government (if they are TANU members). The N. E. C. meets about every three months and makes many decisions that are subsequently transmitted to the National Conference for approval.

The working committee of the N. E. C. is the central committee. It

is this committee which prepares papers and agenda items for the N. E. C. The committee is composed of: the President, Vice Presidents, eighteen members elected from N. E. C. and not more than five members appointed by the President. The Central Committee meets about once a week.

### THE FORMAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

To understand the role that adult education plays in the development in Tanzania it is necessary to look briefly at the formal educational system, the educational system for children and young people. While not unique in hoping to transform society through education, Tanzania has attempted the most radical revision of the school in Africa in order to bring about what some have called a "revolution by education" (Resnick, 1968). The emphasis on development through adult education is part of the nation's larger faith in education. This section on the formal system deals with the colonial inheritance, the post-independence adjustments, education for self-reliance and the system in 1970.

### COLONIAL INHERITANCE

Freire uses the phrase "education for domination" to describe that kind of education which does not lead to personal growth, liberation and involvement of the people in their own development (Freire; Pedagogy: 1972b). This term adequately describes the colonial education system. The colonial education system was, "education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment" (Rodney,

1972a:264). As President Nyerere has said, "Colonial education . . . . was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state" (Nyerere, 1967:3). By stating this, it does not mean that each teacher or each planner had this precise purpose in mind, but this was the use of education, whether individuals within the system were aware of it or not.

Colonial schooling was begun in order to provide the low level administrative staff necessary to operate government and private offices which were then more efficiently able to exploit the human and natural resources of Tanzania. The establishment of schools corresponded most nearly to areas of export crops. Development of education took place faster in the Kilimanjaro and Bukoba coffee producing areas for example. The effect of this pattern was the creation of regional inequalities which still exist today.

Not only was colonial education inequally distributed, but it was limited to the small numbers of people who were needed in the colonial structure. The amount of education available in Tanzania was so small as to be insignificant in terms of total population. In 1947, for example, a total of 113,000 children were enrolled in primary schools, 80 per cent in standards I-III. This was less than 10 per cent of the school-age population at the time (Cameron and Dodd, 1970:102). The secondary enrollment in 1947 was only 534 people, much less than 1 per cent of the age group.

The colonial pattern also provided for segregation of schools on

racial lines, a fact not changed until Independence. Europeans, Asians, and Africans were taught in separate schools. The figures for enrollment and expenditure for the education of different races in 1961 are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4  
1961 EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE

<u>Race</u>	<u>Population (1958)</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Expenditure (\$)</u>	<u>Expenditure/ Pupil</u>
Europeans	21,000	2,500	1,119,000	\$ 476
Asians	95,000	28,000	1,654,800	59
Africans	8,964,000	121,386	10,136,000	84

Perhaps the most critical inheritance from the colonial education were the values which were transmitted, directly and indirectly. Nyerere pointed out that while schooling was modelled on the British system, an even heavier emphasis was placed on subservient attitudes. He further points out that:

It was based on the assumption of a colonialist and capitalist society. It emphasised and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his co-operative instincts. It led to the possession of material wealth being the major criterion of social merit and worth. (Nyerere, 1967:3)

If there was anything glorious about the history of colonial education in Tanzania, it lay not in the small amount of inadequate training provided, but, "in the tremendous vigour displayed by Africans in mastering the prin-

ciples of the system that had mastered them" (Rodney, 1972a:289). It is true that those Tanzanians who had access to education not only mastered this education, but pushed the colonial system further than it had intended to go. The colonial system in spite of itself produced the African "upstarts," "malcontents" and "agitators" who fought off British political control.

#### POST-INDEPENDENCE ADJUSTMENTS

The changes which took place between 1961 and 1967 were adjustments to the most obvious faults of the colonial system: the elimination of racial distinctions, the modification of the curriculum and the expansion of school places. Complete integration of schools was introduced soon after Independence. Admission was no longer based on racial or religious grounds.

The second change was the modification of the curriculum. The most gross examples of colonial irrelevance such as the teaching of European history, the British Constitution and the animals and birds of the Northern hemisphere were eliminated as soon as possible. It was not until 1971, however, that the first national secondary school exams were written, marked and analyzed entirely in Tanzania. Additions to the curriculum were made such as political education and the use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction for all primary school and more subjects in secondary schools.

The third change was the expansion of places. In 1961 there were 490,000 children attending primary schools, in 1967 there were 800,000 students in these schools. Secondary school places were increased from 11,832 in 1961 to 25,000 in 1967. All of these changes were modifications



of the colonial system. More complete transformation of schools must come with the increased application of the principles of education for self-reliance.

### EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

Education for Self-Reliance is the most important educational document in Tanzania. It presents the educational philosophy of Tanzania. The purpose of the document was to set forward principles of education which not only conformed to the socialist goals of Tanzania, but which would serve as a revolutionary influence in the creation of socialists. Education for Self-Reliance set forward suggested remedies for four basic ills in the modified school system. The first was the concern that education was elitist in concept, so few people reach any schools at all. Secondly, the school was not a part of society, but existed as a small isolated section of modern life. Thirdly, education was seen from the point of view that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books or from educated people. The fourth weakness was the exploitative relationship which existed between those who were being educated and their families and communities.

Not only do they (students) fail to contribute to that increase in output which is so urgent for our nation, they themselves consume the output of the older and often weaker people . . . What is more, they take it for granted that this should be so. . . . Even during the holidays we assume that these young men and women should be protected from rough work. (Nyerere, 1967:5).

The changes suggested were designed to:

1. foster social goals of living together;
2. inculcate a sense of commitment to the community;
3. stress concepts of equality and responsibility;
4. counteract intellectual arrogance;
5. provide a complete education within seven years;
6. provide an education consistent with realities of rural life.

Specifically, Education for Self-Reliance calls for:

1. The raising of the school entry age from five or six years old to seven or eight so that youths at fourteen or fifteen will be more mature and able to participate actively in development upon completion of formal schooling.

2. A total reorientation of the schools, both primary and secondary, in order to transform them into productive "communities." The teachers, workers and pupils must be members of a social unit and must contribute to their mutual upkeep. Schools should be farms; farms should not be attached as a place to punish students.

3. A change in school organization so that classes are not based rigidly on timetables set in Dar es Salaam, but are based on the agricultural and social cycle in the year of the area in which the school is found both in terms of seasons and days of the week.

#### FORMAL EDUCATION IN 1970

As can be seen in Table 5, the number of students who are able to attend school has increased tremendously since 1961. The total number of

enrollees doubled in nine years. Expenditure during this time rose nearly the same rate of over 10 per cent per annum from Shs. 144 million (\$21 million) in 1962 to Shs. 288 million (\$41 million) in 1969-1970.

TABLE 5  
COMPARATIVE ENROLLMENT FIGURES

<u>Levels</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1970</u>
Primary	486,470	802,413
Secondary	11,832	31,217
Teacher training	1,722	3,966

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Source: Ministry of National Education, Educational Statistics Handbook, 1970.

Despite the tremendous gains in enrollment, the fact remains that the provision of schooling during colonial times was so small that even by doubling expenditure on education Tanzania is just able to see 50 per cent of its school-age young entering primary school. Of the total school-age population from seven to fourteen, only about 36 per cent are attending any type of school. The implications are clear; most of the youth in Tanzania do not have access to formal schooling.

Perhaps a more interesting concern is that of how well schools are implementing the concepts of community education outlined in Education for Self-Reliance. Unfortunately, little information is available in the form of

official reports and one is left to rather incomplete impressions based on visits to schools and talks with teachers and students. At the risk of going beyond the interpretation of figures, several comments might be made:

1. Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance is still in the introductory phase.
2. While nearly every school has its farm or self-reliant project, few of the farms are fully integrated into the curriculum or the community.
3. Self-reliance is practiced most in primary schools, quite a bit in teacher training colleges, seldom in secondary schools and not at all at the University of Dar es Salaam.
4. In the higher levels of the educational system, elitism and petit bourgeois values continue although students are increasingly realistic about their own occupations.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>For a more detailed account of the exploitative nature of colonial economic ties, see Albert Meistar, East Africa: The Past in Chains, The Future in Pawn, New York: Walker and Co., 1966; and Ann Seidman's Comparative Development Strategies in East Africa (forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup>Ian Parker has discussed this issue fully in "Ideological and Economic Development in Tanzania" in African Studies Review, Vol. XV, No. 1, April, 1972.

## CHAPTER III

### UJAMAA: THE IDEOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT

The concept of ideology continues to be one of the most talked about and least agreed upon terms in political science. Marx and Engels asserted that all opinions and ideologies are determined by the conditions of production, ". . . The ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thoughts" (Marx, 1971:15). Karl Mannheim, in discussing the concept of ideology further, although agreeing basically with the origin of ideology as presented by Marx, saw ideology as the cumulative ideas of a class or group. Total ideology represents ". . . characteristics and composition of the total structure of the mind of this epoch or of this group" (1954:50).

More recent definitions have included the concept of action within the definition itself. Daniel Bell has defined ideology as, "the conversion of ideas into social levers" (1962:370-71). Another typical definition describes ideology as, "a set of values and ideas that justify and rationalize the programmes a system carries forward" (Sjoberg, 1963:2).

In this study, ideology is recognized as arising out of a set of economic and social conditions, but is seen as having a certain power of its own.

"Ideas are not only structured by material social interests, but they, in turn, take on significance and structure later experience" (Nellis, 1972:28). Ideology, then, is defined as a systematic set of ideas with action consequences. This set of ideas can be held by a social class or by a political group in power. With regard to Tanzania, this study will be referring to the systematic set of ideas embodied in the actions and documents of TANU, primarily recorded in the writings and speeches of President Julius K. Nyerere.

Before discussing the details of Ujamaa and Self-Reliance, Tanzania's ideology, a brief examination of the role of ideology in social systems is necessary. Several examples from the People's Republic of China might be illustrative. In an article in the People's Daily, Peking, the central position of ideology was described as follows, "Work is done by man and man's action is governed by his thinking. A man without correct political thinking is a man without a soul . . . If the proletarian ideology does not take command-- there can be no direction" (Jen Min Jih Pao, November 11, 1960). Schurman has further pointed out the role of ideology in China. "First, total ideology serves to motivate individuals to give full commitment to the organization. Second, it gives individuals a set of rational ideas with which to carry out the actions demanded by the organization" (1968:39). Schurman's description generally follows David Apter's discussion of the role of ideology when he says that ideology in any particular political system serves the dual function of aiding in creating mass solidarity in a movement or system, and aiding

in defining the personal role of the individuals in the system (Apter, 1964:18-21).

For Tanzania, ideology may play a larger role than in most other African nations. Part of the importance of ideology stems from the experience of the independence struggle, where the power of ideas, the ideas of freedom and equality, have been interpreted as being central to the mobilization of the people and the eventual triumph of political independence. For Tanzania, a clearly defined ideology is important in addition because Tanzania is a nation undergoing a socialist transformation. It is a nation which is becoming socialistic, but which has a long history under colonial domination. It is necessary in this case to have guidelines, well thought-out ideas for this transformation. Failure to develop an ideological clarity would lead inevitably to continued use of the capitalist or colonial patterns of behavior or decision-making. This importance of ideological clarity to socialist transformation has been noted by the late Amilcar Cabral, leader of the PAIGC, the liberation movement in Guinea Bissau, "The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology within the national liberation movements . . . constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all" (1961:93). Ideology in Tanzania is seen in terms of a dual role. It is an instrument which TANU views as being able to create a national unity through an increased level of public consciousness and it is a guide to individuals and organizations in planning and carrying out decisions and policies. In a teach-in at the University of Dar es Salaam, Ngombale-Mwiru indicated the importance of ideology to Tanzania when noting,



We still have to reconquer our self-confidence and since we have had the mischance of having struggled to political independence by "constitutional means," reconquering our self-confidence is going to be a long and difficult task. Because of this we have to consciously create a revolutionary situation in which our people will struggle against all forms of exploitation. (1967b:43)

President Nyerere has brought out the importance of a well thought-out ideology in his report to TANU on progress during ten years of independence. Citing as one of the major advances of the ten-year period in the development and clarification of socialist policies, he noted that before the Arusha Declaration, "

There was a gradual realisation that although some economic progress was being made, and although we were still talking in terms of a socialist objective, the nation was in fact drifting without any sense of direction.

This "sense of direction" or ideology is not recorded in a single document but rather in a collection of papers and speeches. As John Saul has pointed out, ". . . The movement towards increased clarity (of ideology) has been constant and cumulative over an extended period" (1972:10).

This section on the ideology of development deals with the purpose of development, the resources for development and the strategies for achieving it as elaborated in key documents.<sup>1</sup> Taken together, the documents and other related papers form the ideology which is best categorized as ujamaa and self-reliance. Ujamaa is known in two contexts as the word describing the extended family relationships of traditional Tanzanian communalism and with referent to the formation of socialist communities, ujamaa villages. Ujamaa villages, "seek to recapture the principles of joint production, egalitarian

distribution and the universal obligation to work which were found within African communalism" (Rodney, 1972b:61).

### THE PURPOSE OF DEVELOPMENT

In the major policy documents of Tanzania the purpose of development is seen in several perspectives. It is seen in a material sense as an increase in food, health facilities, water supplies and homes. It is seen in an institutional sense in the creation of a rural society based on ujamaa villages (socialist cooperative villages) and in public ownership of the means of production. The third sense in which the objective of development is discussed is in terms of liberation--liberation being the reduction of inequalities and exploitation, while at the same time being increased participation of the people in decision-making.

"The purpose of all social, economic and political activity must be men," Nyerere has said repeatedly. Development is not measured in terms of new roads, larger buildings or more lorries; these are only the tools of development. "The main aim of development is to get more food and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of . . . agricultural crops" (TANU:245). Development is seen in terms of more and better food for all people in the country, not only those living in urban areas. "The advantages of town life in the way of services and personal pleasures and opportunities must be available to those who work in the rural sector as much as those in urban areas" (Socialism and Rural Development:

346). This means that development is seen not only in the increase of crop production and the surplus of money, but in the reduction of various social inequalities and in the increased participation of the peasants and workers in the decisions which control their lives.

So while the Arusha Declaration points out that a true socialist state is one in which the "major means of production and exchange are under the control of the peasants and workers," development is also seen in terms of a specific way of living, a specific set of relationships between men and between the various segments of society (TANU:233). Development means that the "major means of production and exchange are under the control of the peasants and workers." It also means a society where three principles are practiced: "equality, respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced; work by everyone, exploitation by none" (Education for Self-Reliance:222). The true socialist state is seen as "one in which neither capitalism nor feudalism exists" (TANU:233). The goal of development in Tanzania is a classless society. In Socialism and Rural Development, it is pointed out that small scale capitalism has already begun in rural areas. There are quite large numbers of people who employ others to work on their land during the growing seasons. A warning is made that, "If this kind of capitalist development widely takes place over the country, we may get a good statistical increase in the national wealth of Tanzania, but the masses of the people will not be better off" (Socialism and Rural Development:344). The goal which Tanzania has set for itself will be met when life "consists of rural,

economic and social communities where people live together and work together for the good of all" (Socialism and Rural Development:348). It is these rural socialist communities, ujamaa villages, which are at the same time tools for the creation of socialism and goals of socialist construction.

The most recent major policy statement, The TANU Party Guidelines (Mwongozo), about the purpose of development has been concerned with the concept of liberation. "For a people who have been slaves or have been oppressed, exploited and humiliated by colonialism or capitalism, development means liberation" (TANU Guidelines: Paragraph 28). For the first time the freeing of men from colonial ways of thinking and habits of decision-making became the most important goal of development.

Any action that gives the people more control of their own affairs is an action for development, even if it does not offer them better health or more bread. Any action that reduces their say in determining their own affairs or running their own lives is not development and retards them even if the action brings them a little better health and a little more bread. (TANU Guidelines: Paragraph 28)

Perhaps the best summary of what is seen to be the goal of socialist development is found in Socialism and Rural Development:

The objective of socialism in Tanzania is to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live in peace . . . without suffering or imposing justice, being exploited or exploiting; in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury. - (Socialism and Rural Development:340)

## RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT

While the discussion of the purpose of development might talk about the ideal, the best possible world, perhaps in even utopian terms, concern with resources must be completely realistic. The four pre-requisites for development discussed in the Arusha Declaration are: people, land, good policies and good leadership.

Just as people are the purpose of development so people and their labor are the central resources for development. When the Arusha Declaration was made in 1967, one of its important tasks was to make clear that money was not the generative resource for development. For although many people had seen money as the solution to the provision of more beds in hospitals, more books in the shops, more food on the table, more seminars or better roads, this kind of thinking led to certain limited views as to how to go about development. The Arusha Declaration put it this way: "Between money and people it is obvious that the people and their hard work are the foundation of development, and money is one of the fruits of that hard work" (Arusha Declaration: 246).

There is a considerable emphasis put on the question of hard work throughout the development of ideology. In Socialism and Rural Development, President Nyerere states it in this way, "If we are to succeed in this (development of socialism), certain things are essential, the first of these is hard work by our own people" (p. 346). In Education for Self-Reliance, he says again, "What we do have is land in abundance and people who are

willing to work hard for their own improvement" (p. 272). Socialism will not be built easily and it will not be built unless all sections of society contribute to its growth. Recognition has been made of the contribution that the rural women are making to development, with a stern plea that men should contribute as well.

Women who live in the villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half of their life. The energies of the millions of men which are now wasted could be a great resource for development. (TANU:245).

For people and their labor to affect development in Tanzania they must work with the land. As has been pointed out often, Tanzania has little in the way of factories or mines from which to build surplus capital which can in turn be used for development purposes. Agriculture must be the key to development. Tanzania's agricultural resources are its cash crops, food crops, cattle, sheep, chicken and fish. It is precisely because of this that President Nyerere has said, "The money and time we spend passing on this knowledge (of modern agriculture) to the peasants are better spent and bring more benefits to our country than the money and great amount of time we spend on other things which we call development" (TANU:245).

Ideology and the "good policies" which are derived from this ideology are seen in themselves as resources for development. It is these policies which if implemented will enable the people through hard work to improve production on their land, thus increasing the surplus capital available to begin industries or build hospitals. It is only through sound principles, in

this case the principles of ujamaa and self-reliance, that the people can maintain a just relationship with the means of production, in this case the land. It is these same policies which will allow for just distribution.

The last prerequisite for development which the Arusha Declaration mentions is good leadership. There is a continuing concern with the provision of leaders who are dedicated socialists, practicing socialists. Leadership is increasingly seen as leadership with the people as compared to leadership of the people. The TANU code of conduct for leaders stresses that leaders are not allowed to own houses for rent, accept salaries from two sources, hold shares in any companies or hold directorship in privately owned companies. The TANU Party Guidelines state that the, "First task of the leadership is to spell out the national goal" (p. 4). It is also the task of leaders to organize the people, but by stressing at all times the involvement of the people themselves in the decision-making. "For a Tanzanian leader it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive" (TANU Guidelines: 5).

The relation between this last resource, good leadership, and the people, may be one of the most crucial if development is to occur. The balance between creative leadership and creative participation of people in their own affairs is one of the most delicate of relationships.

#### STRATEGIES FOR DEVELOPMENT

Some discussion of the economic strategies has already been pre-

sented in the previous chapter; still more discussion will take place later as details of adult education programs are put forward. What are presented here are those ideological principles of Tanzania which guide decisions on how the goals will be reached considering the resources available. Development in Tanzania will occur by putting the means of exchange and production under the control of the peasants and workers; emphasizing rural development; changing the formal educational system; educating the masses; and by fully developing cooperative production and marketing.

In Tanzania the major means of production are seen to be: land, forests, minerals, water; oil and electricity; news media; communications; banks, insurance, import and export trade, wholesale trade; iron and steel, machine tools, arms, motor-cars, cement, fertilizer and textile industries; big factories and plantations. (TANU: 234)

By 1972 most of the major means of production were either wholly or partially owned by the government. Nationalization of the banks and the major industries occurred shortly after the Arusha Declaration. The import and distribution trade, at one time nearly the exclusive domain of Asian businessmen, was centralized as the State Trading Corporation. In 1971 houses and buildings worth more than 100,000 shillings which were in 1971 being rented for more than 800 shillings or were valued at more than 100,000 shillings were taken over by the Government to be administered by the Registrar of Buildings. This eliminated the most extreme forms of exploitation by fact of ownership. But even in 1972, a few companies were still partially owned by the former parent corporation in Europe or North



America. Gaining national control of the major means of production is clearly a first step in a strategy of development. It is only when the economy is in Tanzanian control, that foreign exchange transactions can be controlled and rational decisions made about what should be imported.

Although the nationalization of the means of production was the first, and perhaps most visible strategy of development, the decision to give priority to rural areas and rural modes of production has had a far more reaching effect within Tanzania. Each policy document from the Arusha Declaration to Siasa ni Kilimo has reinforced this decision. Most people in Tanzania live in rural areas. As the purpose of development in Tanzania is a better life for man in Tanzania, the improvements have to begin where the majority of the population lives. The development, therefore, of agriculture concomitantly with the growth of equitable marketing and distribution facilities will improve the quality of life of the greatest number of people.

Still another basic strategy is the radical transformation of the school. There is much hope in education as the key to the development of socialism. Recognizing the radical change in styles of life and modes of production of a negative nature brought about by the colonial education system, Education for Self-Reliance stresses the necessity of creating another radical change by bringing the educational system in line with the socialist goals of the nation. The changes in the schools stress the importance of the structure and organization of the school in shaping attitudes as well as the content of the lessons. If it is accepted that schools played a major role in

creating subservient attitudes and colonial behavior patterns under an oppressive system, then schools in a liberating system are capable of assisting in the creation of cooperative socialist attitudes.

In concluding this section, it should be stressed that ideology in Tanzania is seen to have a certain power, a certain significance in structuring experience. The policies of Ujamaa and Self-Reliance are important to identify as they are central to the planning and development of all Party and Government programs. Within the field of adult education, the clearly structured Tanzanian ideology of development helps in the creation of mass solidarity and aids in the definition of individual's roles.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The key documents in socialist ideology in Tanzania are: The Arusha Declaration: Socialism and Self-Reliance, Education for Self-Reliance, Socialism and Rural Development, Freedom and Development, TANU Guidelines (Mwongozo), Siasa ni Kilimo and The Aims of Decentralization. Page numbers for the first three refer to the collected speeches in Freedom and Socialism, Dar es Salaam, 1968.

CHAPTER IV  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION  
FROM 1961 TO 1967

The development of adult education, the period from Independence to 1967, was one of modest expansion and experimentation. For the government, the principal concern upon gaining Independence was on providing Tanzanian manpower to fill posts which were previously held by colonial administrators. Adult education had not yet caught the eye of development planners. Nyerere himself resigned shortly after Independence in order to rebuild TANU as a force for mobilizing the nation for development. The slogan Uhuru na Umoja (Freedom and Unity) was being replaced by Uhuru na Kazi (Freedom and Work).

Changes in the formal educational system captured much of the attention of educational planners. A racially-based system was dismantled and replaced by a multi-racial system. The immediate aim of the formal educational system was rapid expansion of secondary education. High level manpower needs received priority and plans were worked out for the expansion of existing University of East Africa facilities in Dar es Salaam as well as the eventual construction of the University College, Dar es Salaam.

While essentially a continuation of the colonial institutions, adult

education during this period was marked by several innovations which continue to influence the more recent developments. Kivukoni College, now the principal center of political education and leadership training of TANU party members, was started as a college of liberal education for adults in 1961. The extra-mural department of the University became the Institute of Adult Education and began the transition to a service agency for professional adult education. Additionally, the cooperative movement began its innovative education programs from Moshi. For the most part, however, adult education in the pre-Arusha period was dominated by community development, with government concern for adult education being delegated within a community development division. The community development division itself was located in several different ministries. Prior to February 1, 1962, it was located within the Ministry of Local Government and Housing. After February 1, 1962, the Community Development Division came under the Ministry of Co-operatives and Community Development.

This discussion of pre-Arusha adult education focuses on government plans and policies; adult education programs including community development, literacy teaching, the liberal studies of Kivukoni College and the extra-mural department of the Institute of Adult Education, the beginning of political education at Kivukoni and the training of adult educators; and finally some estimates of financing adult education.

## PLANS AND POLICIES

It is not possible to discuss plans and policies regarding adult education in the pre-Arusha period without considering President Nyerere's views. His perspective and official government policy have been very closely connected since Independence. Nyerere's early concern with education for adults was evidenced in many ways. It could be argued that he directed the first mass adult education campaign in Tanzania: the education and mobilization of the population in the Independence struggle. Still another indication, however, of his awareness of adult education was his interest in developing an adult education college. In 1958, the TANU Annual Conference decided to establish a college for adults, inspired in part by Nyerere's experience at Ruskin College in England. After a national fund-raising campaign, the college (Kivukoni College) was officially opened on July 29, 1961. Nyerere saw it as an opportunity for those adults who had not had a chance to engage in further education. Adult education, in this case the training of leaders, was the key in the development process. As he said at the college opening, "If the time at this college is used wisely you will be able to give real help to the people of this country because of your increased understanding of the social forces at work" (1966a:119). He urged the graduates of Kivukoni to be like the yeast in a loaf of bread, "Effective because it cannot be isolated, its presence being known by the work it has done" (1966a:123).

Nyerere further commented on the importance of adult education in his Independence message to TANU. He urged TANU to carry out an educa-

tional mission.

In the past, despite colonial government opposition we have started educational campaigns, we have organised voluntary effort, we have even started our own adult college. Now we must intensify these activities, cooperating with the new government so as not to duplicate efforts. (1966b:140)

On still another occasion, Nyerere called on the TANU Youth League to involve itself in educational activities,

I hope that in your discussion you will get down to dealing with the practical ways in which the youth--can contribute to the spread of education to all our people. (1966c:161)

The first development plan for Tanganyika was for a period of three years from 1961/62 to 1963/64. Adult education in its various forms did not figure prominently in the plans. The main objective of the first plan was to, "insure a rapid and progressive increase in cash income per head of population and to secure a steady improvement in the people's standard of living" (Republic of Tanganyika, 1961:7). The priorities for project selection for the plan were based entirely on high and quick rate of return on investment. The most urgent priorities for the plan were:

- (a) Development of agriculture and the livestock industry with its subsidiary task of development of water supplies and irrigation.
- (b) Improvement and development of communications.
- (c) Development of secondary and technical education.

The Community Development Department responsible for most of the adult education activities was allocated 1 per cent share of the plan's financial estimates. This 1 per cent can be compared to 13.7 per cent

allocated to children's education and 24 per cent to the Ministry of Agriculture. The principal aim of community development was to, "arouse and mobilise the dormant human resources of the nation so as to improve its economic, social and cultural life" (Republic of Tanganyika, 1961:92).

Community Development was broadly defined as any activity which was considered to be of benefit to the community; and the same very broad definition still includes a broad field of activities ranging from agriculture, literacy and construction skills to health education. The first plan identified community development as fulfilling its objectives by:

1. training leaders and local government staff in community development techniques.
2. eradicating illiteracy by mass campaigns.
3. providing basic education in homecraft and in other crafts for women.
4. providing technical and financial assistance to self-help schemes.
5. to assist other extension services in campaigns to increase agricultural productivity.

During the course of the first plan, Nyerere published the paper Ujamaa--the Basis of African Socialism. In this essay he discussed the roots of Tanzanian socialism as the outgrowth of traditional relations within extended family systems. TANU pledged to make socialism the basis of its policy, but at this stage the socialist ideology was not seen in terms of the inevitability of class conflict or the struggle which "scientific socialism"



says is necessary to the construction of a classless society. A key concept in the Ujamaa policy paper was that, "socialism is an attitude of mind" (1966:162). If socialism was seen as an attitude of mind, it was possible to see the growth of socialism partly in terms of an educational process, a changing or altering of attitudes.

The Five Year Development Plan from 1964 to 1969 was a more detailed document than the plan of 1961 to 1962 and placed more emphasis on the role of adult education in development (United Republic, 1964). The plan's main objectives were:

1. to raise per capita income from £20 to £45 per annum.
2. to be fully self-sufficient in trained manpower requirements.
3. to raise the expectation of life from 35 to 40 years to an expectation of 50 years (1964:viii).

In introducing the plan to Parliament, President Nyerere pledged a major commitment to adult education in his now classic statement,

First we must educate adults, our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adult (for example) in Sukumaland, on the other hand, have an impact now (1964:xi).

The plan also stressed the necessity for individuals to understand what the government was doing in order to be able to participate fully in the programs.

In order to achieve the three objectives of the plan, the plan called for:

1. an increase in the production of agricultural produce;
2. an increase in the production of manufactured goods, and

3. a re-organization of the social economic and commercial structures to get full benefit from the expanded production. (1964:9)

As the success of development projects was seen to be tied closely to attitudes and motivation of local resources, the government decided to attach special priority to community development action and agricultural extension. The essential purpose of these activities was, "By adult education, exhortation and example to enlighten both men and women on possibilities of attaining a different, higher and more satisfying standard of living" (1964:12).

The plan called for village level field staff to work with the 7,500 village development committees training for community leaders in all aspects of local development, building thirty district training centers, assisting self-help projects with materials and advice, mounting campaigns for increased productivity, sponsoring health campaigns, eradicating illiteracy in the nation, and training senior community development workers. In order to carry out this large task £1.6 million out of a total five-year budget of £72.4 million was allocated to the newly created Ministry of Community Development and Culture. The largest single budget item was the £20.8 million allocated to the Ministry of Lands, Settlement and Water Development. This latter allocation was earmarked for investment in capital intensive large scale settlement schemes.

The following table indicates the relative changes in allocation of expenditures from the three-year plan.

TABLE 6

RELATIVE DIFFERENCE IN GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE  
BETWEEN THE 1961-1963 AND THE 1964-1969 PLANS

<u>Sector</u>	<u>£'s 000</u>		
	<u>Relative Change from 3-Year Plan</u>	<u>3-Year Plan</u>	<u>5-Year Plan</u>
Traditional agriculture	- 26%	10.3	22.8
Settlement agriculture	+117%	3.8	25.1
Industry	+276%	1.4	15.4
Commerce	+145%	.98	4.6
Economic infrastructure	- 18%	13.7	33.4
Social science	+ 4%	26.6	82.9
General Administration	- 20%	30.8	73.6
Public Department Services	+ 8%	5.1	18.4

Source: Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1964-1969.

Other ministries carrying out adult education activities mentioned in the plan were Agriculture, Health, Commerce and Co-operatives. Information and Broadcasting and Education. The plan allocated funds for the construction of a total of twenty-seven farmers' training centers by 1969 which would serve as the focus for the extension work in agriculture. In the field of health, the plan called for an emphasis on preventive medicine or

health education.

The 1964-69 plan called for an expansion of the cooperative movement necessitating, therefore, an expansion of training for cooperative personnel. In order to carry out this training an expansion of the cooperative college was planned. From these plans, the cooperative education center later developed which was to become one of the more innovative adult education programs in Tanzania,

Still another adult education program which was called for in the plan was the creation of radio listening points in order to bring radio programming to those who could not afford the sets. The plan called for the purchase and installation of 250 sets per year during the five-year period of the plan. It should be noted that this project, like several others in the plan, was never carried out for various reasons.

The Ministry of Education was allocated £50,000 in order to build up-country centers for the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University College. The University itself was constructed during the first five-year plan period. Little mention of the role of extra-mural studies, however, was made in the plan.

### THE PROGRAMS

For discussion, the varied programs and approaches to adult education are grouped into categories: community development, which includes women's clubs, district training centers and various smaller programs in domestic

science and child care; literacy; liberal education, including studies for the already schooled; and training of adult educators, including the Institute of Adult Education, Tengeru Community Development Training Centre and Ministry of Agriculture training facilities.

Community development in Tanzania was not created after Independence. The roots of community development were in the social welfare department created in 1949 under the commissioner for social welfare in order to provide places for meetings, dances, debates, libraries, and adult education (literacy) activities at first for returning World War II veterans. These activities were later extended to rural areas. Community development was first mentioned in government reports in the 1959 annual report of the Social Welfare Department. The community development approach inherited a difficult task and some attitudes which are paternalistic and authoritarian from the perspective of Tanzania in 1973. Consider, for example, the statement in the 1959 Social Welfare Annual Report, "Rural community development has two main objectives: first to teach people what is wrong with their way of life (emphasis added) and how it can be improved. Second, it stimulates action by the people to improve it" (1959:3). This early emphasis in community development clearly assumed that someone presumably in the Community Development Department knew how people were supposed to live and was prepared to issue directives or more suitable suggestions on how the "correct" way of living could be achieved. This clearly contrasts with the modern Tanzanian emphasis on people's participation in their own development plans.

The discussion of what is involved in the community development approach in the first five-year plan says that, "community development includes all the processes whereby the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of both central and local governments and voluntary agencies to improve the economic, social and cultural life of communities"

(Rutashobya, 1968:3). It should be noted that there is little in terms of rural development that could not be expected to fall under the responsibility of the community development staff.

In practice, however, the programs within this all encompassing body were limited largely to literacy, women's education and self-help assistance. Literacy, which became the largest of the activities, is discussed later in this section. Women's education began in the social welfare division as a provision of training in sewing and related handiwork and crafts. The method which was adopted was the women's club or women's group. In 1960 the emphasis on handiwork was expanded to a "mass education" approach with the assistance of Unicef and increased support from local authorities. The "mass education approach" meant that women would be given a wider general education in the essentials of better living and practical steps which they, as homemakers and mothers, could follow. The mass education approach grew out of an experiment in Singida. In the Singida project, attempts were made through women's groups to raise the minimum standards of health, child care and nutrition. Cookery classes were the most popular and seemed to offer a most useful approach to the improvement of nutrition

and health. Emphasis was also placed on the feeding of young children.

As with other forms of community development, self-help was central to the women's groups. Women were encouraged to form their own groups, raise subscriptions and provide their own materials for handiwork and cookery. Unicef assisted in the spread of the women's clubs by sponsoring the training of women at Tengeru Community Development Training Centre and by providing transportation and equipment for the classes themselves.

By 1962, over 40,000 women were reported to be participating in the various women's subjects in 922 clubs. Unicef added several mobile units to enable teachers to travel and demonstrate in some of the less accessible centers. By the end of May, 1966, there were 2,910 women's groups with a membership of over 155,630 women. In cooperation with U. W. T. (Union of Women of Tanzania), women's groups were establishing day-care centers, poultry keeping, literacy classes, gardening and handcrafts.

Community development learned early that in order to carry out the responsibilities assigned to them, more extensive training facilities must be available. If local leaders were to pass on information on certain technical or construction skills, it would be necessary to have some central locations where these leaders could be trained.

In its original conception, the district centers were to be built near district headquarters in order to give short intensive training to as many people as possible, especially local leaders in "every aspect of local development" (Rutashobya, 1968:35). This was to include agriculture, cooperatives,

health, nutrition, local government as well as certain aspects of national problems. The initial conception of the district training centers did not include plans to have any permanent staff of teachers. Each center was to be looked after by a warden, usually a man, with a woman community development assistant. The intention was that every government officer and every Area Commissioner would become a teacher. The district training centers would provide facilities for other field officers to conduct their training programs, but would not conduct programs of their own.

The Community Development Division saw the district training centers as potential "people's schools." What was taught there should be things the people want to learn, what they needed to learn or what they could be persuaded to learn. It was envisaged that the centers themselves would grow and develop as the surrounding area developed. They were to be "the focus of the intellectual and cultural life of the community which they existed to serve" (Rutashobya, 1968:36).

Although the district training centers intended to be responsive to people's needs and problems, they most often followed plans and projects originated and implemented from outside the districts. According to the 1964 Annual Report, the functions of the district training centers were altered somewhat to include the following:

1. to provide training in relation to local development plans.
2. to act as a focal point for all voluntary self-help organizations.
3. to provide basic adult education and citizenship training to be



carried out in liaison with Kivukoni College, the Extra-Mural Department of the University of East Africa and any future national adult education organization. (Community Development Division, 1964: appendix)

The types of courses which were envisaged by the planners in the district training centers included the following:

A. Agriculture

- (i) Farmers' course in general agriculture
- (ii) Beekeeping
- (iii) Training in the use of ploughs
- (iv) Training in the use of farm implement
- (v) Special courses on specific subjects in relation to crop cultivation and animal husbandry

B. Health

- (i) Prevention of disease
- (ii) First aid in the house
- (iii) Rural sanitation
- (iv) Better house building

C. Local Government

- (i) Training councillors, committee men, etc.
- (ii) Training of junior staff of local government

D. Cooperative and Community Development

- (i) Courses for members of primary societies
- (ii) Courses for leaders of village development committee
- (iii) Village building courses
- (iv) Courses for women
- (v) Courses in sports, games, etc.

E. Trade Course

- (i) Course for village shopkeepers
- (ii) Course for village fundis (craftsmen)  
(Community Development Division, 1964: appendix)

Literacy teaching was the major activity of the community development and perhaps the largest single adult education activity in the nation in terms of the number of participants involved. It is estimated that as many as 600,000 people participated in literacy classes from 1961 to 1967. The campaign which provided the inspiration and methodology for the mass literacy projects was the Singida District Campaign which began in 1958 (Mason, 1961). By the end of 1959, there were 14,750 enrolled in literacy which included 7,783 men and 6,967 women. Three hundred twenty of these people passed their literacy tests. Two chiefdoms agreed to participate in the campaign in 1959. By the end of 1960, all six chiefdoms of the district were involved. By the end of 1961, the district campaign had spread to the entire region and 97,559 people were enrolled in literacy classes.

The methods of the Singida campaign, when applied on a national

basis, became the methods of the "People's Education Plan" (United Republic, 1964:93). Essentially the plan involved an extension of self-help principles to literacy. The base of the literacy organization was the village group, a sub-committee of the village development committee. The literacy group undertook the task of enrolling "learners," selling literacy kits,<sup>1</sup> choosing suitable places and times of meeting and where necessary constructing a literacy shelter, appointing a local teacher and fixing subscriptions to cover running costs.

Despite the fact that only 2,622 individuals obtained literacy certificates as a result of the campaign, the community development division looked upon the project as a success. In a statement which revealed the dilemma of the community development approach, Horace Mason encouraged other community development officers to implement similar projects because, "It resolves one of the main problems of the front line worker--what project to start with" (1961:9). In addition the literacy campaign was cited as useful because it allowed the staff to study people and their problems without suspicion. In spite of these dubious advantages, the campaign did involve a larger proportion of any district's adult population than had any adult education project in the nation prior to this time and did serve as a source of creative ideas for the functional literacy programs of the late 1960's.

The "mass education" approach to women's education which grew out of the Singida follow-up was at least partially an attempt to raise the general knowledge about nutrition, gardening and home care through literacy and

demonstration groups. The total number of people enrolled in literacy for the entire nation can be seen in Table 7.

TABLE 7  
ENROLLMENT IN LITERACY FOR THE ENTIRE NATION  
(Literacy Classes, 1960-1963)

Year:	1960	1961	1962	1963
Number of Persons Registered	42,328	133,018	227,230	304,794
Number of Certificates Issued	1,894	5,381	7,420	1,743

After the Tehran conference on literacy in 1965, Tanzania was selected as one of the five Unesco sponsored literacy projects. When the Tehran conference called upon Unesco and UNDP to sponsor pilot functional literacy projects, there was interest both within Tanzania and the UN agencies to have Tanzania participate in the program. A Unesco mission was sent to Tanzania in May, 1965 following a Government request for assistance to establish a work-oriented literacy pilot project linked to agricultural production. The economic zone bordering Lake Victoria was selected as the main cotton growing area. In the Government's view this was an area where, "the people were eager to learn, where literacy and adult education have the greatest and most immediate impact and where these new skills would enable the people to increase their productivity and raise their standard of living"

(Unesco, 1972:4). The plan of operation was signed in September, 1967 and began operations in 1968.

#### LIBERAL EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP TRAINING

The two institutions which have played the largest roles in these two similar areas are Kivukoni College and the Department of Extra-Mural Studies (which became the Institute of Adult Education in 1964). These two institutions are dealt with together at this point in the study because, despite the fact that in 1973 they represent quite different aspects of adult education, they began as similar institutions.

#### KIVUKONI COLLEGE

Kivukoni College is a uniquely Tanzanian inspired institution, which in many ways has become a symbol of the flexibility and earnestness of the Tanzanian nation itself. Kivukoni has grown, changed, redirected itself, criticized itself, set off in new directions and sought to serve Tanzania in a more effective and relevant manner.

Kivukoni began at a meeting of the TANU Annual Conference in Tabora in 1958, three years before Independence. Conceived on the Ruskin College experience, it was to be the TANU workers' college. The funds for Kivukoni were raised entirely in Tanzania by the Tanganyika Educational Trust Fund under the competent secretaryship of Joan Wicken, formerly of Ruskin College. The purpose of the college was to provide residential courses of liberal education for men and women, "whose formal education

had been limited by lack of opportunity" (Kivukoni, 1961). The college would give economics, political science, history, geography, administration, literature and other subjects relevant to life in Tanganyika. Students were to be selected on the basis of their record of work and service in the community and by their ability to profit from this educational experience regardless of their marks on previous school examinations or the number of years of education. The college was not to issue diplomas, titles or honors to its students. Certificates of attendance could, however, be issued under the direction of the principal.

Kivukoni was important to adult education in Tanzania because it was a clear indication that TANU, and hence the Government, had a strong sense of commitment to the importance of providing education for adults. It is important to keep this in mind because Tanzanian adult educators have not had the same struggle for support in the development plans as observed in other parts of Africa.

In 1961, thirty-nine students began the courses at Kivukoni. The course itself was thirty weeks in three ten-week terms. By the second year the number had grown to seventy and the college was trying to work out its own place in relation to both national needs and other institutions in Tanganyika.

By 1964, Kivukoni was accepted as having a role to play in the national educational system, although this role was to undertake further change. The thirty-week course was being taught to town and district leaders

while various short courses were organized for trade union officials and cooperative movement personnel. In addition to this, for the first time students were sent out to villages to participate in community development work in the field. Kivukoni also launched a radio program designed to deal with such topics as: Ujamaa, agricultural development, self-help, organizing literacy classes and farm improvement.

In late 1966, the college executive committee had meetings with President Nyerere in order to discuss the future direction of the college. It was decided at these meetings that the vocational and professional content of the courses should be increased to about 40 per cent of total class time. The college was to focus more on the training of TANU, NUTA (the trade union) and TANU Youth League (TYL) officials. It was to become a professional training center for leaders from all of these organizations. By March, 1967, Kivukoni had graduated 330 students from the long course and 320 from the various short courses. It had firmly established itself as the center for the provision of a broad social science foundation for adults in leadership positions and had begun a number of experiments which would form the basis for its role as a political education institution after the Arusha Declaration.

#### THE INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION

The Institute of Adult Education grew out of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the University of East Africa. The first extra-mural tutor was sent to Tanganyika in 1960 from Makerere. In 1961, the Department

of Extra-Mural Studies became an integral part of the University College, Dar es Salaam. Like the British extra-mural departments, on which it was modeled, the early emphasis was on courses which mirrored the academic interests of the University itself. The first courses offered in Dar es Salaam were political science, government, economics and English. There were about 100 students enrolled in the first program. The English and economics courses were the most popular during the first two years as many students were planning to take secondary examinations and used these courses in order to assist them in their preparation.

In February, 1963, Paul Bertelsen was appointed Director of the reconstituted Institute of Adult Education, although this title was not made official until May, 1965. It was under Bertelsen that the Institute underwent its first expanded development and programming. Centers were established in Moshi and Iringa. The objectives and goals of the enlarged Institute of Adult Education were set out in The Institute of Adult Education Decrees 1964. The Institute was to:

1. to provide part-time and full-time courses for adult education students in Dar es Salaam and, wherever it is practicable, in the United Republic of Tanzania in subjects and methods appropriate to a university;
2. to be a center for study and experiment in adult education and for the professional training of teachers and administrators



engaged in adult education;

3. to promote and cooperate in the provision of conferences, lectures and in-service courses for teachers, civil servants others engaged in or interested in adult education;
4. to promote research in adult education and the publication of results thereof and thus to foster the development and its improvement of adult education in the United Republic of Tanzania;
5. to provide advisory services and library facilities for adult educators, and circulate information about new methods and developments in adult education experiments and results of research;
6. to assist other institutions or organizations when called upon in the preparation of syllabuses and programmes for adult education courses. (1964:Chapter 2).

Although evening classes continued to be offered as the major activity of the Institute, with about 1,000 students per term attending classes in the various centers, the Institute began to cooperate extensively with the other agencies involved in adult education in the area. The Director of the Institute was a member of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education and as such opportunities for coordination and cooperation became more feasible.

Some of the non-evening class activities included English classes for the National Women's Organization (U. W. T. ); classes in teaching methods for adults, for the Army, the Ministry of Community Development; writers' workshops; radio programs with the faculty of law; a course on the Tanzanian economy for Members of Parliament; lectures in cooperation with the World Federation of United Nations' association, aid-giving countries and the East African Academy.<sup>2</sup>

The two significant innovations in the Institute during this period were the introduction of experiments with radio listening groups and the encouragement of local adult education associations. The radio programs initiated under the leadership of Tony Dodds were one of the attempts which was made to turn the Institute's resources to the service of the masses. The early programs reached primary school teachers for the most part, but did provide the original ideas which eventually found their way into the 2.5 million member radio campaign of 1973.

Adult Education Associations were begun, inspired partly by the Workers' Education Associations of Britain and the People's Education Associations of Ghana which both Paul Bertelsen and David Crowley were familiar with. The object of these associations was to provide means by which they could articulate needs, plan and organize classes at a grass-roots level. The teachers would be supplied by the resident tutor; sometimes it was the resident tutor himself who taught the classes.

While sound in principle, in practice the associations tended to dupli-

cate the pattern of extra-mural classes and most often requested the provision of secondary examination subjects. The members of the associations were generally primary school teachers who made little attempt to pass on whatever knowledge they gained to others with less education than they. Often requests would be made by five or six students for one subject, a number which proved uneconomical for long term provision. The associations were, however, an early attempt to break out of the extra-mural straightjacket.

By 1967, when reviewing the activities of the past few years, the Director questioned whether the Institute was meeting its responsibilities as well as it should be. He noted, for example, that attendance in the evening classes was low and the dropouts continued to be a concern. He wondered whether, "the most appropriate subject matter is taught in the most appropriate way for the development of the nation as a socialist state" (Institute of Adult Education, 1967). It can only be to the credit of the Institute that it began re-examining its role just days before the entire nation began its own re-examination and change. The Arusha Declaration was to be made on the 29th of the same month in 1967.

### SUMMARY

Adult education between 1961 and 1967 was a period of limited growth and experimentation. Literacy provision grew as much out of community development's confused role as out of understanding of the implications of literacy for economic development. Literacy teaching dominated this period

in terms of the number of people reached through adult education. Roughly 650,000 men and women were enrolled in literacy classes through 1966, although only 30,000 acquired certificates of satisfactory standards reached.

The period did nevertheless serve as a source of ideas for more varied programs which after the Arusha Declaration did become principal features in the expanded adult education network. The early attempts by Kivukoni College to introduce political context into their programs and the early experimentation with radio programs to rural areas by the Institute of Adult Education and the Cooperative Education Centre in Moshi were to develop fully after the Arusha Declaration. NUTA, the trade union, began a separate section for workers' education in 1966 even though the development of factory programs came much later. The "People's Education Plan" of 1963 had many elements of the later functional literacy campaigns.

Ground was being prepared for increased Government recognition of the role of adult education in development by the many progressive and dedicated individuals involved in the adult education programs of Kivukoni College, the Institute of Adult Education and Ministry of Community Development.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The literacy kits, assembled by East Africa Literature Bureau, consisted of a primer, an exercise book, and a pencil and sold for two shillings (about 28¢).

<sup>2</sup>For more details on the early Institute of Adult Education activities, see Margaret Snyder's The Institute of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam: Its Role in the Process of Development. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1970.

CHAPTER V  
THE IDEOLOGY OF ADULT EDUCATION

The importance of adult education, both  
for our country and for every individual  
cannot be over-emphasized.

--J. K. Nyerere\*

INTRODUCTION

Education is one of the main themes throughout Tanzania's ideology of ujamaa and self-reliance. For Tanzania, education means education for everyone--for the rural peasants, urban youth, university students, cooperative secretaries, medical assistants, herdsmen and mechanics as well as the young people in classrooms throughout the country. As has been pointed out earlier, Tanzania places a great deal of hope in the ability of education to create conditions conducive to socialist development. For Tanzania, independence basically implies development through education.

The nature of development means that increased attention has to be given to adult education. As President Nyerere has said, "Development means development of people, not things" (Socialism and Rural Development, 1968:340). People are not "developed"; people can only develop themselves.

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\*J. K. Nyerere, 1970 Adult Education Year Speech.

As the conditions for socialist transformation in Tanzania have become clearer, so has the emphasis on adult education grown. Tanzania has committed herself to socialist development, laying a major emphasis on the growing consciousness and skills of the masses provided through adult education.

Since the Arusha Declaration, and particularly since the second Five Year Plan was promulgated, the increased emphasis on adult education has made it necessary for the government to be more specific about the main elements of Tanzanian adult education. This chapter is an attempt to pull together many of these elements into what might be called an ideology of adult education--a set of ideas with action consequences. The elements examined are: the definition of adult education, the role of adult education in socialist development, the nature of adult education and the aim of adult education.

#### WHAT IS ADULT EDUCATION?

There are assumptions contained within the definitions of concepts. Mwalimu Nyerere defined it as, "Learning about anything at all which can help us to understand the environment we live in and the manner in which we change and use the environment to improve ourselves" (Elimu Haina Mwisho, 1971:2). The emphasis in this definition is on learning for change. There are no limits as to who can participate in adult education; the assumption is that everyone can profit from some kind of learning. The Ministry of

National Education defined adult education in a paper prepared for the 1972 Tokyo Adult Education Conference as "widening the mental horizons of the people so that they can exert greater control over their own future" (1972:2). It is significant that both these definitions imply change and purpose. The purpose of these definitions has also been to emphasize the breadth of the field. The colonial and early independence concepts of adult education focused on the provision of literacy and homecraft skills for the unschooled. With his New Year Speech of 1970, President Nyerere stressed the wider concept and specifically noted that adult education is more than literacy, "For literacy is just a tool; it is a means by which we can learn more, more easily" (Elimu Haina Mwisho, 1971:3).

#### THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

I have said that adult education is of paramount importance to national development; it would be more true to say that the two are inseparable. (R. Kawawa, Second Vice President, 1973a:12)

The Ministry of National Education paper for the Tokyo conference says, "None of the major national revolutionary measures that have taken place can be fully understood without alluding to the need for education for the worker and the peasant" (1972:7). Socialist development in Tanzania indeed depends on socialist education of the entire nation. Since the Arusha Declaration, all major policy statements by TANU or the government have implied major dependence on education for their successful culmination or implementation. The Arusha Declaration, the second Five Year Plan, the



TANU Party Guidelines and the decentralization policy have all stressed participation by the people in their own development. Democratic socialism cannot function from above. Instructions cannot be passed down from the leaders to the people. The people must understand their own power and their own capability for change. "It is not correct for leaders and experts to usurp the people's right to decide on an issue just because they have the expertise" (TANU, 1971c:7).

If the people are going to make the most of decision-making and fully participate in planning in a meaningful way, then people's consciousness about the nature of their world, their power for change and their skills for producing change must become increasingly articulate and sophisticated.

Education is seen as the key variable in raising the consciousness, spreading the understanding and providing the skills by which development will occur.

There is a large difference in the emphasis placed on adult education in socialist Tanzania because of the nature of socialism. In the first place, adult education is absolutely essential in spreading an understanding of socialism because it is such a break from the individualistic capitalism which was stressed for so many years in Tanzania. Socialism is an ideology that can only prosper if and when all Tanzanians themselves adopt it as their own--it demands enlightened masses. "You can impose capitalism, you can impose totalitarianism, but no one can impose socialism" (Ministry of National Education, 1972:11). Only when man sees and intelligently accepts socialist values will he become a committed socialist.

Tanzania's reasons for increasing the attention to adult education have been covered in the more general introductory chapter and need not be repeated here. What is important to note are the specific aims and objectives which have been put forward in official policy statements.

### AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The year 1970 was declared Adult Education Year by TANU. This was announced by President Nyerere in his New Year's Eve Speech to the nation which is found in the document Elimu Haina Mwisho (Education Never Ends). Adult Education has three objectives:

1. to shake ourselves out of a resignation to the kind of life  
Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past.
2. to learn how to improve our lives.
3. to understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance.

In discussing this first objective, Nyerere emphasizes the fact that people must become aware of what they as human beings can do for themselves. "Adult education," says Nyerere, "will make us recognise that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better tools and better health" (1971a:3). It is significant that this objective has been put first. It is important, for it points out the consequences of the colonial education policies beforehand and the oppressiveness of the methods of education which undermine men's ability in themselves to bring about change. The heavy emphasis on sub-servient values of the colonial period means that an

entirely new process of thinking has to be stressed. The effects of colonial education have created two problems which have to be overcome. The first is that of the adopted colonial habits of decision-making and leadership which placed the educated few in positions of extreme power and importance. It brought about habits, "In which one man gives the orders and the rest just obey them" (TANU, 1971c:4).

The other side of the situation concerns the "rest" who just obey.

Paulo Freire and Franz Fanon have dealt in depth with the concept of the colonized or oppressed mind (1972b, 1968). The culture of silence is that of the people who through habit or design feel outside of and alienated from the decisions of the state, their own nation. The combination of education and colonial ways of thinking created these two sides of a single problem. It is, therefore, the first objective of adult education to bring about the "liberation" from resignation and kasumba (colonial ways of thinking).

Nyerere's second objective is quite straight forward and logically follows the first. Skills are to be imparted to everyone who can benefit from them. The priority in skills follows the national priorities of rural development first. It is significant that in the Adult Education Year Speech, Nyerere did not stress literacy as a skill. He emphasized the importance of practical rural skills such as producing more food, modern methods of hygiene or making furniture. In the New Year's Speech for the following year, however, the importance of literacy as a first step in the education process was reinstated. Literacy was seen to have significant political importance, partic-

ularly in the form of a mass campaign which serves to mobilize vast numbers of people. The act of mobilization itself is a powerful unifying dynamic.

Learning and discussion of the national policies involved in ujamaa and self-reliance is the third objective put forward by Nyerere. The necessity of this is quite clear. Political education in Tanzania is seen as providing the basic motivation for full participation in many of the changes that are necessary to move ujamaa from theory to implementation. As has been pointed out previously, ujamaa, while rooted in traditional living patterns, is a major break from the capitalism which was developing in Tanzania. A thorough understanding of the new policies is absolutely necessary to the success of ujamaa. Defense purposes also require a high level of political understanding. As the Ministry of National Education has expressed it, "A politically conscious citizenry is the best custodian of national security" (1972:9).

After two and a half years of implementation, the Directorate of Adult Education within the Ministry of National Education outlined the national adult education objectives in a slightly more detailed manner.

1. to mobilise the rural the urban masses into a better understanding of our national policies of socialism and self-reliance.
2. to provide leadership training in various aspects of life at all levels.
3. to eradicate illiteracy.
4. to give knowledge and skills in agriculture and rural construction,

health and home economics that will raise the people's productivity and standard of living.

5. to provide follow-up education for primary and secondary school leavers with the view of settling them in ujamaa villages.
6. to provide continuing education to professionals at various stages in the form of seminars, evening classes, in-service training programmes, correspondence courses and vocational training. (1972:15)

#### THE NATURE OF ADULT EDUCATION

How do adults learn? What are good conditions for effective adult education? Who are the adult educators? What considerations should guide adult education regarding the content of their lessons? Either directly or by implication these questions among others have been dealt with in an official manner either by Nyerere himself or by the Ministry of National Education.

It should first be noted that adult education falls within the national educational policy as outlined in Education for Self-Reliance. This essay does not deal in much detail with the differences between adult education and youth education. Some of the points from Education for Self-Reliance which bear particular relevance to the adult education ideology include:

1. Education must be integrated with community life;
2. Education should prepare those education for the realities of rural life;

3. Education must encourage the growth of socialist values;
4. Both content and structure of education contribute significantly to the learning process.

Turning to a more specific reference to adult education, what can be said about the nature of the adult learner and the conditions under which he learns best?

On examination of the official policies on adult education, a number of principles about the nature of the adult learner and the adult education process emerge.

1. "As adults we can try to learn . . . . if we wish; we do not have to do so." (Elimu Haina Mwisho, 1971a:3).

The adult is a volunteer; he learns because he wants to learn. Adults learn those things which are interesting or those things which will improve their lives. This means then that unlike childhood education which stresses the role of the teacher as the selector of knowledge and the teacher of knowledge, adult education necessarily begins from the needs of the adults. To this aim local adult education committees are set up in each ward in Tanzania.

2. "With adults, even more than with children, learning must be seen to be problem-solving, and the problems must be ones which they know and experience." (Kawawa, 1973a:13)

Whether adult education takes place in classroom settings or elsewhere in more informal situations, the stress is on teaching through the solution of problem which the farmers or workers actually recognize themselves. Of

course it is admitted that people may not be aware of certain situations on a conscious level. In cases such as these, a raising of the consciousness is necessary, perhaps in a manner similar to that used by Freire in his literacy classes in Brazil--"conscientisation." Political education is seen as an integral part of the entire adult education process, the first step in the motivation of adults for change.

3. "Adult educators should recognise that they can learn from the people they are teaching." (Kawawa, 1973a:15)

The teacher of adults is not encouraged to be an absolute authority on all knowledge. The tradition of depending on the teacher for knowledge is a very strong force in Tanzania where the use of the name Mwalimu (teacher) is often a lifetime title. This tendency is criticized, and instead teachers are encouraged to participate in practical activities with the people, "And not to think of themselves as a separate kind of person" (Kawawa, 1973a:15). An agricultural teacher should work with the people in the field to improve the yield or quality of the crop. The health auxiliary can do much with the villagers in working towards improved health practices in the village.

4. "If we are to make real progress in adult education, it is essential that we should stop trying to divide up life into sections--one for education and another one for work." (Nyerere, Ten Years After Independence, 1971b:32)

There is a continuing theme throughout official statements about the need for learning to be integrated into all working situations. All factories have been strongly urged to implement workers' education programs as an integral part of the working situation. "People," noted the Vice-President,

"must learn as they do and also do as they learn" (Kawawa, 1973:13). Every adult in the nation would become a "learning station" as education becomes enmeshed in the day-to-day activities of people in most kinds of work. The separation of living into segments leads to an artificial situation in which that which is learned, or still more likely, that which is taught is not related to the actual conditions and the realistic problems of the area. Education falls easily into the realm of the theoretical. What can be learned is that which is written in books. Adult education remains an area for adults to "catch up" in an entire set of subjects which were poorly designed by someone else for primary school-age children. Much of the "fundamental education" of the late 1950's and early 1960's fell into this category. Guidelines at least exist for alternatives in Tanzania, although implementation is still in early stages.

5. "Adult education should be work-oriented the way our ancestors had it." (Ministry of National Education, 1972:9)

Traditional African education was not separated as rigidly into childhood and adult education. Education was linked to one's work. One learned what was socially and economically necessary as it was needed in a more continuous stream from childhood through old age. The dichotomy between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge has developed after the importation of Western concepts of education. There certainly was no reward for knowledge which could not be proven useful in the village!

Work-oriented adult education then is seen by Tanzania not as an importation by Unesco/UNDP for the functional literacy project in Mwanza



near Lake Victoria, but as an outgrowth of traditional adult education. All of the literacy primers in use in Tanzania in 1973 were tied to agricultural economic areas. They all stress crop improvements through modern farming methods.<sup>1</sup>

To summarize, adult education is seen as a broad area of learning activities with emphasis on the arousal or awakening of adults' awareness of their realities and their abilities to change these realities. Adult education is seen as a key to socialist development. Further, it is viewed from a practical, problem-solving, point of view. Teachers and students are encouraged to learn from each other and with each other. As much as possible, adult education should be integrated into life and not a segment of life. Adult education should not be something done instead of working, it should be integrated into the needs of each area and group. The education of adults in Tanzania is in its ideological purity, flexible, practical and integrated into the reality of the nation.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Functional, work-oriented literacy primers have been prepared on: tobacco, maize, cashew nuts, coconuts, tea, cassava, wheat, sugar, sanitation, pig raising, forestry and some health topics.

CHAPTER VI  
ADULT EDUCATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT:  
ORGANIZATION AND APPROACHES

The first priority for Tanzanian development is to increase the productivity and the quality of life in the rural sector of the nation. The logic of this choice has been explained in the Arusha Declaration and in Socialism and Rural Development. Rural development is not a single factor in development; it involves change with very wide areas of habits and customs. It means many different kinds of education. As it was pointed out in the current Five Year Plan, it has been decided to approach rural development on a frontal basis rather than emphasizing one aspect of rural development first, another at a later date and still another at a future time. In other words, single factor development of agriculture or marketing or an improved water supply will not by itself bring about development in as rapid a manner as integrated development of many sectors together. Such a frontal attack calls for the implementation of ujamaa villages, improvement of agricultural techniques, education for better health, increased cooperation in the production, marketing and consumption of goods, the training of administrators and planners as well as increased involvement of the people in their own plans. Adult education is central to this developmental process and can be

understood in this context best by looking at the component sectors of rural development.

### IMPLEMENTATION OF UJAMAA

There are two organizations which are specifically involved in education for the implementation of ujamaa and self-reliance--TANU political education department and ujamaa village department of the Rural Development Division of the Prime Minister's Office. The latter division was formerly within the Ministry of Rural Development and Regional Administration, but was transferred to the Prime Minister's Office as a result of the governmental decentralization in July, 1972.

The TANU political education section is concerned with spreading the official policies of TANU either directly through series of seminars held at all levels of administration and in all areas of the country or indirectly through the provision of materials to those political education teachers who have been approved by TANU and are teaching in the Ministry of National Education system. One indication of the integration of the Party and Governmental concerns is seen by the fact that all of the District Education Officers for Adult Education (about 70) are also TANU political education officers. These men were selected from the ranks of school teachers who had previously attended one or more courses at Kivukoni College. Kivukoni College operates directly under the Central Committee of TANU and provides most of the full time political education teachers for TANU and other organizations teaching political education such as the cooperative movement.

An example of a typical adult education program organized and taught by TANU is the 1972 campaign on Siasa ni Kilimo (Politics in Agriculture). The TANU Annual Conference in May, 1972, after discussing agricultural progress in Tanzania, issued a statement sometimes called the "Iringa Revolution" after the name of the town where the statement was deliberated. In essence the document argued that it is impossible to separate politics from discussion of improvements in agriculture. The choices made in agricultural decisions are very much political decisions. Farming individually or cooperatively is a clear example of this. The document went on further to say that agricultural productivity in Tanzania is too low and that many poor agricultural practices have continued despite the availability of new knowledge and materials. TANU, therefore, pledged itself to a mass education campaign to bring the importance of improved agriculture to all sectors of the population.

This message was spread by a series of seminars. A series of national seminars were held in which the basic message of Siasa ni Kilimo was explained and further seminars were planned. These people then carried out a series of regional seminars where the same message was discussed. Within each region, political education officers, agricultural officers and adult education officers organized a further series of district seminars. In some areas the seminars reached the division level. For the most part, the participants in the seminars were the officials in the various ministries and parastatals. The idea was that each of these officers would be responsible

for taking the message back to his own organization. In practice the practical agricultural education which could have accompanied Siasa ni Kilimo did not reach many farmers. The campaign did, however, raise the level of mass concern about the state of agricultural production in most areas of Tanzania. A more thorough follow-up of the campaign by the agricultural education section in the Ministry of Agriculture could build on the increased concern. In this, as in other campaigns, the Party serves best as a mobilizing force. The system of ten house cell leaders makes efficient communication possible in both directions between the center and local areas.

TANU performs similar mobilizing tasks in the National Literacy Campaign and the 'Man is Health' radio study group campaign organized under the joint auspices of the Ministry of Health, Ministry of National Education and the Prime Minister's Office and administered by the Institute of Adult Education of the University of Dar es Salaam.

The Rural Development Division of the Prime Minister's Office is the second organization with specific duties regarding implementation of ujamaa. They are concerned with bringing two kinds of skills to the rural areas: technical skills and ideological skills. Both skills are needed in order to foster development. The ideological education provides incentive and motivation for cooperation while the technical skills provide the means for turning ideology into action.

## RURAL TRAINING CENTERS

In order for these skills to be implemented in ujamaa villages, training of local leaders must occur. These leaders are trained through a network of thirty-five rural training centers (RTC's). Each of these centers provides residential and meeting facilities for from twenty-five to forty participants.

The facilities are made available to various ministries and organizations which request space to hold specialized courses. Requests for the facilities are channeled through the management committees of each RTC chaired by the Area Commissioner of the District. These committees are guided by the Regional Development Plans, whenever these are applicable, in allocating priorities to one type of course or another.

The participants who are chosen to attend the various courses offered at the RTC's are for the most part leaders from ujamaa villages.

Occasionally shorter seminars and workshops are organized as well at the RTC's. There are at present thirty-five rural training centers which in 1970 ran 450 courses for 10,200 men and 2,500 women. In many cases the participants are members of specialized work groups and are able to pass on the skills to others on returning.

## SUBJECTS OFFERED

It is intended that the RTC's should serve as a forum for the provision of skills that will assist the farmer in his own environment. In practice the centers limit themselves to political ideology (policy and practices of ujamaa), agricultural skills and rural technical skills. The area of rural technical

skills is being expanded and consists of such subjects as brick-making, carpentry, building chicken houses, putting on roofs and making furniture.

Table 8 shows the type of courses offered and the number of participants who specialized in each subject. It is usual that participants take more than one subject at a time.

TABLE 8  
ENROLLMENT IN RURAL TRAINING CENTER COURSES

<u>Courses</u>	<u>Number of Participants</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Socialism and Political Education	5,925	46.5
Agriculture	5,076	39.9
Cooperation, Health, Leadership and others	4,692	36.8
Rural Technical Skills	937	7.4

\*Source: Ministry of Rural Development and Local Administration

#### OTHER EDUCATION ON UJAMAA

The other agency which is involved in the dissemination of knowledge and information about the policies and practices of ujamaa is the Co-operative Education Centre, the educational wing of the Co-operative Union of Tanzania. From the central office in Moshi, a series of correspondence courses have been organized for those involved in the cooperative movement. One of the



courses required for cooperative civil servants is on ujamaa. There are also a number of Co-operative Education wings throughout the nation which offer shorter courses from time to time on the policies of ujamaa and the relationship of ujamaa to the cooperative movement.

### COOPERATIVE EDUCATION

The cooperative movement carries out education for three levels of participants in the movement: members, committeemen and staff. In each of the more than 1,700 primary cooperative societies throughout the country there are education secretaries who are responsible for some education activities in the local society. The largest number of people in the movement is of course the members, but with ten committeemen in each society, there are nearly 17,000 who are responsible for management and policy decisions. The full-time staff members form the smallest group, but because of their permanent position, they are very important for training purposes.

The agencies involved in the field of cooperative education are the Co-operative Union of Tanzania, with its educational wing, the Co-operative Education Centre (CEC) and the Co-operative College under the direction of the Rural Development and Co-operative Division of the Prime Minister's Office. The CEC produces correspondence course, radio programs and courses and seminars for those in the field. The CEC is organized with a system of regional centers known in the field. In 1972 there were ten wings working closely with the education secretaries of the cooperative unions.

There are usually two people attached to each wing with good transportation and materials available.

Working very closely with the CEC is the Co-operative College also located in Moshi. The College offers residential courses for committeemen and staff members who have completed the correspondence work set by CEC. There are residential facilities for 300 participants at a time.

#### COURSES OFFERED

For committeemen, offerings have focused on three complimentary approaches: correspondence studies through study groups, week-long courses for chairmen and vice chairmen and longer courses for the education secretaries. The courses include such areas as: "How to read a balance sheet," and "Vijiji vya Ujamaa" (Ujamaa villages). The study group method is used with between ten and fifteen members in each group. Those who complete the courses and the week-long seminars are eligible to take courses in the College.

For staff in the cooperative movement, the courses are in some ways similar. They, too, have the opportunity to take the correspondence units in groups, but there are a large number of residential courses which are offered by the College in Moshi. These include subjects such as management, accounting, book-keeping, store keeping, agricultural supply and administration.

## INTEGRATION

The cooperative movement offers an excellent example of a balanced adult education program. There are provisions for all participants in the movement to receive some form of education by several different methods. The focus of all of the activities in this area of adult education is on the increased efficiency and distribution of cooperative societies and with it the promotion of the development of the rural areas.

## AGRICULTURAL ADULT EDUCATION

There are several organizations which provide agricultural education for farmers: the Lushoto Integrated Development Project, the Prime Minister's Office, National Service and the Ministry of Agriculture. The last three organizations are the only ones operating on a national scale. Agricultural education has been given a high priority since the TANU conference in Iringa in May, 1972 with its adoption of Siasa ni Kilimo and the subsequent political education campaign by TANU to emphasize the importance of agriculture to development. The complexity and importance of this task may present one of the most challenging problems to adult education in Tanzania.

## INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING

As has been pointed out previously, rural training centers were created in 1969 by combining the fourteen already existing farmers' training centers and the district training centers falling under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Rural Development. Despite the fact that all of the RTC's were

to have broadened their programs and begun offering similar integrated rural development programs to the people in their catchment areas, the former FTC's still offer the largest portion of the institutional agricultural education to adults. This is partly so because these institutions already had farms and fields attached to them, while the former district training centers may be located in areas which are most unsuited for farm demonstrations.

Short intensive courses mainly of a practical nature of one or two weeks' duration are offered to practicing farmers in the area. The courses are normally confined to one or two main subjects or aspects of subjects which have been drawn up ahead of time by the extension agents and the RTC staff according to district and regional agricultural priorities.

Emphasis in the courses offered by the former FTC's has been on modern farming concepts which do not stress the use of single agricultural innovations such as proper spacing of plants or the use of fertilizer alone, but rather emphasize the importance of the "package" approach to agriculture.

This latter approach means that in those areas where maize is a crop priority, the farmers are taught the importance of selecting good seeds, planting early, using fertilizer, using insect sprays and weeding several times during the season. The inter-relationship of these practices is stressed for overall crop yield improvements. The most recent evaluation of some of the farm training centers has been carried out for the Research and Training Division of the Ministry of Agriculture by a Nordic research team and has pointed out that while it seems clear that a great many single innovations have been

adopted by the former participants in the FTC's, "The great question is if many of the FTC's really have been able to introduce a modern view of agriculture" (Petrini, 1970:134). There is evidence that at least in the case of maize, the training has been successful in that there is a significant difference between those who have attended the courses, their neighbors and others in the district with regard to positive adoption of the maize package.

There were more than 5,000 participants in agriculture courses in the RTC's in 1970. Most of these participants were chosen from ujamaa villages. The procedure followed is that the village committee is sent a notice by the head of the course and is told that there will be a course on some particular subjects on a specific date in the future. The village committee is asked to select someone from the village who meets the necessary criteria for selection to participate in the course. The criteria vary according to the course, but they most often consist of literacy/non-literacy or male/female choices. This selection procedure has changed since the pre-Arusha Declaration days. It was the former practice, particularly in the area of agricultural courses, to select a "progressive" farmer to attend. The idea being that the progressive farmer would be more likely to adopt the practices and would then improve his yield much more than a less "progressive" farmer. After some discussion within the Ministries, however, it was pointed out that this practice was leading to increased class development, as the well-off individuals were given the benefits which would allow them to be even better off. It was decided, therefore, that an emphasis should be

placed on group farming practices if possible, and that those from communal villages should be given priority regardless of their so-called progressive-ness.

Another institution involved in agricultural education for young adults is the National Service. Each year, 6,000 young men and women go to ten-month courses at a number of national service camps where there is a heavy emphasis on agriculture. Agricultural officers work with the young people who are about 15 to 17 years old in a combination of theoretical classroom work and practical application in the fields. On completion of their camp phase of training, these young men and women spend a fixed length of time in various ujamaa villages, and following the termination of the service, return home to more productive lives as farmers.

#### EXTENSION AGENTS

A second type of agricultural education occurs through the advice and offices of "Bwana Shamba" in an informal manner. For a long time the agricultural extension workers have borne the main responsibility for agricultural education in the country. For many farmers, "Bwana Shamba" has been the only contact with anyone who has more agricultural knowledge than the farmers themselves. This contact has been understandably limited because of the shortage of extension workers. In 1970, there was a ratio of one extension worker to every 5,000 farmers in rural Tanzania (Ukiriguru, 1970:3). Even if we assume for the moment that all farmers are equally

accessible, this would amount to one four-hour visit per farmer per year.

Partly because of this very low ratio of trained agricultural workers to farmers and partly for political reasons, the Ministry of Agriculture is now saying that all extension work must be carried out with groups of farmers, not individuals. Most ujamaa villages for example have an agricultural agent living there as well as a school teacher and a rural development assistant.

The job of these agents is to pass on the agricultural information that the Ministry decides is useful and relevant as a result of the experimentation and research at institutions in Tanzania and sometimes elsewhere.

They are also responsible for following up the work of the agricultural instructors in the RTC's whenever possible. It would be less than candid, however, to present their work as free from problems. In recent years, there has been growing criticism of the effectiveness of the agricultural agents (Saylor, 1970). Some of the criticism stems from the low level of agricultural knowledge which many of the extension agents exhibit, other criticism stems from the roles which some Bwana Shambas assume while living in the field.<sup>1</sup> A still further criticism stems from the epistemological assumptions in the entire extension approach which assumes that the local farmer is in fact lacking in agricultural sense and generally reluctant to try new innovations (Raikes and Meynen, 1972). The agricultural education offerings for adults that the Ministry of Agriculture is concerned with are undergoing considerable review and will most likely be changing.

## MASS MEDIA IN AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

Another way that the Ministry of Agriculture uses to reach the farmers is through the publication of a rural newspaper called Ukulima wa Kisasa (Modern Farming). This newspaper is printed in larger than normal type and is filled with practical information for the farmer. It contains stories, letters to the editors and advice on many aspects of planting, fertilizers and insect sprays. Published monthly, the paper is sold for about two U. S. cents per copy and is distributed through the extension agents. In 1968, estimates placed the readership at over 100,000 people, making it the most widely distributed paper in the country! Accompanying the newspaper is an entire series of leaflets which give more detailed instructions in various farming practices. In addition to the newspaper, there are three weekly radio programs: "Mkulima wa Kisasa" (The Modern Farmer), "Shambani Wiki Hii" (This Week at the Farm) and "Chakula Bora" (Better Food). Petrini estimated in 1969 that 50 per cent of the farmers had access to the radio (1970:59), but later estimates have put radio listenership at 60 per cent of the adult population with expectations that over the next five years, this will grow to 80 per cent (Hall and Lucas, 1973).

The Research and Training section of the Ministry is in the process of developing a pilot project for agricultural improvement that will utilize organized radio listening groups, trained group leaders, agricultural extension agents and demonstration plots. The original pilot area will most likely be the four regions near Lake Victoria which have been involved in the



functional literacy campaign.

### HEALTH EDUCATION

Disease, poverty and lack of knowledge are all interwoven factors which affect development. The importance of health education is noted in the development of the frontal education attack towards better lives.

The central agency in the health education program is the health education unit of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. This unit operates with a staff of about twenty people. The staff is organized along medical specialties such as mother and child care, nutrition, dentistry, community health and general health. This unit is responsible for the training of health educators as well as the production of radio programs and visual aids for wide use.

The unit provides training in health education to school teachers, rural medical aids and extension officers in other ministries. The main emphasis in health education is the prevention of disease. Health service in general has been moving towards preventive rather than curative medicine in line with the national policies.

As the role of health service shifts to prevention and education, the role of the person who is in charge of the village dispensary also changes. In the past, it was enough for the rural medical aid to know what kind of treatment to give for each ailment. When working in the area of prevention,

it is necessary to know something about communicating with adults as well as the causes of the problems and their solutions. This has placed a heavy burden on many, but has meant that adult education has been added to the training of rural medical aids.

#### NATIONAL HEALTH EDUCATION CAMPAIGN

The largest mass adult education to be carried out in Tanzania has been on the subject of health education. The "Man is Health" Campaign was organized in 1973 under the joint auspices of the Institute of Adult Education, the Ministry of National Education, the Prime Minister's Office and the Health Education Unit of the Ministry of Health. The object of this campaign was to reach more than one million rural adults through 75,000 organized listening groups with a message about how to prevent five common diseases through environmental change and preventive medical measures such as vaccination or the use of malarial preventatives. The campaign made use of weekly radio programs, printed materials, study guides and special booklets for the study group leaders which dealt with specific instructions for running each discussion. The emphasis in the campaign was on discussion of the relevant health problems in the area and then decisions about what could be done to alleviate the situation. Many practical suggestions such as increasing the size of windows, building a latrine, filling in the holes where mosquitoes breed and killing the snails which carry bilharzia were put forward for the group members to discuss. One of the most important objectives of the campaign was to make it possible for people to see that they had some control.

over matters of health and that they were not simply at God's mercy or being punished by others when they suffered from a disease. As one group member from the Island of Mafia near Dar es Salaam noted regarding malaria, "We knew about malaria, but we never knew that mosquitoes were bringing this disease. We want to die of old age, not of disease" (Institute of Adult Education, 1973b). Although it is still too early to evaluate the impact of the campaign, it is clear that health education has received a tremendous boost from this campaign and that all rural adult education is likely to be affected because of this.

#### UNION OF WOMEN OF TANZANIA (UWT)

Although women participate very actively in all of the educational programs including the agricultural programs, one of the affiliates of TANU, UWT, focuses on the needs of women. The objectives of the organization are:

1. To bring together all the women in mainland Tanzania so that they can think, speak and act together.
2. To preserve and propagate the good reputation of our nation.
3. To encourage the active participation of women in the economic, political, and social activities of the nation and the world.
4. To liaise and cooperate with the Government and the Party on all matters which are of special concern to women.
5. To campaign for and preserve the rights and dignity of women in our nation and in the rest of Africa and the world.

6. In order to achieve the objectives, the organization will seek to cooperate and liaise with other organizations in the world whose aims are similar or close to those of UWT. The color, creed or racial background of the members of such organizations will not stand in the way of cooperation, provided that the policies and objectives being followed are deeply worked in socialism, in equality and in self-reliance.

These objectives are a real challenge to all educated women in Tanzania where the education of the women is much behind that of men. The adult classes in the rural areas are predominated by women. The explanation is that they want to catch up. The majority of the population in Tanzania consists of women and most of them are illiterate. UWT has the great task of encouraging the women to join adult education programs. UWT constantly reminds the educated few to play their role in assisting the less fortunate by actively volunteering to teach in the adult education classes.

Through its committees all over the country, UWT actually undertakes programs in the teaching of skills and handicrafts, cottage industries, poultry farming, gardening, and cooperative farming and management. UWT tries to tackle the problems of women and children by organizing nursery schools. It tries to provide hostels for the unmarried women and the working girls in the cities.

TRAINING OF ADMINISTRATORS AND MANAGEMENT  
FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The pressure on ministries and agencies to create improvements in rural Tanzania means that leaders and administrators must be trained who are well versed in the theories of development and skilled in managerial areas. In 1971, the Institute for Development Management opened at Mzumbe under the Central Establishment Division of the Office of the President. IDM will eventually have its own autonomous governing board.

IDM represents the first step in an effort to coordinate training efforts in management. It is a combination of the former Institute of Public Administration and the Local Government Training Centre. The aims of the Institute are:

- (1) To conduct training programs in the field of management, public administration of justice, accountancy, secretaryship, local government and rural development.
- (2) To undertake consultancy services on behalf of the Government, local government authorities and parastatal organizations.
- (3) To undertake research into operational and organizational problems and training needs in these fields, including evaluation of results achieved by training programs.
- (4) To sponsor and arrange conferences and seminars in the fields referred to above and produce publications in these fields relevant to the Institute's other functions.

IDM is a residential facility which in 1972 had an enrollment of 240 in courses which included some adult education. There has been some discussion of establishing links between IDM and the National Institute of Productivity which is discussed elsewhere in this paper. Table 9 lists the courses given and the number of streams in each course by departments.

TABLE 9  
SUBJECTS AND NUMBER OF STREAMS AT THE INSTITUTE  
OF DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

	<u>1972/73</u>	<u>1973/74</u>	<u>1975/76</u>
Diploma in Public Administration	2	2	2
Other Public Administration	---	1	1
General Management	---	1	2
Other Management	---	1	2
Professional Secretaryship	2	5	10
Professional Accountantship	2	6	15
Diploma in Rural Development	2	3	4
Local Government	1	2	3
Magistrates and Court Clerks	2	2	3
Total Number of Course Streams	<u>11</u>	23	42
Total Number of Teachers	22	42	85

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Source: 1972 Manpower Report to the President.

## KIVUKONI COLLEGE

One of the agencies which has been involved in the educating of leaders for many years is Kivukoni College. Kivukoni College has developed from a college of liberal education for mature students to the center for political education in Tanzania. The post-Arusha developments at Kivukoni assured the College of a unique place in the Tanzania education system. The College aims at training individuals for responsible leadership by providing education in the social sciences--that is, political education, economics, history, and sociology with an emphasis on Tanzanian development. There are no minimum educational qualifications laid down but selection is made from mature men and women in leadership positions. Most of the students are TANU officials, civil servants or teachers.

Although Kivukoni is the center for a number of short courses and seminar, the basic courses during the year are a nine-month course with 50 participants and three-month courses with seventy participants each.

All are residential. The following subjects are taught: (all work is carried out in Kiswahili).

### Politics

The principles and practice of politics

Socialism and self-reliance

Public administration and government

African politics

### Economics

An introduction to economics

Development economics

Public finance

Agricultural development

Industrial development in Tanzania

### History

Africa

East Africa

Tanzania

### Sociology

Introduction to social development

Socio-economic analysis of Tanzania

Mobilization of the people for economic and social change

Building a socialist society

There has been strong emphasis at Kivukoni on integrating the theories of socialism and self-reliance into the daily life of the school. Kivukoni has been in the forefront of socialist innovation in Tanzania for many years. The concept of collective farming was being practiced there before it became Government policy. Today self-reliance finds expression in the involvement of the students in cleaning and washing of their own dishes. They also work



on the school farms where cattle and chicken, cashew nut, coconut trees, pineapple, citrus, paw paw and vegetables are raised. Most of the food consumed by the students is provided from the school farms. The students also spend several weeks in ujamaa villages in practical application.

#### IMPACT OF KIVUKONI

Nearly every leader in Tanzania has taken part in courses at Kivukoni College. It has remained since its inception closely tied to the Party and had been the model for other leadership education centers both in Tanzania and in other parts of Africa.

In February, 1973, the Central Committee of TANU decided that Kivukoni College should be reorganized as a high level ideological institute and that it should fall directly under the supervision of the Central Committee. It was further suggested that Kivukoni be expanded and regional centers be built outside of Dar es Salaam in order to be able to teach many more people than it presently does. It has also been decided that the subject of adult education will be added to the College syllabus in order to make sure that these people trained as political educators will know something about the techniques and approaches in adult teaching.

It can be seen that just as the development process in rural areas must be carried out on a frontal or horizontal basis in many fields, so adult education which seeks to operate directly in fields of rural development must cover as many fields of development as possible. Political and economic

motivation is provided for the formation of ujámaa villages and producer cooperatives by TANU, the rural development division of the Prime Minister's Office and the cooperative movement. Skills for modernization are provided by Ministry of Agriculture extension officers and rural training center short courses. The Ministry of Health in cooperation with others provides information on the prevention of disease. Rural administrators are trained in the Institute for Development Management and leaders from all parts of the nation are given ideological education and motivation at Kivukoni College. All of the agencies are loosely integrated by virtue of their common understanding of the national development objectives.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>A particularly enlightening study relating to this is in the form of video-tape interviews of village committee members and district extension agents in Tanga region done by the Tanzania Year 16 Project.

CHAPTER VII  
ADULT EDUCATION, WORKERS' EDUCATION  
AND PRODUCTIVITY

INTRODUCTION

Although Tanzania has put primary emphasis on development through agriculture in the rural areas, the development of the non-agricultural sector has not been ignored. In terms of wage or salaried employment, the non-agricultural sector accounts for nearly three-fourths of the total work force (Manpower Planning, 1972:1). According to long-term growth projections, the non-agricultural wage and salary sector will continue to grow in absolute terms--that is, in terms of the number of people involved. This would be expected as development plans call for investment in basic industries as economic surplus becomes available from agricultural production. Emphasis at this stage of industrial development is on introducing and encouraging those factories and industries which produce items that can replace products which are not imported. The development of the textile industry is an example of how the nation will be self-sufficient in cotton cloth by 1974.

There is an interest, therefore, in operating as efficiently as possible and in raising the productivity in existing industries, a task which requires education of both management and workers. Even more important, however,

is the task of educating workers for participation in management decisions and for eventual control of the factories. As was made clear in the Arusha Declaration, the means of production are to be put in the hands of the people. In the case of industrial production, this means a very large educational effort. The vast majority of workers in Dar es Salaam and the lesser centers have not had formal schooling. As President Nyerere said in Presidential Circular No. 1, which established workers' councils,

When we expanded public ownership so rapidly after the Arusha Declaration, we inevitably--and rightly--concentrated first on the sheer mechanics of setting up, or taking over, economic concerns. We, therefore, followed in our public enterprises the same work customs as we had learned from the traditional capitalist enterprises. (Kinyondo, et al., 1973:2)

The main task in the field of workers' education since the Presidential Circular in 1970 has been the educational task which was outlined in the circular so as to bring the operation and control of Tanzanian industry closer to the principles and aims of development as expressed in the Arusha Declaration and the TANU Party Guidelines of 1971. This task has consisted in the early stages of establishing workers' councils.

Workers' councils are to be established, "so as to give practical effect to workers' representation and participation in planning, productivity, quality and marketing matters" (Presidential Circular, 1970:3). The exact functions of the workers' council are outlined below as per Presidential Circular No. 1:

1. to advise on the requirements of the existing wages and income policy as announced by Government from time to time;
2. to advise on the marketing aspects of the commodity produced;
3. to advise on matters relating to the quality and quantity of the commodity produced;
4. to advise on other aspects of productivity, such as workers' and enterprise organisations, technical knowledge, workers' education, etc.
5. to receive and to discuss the Balance Sheet.  
(Presidential Circular, 1970:5)

The most systematic programs in workers' education have been those connected with the implementation of the workers' council.

PRIME MINISTER'S DIRECTIVE, JULY, 1973

Although the Presidential Circular of February, 1970, called for the establishment of workers' councils, it did not call for the establishment of comprehensive workers' education in the factories. It was not until July, 1973, that the Prime Minister's Office issued a directive calling for all factories, parastatals, government offices, TANU affiliates and East African Community institutions to implement programs in workers' education (Kawawa, 1973b:3-4).

The following main points of the Directive have been roughly translated from the Kiswahili original document:

1. All parastatals, city councils, development corporations, government offices, TANU and affiliated organizations, cooperatives, East African community and private companies must establish

plans for the education of all employees beginning with reading and writing through other skills;

2. There must be a workers' education officer for each organization;
3. Each organization must establish financial provision for the purposes of workers' education;
4. Reports of the plans and development in this area must be sent to the Regional Adult Education Coordination for presentation to the Regional Adult Education Committee and to the Ministries of Labour and Adult Education;
5. Each organization must allow one hour of work time per day for educational purposes;
6. Non-attendance in classes will be taken the same as non-attendance at work;
7. Officials from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare have the right to inspect any organization to see that the plan are being implemented.

#### PROGRAMS IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

The two circulars mentioned provide the official basis for the workers' education movement in Tanzania. In carrying out the program, a number of institutions involved were the National Institute of Productivity, NUTA (the trade union) and the Institute of Adult Education. The National Institute of Productivity has been concerned with the education of workers' councils, NUTA with face-to-face teaching on the shop floor and the Institute of Adult Education with the training of workers' education teachers.

#### NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PRODUCTIVITY

The National Institute organized a workers' education section in 1969

with the assistance of an ILD team of specialists. It was this section which began immediately in 1970 to implement a program to provide the necessary background for workers' councils to operate. NIP developed what it called a "short term program" which consisted of seminars for the members of workers' councils. The content of the seminars as outlined in the Guide to Workers' Education focused on the following:

- a) the political ideology and policy of TANU;
  - b) labor management relations (including labor legislation);
  - c) elementary economics;
  - d) wage policy;
  - e) NUTA;
  - f) literacy;
  - g) how to read a balance sheet
  - h) Presidential Circular No. 1 of 1970;
  - i) the structure and functions of the organization concerned
- (Kinyondo, 1973:19).

When put into practice there was sometimes some deviation from the official syllabus as Mapolu has pointed out in his paper on The Organization and Participation of Workers in Tanzania (1972:25). He outlines the syllabus for one of the actual training courses as follows:

- a) politics--12 hours
- b) Presidential Circular No. 1--14 hours
- c) NUTA--12 hours



- d) wages and productivity policies--15 hours
- e) industrial relations--10 hours
- f) work safety--10 hours

Literacy, reading the balance sheet and elementary economics were not apparently taught in all cases. The actual teaching of literacy was most often left to NUTA. From February, 1968, to May, 1969, N. I. P. organized thirty-three courses for workers' committees, workers' councils or workers' education officers. By this same date, 118 workers' education officers had been trained by N. I. P. (Nordahl, 1973: Appendix 5).

#### NUTA AND THE INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION

NUTA has the responsibility of organizing and carrying out education in various subjects of all the workers in industries. To this effect, NUTA has organized in cooperation with the Institute of Adult Education seminars for voluntary teachers. Many of the large factories have already developed extensive programs. Friendship Textiles in Dar es Salaam has trained teachers through NUTA and the Institute of Adult Education for all the employees (over 3,000) of the factory. NUTA also pays the fees for workers to attend evening classes in the Institute of Adult Education in Dar es Salaam and various other regional centers. It must be noted, however, that until the Prime Minister's Directive calling for compulsory adult education in the factories, NUTA had faced problems in establishing a widespread and consistent program. Mapolu has noted in his study of workers' participation that the biggest problem faced in establishing educational opportunities has

been, "non-cooperation by management" (1972:27). This may change at least as far as literacy and basic education is concerned. Shortly after the Prime Minister's Directive in August, 1973, an advertisement was taken out by one of the companies with a photograph of its employees in a literacy class. The spirit of education is penetrating at least the surface of management's skin.

The Institute of Adult Education also cooperates with N. I. P. in training the highest level workers' education officers. The I. A. E. offers a special course in workers' education from six to ten students from various industries and organizations per year as part of the Diploma Course in Adult Education. An introduction to workers' education is taught to all Diploma Course students.

#### WORKERS' EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

It has been noted that many organizations participate in workers' education. There exists some overlap of programs and a lack of overall coordination for these efforts. Plans exist for the creation of a workers' education department which will, when implemented, bring workers' education under one department which will be directly responsible to the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (Nordahl, 1973:Appendix 6). The objectives of the new department would be:

1. to formulate and implement government policy on workers' education in general and workers' participation in participation;

2. to act as a coordinating centre of workers and management relations insofar as workers' education and participation are concerned;
3. to act as an information and research centre in labour management relations insofar as workers' education and workers' participation are concerned;
4. to assist employers in planning, directing and controlling workers' training programmes at national, regional and plant levels. (Nordahl, 1973:Appendix 6)

The nucleus for new department is the already existing workers' education section of N. I. P. This unit has been selected as it has the most overall experience in the field and already functions as the coordinator of training for workers' education officers. The time table for establishing the department is roughly described below:

1972/73--Establishment of the department at headquarters.

1972/73--Establishment of a few zonal offices (possibly Mwanza and Tanga).

1972/73--Project preparation for technical assistance.

1973/74--Completion of zonal establishment.

1974/75--Beginning of regional offices.

1975/76--Completion of regional of regional establishment.

#### TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Until recently the major responsibility for training industrial workers was held in the hands of the employers. The government assisted the companies in their training programs. This policy is undergoing some change now as a result of several developments:

1. Most of the larger enterprises (parastatals) are now controlled and in some cases operated by the government. It is not clear as yet how much training responsibility is to be assumed by these enterprises. Surveys are being made of skilled manpower needs, and outside consulting firms have been brought in to set up personnel development systems.
2. There is a great need for craftsmen and technicians in the ujamaa villages and rural towns, and this need will increase as villages begin to use farm machines and electrical equipment to build modern homes and to operate cooperative shops. The manpower surveys to date, however, have not covered this area. At present, there is little firm data either on the numbers of persons required, the nature of the skills which are most appropriate or the means of selection and training. Whether the technical training institutions or the secondary schools now oriented to the modern sector are equipped to train the kinds of craftsmen needed in the village is doubtful. (Overseas Liaison, 1971:63)

#### NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL TRAINING PROGRAM

NIT was started in 1968 with an agreement between UNDP, ILO and the Tanzanian government to establish and operate a program for developing persons with skills in electricity, building, auto mechanics, fitting, welding and plumbing. The operational program now consists of three parts: (1) a

two-year course at the National Industrial Training Centre in Dar es Salaam for school leavers, (2) evening classes for employed craftsmen and instructors and (3) a trade testing program.

#### SCHOOL LEAVERS

The Standard VII school leavers who are selected for the two-year course in Dar es Salaam have already spent three months in the National Service. This is another example of links and coordination which build up in areas of national priority. The trainees live in the national service camp for the entire two-year program. The first twelve months being a combination of theory and practice in the various specialities while the second twelve months is an apprenticeship program with an employer. In order to maintain close contacts with the employers, a National Industrial Training Council has been established to advise the Centre on curriculae and policies.

#### EVENING CLASSES FOR EMPLOYED CRAFTSMEN

In 1970, there were 3,220 individuals who took part in the evening classes for craftsmen operating in Dar es Salaam and twenty-four towns outside the capital. The classes are usually held in primary schools and cost thirty to forty shillings each. In 1970, 86 per cent of the enrollees completed their six-month courses. Many of those who took the courses were able to pass the trade tests in their areas of speciality.

Instructors are selected from workers who have five years or more experience and some technical education. They are trained in Dar es Salaam

for two months in teaching methods for adults and up-grading of their own skills. In the beginning of 1972, sixty-five instructors had been trained.

#### TRADE TESTING

Twice a year, the Centre tests in all six of the trades in three up-country centers. The addition of mobile testing centers will increase the opportunities for other craftsmen to test themselves. The tests are of great help both to the craftsman and the employer in establishing and maintaining high skill levels. The testing also helps to standardize the levels of graduates from many of the mission trade schools throughout the country.

#### TECHNICAL COLLEGE

The Dar es Salaam Technical College was started in 1965 in order to cater for the training of middle and upper level technicians. The College offers full time courses, many of them in the evenings, for two levels of students: Ordinary Technician Diploma and Engineering Diploma. The areas covered by the courses are: (a) civil, mechanical and electrical engineering (three years); (b) telecommunications (one or two years); and (c) laboratory technicians (two years). Those who finish the Technician Diploma and have two years' experience are eligible for the Engineering Diploma and can choose from two options: (a) teacher training; (b) supervision. Those who complete this training which is run in cooperation with the Teacher's Training College nearby will teach in either technical secondary schools or possibly the Technical College itself. In 1972, there were about 600 students.

Many of the former students have been found no longer working the fields for which they were trained. The wastage rate from the 1965 class was about 78 per cent (Manpower Planning, 1970:14).

### MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY

The National Institute of Productivity has, as has already been discussed, a growing workers' education program. The largest activity at N. I. P., however, concentrates on the increase of industrial productivity through consultation, research and training courses for management. In January to June, 1971, N. I. P. taught or organized thirty-four courses and seminars. Twenty-eight of the courses were in the field of management development. Examples of the programs include:

1. Executive training program for State Trading Corporation officers;
2. Training program for 150 administrative officers;
3. Financial management for banking and financial officers;
4. Sales force management.

The stress in management development as put forward to date is on individual rather than collective or group development, although the Western oriented concepts of management development are nestled amongst the statements of Nyerere. Consider the following: In a booklet published by the National Institute of Productivity on Management Development and Productivity Movement in Tanzania, P. S. P. Shirima indicates that the task of management

development is to "make the cream of society rise to the top where it could be skimmed off as needed (author's emphasis) (1970:27). On the next page he quotes from Nyerere's Freedom and Development on the importance of building ujamaa through the development of people before going on to conclude with the following points for consideration:

1. The individual will grow in what he is capable of becoming provided proper conditions for the growth are created by those to whom he is responsible;
2. The job environment of any individual person is the most important variable affecting his development of self-actualization;
3. By developing individuals, you develop families and social organizations and so develop the nation;
4. Development of the individual is development of productivity.

### CONCLUSIONS

Workers' education has gone through several developmental stages before arriving at the present position. The earliest forms of workers' education were those designed to help management control workers and increase productivity. Workers' Committees were set up in factories following the early educational programs which were given tasks for the most part of promoting harmony in the factory by allowing for the discussion of grievances between labor and management. In practice, as Mapolu points out, "The workers' committees have tended to be instruments of the employers for keep-



ing the workers down" (1972:20).

Presidential Circular No. 1 of 1970 begins the second phase of the workers' education program when President Nyerere notes that the first job of the nation after Arusha had been to put its economic house in order and complete the nationalization of factories and businesses. Having done this, he said it was time to discuss the next step in the process which stresses the participation of the workers in the management of the companies. From February, 1970 to July, 1973, the emphasis in workers' education by most of the organizations involved was on the establishment of workers' councils as called for in the Circular.

The current stage of workers' education is beginning with the Directive of the Prime Minister on Workers' Education which calls for every factory and organization in Tanzania to provide one hour per day for the education of its workers from literacy through university level. This emphasis from the Prime Minister combined with a newly organized Workers' Education Department which should be capable of coordinating the new efforts, indicate that the education of workers will begin to approach the mass levels which will be necessary in order for workers to have a meaningful say in the management of factories now and to take them over some time in the future.

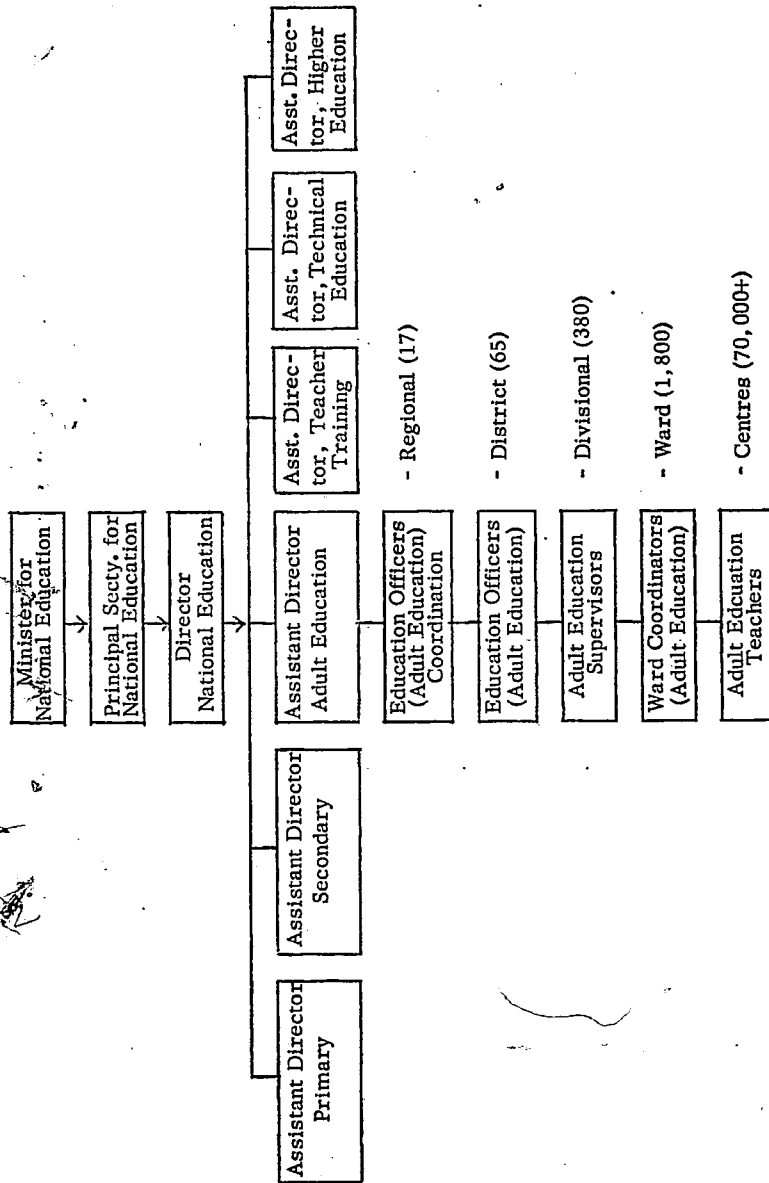
## CHAPTER VIII

### THE INTEGRATION OF YOUTH AND ADULT EDUCATION: THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

After the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the planning team in the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning set about modifying what they had already been working on so that when the second Five Year Plan came out it would be a socialist plan and not merely an extension of previous planning strategies. For adult education, the second Five Year Plan meant a great many changes. Increased emphasis was put on creating conditions in the rural areas that would lead to more rapid development. The most important organizational change, however, occurred when adult education was moved from the Ministry of Rural Development and Local Administration to the Ministry of National Education.

This move was significant because it meant that adult education was now to be raised in status to the same administrative level as primary or secondary education. Adult education became one of the directorates in the Ministry of Education. The Ministry changed its name to the Ministry of National Education in order to signify its role in coordinating all education in the nation, both for young people and for adults. The organizational chart of

Chart 1. Organization for Adult Education in the Ministry of National Education



the Directorate of Adult Education indicates the formal structure within the Ministry. (See Chart 1)

The goals of the new organization as outlined in 1970 were to:

1. Mobilize rural and urban masses to political consciousness.
  2. Provide knowledge and skill to raise productivity.
  3. Eradicate illiteracy.
  4. Provide education for school leavers for ujamaa living.
  5. Expand in-service and continuing education opportunities.
  6. To coordinate all adult education offerings.
- (Mhaiki, 1970a:1)

In order to carry out the very large tasks indicated, the first task of the new directorate was to select a field staff and train them. The first group of officers selected were sixty-two District Education Officers (Adult Education). They were for the most part school teachers who had attended Kivukoni College at some time in the past. These new officers were to function as district political education officers as well. A close link between TANU and the new structure was planned. The sixty-two District Adult Education Officers were trained during an intensive six-week course conducted by the Institute of Adult Education, Kivukoni College and the Ministry of National Education jointly at Kivukoni College in Dar es Salaam. The next set of field staff added to the organization were the regional coordinators. These people were recruited from the ranks of the district officers. The latest group to be added to the ranks of fully paid adult education officials are the divisional

supervisors. In this last category are 387 men and women who carry out the supervision and administration of adult education at the division level. There are three to five divisions in most districts in Tanzania. In April, 1973, there were plans to institutionalize the posts of ward coordinators by making these positions solely responsible for adult education activities at the lowest level. At present the ward coordinators are head teachers from primary schools within the ward in question. There are over 475 field staff whose duties are solely concerned with adult education and an additional 1,700 who administer the adult education activities together with their other duties in the community school.

The duties of the administrative and supervisory staff are as follows:

1. To assist in opening and maintaining adult classes in their areas of work.
2. To recruit part-time teachers where they are necessary.
3. To be responsible for careful use of both finance and materials allocated to adult education.
4. To encourage, support and inspect adult classes.
5. To organize training seminars for adult educators.
6. To work in good cooperation with people in government departments, in TANU and in private organizations.
7. To know all forms of adult education, and all organizations carrying out adult education in their areas so that they can advise.
8. To work together with TANU party leaders in mobilizing the

the people in adult education, especially on literacy day,  
September 8.

9. To publicize adult education activities by working together with the information officer but beware of empty propaganda.
10. To submit a report of adult education activities in their areas to TANU in the District and National Headquarters and to the Ministry of National Education.
11. To make sure that adult education committees are formed and are effective.
12. To give orientation to primary and secondary school teachers on how to teach adults before they embark on teaching them. (Mhaiki and Hall, 1972: section III)

Coordination of adult education activities is facilitated through a system of committees. The experience of the first years has shown that involvement of the local people in planning and implementation is extremely important. The use of local leadership is extensive. The committees operating from the classroom level to regional level facilitate the participation of the adults in planning their own classes. In many areas of the country the local class committee selects its own teacher, someone who they believe will be able to teach a particular subject well, and then has this choice approved by the ward coordinator. As Mhaiki has put it, "If members of the village or the class are given the responsibility to decide on what they want to learn, when and where they want to learn and how they want it done, then

there are all chances that such a scheme will be 'successful" (Mhaiki and Hall, 1972:section III).

Within the Ministry of National Education, adult education operates on a much smaller budget than formal education. Adult education operated on about 3 per cent of the total education budget in 1972/73 while primary education alone received about 52 per cent of the total (see Table 10). This does not, however, indicate as small a financial contribution to adult education as might at first seem evident. Adult education makes extensive use of the existing primary facilities and even primary teachers. Well over half of the 22,000 primary school teachers teach adults as well as children. Village head teachers are most often the ward coordinators for adult education. The budget portrays the financial efficiency of offering adult education through the already widely distributed network of schools throughout the nation. The 1973/74 budget figures which include the allocations for the national literacy campaign have increased the adult education share of the national education budget to 20 per cent (Mbunda, 1973:5).

#### THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL

The key institution in the expansion of adult education in Tanzania is the community school. One of the important reasons that Tanzania chose to transfer the area of adult education to the Ministry of National Education is that the primary school is the most widely distributed institution in Tanzania. There is no other rural institution that can be found in so many places throughout the country. The obvious choice for expanding education to the

TABLE 10  
1972/73 FINANCIAL ESTIMATES FOR THE MINISTRY  
OF NATIONAL EDUCATION  
(Tz. shillings)

	1972-1973 Estimates	Per Cent of Total Min- istry Budget	Average An- nual Growth 1969-1973
Primary Education	169.1	51.9	+ 11.0%
Secondary Education	51.9	15.9	- 2.5%
Teacher Training	17.8	5.4	+ 5.8%
Higher Education	49.3	15.1	+ 16.0%
Technical Education	8.6	2.6	--
Adult Education	9.8	3.0	+ 57.0%
Administration	19.2	5.8	+ 5.1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>325.7</b>		<b>+ 9.8%</b>

Source: Budget Estimates for 1972/73.

rural population is to do so through these institutions which are already the most widely distributed. Instead of building countless new rural training centers, adults make use of the same facilities now that the school children do. Education for Self-Reliance called for the creation of community school where the children and the adults would learn whatever subjects were important and relevant to the improvement of their lives in their particular village.

In 1973, no primary school in Tanzania operated that did not make its



facilities available to adults in the afternoons after the students had left for the day. The interest and growth of adult education activities has been such that the community schools themselves now find themselves serving an even larger number of adult education centers which operated in the areas around the school.

One school, for example, may serve as the focus for ten to twenty adult education centers which may operate under a convenient large tree, along side a ten-cell leader's house or in a TANU branch secretary's office. Each class will have a class committee which is responsible for the maintenance of good attendance and the provision of materials such as pencils or exercise books when needed from the class store. In September, 1971, the total number of adults enrolled in classes exceeded the number for the first time (1.2 million). The total number of adults attending classes in December, 1972 was 2.4 million (Daily News, December, 1972). On the basis of previous studies, however, these enrollment figures may be as much as 50 per cent higher than regular attendance (Hall and Haule, 1970).

The subjects that are taught at each community school and each adult education center vary from place to place depending on the interests of the people in the area, the availability of teachers and the development priorities in the district. Some subjects are obviously more difficult to find teachers for than others. In a survey of District Education Officers, 75 per cent of the officers replied, when asked what subjects they found easiest to organize. The reason given for the differences in each of the cases was the availability

of teachers in the case of literacy and the non-availability of teachers in the case of agricultural subjects.

Table 11 gives an indication of the types of subjects offered and the relative enrollments during 1970 and 1971. Total figures of these enrollments

TABLE 11  
ENROLLMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION CLASSES  
BY SUBJECT

	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Political education	127,331	318,509
Better farming methods	83,350	231,845
Health	101,206	214,162
Literacy	195,007	661,351
Domestic science	42,501	116,612
Typewriting	3,495	2,046
Craftsmanship	12,712	18,426
Arithmetic/Kiswahili/History	39,229	364,064
English	21,474	75,425
Culture	11,189	24,114
Economics	2,331	7,984
Militia	1,495	3,802
Others	2,939	4,741

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\*Source: Ministry of National Education, Idadi ya EWW.

would be meaningless as many people are enrolled for more than one subject. It is quite common, for example, for individuals to be enrolled in both literacy and political education at the same time. It may even be the case that the primer being used in the literacy classes has been designed to provide both literacy and political education; nearly one million of these political primers are in use. This might also be the case for the figures on better farming methods as many of the primers used for functional literacy combine literacy skills with improved farming messages. In the cotton growing areas, the primers are on cotton, in banana areas, the message is about improved banana growing techniques. The enrollments for these areas may legitimately fall within several categories.

The "Army of Teachers" to which the Ministry of National Education often refers is composed of a variety of people. TANU officials, extension agents in agriculture, rural development, health or cooperatives, church leaders and standard seven "voluntary" teachers are all involved in the teaching of the various subjects. The sources for teachers vary with the subject being taught. TANU officials teach political education largely, while the specialists from individual ministries such as health or agriculture, teach the subjects falling within their areas of specialization. Primary school teachers who most often teach literacy and arithmetic are given two hours released time from their school room schedule in order to teach adults in the afternoons. They form perhaps the most stable corps of adult education teachers. These people are largely young people in the area who have

completed seven years of primary school and are interested in teaching adults reading, writing and arithmetic. When sufficient funds are available, these teachers receive honoraria of \$4.25 per month. In 1973, the payment of these honoraria was imposing difficulties as the number of literacy classes was increasing more rapidly than the funds available for volunteers. In some of these cases, the funds available were divided up among the total number of volunteers teaching thus reducing the amount per teacher. In other cases the full funds were paid for as many months as possible and the remainder of the year went dry. The result of this payment or non-payment situation has created problems in the smooth operations of the classes. In Mwanza region, many of the voluntary teachers had dropped their teaching completely in May, 1973 as a result of payment irregularities. How this problem can be met still remains to be seen as a national literacy campaign with three or four million adults enrolled requires many more teachers than are presently teaching.

When the Ministry of National Education first designed the adult education program, it was decided that no additional teachers would be necessary, that existing teachers and extension personnel would be sufficient to meet the needs of the adults in the rural areas. Primary school teachers would provide a large corps of teachers, but every civil servant could be called upon to teach that subject which he specialized in. The agricultural agents could be called upon as part of their jobs to teach adult classes. Health officers would teach health and nutrition and rural development female assistants would

teach various domestic science courses. In practice there has been somewhat less cooperation between the various ministries than was expected. It has proved to be unrealistic to expect all the agricultural extension officers to teach adult classes. The extension officers of other ministries do not see it as their primary duty to teach adult classes. Traditional rivalries among the ministries continue to hinder complete coordination. The number and proportions of teachers in each of the various categories are detailed in Table 12.

TABLE 12  
TEACHERS IN ADULT EDUCATION CENTERS  
1970 and 1971

Category	1970		1971	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Primary and secondary teachers	7,643	40.0	11,577	21.8
Students	1,639	10.1	2,490	4.7
TANU leaders	399	2.0	740	1.3
Agricultural agents	632	3.3	119	0.2
Health agents	570	2.9	684	1.2
Rural Development agents	663	3.4	609	1.1
Cooperative personnel	781	4.0	115	0.2
Religious leaders	368	1.9	459	0.8
Voluntary teachers/Army/ police/others	6,403	33.5	36,140	68.2
TOTAL	19,098		52,933	

Source: The Development of Adult Education in Tanzania 10 Years After Independence. Ministry of National Education, 1971.

With many of the teachers teaching adults for the first time, a great deal of training needed to be done. The District Education Officers (adult education) carry out the training of teachers, a job which because of turnover and refresher courses continues as a regular part of their duties. The teachers are trained in seminars ranging from one day to one week depending on resources and time. The main subjects taught in these training courses are the psychology of adult learning, methods of teaching adults and literacy methods. Some planning and organization is taught. Cooperation in the training of adult educators occurs with both the Institute of Adult Education and its regional centers and the personnel of the Work Oriented Functional Literacy Pilot Project in the Mwanza area.

In addition to this, training in adult education has been introduced as a subject in all teacher training colleges in the nation. Beginning in 1971 all those completing teacher training courses were trained in various aspects of adult education. In August, 1972, all of the tutors of adult education from the twenty-five schools met and together worked out an expanded and detailed common syllabus so that the amount and standard of adult education training offered in all colleges could be coordinated.

#### THE NATIONAL LITERACY CAMPAIGN

In September, 1971, the TANU National Conference passed a series of resolutions concerning various aspects of future policy. Three resolutions passed concerned adult education. Resolution 20 commended all those who had helped during the adult education drives in 1970 and 1971. Resolution 21

congratulated the people of Mafia on their successful eradication of illiteracy during 1971 and resolved that from now on adult education should be part of work everywhere. Resolution 23 read as follows, "The conference directs that arrangements should be made to eradicate illiteracy within the next four years" (TANU, 1971b). This decision marked the beginning of the national effort to eliminate illiteracy and has had the effect of directing much of the effort of the Ministry of National Education back to straight literacy teaching, after the early trend of emphasizing literacy as a tool which might come at any time. In order to cope with estimated 5.17 million illiterates, the Ministry of National Education called upon the experience and expertise of the personnel of the Unesco/UNDP Work Oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project.

UNESCO/UNDP WORK ORIENTED ADULT  
LITERACY PILOT PROJECT

Beginning in January, 1968, the WOALPP was located in the four lake regions in the northwest of Tanzania and was one of twelve such projects in the Unesco experimental functional literacy program. The specific objectives of the project were:

- a. To teach illiterate men and women basic reading, writing, and to solve simple problems of arithmetic utilizing as basic vocabularies the words used in the agricultural and industrial practices;
- b. To help them to apply the new knowledge and skills to solve their basic economic, social and cultural problems;
- c. To prepare them for a more efficient participation in the development of their village, region and country;

- d. To integrate the adult literacy and adult education programs with the general agricultural and industrial development of the country;
- e. To provide the necessary and adequate reading materials to impart the knowledge of community and personal hygiene nutrition, child care, home economics which will help to improve family and community life, provide opportunity for a continuing education;
- f. At the end of the five year period to reduce considerably the illiteracy rate in the pilot areas from the present 85 per cent to about 25 per cent among the age group of 15 to 45 years. (Literacy Project, 1973:2)

While the final evaluation of the project has not yet been completed, there is some information about the effectiveness of the project from the partial evaluations of the cotton program. A summary of the report made the following points:

1. Participants responded more positively to the practical aspects of the program (the farming) than to the academic.
2. The standard of living of the participants was positively affected, especially in areas of health and nutrition.
3. Acquisition of technical information on questions of cotton cultivation and health questions is taking place.
4. The acquisition of literacy skills is unsatisfactory.
5. The use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction is perhaps, "the most important single factor interfering with the literacy process." (Literacy Project, 1973:22)

What has come out of the evaluations so far is that the WOALPP has been relatively unsuccessful in teaching reading and writing. The scores of adults in literacy tests fall far below acceptable levels for the most part.

What has been demonstrated, however, is that even without learning to read



and write a large part of the message on agricultural improvement has been absorbed. In somewhat crude fashion, the "functional" part of the functional literacy has been learned while the literacy itself has been much less successful. In terms of its impact on the nation, the project has been extremely successful. Evidence for this comes from the fact that functional literacy has been accepted as the approach for the national literacy campaign. The system of both preparation and use of teaching reading materials through writers' workshops has been established throughout the country. The project's system for selecting and training functional literacy teachers has been adopted nationally. The project's field infrastructure of teacher-supervisor-ward coordinator-Divisional Officer, District Officer and Regional Education Officer has been applied to the rest of the nation for the national campaign. In addition, the project's evaluation approach and its network of rural libraries have been adopted for the national campaign.

The expansion of the WOALPP onto the scale of a national campaign means in practice that Tanzania has been divided up into several different economic zones, each zone emphasizing a different crop or economic activity. There are primers designed for each of these different economic activities. Primers have been designed for each of the following areas: cotton, bananas, wheat, maize, tobacco, fishing, home and child care, rice, political education, cattle raising and tea. Each has two primers which also include instruction in mathematical skills relating to the activities in the primer. The political education primers have been designed to be used in towns or

other areas where one of the major crops is not stressed.

### PROGRESS BY MARCH, 1973

By the end of March, 1973, seminars on functional literacy had been held in all regions in the country for purposes of training "training teams." These teams had in turn conducted functional literacy seminars in all districts and many divisions. The seminars covered all the necessary aspects of the teaching of the functional primers, the demonstrations necessary for practical instruction, use of the evaluation and enrollment forms and follow-up reading possibilities including rural newspaper and libraries. Roughly half of the 12 million primers planned for the campaign had been printed and distributed. A total of 2.5 million adults were enrolled in classes about half of the estimated number of illiterates.

In addition to this effort, there have been calls by TANU Youth League to close all educational institutions in the country for a specified period in order to carry out a crash campaign to achieve the desired results by 1975. The outcome of the TYL call has been a request by the Ministry to all secondary and teacher training institutions to draw up plans to involve all of the students in literacy work in the areas nearest their schools. Illiteracy should be removed completely from areas that have the benefit of educational institutions, the Ministry feels.

As an editorial in the Daily News has pointed out,

Literacy is, however, only a tool of self and national development. The ultimate objective of the campaign is to enable the new

literate to employ their knowledge of reading and writing to expand their frontiers of information and professional or productive skills. The new literate must have books to read so that he can improve his knowledge and skill. (Daily News, March, 1973)

Already for many areas in Tanzania the battle for literacy has been won. Mwanza region alone has taught 1,442,180 adults to read and write, even if at a very basic level. The task within the Ministry of National Education is now to begin to create a kind of literacy environment which will allow those who are already literate to progress while still encouraging the remaining people to take advantage of every opportunity to learn something more.

In summarizing the approach to adult education within the Ministry of National Education several points can be made. First of all, the Ministry is aware of the need to create a climate of lifelong education integrated to rural life for all people both adults and children. The community school is functioning now as a center for adult education and the numbers of adults attending classes exceed the children by about 2:1. In terms of finances the Adult Education Directorate within the Ministry in 1973/74 operates on 20 per cent of the total National Education budget which represents a massive increase from the 3 per cent figures of 1972/73. The emphasis is clearly on literacy with roughly 70 per cent of the March, 1973 classes being reading and writing. It should be noted that the Ministry has not been able to date carry out its role as a coordinator of all adult education activities. Rivalries between Ministries and lack of clear directives at the grass roots levels continue to hinder full cooperation among extension agents of all organizations. The

methods used in teaching in the adult education centers continue to be teacher centered and repetitive, the primers are still written by people in offices in Mwanza or elsewhere. Drop-outs and low attendance are problems in many centers and follow-up readers are in very short supply. But an extensive network of adult education administrators and supervisors exists; over 2.5 million people are enrolled in classes and scarcely a day goes by without an article or two in the Daily News reporting further progress in literacy in various parts of the nation. The Ministry is the heart of the strongest and most extensive adult education network in Africa.

## CHAPTER IX

### COMMON SERVICES IN ADULT EDUCATION

Some organizations within the field of adult education cannot be readily categorized into rural development agencies or more formal classes of the Ministry of National Education or the education of workers. These agencies may serve the whole nation directly or other adult education agencies. Their defining characteristics are their services which are available to other adult education programs. Institutions which fall within the category of "common services" in adult education are the Institute of Adult Education, Tanganyika Library Service, Radio Tanzania and the Press in general.

#### INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION

The role of the Institute of Adult Education has changed a great deal since its inception as a Department of Extra-Mural studies mainly involved in teaching courses of an academic nature to a relatively well-education section of the population. After the Arusha Declaration, the Institute like other public institutions in Tanzania sought ways to better align itself with socialist policies and with the emphasis on rural development. The Adult Education Associations of 1967, 1968 and 1969 were attempts by the Institute to encourage and sponsor local initiative in planning and organizing necessary

adult education programs. In fact, many of the present staff members of the Institute were veterans of adult education associations. The associations which were groups of adults who wanted to further their own educations would organize classes, and the Institute's Regional offices would supply and pay the necessary teachers. Very large programs developed in the Kilimanjaro and Mbeya areas. These associations preceded the announcement by the Government of the new plan for adult education, and as the Ministry of National Education began operating in 1970, the associations began to fade away. In 1973, all but a few of the associations have discontinued or have been replaced by Ministry sponsored programs.

When Paul Mhaiki came to the Institute of Adult Education in July, 1970, the Institute reorganized itself in order to more closely serve the development objectives outlined in Government policy and ideology. The aims and objects of the newly reorganized Institute in July, 1970 were as follows:

- i. To train teachers and administrators of adult education at the University for Diploma or Degree Courses; conduct training in seminars and residential courses in cooperation and consultation with the Ministry of National Education and other ministries at all levels, TANU and its affiliates, parastatal and other organisations.
- ii. To promote and conduct research in and evaluation of adult education and publicize results thereof and to collect and make available the results of similar research carried out elsewhere and thus foster the development and improvement of Adult Education in the United Republic of Tanzania.
- iii. To be involved in the preparation and standardization of adult education study materials for adults, and in the production of books on Methods of Teaching Adults at all levels.

To provide advisory services and library facilities for adult educators and circulate information about new methods and developments in adult education.

- iv. To assist the Ministry of National Education, other ministries and organisations engaged in adult education, at all levels, in curriculum development and syllabus preparation for adult education programmes.
- v. To assist in the development of mass media resources such as films, radio, newspapers, etc. for adult education purposes; and to cooperate with the Ministry of National Education, TANU local government organisations and other organisations at national, regional and district levels in the production and distribution of magazines and newspapers in Tanzania.
- vi. To assist the Tanganyika Library Service in the establishment of town and rural libraries.
- vii. To organise, run, supervise, and coordinate full-time and part-time courses for adults both in Dar es Salaam and all other centres where staff of the Institute of Adult Education exist. Such courses will be determined by the social, economic and political needs of the areas served, and will be run in cooperation with the Ministry of National Education through its Regional Education Officers and District Education Officers (Adult Education), other ministries, TANU and its affiliates, parastatal and other organisations.
- viii. In consultation with TANU, ministries and organisations concerned, the Institute shall recruit and brief teachers for such courses from the University, primary and secondary schools, colleges of National Education, government departments, parastatal and other organisations.
- ix. To organise special training conferences and in-service training relevant to national development and manpower needs of Tanzania.
- x. To cooperate with District Education Officers in Dar es Salaam and the regions in planning and evaluation of examinations of all types for adults.

- xi. To be responsible for the National Correspondence Institution, to coordinate all institutions concerned with adult education in the preparation of correspondence education materials, and to coordinate and counsel Correspondence Institution students in Dar es Salaam and the regions.
- xii. To be concerned with the scheme for Mature Age Entry to the University including planning and preparation of the examination itself, and the provision of courses and counselling for candidates.  
(Institute of Adult Education, 1970a)

By the end of 1972, the Institute had established a role and pattern for its operations which took into account that the Institute represents the professional and academic center of adult education in Tanzania. The activities of the Institute at the end of 1972 centered around the following areas:

#### TRAINING

The Institute is the primary training organization in the field of adult education. A training department within the Institute operates three levels of programs. The Diploma Course in Adult Education is a nine-month residential course for those people who are already working in the field. Students are recommended and sponsored by their respective ministries and organizations. Emphasis is on the close integration of professional theory with the realities of the Tanzanian situation. Subjects taught in the Diploma Course are:

- a. History and philosophy of adult education.
- b. The adult teaching and learning process.
- c. Planning, administration and evaluation of adult education programs.



- d. Social and economic aspect of development, in particular, rural development and adult education.
- e. Policy, organization and resources in adult education.
- f. Political education.

The course method focuses on group work and practical field experience in adult education surveys, work in ujamaa villages, teaching practice, evaluation of adult education projects and visits to related organizations. Stress is laid on the importance of cooperation and coordination among adult educators in various ministries. The participants in the Diploma Course in 1972 came from the Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Rural Development, Cooperative Movement, Army, Institute of Adult Education, Ministry of Labour, TANU and a local district council. Thirty people each year attend this course.

In addition to this, the training department teaches courses in the B. A. education department for first year and third year students interested in adult education as an optional course. Plans are underway for the introduction in 1973/74 of a B. A. course in adult education, especially for adult education administrators in the Ministry of National Education.

Other training in adult education is given to primary school teachers through offices in the regional centers. In these cases, the Institute assists the district adult education personnel in various strategies and techniques that either new teachers or older teachers may need. Seminars in adult education methods have also been offered to church leaders, teachers in

urban factories and cooperative education officers. In 1972 there were approximately 400 people who attended seminars of this type.

### MASS CAMPAIGNS

The section which has grown the most within the Institute of Adult Education during 1969-1973 has been the planning, organizing and administering of radio study group campaigns. Beginning in 1969, with an experimental campaign of about 100 groups, the Institute did a series on the second Five Year Development Plan. In 1970, the year of the Presidential and Parliamentary election, a larger campaign, about 250 groups, was tried on the importance and meaning of the election. In 1971, a larger campaign based on the achievements of ten years of Independence was planned and organized, this time with the help of the adult education officers in each district. This campaign reached about 20,000 people in organized groups and was evaluated in detail (Hall, 1973). As a result of the success of this larger scale project, a mass health education campaign was planned for 1973. In this last campaign, over 75,000 study group leaders were trained and on May 14, 1973 when the campaign began, over two million people were enrolled in study groups, each member having a set of two textbooks on preventive medicine printed in large easy-to-read type so as also to serve as follow-up material for new literates. Plans were underway for a continuation of this method with other subjects such as nutrition and agriculture.

## PUBLICATION

A variety of books and periodicals are produced and published by the Institute's publication department. A journal, Adult Education Now is published three times a year in English and Kiswahili and offers practical advice and news about adult education to people within Tanzania and East Africa. A 250-page handbook on adult education practices and techniques written by members of the Institute of Adult Education was published in Kiswahili and in an English edition in early 1973 (Institute of Adult Education, 1973a). The first Kiswahili modern history of Tanzania was published by the Institute in 1971 in connection with the radio study group campaign on the tenth anniversary of Independence. A major task of the publications department is the publication of follow-up reading materials. With large numbers of people becoming literate, the shortage of suitable, politically relevant Kiswahili reading material is obvious. The Institute, therefore, arranges writers' workshops from time to time, edits short stories with educational messages and arranges for subsequent publication. One series, the Juhudi Series, has twenty titles in print. Emphasis in spring, 1973 was beginning to shift towards how-to-do-it types of follow-up materials and efforts were being made to expand this area.

## RESEARCH AND PLANNING

The second Five Year Plan assigns to the Institute the task of initiating and carrying out research in the field of adult education for the advancement of adult education in Tanzania. The Institute has been involved in three types

of research activities: initiating and carrying out research and evaluation in areas of national priority, teaching about research and evaluation, and assisting staff members in carrying out their research programs. The major activities since 1970 within the department have been the evaluation of the radio study group campaigns and a study of the 1971 six district literacy campaign. The department publishes findings in a series called Studies in Adult Education.

#### CORRESPONDENCE EDUCATION

The National Correspondence Institution, a department within the Institute of Adult Education, has the potential of developing into the largest correspondence unit in Africa. Begun in 1971, the unit differs from correspondence education organizations established elsewhere in Africa. The National Correspondence Institution has started by offering courses which are suited to people who may not have finished primary school. The Institution offers three types of course: mass courses in Kiswahili for standard school leavers; academic courses in secondary education subjects; and professional courses such as management and administration and bookkeeping for those working in business or administrative posts. At the end of the first year of enrollment, 1972-1973, there were nearly 5,000 students studying political education and English. A course in simple bookkeeping for secretaries and accountants in ujamaa villages or cooperative businesses was released during 1973. This was the first time that bookkeeping had been offered in Kiswahili to people who were not able to attend classes. By 1980,

the Institution is expected to have an enrollment of 30,000 students and to replace all correspondence courses offered from outside the country.

#### EVENING CLASSES AND REGIONAL CENTERS

The most permanent feature of the Institute since its origin in 1960 has been the offering of evening classes. The Institute, through its office in Dar es Salaam and regional centers in Moshi, Mwanza, Tabora, Mbeya and Songea, offers a wide range of classes of secondary level for the most part in English to adults who are interested in improving their job performance and to those who are interested in sitting for the various national examinations. The types of courses vary from regional center to center depending on the interest and needs of the area. In Dar es Salaam the courses have tended to shift during the 1970-1973 period from secondary school academic subjects to business and management subjects. During 1972 over 5,000 students were enrolled in the various courses offered.

The regional centers in addition to offering evening classes act generally as wings of the entire University in the regions. The emphasis within the University in 1973 has been to try and make more of its resources available to the nation as a whole. The University of Dar es Salaam comes under frequent attack as a bastion of elitism in a nation which is trying to eliminate elitism. The University has been trying through the Institute and the Institute's regional centers to identify ways in which the knowledge and expertise of the University might be more fully utilized in solving problems which may face the regions. It is expected that the regional centers may

serve increasingly in this capacity as the University seeks to involve itself more fully in development problems in the regions.

The shift of emphasis within the Institute of Adult Education since the Arusha Declaration perhaps mirrors the shift throughout the nation in the field of adult education. The Institute presents a more detailed picture because it is one of the oldest, and by 1973 is the focus of professional adult education for the nation. The shift has been gradual, but by 1973 rather dramatic. In 1966 the emphasis was on evening classes, most of the personnel in the Institute were hired for this purpose. By 1973, the activities had expanded and while evening classes were continuing as before, the majority of staff members were involved in either service functions to the profession of adult education or indirect provision of education on a mass basis.

#### TANGANYIKA LIBRARY SERVICE

Another service agency to adult education is the National Library Service. Tanganyika Library Service has been moving towards better service for the rural areas of Tanzania. The problems facing the library are large. The population is scattered with only 4 to 5 per cent in urban areas. In addition, about 75 per cent of the population does not read well enough to make use of many of the existing books. If these problems are not sufficient, there are estimated to be only 800 titles of books in Kiswahili available in English.

Shortly after the Presidential adult education speech in 1970,

Tanyanyika Library Service began sending sets of 100 books in Kiswahili and simple English to the District Education Officers who were coordinating work in the field. In February, 1971, a second set of 150 books was sent to the adult education officer making a total of 15,000 books distributed. Since then an additional 18,000 books have been sent to these officers and plans are underway in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education to set up a rural library in each ward, the smallest administrative unit in Tanzania.

The Library has also invested in a mobile system for better service to rural areas where permanent centers cannot yet be established. These "bookmobiles" circulate around the already established regional libraries. There are regular stopping places and prospective borrowers need only be introduced to the Library by their ten cell leader. The third approach to service to rural areas is a system of book boxes. Under this system any village or organization that is interested can write to the library and have a box sent to the location free of charge. The user is required to exchange the books once a year. Individual readers can make use of a postal library service by paying a 10 shilling deposit for each book borrowed. The deposit is returned when the reader ceases to use the service.

#### RADIO TANZANIA

A study in 1969 indicated that there is a radio audience of approximately eight million people in Tanzania (Mytton, 1968). A very large percentage of these listeners are in rural areas. In a small-scale study of

radio listenership in correspondence education, it was found that the rural correspondence students were more likely to listen to the corresponding radio programs than their urban brothers, on a 64 per cent to 51 per cent ratio (Erikson, 1973:2). Widespread use is made of the radio by various agencies for educational purposes. The development of radio study group campaigns by the Institute of Adult Education and others is but one example of adult education through this medium.

Radio Tanzania has a division of adult education that stimulates the production of educational materials and coordinates the programs which are produced for them by the agencies themselves. The Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture, The Co-operative Union of Tanzania, the Ministry of Information, The Prime Minister's Office, TANU, Kivukoni College and the Institute of Adult Education all have programs which are broadcast over the "national service," the term given to the educational or informational broadcasting frequency. Booster stations have been built in the outlying areas of the country to ensure that the once faint national service can be received well. It has not been uncommon in the past for those people living in the towns and cities of the populous border areas to listen more often to the broadcasting services of Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, or Rwanda. The establishment of booster stations in Mwanza and Mbeya has strengthened the signal such that at least a choice will be possible in these areas. The radio serves as the major source of information about national policies. This has been confirmed by the study carried out in connection with the 1970 national elec-



tion (Hall and Lucas, 1973). This fact alone makes the radio a very powerful educational tool and one which is expanding rapidly as this fact becomes better known.

### NEWSPAPERS

Another group of service agencies to adult education are the newspapers in Tanzania. The availability of newspapers has been shown in many places to be a stimulus both to obtain literacy and to maintain the acquired reading skills. There are three national daily papers in Tanzania: The Daily News (English), Uhuru and Ngurumo (Kiswahili). In a recent study it was found that Uhuru was available in 90 per cent of the District Headquarters throughout the country, but that the papers reach these headquarters daily in only 40 per cent of the towns (Hall and Kassam, 1972). Most daily papers arrive outside of Dar es Salaam two times per week or less. This means that the impact of such papers in the rural areas is slight. The circulation of Uhuru is the largest in Tanzania, but the vast majority of these readers are in the largest towns. Despite this efforts are made by Uhuru to encourage new readers. Each issue of Uhuru contains a page set in large type for readers who have finished the functional literacy program and would like to read newspaper stories. This page is quite popular and is used by adult education teachers who clip it out and teach from it.

Rural newspapers, however, offer the most support to the varied adult education programs and perhaps the most potential. There are a number of monthly papers put out by various ministries. The Ministry of Agri-

culture, for example, puts out Ukulima Wa Kisasa (Modern Farming) which reaches an audience of about 90,000 to 100,000 people. This is based on sales of 30,000. If these estimates are still accurate it means that Ukulima Wa Kisasa is the most widely available newspaper in rural Tanzania. There are several pages in this paper designed for newly literate adults, for most of the farmers in the country are slow readers at best. The paper makes widespread use of pictures and diagrams to convey the latest agricultural information and some news about the achievements of other farmers.

Another paper which has very wide distribution, and which in fact may have overtaken Ukulima Wa Kisasa is Kwatu. In the report by Hall and Kassam already mentioned, the district adult education officers listed Kwatu as the "most easily available" newspaper in the villages. Kwatu is put out by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. There are as yet, however, no circulation statistics available. The Cooperative Movement publishes a paper called Ushirika (cooperation) which is distributed through the thousands of primary societies and thus has quite a wide audience. There is discussion now in several regions in Tanzania to start rural newspapers especially designed as follow-up reading materials because as over two million people are enrolled in the national literacy campaign, the regional education officers are concerned with maintaining these skills. Decentralization, which has made regional planning a reality, has made regional government action in this area

possible which previously might have required national decisions. On a small scale the Mwanza literacy project has provided an example of this type of newspaper (Viscusi, 1971:40).

As adult education has expanded during the late 60's and early 70's, so these agencies which service adult education have expanded. The Institute of Adult Education has gone from an academic staff of five in 1967 to twenty-nine in 1973. The national library system has expanded from an old building in Dar es Salaam to a new national headquarters and branches in many regional centers, in addition to the greatly expanded rural services. Radio has expanded its services in recognition of the necessities of adult education and in response to the very rapid distribution of radios into the rural areas. The radio remains one of the first purchases made when farmers change from subsistence to surplus agriculture and acquire a bit of cash. The press as represented by newspapers still reaches a very small number of people in proportion to the population, but as hundreds of thousands of people are becoming literate each year, newspapers and rural publications will become an economic possibility. It would seem that the medium of the printed word may be the next field to feel the expansion of the adult education movement.

CHAPTER X  
COMPARISON OF THE FUNCTIONS AND APPROACHES OF  
ADULT EDUCATION BEFORE AND AFTER  
THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

This study has two main objectives. First, it has attempted to document the development of an adult education network since Independence to the issuance of Siasa ni Kilimo statement of May, 1972. A number of important changes which have occurred since May, 1972 have been included, as they add to the understanding of the present adult education system. The description of this development has taken place within the total framework of the Tanzanian ideology of development and has been covered in the first nine chapters.

The second major purpose of this study is the investigation of whether there have been changes in the functions of adult education in development and in the emphasis on adult education as a tool of development. This chapter examines differences in both the functions of adult education in a national development perspective and in the approaches to adult education in methods and programs. It also draws on the materials presented in the earlier sections for comparison. The concluding chapter will deal with the question of the cause of the changes in the adult education network,

the role of ideology in the present programs and some comparisons with the experience of other nations attempting a similar socialist transformation.

In attempting to understand the differences in function and approach to adult education before and after the Arusha Declaration, it is necessary to be more specific about the period immediately following the Arusha Declaration. The Arusha Declaration, as has already been noted previously, occurred in February, 1967. When talking about the "before" and "after" of the Arusha Declaration, reference is actually made to before and after the period beginning with the Arusha Declaration and ending with the New Year's Eve speech of 1969 (also referred to as the Adult Education Year Speech).

#### THE DIFFERENCE IN FUNCTIONS

The first point that is clear when examining the pre-Arusha provision of adult education is that there was a general lack of clarity about just what role adult education might be expected to play in development. An examination of the early development plans and documents shows that the immediate emphasis after gaining political independence, was replacing high level expatriate civil servants with Tanzanians as quickly as possible, expanding the formal school system, eliminating racially based schools, and eradicating the most gross forms of curricular ironies. The precise role of adult education was not clear partly because the nature of the de-

velopment strategies themselves were not clear. The pre-Arusha period was a time of transition from a political system based on the needs of an independence struggle to a system which could foster the necessary economic growth. Having said this, however, does not mean that the existing adult education programs had no place or served no function for development. Adult education during the pre-Arusha period was itself undergoing a transition from colonial patterns to its ultimate central place in development plans. From the examination of the Pre-Arusha programs, a number of functions can be isolated.

#### PRE-ARUSHA FUNCTIONS

1. Adult education should show people the "right" way to live.

When examining the community development approach, the dominant pre-Arusha form of adult education, it is clear that a number of colonial tendencies remained for some years. It can be noted, for example, in the early community development reports that the aim of community development in general was to point out to people what was wrong with their lives and how to go about correcting these errors. This paternalistic approach was directly carried over from colonial policies and could only operate under certain assumptions about the abilities and understanding of the people. There was an assumption that villagers were lacking in knowledge about how to improve their lives and that the community developers themselves or their bosses knew how to "develop" the

people, if only villagers would be more more open, more cooperative or more progressive. The community development strategy became one of trying by subtle methods to gain the confidence of villagers, so as to be able to point out the problems to them and then get the villages to work together to build a road or a school or some other visible monument to the local community development worker. The community development program, regardless of intention, nearly always manifested itself in either the counting of people in literacy classes or estimating the amount of money saved through self-help monuments. Nowhere in the pre-Arusha documentation on adult education is reference made to the use of adult education in order to enable people to participate in their own development.

There were no doubt many conscientious and dedicated individuals teaching or organizing the literacy aspects of the community development section. For many organizers, administrators and community development assistants, however, literacy was not seen as a way of providing a tool for people to develop themselves, but as another subtle way to get involved with a community so that a closer analysis might be made of the problems of the village and the cracks in the conservative armor of the peasants. All of this was done in order to inject the enlightenment and learning of the modern world into the misguided minds of the villagers. Horace Mason, an early commissioner of community development, may have been more bold than others when he stated that literacy was first of all a useful project for the community development officers because it

eliminated the question of what to do first (1961:5).

2. Adult education should provide educational opportunities to the partially educated, middle and high level manpower.

A second major function of adult education, as exemplified by the evening classes of the extra-mural department of the University of East Africa (which became the Institute of Adult Education), was the provision of further education for middle and high level manpower. Consistent with the emphasis throughout Tanzania on high level manpower production the Institute of Adult Education provided, as its central activity during the pre-Arusha period, classes for people who had already finished at least seven years of schooling in various liberal studies, focusing on social sciences. These courses were designed to provide broad understanding of historical and social processes so as to enable those who studied them to participate more fully in the development process. The people who attended the classes inevitably focused on the immediate need for more qualifications and congregated around the subjects which directly or indirectly helped in passing the secondary examinations of the day. This level of adult education was, nevertheless, thought to be a way of mobilizing the higher level manpower to the development task at hand.

3. Adult education should prepare leaders.

One of the functions of pre-Arusha adult education which continues to be of importance in the post-Arusha period is the training of leaders from various sectors of the nation. Kivukoni College began in 1961 as a



child of TANU with the expressed purpose of providing adults who had not had a chance to complete their education with an opportunity to continue in non-examination, non-certificate studies. From the first group of people to finish Kivukoni onwards it was clear that those who passed through these courses had obligations to the rest of the nation. Adult education was seen as the preparation and training and it is still seen as a necessary element in the growth of the nation. From its opening, Kivukoni emphasized the importance of civic education, social sciences and historical perspective in the preparation of leaders who understand the development process and the role of various elements of society in the process. Again from its beginning, Kivukoni made no educational requirements for admission. Admission depended on experience and current position.

If we can refer for a moment to the introductory chapter where the many functions now ascribed to adult education in development are outlined as they appear in the more recent literature, the functions are summarized as follows:

#### 1. Economic Functions

- a. Up-grading of the partially trained.
- b. Provision of training for school leavers.
- c. Provision of training for agricultural improvement.
- d. Keeping the highly educated up-to-date.
- e. Provision of vocational and technical education.

## 2. Social Functions

- a. Increasing the capacity for change.
- b. Provision of basic education for those who have not attended school.
- c. Creation of an awareness of national goals and the role of individuals and groups in fulfilling them.

## 3. Political Functions

- a. Mobilization of people and development of responsibility through political education.
- b. Training of leaders.

Of the functions in this list currently ascribed to adult education, pre-Arusha Tanzania concentrated only on up-grading the partially trained, increasing the capacity for change, creating an awareness of national goals (in a very limited way) and training leaders. To a very limited extent adult education also provided some basic education for the un-schooled (in the form of literacy and some home economics) and agricultural training through Farmer's Training Centres. The pre-Arusha period could be characterized by its lack of recognition of the role which adult education might play in development.

By contrast, adult education in the post-Arusha period is expected to fulfill to some degree nearly all of the functions currently ascribed to this form of education with the possible exception of keeping the highly educated up-to-date. Reviewing the expectations and role of adult education in 1973 in the post-Arusha period, the contrasts and differences which

seem the most prominent are as follows:

### POST-ARUSHA FUNCTIONS

1. Adult education should provide education for participation in the development of Tanzania.

The constant theme since the Arusha Declaration has been that if Tanzania is to be developed, it is to be done by the people and their hard work. The second Five Year Plan, the TANU Party Guidelines and the Adult Education Year Speech all call for the participation of people in their own development. Adult education should foster political awareness, liberate people from resignation, and provide them with the skills for their own improvement. To be sure the paternalism of ministries dies very slowly. The talk in adult education offices still is concerned with how to "help" people in rural areas, etc. One of the major purposes of the national functional literacy campaign and the 1973 health education campaign was the raising of people's consciousness about what they themselves could do to improve their own situations either as individuals or preferably in groups. The Ministry of National Education has said in its official statements of policy that the implementation of socialism requires an educated population. Neither a dictatorship nor a capitalist system depends on the participation of people in development plans. In either of these two cases planning is carried out by other sectors of society. Democratic socialism in Tanzania is said to require full participation of the people in

in order to really begin functioning as democratic socialism (Ministry of National Education, 1972:20).

2. Adult education is required to raise the national economic productivity, particularly in agriculture.

In the pre-Arusha programs, the link between adult education and economic development was not at all clear. It was particularly fuzzy because the strategy for development itself was not clear. It was still thought for example that the country might be developed in one step by massive injections of capital for the transformation of agriculture from subsistence to mechanized farming. The entire Ministry of Agriculture settlement experience is based at least partly on the transformation approach. Cliffe and Cunningham have outlined some of the policy and shortcomings of this early approach in their paper, Ideology, Organisation and the Settlement Experience in Tanzania (1969).

With the emphasis being put on rural development through the improvement of existing agricultural practices rather than wholesale replacement of entire farming systems, the role of adult education in this process became more evident. Functional literacy, as it is implemented on a national basis, links the teaching of literacy with economic activities throughout the nation. In the cotton growing areas, for example, people are taught reading, writing and arithmetic through examples of improved cotton growing. Other programs similarly link fishing, cattle keeping, wheat or maize production. The expectation is that literacy is a tool to

higher agricultural yields. This has been borne out in the Mwanza functional literacy pilot project (Unesco, 1972).

Still other examples of the expectations that adult education can help raise economic productivity directly can be found in the field of workers' education. It is not by chance that the institution which has been given the largest task in the workers' education field is the National Institute of Productivity. It may, in fact, be argued that by seeing workers' education as a means of improved production is not in the best interests of the workers and is the same kind of workers' education that one might find in a capitalist system. The fact remains that workers' education as a form of adult education has been recognized in this area as capable of increasing productivity, even if this is avoiding the larger issue of control of the means of production.

3. Adult education (political education) is required to mobilize the masses for development purposes.

Even before people are aware and concerned with participating in the preparation of development plans at various levels, certain kinds of political mobilization are required in Tanzania. It is not possible, for example, for people to discuss development questions, crop priorities, or allocation of village finances together before people have come together in villages. The move to ujamaa villages is by necessity a voluntary one. Political education through TANU, the Rural Development Division and the cooperative movement is necessary to provide people with enough in-

formation so that they will feel assured in making the move from scattered or non-ujamaa villages to a cooperative structure.

In local situations, education is used to inform people about health problems or sources of water prior to calling upon groups of people to carry out physical projects to alleviate the health problem or provide the labor for digging in the wells or ditches for water pipes. As the Rural Development Division has said, political education is used to motivate people, and rural technical skills are then taught so as to enable people to carry out that which they now have the motivation to accomplish.<sup>1</sup>

4. Adult education is needed to provide opportunities for those who have not had a chance to attend schools.

In the pre-Arusha period, the focus of educational planning was on expansion of the formal school system. It has become clear, however, that even the provision of enough schools so that every child will have a chance to enter primary school will be so expensive that it will not be possible to accomplish before 1989 at the earliest (Manpower Planning Division, 1972). The expenditures on formal education are rising at rates which simply cannot be afforded in Tanzania. In the first chapter, the example was given where the average annual increase of GNP per capita from 1960 to 1965 was 1 per cent. The same per capita figure for recurrent expenditure alone was 8.2 per cent. The continuing increase in education over and above the national economic expansion must come from some other sector of the economy; it is not a figure which obviously operates in

isolation from the total available resources.

The purely economic limitations of the expanding school system combined with the need for a more informed and education population in order to create the climate for democratic socialism and steady increases in agricultural productivity have meant that more and more expectations are placed on the adult education network and particularly on the Ministry of National Education to provide a variety of subjects to those who have been able to attend school in the past. The Ministry of National Education in September, 1973 had over 2.6 million adults enrolled in various classes. There are very few community schools, for example, which offer only literacy classes. Most of the schools offer literacy, political education, domestic science of some kind and maybe arithmetic or history or some kind of agriculture or animal husbandry. Costs have been kept to a minimum using the already existing school buildings. As a result large numbers of adults are learning that were not considered during the pre-Arusha period.

#### THE DIFFERENCE IN APPROACHES

Just as there are differences in the functions which adult education is expected to fulfill between the pre- and post-Arusha periods so there are differences in the approaches which are used within the various adult education institutions. The changes in national policies have necessitated changes in teaching methods, recruiting patterns and even physical

locations of facilities.

Beginning with the field of literacy teaching, the largest adult education activity, the methods have undergone significant changes. The teaching of literacy in the pre-Arusha period was not integrated into economic activities. It was taught using the traditional approach with primers not necessarily relating to any kind of work or life style of the people being taught. By contrast the methods currently used are the functional literacy methods as developed by the functional literacy pilot project in the Lake Victoria regions. This method involves the integration of literacy into the economic activities of the area. The primers teach reading, writing and arithmetic as well as improved methods of working and modern skills in whatever economic activity the area concentrates on. In addition to classes, there are demonstration sessions for the agricultural skills involved. If maize growing is the primer being used, there would be a demonstration plot and the agricultural extension officer would give demonstrations on the suggested maize growing practices which have been discussed in the primer during that week's lessons. The practice for adding or subtracting may involve questions of the amount of fertilizer, the number of seeds needed for a given area or spacing the plants.

The point is that the sharpened focus of the national development priorities and the recognition that adult education could be was central to the development desired has meant that the traditional literacy methods



have been abandoned and new more consistent methods adopted. This does not imply that the new methods are being implemented in an entirely satisfactory method. To be sure, there are many problems in trying to implement such a functional literacy method on a national basis, but the logic for this approach has been recognized and the national approach for teaching literacy has been changed.

In the field of agricultural education, shifts in approaches have also taken place. During the pre-Arusha period the method used by both the agricultural extension officers and those recruiting farmers for Farmers' Training Centre courses was to select what were termed "model" farmers or progressive farmers to be taught subjects of the agricultural education. The thinking behind this was that given the limited educational resources for agriculture, it was most rational to choose those farmers who had already demonstrated their willingness to practice new ideas for further training. The impact of the training, it was felt, would be much greater in terms of increased production because this group was more likely to put the newly learned skills into practice. The "progressiveness" of the farmers selected was demonstrated by the prosperity of the farm, the use of such innovations as fertilizer or hybrid seeds and sometimes evidence of comparatively high levels of education. This approach to the education of farmers has undergone criticism in light of the shift in national objectives.

The criticism has been based on the analysis that a progressive

farmer policy both generated and maintained social differentiation. The fact that the one selected for further training already was more successful than his fellow farmers meant that the gap between the richer and more successful farmers and the rest was being increased by the agricultural policies (Raikes and Meynen, 1972). The factors accounting for one farmer's progressiveness might in fact have been attributable to already existing capital reserves, better educational opportunities or the availability of additional laborers. The farmer's failure to use fertilizer or insecticides is more likely due to a lack of money than his "traditionalism" or laggard qualities.

The shift in post-Arusha agricultural education is still occurring. The Rural Development Training Centre near Moshi, for example, is still clinging to the progressive farmer model, but official policy has changed. The policy is now that extension officers should deal with farmers in groups. As collective production is encouraged, extension officers are informed to deal first with those in ujamaa villages. It has been the practice to assign an extension officer to each ujamaa village. The rate of growth of such villages has outstripped the supply of extension officers since in 1973 there are more than 5,400 villages.

A similar shift has occurred in the approach of the Rural Development Division now under the Office of the Prime Minister. One of the keys to the establishment of community development programs in the pre-Arusha period was the analysis of community structure with the aim of picking

out the "opinion leaders"--the theory being that within each village there are those people whose opinions are sought out in a wide variety of matters. Opinion leaders may be the traditional leadership or the local representatives of the party or anyone else in the area. The objective was to discover who these opinion leaders were and then either send them to short courses at District Training Centres or work with them closely in the village itself. The aim of this exercise was to gain the confidence of this important group of people so that they in turn could influence the rest of the village to carry out some kind of development. Fortunately or unfortunately, this entire process of community development was so sufficiently complex and difficult that few community development workers ever obtained the requisite skill to carry out the sociological analysis. This meant that the community development approach for the most part was left to selecting individuals who expressed interest in training for the various types of short courses available. The skills learned were most often applied to that individual's situation.

The method of recruitment now used for selecting individuals for the agriculture, building skills or political education courses is to notify the chairman of the ujamaa villages in the area that a course exists on some specified topic. The chairman is requested to have a suitably qualified person selected and sent to the training center in order to take up the skill for the period. Upon returning to the village, the people who have received this training are expected to either pass on the skill to others

or use these skills for the benefit of the village. If, for example, a young man has been trained in carpentry, the set of tools which might be used are given to the village and not to the individual. In the case of villagers being selected for poultry-keeping courses, they might return to the village to be in charge of the village poultry-keeping scheme.

Still another example of a change in program approach can be found in the activities of the Institute of Adult Education. The pre-Arusha period was characterized by a focus on those people living in the towns where the Institute of Adult Education has its offices. The courses offered were academic in nature, designed for those who were interested in taking secondary examinations. The effects of these kinds of courses on increasing social differentiation have been examined previously (Hall, 1972b). Needless to say, the impact of the Institute of Adult Education's activities on the population of Tanzania was marginal. What impact the Institute did have on the development of adult education policy in Tanzania depended more on the circumstances of having energetic, capable leadership in the first days than on a recognized role in development.

Like other institutions at the time of the Arusha Declaration, the Institute had to critically examine its position and attempt to adjust its program to the changed ideology and strategies. These changes in the Institute were gradual until June, 1970 when two events occurred. A report of a visitation committee criticized the Institute's failure to directly involve itself in the education for rural development. The second change

was the appointment of Paul Mhaiki as Director for integrated adult education (the designer of the Ministry of National Education's plan). Following these changes the difference in approaches began to emerge.

The post-Arusha program of the Institute of Adult Education includes a greater emphasis on direct provision to the masses. The radio-study group campaign which had its origins in early Institute history has been selected as one of the major ways the Institute can reach more people in a relevant manner. The campaign of 1973 was designed to reach one million people in ujamaa villages via radio and the printed word. It in fact reached over two million people in nearly 100,000 organized listening groups. The participants in the groups were people who had not for the most part had a chance at any previous formal schooling.

The field of training was also selected for expansion in order to better serve the rural areas. In addition to the Diploma Course, a course for adult educators in the field, each regional center involves itself in training seminars for primary school teachers, voluntary teachers and others who are directly teaching adults in the rural areas. Thousands of rural adult educators have been trained in methods of teaching adults, adult learning theories and the use of study group methods.

Still another shift in the Institute's emphasis has been in the field of publications. In the pre-Arusha period the majority of publications which came out were either newsletters about the Institute or reprints of academic papers done in the field of adult education. The present work

of the Institute's publication department centers on three sets of publications: a journal for Tanzania adult educators written in both English and Kiswahili, an occasional series of research findings done by members of the Institute and a series of follow-up readers for newly literate adults.

This last series which now has over twenty titles in print has been designed around a format of stories involving the same set of characters in different situations each time. The purpose of the stories is to provide educative messages in an enjoyable format which adults will want to read after having finished functional literacy classes.

The type of courses that the correspondence unit of the Institute has issued first have been guided by the shift in national policies as well. Although earlier plans called for the correspondence unit to begin its series of secondary education subjects for teachers who wanted to up-grade their credentials, the first courses out are of a different nature. A series of courses called mass courses with no educational requirements has come out first. The first course was one on national policies, a political education course which was designed to reach those who may not have finished primary school, but who wanted to acquaint themselves with the new policies in the country. The second course is one on basic bookkeeping methods for ujamma village secretaries or other people in rural areas who need to deal with money, but who have not had enough formal schooling to enable them to enter commercial schools. The latter course is in Kiswahili, which differs from most other bookkeeping courses in other

places which are still done in English.

### SUMMARY

The examination of the adult education programs in Tanzania before and after the Arusha Declaration period establishes beyond a doubt that major changes have occurred throughout every sector of adult education. The functions which national planners, politicians and bureaucrats expect adult education to fulfill within the context of national development have increased substantially. Adult education has clearly moved from a marginal area of national concern to occupy a central position. In addition to this, the methods and approaches which each sector of adult education has used have been altered by the clarification of national goals, the clarification of role of adult education in the achievement of these goals and the recognition that patterns of recruitment and teaching methods themselves have certain ideological implications. To stand in any adult education institution on any single day may not give one the feeling of rapid change, but when one realizes that the Arusha Declaration took place only in 1967 and the focus on adult education did not establish itself until 1970, the change can be legitimately called revolutionary.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See the discussion of Rural Development Training Centres,  
Chapter VI.



## CHAPTER XI

### OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The concluding section of this study concerns itself with four main points. First, this section asserts that a major change has occurred in the emphasis on the role of adult education in the development of Tanzania since the formal acceptance of socialism. Secondly, it examines the reasons for this shift. Thirdly, it examines this shift in light of the experience in China, Cuba, Peru, and Algeria. Finally, some concluding observations are made on the role of ideology in this development.

#### A MAJOR CHANGE IN EMPHASIS

It cannot be denied that a major change in the national emphasis on the importance of adult education in development has occurred. The data in the preceding chapters all point to this fact. The shift can be seen in the increase in the number of official statements made about adult education in public speeches, newspaper articles, political meetings and government directives. The national newspapers carry articles about the achievements of adult education nearly daily. An entire year, 1970, was specially devoted to the stimulation of adult education. The New Year's messages of both 1970 and 1971 of the President were concerned with adult education.

A campaign to eliminate illiteracy throughout the nation by 1975 has been undertaken as one of the most important goals of the Party and Government. The Prime Minister has called for the provision of adult education in every office, ministry, parastatal or factory in Tanzania from literacy to technical subjects.

Further evidence of the increased emphasis on adult education has been the proliferation of adult education agencies and programs. The pre-Arusha period found adult education centered mainly in the area of community development, university adult education, Kivukoni College, agricultural extension and voluntary agencies. The number of agencies offering various kinds of adult education by 1973 has greatly increased. In 1966, the Institute of Adult Education's Directory listed twenty-four organizations involved in the field. The 1973 version lists forty-six.

Enrollment figures for the various adult education programs are higher than in the pre-Arusha period. In the field of literacy teaching alone, the figures are staggering. In 1964, the enrollment in literacy teaching was 304,794 (only 1,743 of these received certificates), in 1973 the enrollment was about two million with a further 600,000 pursuing some other kinds of subjects. An estimate for 1973 of three million adults or about 60 per cent of the total adult population registered for some kind of adult education would not be far from correct. Using the Institute of Adult Education as an example, of formal kinds of adult education, the 1966 total enrollment was 1,328 students, the enrollment for 1971 was 6,980.

Still another indicator of the increased emphasis on adult education is the number of people who are involved in organizing and teaching. A rough estimate of the total number of adult educators in 1973 would be over 78,000. This would include agriculture extension agents, community development officers and Ministry of National Education adult teachers. Not all of these people are full-time adult educators, a large number of "voluntary" teachers are included in this figure (a voluntary teacher is paid a stipend of 30 shillings (\$4.25) per month). A similar estimate of the number of adult educators working in 1966 would be 5,000. The difference is largely made up by the huge army of teachers mobilized for the national literacy campaign, but most individual agencies have experienced high growth rates as well. The Institute of Adult Education had a senior staff of ten adult educators in 1966; in 1973 the figure was forty-one.

The growth of programs and enrollment has meant growth in financial commitment. Table 13 gives the estimates of the Government contribution to adult education between the years 1960/61 and 1971/72.

The 1971/72 estimates alone call for a sum approximately equal to the sum of the estimates for the years 1960-1968 inclusive. It can be seen that official statements are matched by corresponding financial commitment.

TABLE 13

ESTIMATE OF GOVERNMENT FINANCE TO ADULT EDUCATION  
(millions Shs.)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Estimates</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Estimates</u>
1960/61	8.1	1966/67	14.2
1961/62	2.5	1967/68	16.2
1962/63	3.0	1968/69	20.9
1963/64	3.3	1969/70	20.9
1964/65	5.4	1970/71	26.8
1965/66	3.7	1971/72	75.4

Source: Annual Financial Estimates

THE CHANGE AND THE COMMITMENT TO  
SOCIALISM

Samuel Bowles in discussing the development of adult education in Cuba made the observation,

In a stable society not undergoing rapid change the education of adults occupies only a peripheral role . . . By contrast, where a sharp revolutionary break with the past is made, the educational process must extend throughout the population encompassing the old and the middle aged as well as the young. (1971:482)

The evidence presented in this study indicates that the increased emphasis on adult education is directly related to the new socialist direction to which Tanzania is committed. Policy statements have made it clear that there is a conscious awareness that adult education is essential

to the development of socialism. The Ministry of National Education, in stressing the importance of adult education for Tanzania has said, "You can impose capitalism, you can impose totalitarianism, but no one can impose socialism" (1972:11). In an earlier discussion held at the University of Dar es Salaam during a teach-in on the Arusha Declaration, Ngombale-Mwiru, one of the more articulate politicians noted that, "The building of socialism is impossible if the masses of the people are ignorant" (1967a:2-27). Cliffe and Saul, in introducing the education section of their set of readings on Socialism in Tanzania, make the following observation, "In the longer run, mass education (firmly rooted within a clear ideological perspective) must be a major instrument for realizing that popular involvement in decision-making at all levels which alone can ensure the responsiveness of national institutions to popular needs and to the real imperatives of development" (1973:215).

Tanzania is committed to socialist development which stresses popular participation of the people in decision-making. This kind of participation in development is a break with the immediate colonial and post-independence policies. It requires a level of consciousness and awareness that cannot come without a wide reaching education program. The achievement of increased participation calls for an emphasis on adult education in addition to the economic advantages that most other countries have begun to realize. Adult or non-formal education is increasingly recognized as being of primary importance to national development in

many developing nations. In Tanzania the awareness of the economic reasons exists, but the factor which has led Tanzania, above all African nations to place adult education in high priority is the necessity of having increased participation by the people in their own development. Socialism in Tanzania cannot succeed without this educational input. Both President Nyerere and Vice-President Kawawa have noted this. Nyerere has said, "The importance of adult education both for our country and for every individual cannot be over-emphasized" (1971a:3). Kawawa perhaps put the Tanzania perspective most succinctly when saying,

I have said that adult education is of paramount importance to national development; it would be more true to say that the two are inseparable. (1973a:12)

Tanzania is not alone in following a pattern of increased interest in mass or widespread education. Tanzania is not just another nation caught up in what might even be termed the educational fad of increased concern with non-formal or out-of-school education. In order for democratic socialism to occur in a nation where dependent capitalist relationships have existed before, widespread education of everyone is a must. It is not enough that proclamations are made, declarations posted and elections held. A system such as Tanzania is trying to build which attempts to involve people in decision about development and attempts to mobilize the rural potential necessitates an emphasis on the education of adults. This emphasis is not as necessary to nations which are not trying to bring about extensive changes in the economic and political relation-

ships of their society. In many ways a democratic socialist system is a more sophisticated and complex system of human interaction and therefore requires more of man than does a capitalist system. In capitalism, it might be said that development occurs through the benefits which accrue to society as a result of each individual trying to achieve as much as possible. The kind of socialism envisioned in Tanzania calls for the development of society through the increase of group activities such as collective agricultural production. The individual benefits as a result of the development occurring because of group advancement. It is not unusual that those nations embarking on the paths of socialist transformation have found it necessary to begin such construction with widespread mass education programs.

#### THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION

Another point which has come from the study of the growth of adult education in Tanzania is the role which ideology plays. As was pointed out in Chapter III, Tanzania has a well thought out and articulated set of ideas which guide decisions made in all areas of development. This ideology, Ujamaa and Self-Reliance, occupies a prominent position in the development of specific adult education programs. It is clear, for example, from reading the report of various institutions that at the lowest levels of awareness institutions attempt to relate their already existing

programs to ideological guidelines. This is an attempt to justify whatever programs have already been implemented by showing how they relate to the existing development objectives. This could often be seen in the reports of organizations shortly after the Arusha Declaration and its supporting documents. During these early days most institutions had not yet had a chance to restructure their offerings or approaches according to the various ideological imperatives of the new national ideology. But they were quite anxious to show how what they were offering fit within the new structure.

As time passed, institutions were able to change quite radically as a result of re-examination of their work with the ideological framework of Ujamaa and Self-Reliance. Institutions such as Kivukoni College, the Rural Training Centres and the Institute of Adult Education have made radical shifts in both the content and the approach to the teaching of adults. It must be noted, however, that content is usually the first area which receives the attention of the reformers. It is normal for educators to think, especially those who have been brought up in the colonial patterns, that the content is the only aspect of a program which needs to be changed. The recognition that the methods of recruitment, methods of planning and methods of teaching also have ideological implications comes as a later step. It is at this stage that adult education is most concerned at present.

Ideology also serves in a coordinating capacity. The fact that all programs are designed to meet aspects of the strategies for development,



the ideology of development, serves to unify the field of adult education.

Coordination is made easier because the national direction is known.

The problem becomes one of eliminating duplication of maximizing certain resources. The likelihood of programs existing which are not in the national interest is slight. There exists no need for an outside body saying, "This is in the national interest, this is not." The existence of a strong ideology means that the agencies are aware of what is useful and design new program with this awareness in mind.

#### FINAL COMMENTS

What this study has attempted to show is that:

1. The adult education network has expanded quantitatively in terms of organizations operating, financial commitment, enrollment and personnel involved;
2. The increased emphasis on adult education since the Arusha Declaration is a conscious one and is based on the requirements of rapid rural development, involvement of the population in the control of their own development and the transformation to socialism;
3. The functions that adult education is expected to fulfill within the development strategy has changed since the formal acceptance of socialism;
4. Adult education programs are guided and shaped by the existence of a clear ideology of development;
5. The attempts at socialist transformation have affected some programs in terms of approaches methods of adult education.

Tanzania has embarked on a unique social experiment. While other nations have followed similar paths there is perhaps no other nation in the

developing world today which has placed so much faith in or expects more from the education of its adults. At the root of this faith is a trust in the wisdom and judgement of the people themselves.

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