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EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS AND POLICIES
IN
POST-INDEPENDENCE TANZANIA

by

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ABSTRACT

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS AND POLICIES IN
POST-INDEPENDENCE TANZANIA

Rodney James Hinkle

Purpose

In March, 1967, President Julius K. Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania issued a statement, Education for Self-Reliance, calling for significant reforms in Tanzanian education. Nyerere's prescriptions for Tanzanian education were directed towards the creation of an educational system appropriate to an independent rural-agricultural African nation.

In justifying the need for Tanzanian educational reform, President Nyerere briefly surveyed post-independence Tanzanian educational development concluding that except for a few modifications, it had continued unaltered the inherited colonial model.

The purpose of this study is to examine post-independence Tanzanian educational development to

determine whether in fact it continued the policies of the colonial model. By examining six educational problems and the policy responses taken by the Tanzanian government towards their resolution, the study assesses the degree to which those policy responses were essentially Tanzanian rather than continuations of colonial education policy.

Methodology

The study utilizes historical methodology, tracing Tanzanian educational development from 1958, the year in which the Committee on the Integration of Education in Tanganyika was convened to 1967, when Education for Self-Reliance was issued. Each chapter focuses upon the historical evolution of a single educational problem and then casually relates the educational policy response of the Tanzanian government to the problem. Each chapter weighs the developmental significance of the policy response in terms of its Tanzanian content.

The study is further divided into three parts, reflecting its historical approach. Part I contains chapters surveying educational problems associated with the

transition to independence; Part II, problems associated with Tanzania's early efforts to plan social and economic development; and Part III, educational problems resulting from the broad political and social crises in Tanzania during 1966-67.

Conclusions

Overall, the record of Tanzanian educational development from 1958 to 1967 is impressive with many solid achievements. Perhaps most impressive is the quantitative increase in educational opportunity, particularly at the secondary and university level. Accompanying the physical expansion of the system was the success of the government in insuring the former inequities of educational opportunity based on race, religion, sex and geography were alleviated. The governance and organization of education was clarified by new laws, and a sound educational bureaucracy was created in a single ministry responsive to national political mandates. Finally, efforts to improve the internal efficiency of the educational structure and to relate the output of the system to well-studied national manpower

requirements were important achievements in a country where educated people remain a scarce resource.

Less impressive, at least until Education for Self-Reliance, was Tanzania's success in rethinking and reformulating the aims and content of most levels of the Tanzanian educational system. Largely, what Tanzanians expected from schools (and what went on in Tanzanian schools) remained what was former colonial educational practice. It took six years of independent status and two educational crises before Tanzanians seriously examined the aims of education in their society.

Thus, Nyerere's charge that post-independence Tanzanian education was an unexamined continuation of a colonial model needs some qualification to be historically accurate. In the case of the listed achievements, independent Tanzanians made effective policy responses to critical educational problems. These were Tanzanian responses dissimilar from former colonial educational policies. The continuing colonial features of Tanzanian education circa 1967 represented less impressive policy responses to inherited problems of the Tanzanian educational system.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
PART I. THE EDUCATIONAL - POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION (1958-1961)	
Chapter	
I. THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION	9
Background	9
The Pre-Independence System of Education	13
Racial Inequities in the Educational System	19
Religious Inequities in the Educational System	22
Geographical Inequities in the Educational System	25
Educational Imbalances Based on Sex	29
Committee on the Integration of Education in Tanganyika	31
The Basis of an Integrated System of Education	36
The Education Ordinance of 1961	42
Summary and Conclusions	47
II. THE SECONDARY SCHOOL STAFFING CRISIS	52
Background	52
The Problem	52
An International Policy Response to the Tanganyikan Secondary Staffing Crisis	64
The Princeton Conference	66
Policy Implementation: The Teachers for East Africa Program	70

Chapter	Page
An Attempt at a Broader Assessment of the TEA Policy Response	77
Post TEA Developments	93
Summary and Conclusions	97
PART II. THE INTEGRATION OF EDUCATIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING (1961-1966)	
III. EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE FIRST THREE YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN	101
Tanganyikan Educational Planning Before 1961	101
The Inherited Structure of Education at Independence	106
The Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64--An Overview	115
Educational Problems Under the Three Year Development Plan	120
Restructuring to Meet African Educational Aspirations	121
Restructuring for Increased Trained Manpower Output	129
Restructuring for Internal Efficiency	136
Summary and Conclusions	144
IV. EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE FIVE YEAR PLAN	149
Introduction	149
The UNESCO Educational Planning Mission for Tanganyika	152
Manpower Surveys and Tanzanian Educational Planning	154
Integrating Education with Development Plan Targets	165
The Student and National Development Planning	173
Summary and Conclusions	183

Chapter	Page
PART III. SOCIAL PROBLEMS AFFECTED BY EDUCATIONAL DYSFUNCTIONALITY (1966-1967)	
V. THE PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVER PROBLEM	188
Introduction	188
The Economics of Tanzanian Wage and Salaried Employment	189
The Vocational Aspirations of Tanzanian Primary Pupils	193
Structure, Aims and Content of Primary Education	196
The National Assembly--Primary School Leavers Debate	201
The Government Response	204
The October 22nd Crisis	208
The Arusha Declaration	213
Education for Self-Reliance	216
Conference on Education for Self-Reliance	226
Summary and Conclusions	234
VI. THE UNIVERSITY STUDENT--NATIONAL SERVICE CONTROVERSY	240
Introduction	240
Background of the Crisis	242
The Government Response to the University Crisis	249
Conference on the Role of University College in a Socialist Tanzania	254
The Significance of the Crisis	258
Summary and Conclusions	265
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	268
APPENDIXES	279
A. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMITTEE ON INTEGRATION OF EDUCATION	280

Appendix	Page
B. LIST OF TANZANIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1965, AND NUMBERS OF TEA AND PEACE CORPS TEACHERS POSTED, 1961-65	287
C. TANZANIAN PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FIGURES, 1961-66	297
D. ENROLLMENT AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DAR-ES- SALAAM, 1966/67	298
E. TOTAL ENROLLMENT OF TANZANIANS IN UNIVERSITY OF EAST AFRICA, 1966/67	299
BIBLIOGRAPHY	300

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Percentage Allocation of All African Schools by Responsible Operating Agency	17
2. 1958 School Enrollment as Percentage of Appropriate School Age Population	21
3. Total Educational Expenditure by Racial System of Education, 1959/60	22
4. Population and Location of Secondary Schools by Region (1960)	27
5. Percentage of Primary School Age Population Enrolled in Ten Sample Districts	28
6. Pupil Enrollment by Sex in African Schools, 1959	30
7. Additional Staff Required for Planned Expansion of Secondary Schools in 1961-64 Development Plan of Ministry of Education	58
8. Nationals on Tanganyikan Secondary School Staffs	60
9. Teachers for East Africa Program, Contributions by U.S./U.K.	77
10. Tanganyikan Cambridge School Certificate Exam Results, 1958-1966	84
11. Comparison of Posting Data With Type and Size of Secondary School	89
12. Comparative Table of Nomenclature and Ages in Schools in Pre-Independence Tanganyika	108

Table	Page
13. Number of African Students Enrolled in Each Standard for Each 1,000 Students Entering Standard I, 1960	111
14. Allocation of Development Plan Funds, 1961/62-1963/64	117
15. Ministry of Education Expenditures Charged to Development Funds, 1961/62-1963/64	123
16. Government Recurrent and Capital Education Expenditure, 1961/62-1963/64	127
17. Sectoral Allocation of the Three Year Development Plan Funds for Ministry of Education (Just Capital)	132
18. Percentage Change in Pupil Enrollment by Sectors, 1961-1964	134
19. Attrition in the Tanzanian Educational System, 1961, 1964	143
20. Five Year Plan Government Recurrent and Capital Expenditure on Education	166
21. Allocation of Educational Expenditures Under Five Year Development Plan	169
22. Enrollment Targets for the Development of Education, 1964-1969	171
23. Tanzanian Higher School Certificate Results, 1960-1966	177
24. Evolution of Wage and Salaried Employment in Tanzania, 1961-1965	190

Table	Page
25. Tanzanian Employment Prospects for New Entrants to Labor Market, 1964/65-1968/69	192
26. Tanzanian Post-Primary Selection Data . . .	198

INTRODUCTION

The United Republic of Tanzania¹ is no exception to the prevailing tendency of African nations to view education "as the key that will open the door to a better life and the higher living standards they were promised as the reward of the struggle for national liberation."² Testimony to that faith is the fact that Tanzania currently allocates around 20% of total government expenditure to education.

Still there have been expressions of concern by even President Julius Nyerere that Tanzanian education (as it existed in 1967) may not be the magic elixir to the problems of underdevelopment in that country. For in 1967,

¹On December 9, 1961, the Trusteeship Territory of Tanganyika became independent and one year later was renamed the Republic of Tanganyika. Following the union with Zanzibar in April, 1964, the new name became the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar which was later shortened (October, 1964) to the United Republic of Tanzania. Unless stated otherwise, all references to Tanzania in this paper refer only to "mainland" Tanzania, formerly Tanganyika.

²L. Gray Cowan, James O'Connell and David G. Scanlon, eds., Education and Nation-Building in Africa (New York: Praeger, 1965), p. v.

the President in a well-reasoned document, Education for Self-Reliance, appraised post-independence Tanzanian educational development, found it wanting and offered some prescriptions for its future development.

In that document, the President first concluded that Tanzania inherited an educational system that was both inadequate and inappropriate for an independent African country. It was inadequate because at the time of independence, ". . . we had too few people with the necessary qualifications even to man the administration of government as it was then, much less undertake the big economic and social development work which was essential."¹ It was inappropriate because ". . . it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of a colonial state."²

Nyerere states that unfortunately the new independent government of Tanganyika did not critically examine the inherited educational system, but instead continued

¹ Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 4.

² Ibid., p. 3.

unaltered the basic structure and content of the former system. Yet, he admits that three of the most glaring weaknesses of the inherited system were corrected; a policy of racial integration was implemented to replace the racially segregated system, a policy of rapid expansion of the secondary sector was pressed to meet the minimum manpower needs of government and industry, and Tanzanian songs, languages, history and culture were introduced into the curriculum to offset the non-Tanzanian focus of the former system. But these "modifications" did not transform the inherited system into something more appropriate for the educational needs of a developing African nation.

So, he concludes, "It is now time for us to think seriously about this question: 'What is the educational system of Tanzania intended to do--what is its purpose?'"¹ The remainder of his statement is his prescription for the future, a prescription that stresses educational reforms to produce citizens who appreciate their ties to the land, to each other and to the state.

¹Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 5.

Education for Self-Reliance provided much of the impetus for this investigator to undertake a study of educational developments in post-independence Tanzania. Post-independence Tanzanian educational development (in which this investigator participated for over three years) had been thought by many to be an impressive example of enlightened educational thinking.

In purely quantitative terms, expansion of the various sectors of the educational system since independence had been impressive. In the years 1961-1966, primary school enrollment had increased by 53%, secondary enrollment by 101% and enrollment in institutions of higher learning by 259%.¹

Similarly, Tanzanian educational expansion had been an orderly rational endeavor with careful attention paid to the manpower requirements of the national development effort. Tanzania is an example of a developing nation that has made tough educational decisions based on hard, carefully documented economic realities.

¹United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, "Admission at Different Levels of Education: Comparative Figures" (Dar-Es-Salaam, 1966). (Mimeographed.)

At the same time, the thinking behind Tanzanian educational development has enlisted some of the best minds of international scholars and advisors. The Tanzanian record is impressive, with such organizations as UNESCO, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Ford Foundation, European and American universities and foreign government agencies all having shared in post-independence Tanzanian educational development. Thus, educational development in Tanzania since independence has not been a haphazard undertaking but one that would seem to inspire confidence from the very breadth of its participants.

The fact a President of a recently independent nation could be so self critical of post-independence educational development in his country, when that development exemplified the just named favorable characteristics, provides additional justification for this study. If post-independence Tanzanian educational development is truly wanting, then the record of other African nations, many of whom have based their educational development on similar assumptions to Tanzania, will also have to be re-examined. Thus, an examination of Tanzanian educational development

from 1958, the year the Committee on the Integration of Education was convened, to 1967, the year Education for Self-Reliance was released, should provide a better basis than we now have for a broader appraisal of African educational development over the past decade.

The purpose of the study, to provide an account of Tanzanian educational development from 1958 to 1967, lends itself to an historical approach. Educational development is a dynamic process occurring over time. To enhance understanding of both the dynamic sequential development of educational problems and policy responses as well as the relationship between educational and broader national development problems and policies, the study has been divided into three parts; Part I (1958-61), which treats educational problems of the political transition period just prior to independence, Part II (1961-66), which analyzes educational problems stemming from efforts to devise comprehensive national development plans, and Part III (1966-67), which surveys educational problems associated with Tanzanian efforts to redefine socialism in a Tanzanian context. Each chapter will focus upon a particular problem and policy response,

attempting where possible to judge the appropriateness of the policy response taken to the problem under scrutiny. The final chapter will summarize the conclusions of the study and relate them to the observations of the investigator gained from his personal contact with the Tanzanian educational system.

PART I

THE EDUCATIONAL - POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF
TRANSITION (1958-61)

CHAPTER I

THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM
OF EDUCATION

Background

In 1958, it would have been inaccurate to speak of a single Tanganyikan system of education. In reality, there were four different systems of education; the African, the Indian, the European, and the Other Non-Native (Goan). The historical evolution of these separate systems stemmed from early efforts of non-indigenous communities, assisted and in some cases encouraged by missionaries, to provide schooling responsive to the particular educational needs of their respective communities.¹ Government

¹For a historical account of educational development during the German Period in Tanganyika see George Hornsby's "German Educational Achievement in Tanganyika," Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 2 (March, 1964), pp. 83-90; for the British Period see the article by O. W. Furley and T. Watson, "Education in Tanganyika Between the Wars: Attempts to Blend Two Cultures," The South Atlantic Quarterly, LXV (Autumn, 1966), 471-490.

financial aid to these, non-indigenous systems of education began slowly after the Phelps-Stokes Report in 1923 urged such assistance and with more constancy and breadth only after the 1949 statutory creation of Non-African educational authorities.

Thus, the evolution of four separate racial educational systems in Tanganyika was a somewhat haphazard development, as the ". . . colonial governments tardily and without enthusiasm first supervised and supported financially the large, piecemeal education systems built by the missionaries and then, as financial subventions inevitably increased . . . moved into a position of control as both paymasters and inspectors of organizations which they themselves had not created."¹

There were no serious efforts by the government to alter these racial systems of education until 1958. One year before, the 1957 United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa had recommended that the Government ". . . should take a more positive lead in

¹John Cameron, "The Integration of Education in Tanganyika," Comparative Education Review, XI (February, 1967), 41-42.

introducing interracial education, if not by legislation, at least by a firm policy statement on the matter and by taking active measures to persuade the European and Asian components of the population of its necessity."¹ That same year the government officially admitted that "the development of one educational system was the ultimate aim."² Still, little was done towards integrating the educational systems until after the first general election of 1958. In that election, TANU (Tanganyika African Nationalist Union), a party which had campaigned for the end of racially segregated schools, defeated every candidate of the U.T.P., the United Tanganyika Party which had endorsed the continuation of separate racial educational systems.

In October, 1958, one month after the general election, the Minister of Social Services (whose portfolio included the Department of Education) announced the

¹United Nations Trusteeship Council, 21st Session, Report of the 1957 U.N. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa (T/401) 1958, p. 62.

²Tanganyika, Department of Education, Triennial Survey of Education, 1955-57 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1958), Introduction.

formation of a Committee on the Integration of Education whose mandate was:

- a) To review the organization and financing of the existing education provisions for the various races in Tanganyika; and
- b) To consider how . . . the present system may best be integrated in the interests of all the people of the territory, so as to lead to the development of a single¹ system of education in the Territory . . .

The one month lapsed time between the general election and the formation of this committee leaves little doubt that the decision to begin the process of abolishing racial segregation in Tanganyika education was a politically inspired move by the colonial government. A new political era had begun, and the first business on the education agenda was the abolition of the distasteful (to the Africans) system of racially segregated schools.

Let us examine the inherited educational system which confronted the members of the Committee on the Integration of Education² as they began meeting in late 1958.

¹Tanganyika. Report of the Committee on the Integration of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), p. 1.

²The Committee on the Integration of Education (hereafter referred to as the Integration Committee) was a

The Pre-Independence System of Education

The task that confronted the members of the Committee on the Integration of Education was extraordinarily complex and difficult. For in almost every aspect, the pre-independence system of education in Tanganyika was diverse and uncoordinated, the product of unplanned and haphazard development. Variation occurred in its financial structure, patterns of governance and management, classification of stages, entry and exit points, language, and syllabus. Most importantly, in terms of impending independence and the assumption of political power by Africans, this incredible diversity was reflected in considerable disparities of educational opportunity on the basis of race, religion, geography and sex.

Before examining disparities in educational opportunity resulting from the haphazard and uncoordinated development of education within the territory, some attempt to describe the diversity in the pre-independence educational system is necessary, particularly as to the

multi-racial committee of 13 members, W. W. Lewis-Jones serving as Chairman.

governance of education in the territory. The most obvious diversity in the system was the separate statutory racial systems of education; the African, European, Indian, and Other Non-Native. This racial division in education paralleled the de facto separation of races in pre-independence Tanganyikan society, evident in hospitals, hotels, clubs, traveling facilities, and residential areas.

Each of the separate racial systems of education differed in many respects. Their powers and limitations flowed from different legislative enactments.¹ Only in the African system was both the policy making and daily operational authority in the hands of the central government's Department of Education, whose professional head, the Director of Education, administered the system with the advice of an advisory committee. In the Non-African systems, policy making was delegated to three statutory authorities though much of the routine administration of the Non-African systems was in fact carried out by an Assistant Director of Education in charge of Non-African

¹These were the Education (African) Ordinance (Cap. 71 of the Laws of Tanganyika) and Non-Native Education Ordinance (Cap. 264 of the Laws of Tanganyika).

education. The African system was financed by public funds, school fees paid by parents and contributions of voluntary agencies (mostly religious). Non-Africans paid a special Non-African Education Tax, the proceeds of which were divided into separate education funds for each racial community. As one might expect, each racial system had differing grants-in-aid systems, conditions of teacher's services, language policy, entry ages and class nomenclatures and, to some degree, syllabuses.

Though racial compartmentalization of pre-independence Tanganyikan education existed, this did not necessarily mean that the Non-African Educational Authorities were sufficiently powerful to thwart the government. The fact that the budgets of the Non-African authorities were subject to the approval of the Legislative Council, that all were somewhat dependent upon deficiency grants from the central government, and that the daily operation of the four racial systems was in the hands of the Department of Education made it realistically difficult for any racial system of education to pursue policies in strong contravention of the colonial government's will.

A further complication of the situation confronting the Integration Committee was the role of the Voluntary Agencies in pre-independence Tanganyikan education. By statute, each of the two major Christian religions (Protestant and Catholic) appointed (with the approval of the Minister for Education and Labor) Secretary Generals who sat on the Advisory Committee on African Education and were responsible for the coordination and supervision of all schools operated by their religions. As Table 1 indicates, the percentage of total schools operated by Voluntary Agencies was considerable. In 1958, Voluntary Agencies were the dominant operating agency at all three levels of the African system of education. While all Voluntary Agency schools receiving government aid had to comply with certain common standards and were subject to government inspection, the quality and atmosphere of such schools differed greatly depending upon the financial resources of the Agency or its religious persuasion.

Table 1 also indicates that at the primary and middle level of schooling, local governments played a significant role in the operation of schools. Here, too, the quality of education offered varied markedly with the

TABLE 1
 PERCENTAGE ALLOCATION OF ALL AFRICAN SCHOOLS BY RESPONSIBLE OPERATING AGENCY^a

Responsible Operating Agency	Percentage Allocation		
	Primary Schools	Middle Schools	Secondary Schools
Central Government	3	7	42
Local Government (Native Authorities)	25	30	0
Voluntary Agencies	72	63	58
Total	100	100	100

^aBetty George, Education for Africans in Tanganyika (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), pp. 27-28.

financial resources of the local community and its ability to attract competent teachers and administrators.

One final pattern of diversity should be noted, this one based upon standards of quality. In 1958, all Tanganyikan schools were separated into two categories: Category I schools (also known as Aided schools) and Category II schools (often referred to as Bush schools). Only the former were entitled to government financial assistance since they met government teacher certification requirements and employed a common syllabus and examination system recommended by the Department of Education. While enrollment in sub-grade Bush schools varied from year to year and was concentrated in the first four years of schooling, in 1958 Betty George estimated that about 74,000 pupils attended such inferior schools.¹

This brief description of the varying patterns in the ownership, management and control of pre-independence Tanganyikan schools should provide sufficient documentation of the diversity in educational governance that confronted

¹Betty George, Education for Africans in Tanganyika (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 30.

the Integration Committee. The Integration Committee had to create from this chaotic situation an integrated system that would be both politically acceptable to Africans and at the same time not discourage the efforts of non-Africans who had contributed usefully to the overall development of Tanganyikan education to that date.

As suggested earlier, perhaps even more important than simply creating unity from diversity was the need to create a system of education that would reduce the inequities of educational opportunity present in 1958--inequities based on race, religion, geography, and sex.

Let us examine these inequities in educational opportunity.

Racial Inequities in the Educational System

The objections of the emerging African leaders to a racially segregated educational system were both ideological and practical: From its inception, the African nationalist party in Tanganyika (TANU) condemned racialism. One objective of TANU was to ". . . see that the government gives equal opportunity to all men and women

irrespective of race, religion, or status."¹ Obviously, the African nationalists could not attack racialism in the civil service, in commerce and in private life, yet permit its continuation within the educational system.

The figures in Table 2 document the unbalanced representation of the races in terms of 1958 pupil enrollment showing the majority racial group (African) having the lowest percentage (10.5%) of school age population enrolled in school.² No political party anxious to attract the allegiance of Tanganyikan Africans could ignore that practical fact.

Additional evidence of the racial inequities in education in pre-independent Tanganyikan education can be found in the total amounts of money spent in 1959/60 on the various racial systems. (See Table 3.)

While non-Africans represented about 1% of the total population of Tanganyika, almost one half (£1,219,782) of the total educational expenditure for Africans

¹Hildebrand Meienberg, Tanzanian Citizen (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 33.

²Of the three non-African racial groups, Asians were more likely to send their children to schools in Tanganyika rather than to overseas schools.

TABLE 2
1958 SCHOOL ENROLLMENT AS PERCENTAGE OF APPROPRIATE SCHOOL AGE POPULATION

Race	Approximate School Age Population ^a	School Enrollment Standards 1-14 ^b	School Enrollment as Percentage of Approximate School Age Population
African	3,840,248	403,943	10.5
Asian	34,121	23,209	68.0
Other Non-Native	11,039	1,319	11.9
European	5,805	2,787	48.0

^a Taken from: Tanganyika, Report of the Committee on the Integration of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), p. 3.

^b Taken from: Tanganyika, Department of Education, Triennial Survey of Education for the Years 1958-60 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), pp. 16-17.

TABLE 3

TOTAL EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE BY RACIAL SYSTEM
OF EDUCATION
1959/60^a

Racial System of Education	Total Educational Expenditure
African	£2,632,663
European	£ 485,787
Indian	£ 682,536
Other Non-Native (Including Goan) . .	£ 51,469

^aTanganyika, Report of the Committee on the Integration of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), Appendix D.

(£2,632,663) was spent on education for non-Africans in pre-independent Tanganyika. This was discrimination in its most blatant form.

Religious Inequities in the
Educational System

Because of the predominance of the voluntary agencies in the operation of African schools at every level of the system, religious imbalances in educational opportunity had resulted. Voluntary Agency schools had the right to select their own pupils, to refuse teachers

posted by the Ministry and to create a school atmosphere conducive to their particular religious persuasion. The two Education Secretaries, representing the two major Christian bodies (Catholic and Protestant) were given powers under statute to appoint their own teachers and school supervisors and the power to coordinate the work of all their schools at various levels of the system. One result of Voluntary Agency autonomy was the creation of religious geographical "fiefdoms" of educational influence in areas where a particular religious group had developed predominant power and influence over the years. Educational inbreeding occurred in that a child would enter the mission primary school, proceed to the mission secondary school, and then, if selected, proceed on to the mission teacher training college. Following completion, he would be employed by the mission in one of their primary schools. If he wanted to change his employer (this was before the creation of the Unified Teaching Service) he would have to seek a release from the Education Secretary General of the mission body that had supported him through the years of his formal education. Unlike his counterpart employed by the government, the mission employed teacher did not

receive free medical service, subsidized housing or retirement rights. In a sense, the mission teacher was an educational serf to the particular mission body that happened to possess predominant power in his home area.

But even more critical politically was the effect of an educational system dominated by Christian missions on the educational attainment of the Moslem community. Partly as a result of their own distrust of the Christian mission school, the educational advancement of Moslem children lagged behind the Christian community. As Margaret Bates reports, one of the first demands of Moslem leaders on TANU was for the expansion of government schools to redress the imbalance in the educational preparation of Moslem children.¹

It is difficult to document in precise terms the extent of disparity in educational opportunity on the basis of religion either during the transition period or more recently. The 1957 official census of the Tanganyika Territory showed that 30% of the African population was

¹Margaret Bates, "Tanganyika," in African One-Party States, ed. by Gwendolyn M. Carter (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962), p. 474.

Moslem and 25% Christian.¹ The Ministry of Education has never published figures on the religious affiliation of its students, but an unpublished study in 1963 of secondary students who were citizens (mostly Africans) showed that 14% of the students were Moslem and 51% Christian.² The difference between these figures and the figures showing the relative strength of the various religions in the total African population suggests some disparity (at least at the secondary level) in educational opportunity on the basis of religion.

Geographical Inequities in the Educational System

Closely related to the problems resulting from the strong position of the voluntary agencies in education were the resultant disparities in educational opportunity on the basis of geography. As one might expect, progressive regions with favorable climates and relatively strong

¹Republic of Tanganyika, The Treasury, Statistical Abstract, 1962 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1962), p. 24.

²United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Educational Statistics, 1964 (Dar-Es-Salaam, 1964, p. 3. (Mimeographed.)

economic potential tended to be areas in which Voluntary Agencies concentrated their efforts. One example was the wealthy progressive Northern region, the Chagga home.

Table 4 compares regional distribution of population with the number and location of secondary schools that offered Cambridge School Certificate work in 1960.

Table 4 indicates that two regions, the former Eastern Region (now the Dar-Es-Salaam and Morogoro regions) and the former Northern Region (now the Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions) between them contained 20 of the 47 secondary and technical schools offering Form IV work on January 1, 1960. Yet, in terms of their ranking in total African population those regions ranked third and seventh respectively. Interestingly, these two regions ranked one and two in terms of total European population.

While it is harder to document geographical disparities in educational opportunity at the primary level before independence, the 1962 UNESCO Educational Planning Mission supplied some estimates of approximate percentages of school age population enrolled in Standards I-IV in ten sample districts throughout the country. Table 5 presents the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission data.

TABLE 4
POPULATION AND LOCATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY REGION (1960)^a

Region	Rank in Total Population	Total Population	African Population	Number of Secondary and Technical Schools Offering School Certificate Work 1960
Lake	1	1,732,000	1,717,000	5
Eastern	2	1,084,000	1,039,000	13
Western	3	1,062,000	1,052,000	5
So. Highlands	4	1,030,000	1,023,000	4
Southern	5	1,014,000	1,008,000	4
Tanga	6	888,000	671,000	2
Central	7	886,000	879,000	3
Northern	8	772,000	758,000	7
West Lake	9	<u>540,000</u>	<u>510,000</u>	<u>4</u>
Total		9,008,000	8,657,000	47

^aPopulation data taken from Republic of Tanganyika, The Treasury, Statistical Abstract, 1962 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1962), p. 10.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL AGE POPULATION
ENROLLED IN TEN SAMPLE DISTRICTS^a

District and Region	Percentage of School Age Population Enrolled (Standards I-IV)
Bukoba (West Lake Region)	67
Kwimba (Lake Region)	41
Kilimanjaro (Northern Region)	66
Lindi (Southern Region)	32
Masai (Northern Region)	26
Nzega (Western Region)	35
Singida (Central Region)	54
Tanga (rural) (Tanga Region)	49
Tukuyu (Southern Highlands)	41
Utete (Eastern Region)	23

^aReport of The UNESCO Educational Planning Mission for Tanganyika, June to October, 1962 (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), p. 90.

With a national average at that time (1962) of about 50% of appropriate school age population enrolled in Standards I-IV, Table V, showing a range from 23% in Utete District to 66% in Kilimanjaro District, illustrates the considerable disparity in the geographical distribution of Tanganyikan education at the primary level.

Educational Imbalances Based on Sex

The development of education for girls in Tanganyika, as in most African countries, has been a major problem. The reluctance of African parents to send girls to school no doubt partially stemmed from centuries old traditions in which the female held a subordinate position in African society and from the more current reality of few career possibilities for girls that demanded much beyond a few years of primary education. The result was far fewer girls than boys attending school at any level with the ratio of enrollment between boys and girls increasing at each higher level of education. Table 6 illustrates the decreasing percentage of girls attending schools in pre-independent Tanzania the higher the standard involved.

In pre-independence Tanganyika, at no level of the African educational system, primary, middle, or secondary, was more than a third of all pupils female. By the end of the secondary cycle (Std. XII) enrollment of girls as a percentage of total enrollment had dropped to 7%. Considerable imbalance in educational opportunity on the basis of sex existed in pre-independence Tanganyika education.

TABLE 6
 PUPIL ENROLLMENT BY SEX IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS, 1959^a

Standard		Enrollment of Girls as a Percentage of Total Enrollment
I.		38
II.	Primary	36
III.		33
IV.		29
<hr/>		
V.		17
VI.	Middle	18
VII.		18
VIII.		17
<hr/>		
IX.		11
X.	Secondary	11
XI.		7
XII.		7
<hr/>		

^aInternational Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Economic Development of Tanganyika (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), p. 310.

These then were some of the major educational inequities that characterized Tanganyikan education during the transitional period. The challenge to the Integration Committee was to devise a new pattern of governance for the educational system that would hold promise for righting these inequities.

Committee on the Integration of
Education in Tanganyika

The Committee on the Integration of Education in Tanganyika, faced with the choice of recommending either a limited, piecemeal approach or a bolder more comprehensive blueprint for total integration, adopted the second more ambitious goal and submitted in March, 1960, a report detailing 26 recommendations for government action. (The recommendations of the Integration Committee are contained in Appendix A.) For purposes of this study only the recommendations of the Committee which specifically deal with the diverse patterns of governance of Tanganyikan education and their corollary effect upon inherent inequities in educational opportunity will be considered.

John Cameron concludes that overall the 26 recommendations of the Integration Committee displayed commendable moderation in that the committee could have recommended wholesale nationalization or confiscation of schools in Tanganyika in view of the approaching "responsible government" status of the African majority (such status occurred September 1, 1960).¹ Instead the Committee only

¹Cameron, "Integration of Education," pp. 49-50.

recommended far-reaching alterations in the governance of Tanganyikan education.

The most drastic step recommended by the Committee was the abolition of all existing statutory non-governmental bodies that had authority to determine educational policy in Tanganyika. (Recommendation 22.) All statutory authority formerly delegated to the European and Indian Education Authorities and the Advisory Committee for Other Non-Native (including Goan) Education and the Advisory Committee on African Education would cease and instead come under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education and a single Advisory Council on Education. That all statutory authority over education would be in the hands of the government did not mean that all schools must be government schools. A non-governmental school could continue its operation and even receive government aid, but only if the school abided by the principles of an integrated system of education (Recommendation 1). The practical effect of these two recommendations was to reduce the diversity in the governance of Tanganyika schools by establishing two broad categories of schools; government and government aided schools being the first

category, and private non-aided schools, the second.

A recommendation by the committee which on the surface would appear to reduce the government's policy making power over the bulk of the educational system was the recommendation that Boards of Governors or School Committees be appointed for all post-primary institutions (Recommendation 14). However, as William Dodd has pointed out, the actual effects did not diminish the power of central government over secondary schools.

Thus, neither the creation of Boards of Governors for post-primary institutions nor the creation of Local Education Authorities has resulted in any diminution of the power and control of the central government. Rather, these reforms should be regarded as steps to delegate powers to bodies which will implement the policies of the government and thereby tap sources of funds, personnel and expertise which supplement those of the central authority.¹

What were the principles of integration that any school desirous of receiving government aid must comply with? Any child should be eligible for admission to any school in the territory (Recommendation 2). In the case

¹William A. Dodd, "Centralization in Education in Mainland Tanzania," Comparative Education Review, XII (October, 1968), 280.

of secondary schools, both lower and higher, admission would be on the basis of competitive exams and general school record (Recommendations 4 and 6). No school could maintain a name that made reference to race (Recommendation 24), nor in the case of primary schools fail to adopt a common government approved syllabus (Recommendation 8).

While these principles on the surface would appear to eliminate schools that maintained either a racial or religious complexion, the Integration Committee included several recommendations that softened or postponed the impact of the above principles. Thus, in the case of primary schools, while any child was eligible for admission to any school, priority should be given to children of the community for whom the school was established (Recommendation 2). Similarly, while all primary schools must abide by a common syllabus, a language other than English could be used as the medium of instruction (Recommendation 8). Fees should be abolished only in Swahili medium primary schools (Recommendation 17). Finally, schools acceptable in the integrated system must assume a common nomenclature (Recommendation 23) and move towards a primary course of eight years and a secondary course of

four years followed by a gradual development of a two year Higher School Certificate course (Recommendation 10).

For the purpose of this study, the tendency of the committee to shift educational policy making power to the central government had two salutary effects. First, the Integration Committee's recommendations had the effect of simplifying the governance of Tanganyika education. This prefaced what Dodd points out as the characteristic development of post 1961 Tanzanian education, what he calls the trend towards centralization in the control, organization and administration of education.¹ Secondly, the Integration Committee's recommendations placing education decision-making power in the central government provided the mechanism whereby disparities in educational opportunity based on race, religion, geography and sex could be alleviated. As long as the powers of educational governance lay in the hands of diverse bodies, none of which were politically accountable, there was little hope for any significant amelioration of educational inequities, particularly inequities based on race and religion. The Integration Committee wisely recognized that only the central government, soon to become politically accountable,

¹Dodd, "Centralization in Education," p. 269.

would be both responsive and instrumental in correcting past inequities in educational opportunity. The wisdom of the Integration Committee's work lay in both recognizing this and, at the same time, devising means by which special interests, whose continued operation of schools in effect exacerbated educational inequities, would be permitted to continue working in Tanganyika, contributing to the overall development of Tanganyikan education.

The Basis for an Integrated System
of Education

Government Paper No. 1 of 1960, The Basis for an Integrated System of Education, debated and approved by the Legislative Council in December, 1960, was the government's official reaction to the 26 recommendations of the Committee on the Integration of Education. It in turn set forth the principles which would later be incorporated into the Education Ordinance of 1961 creating the statutory framework for an integrated educational system that came into being January 1, 1962. The main interest of The Basis for an Integrated System of Education is the changes that it made in the recommendations of the

Integration Committee since those changes reflected the thinking of the "responsible Government" of Julius Nyerere and his TANU associates.

As John Cameron has pointed out, the Government White Paper, The Basis of an Integrated System of Education, essentially affirmed a formula which ". . . was a continuation of the one which had, perhaps half-heartedly, been used by the outgoing administration, namely integration from the top down."¹ As the White Paper itself states:

The general policy is simple. Higher education in East Africa is organized already on non-racial lines and this will be as true of the University College in Tanganyika as it is of Makerere College and the Royal Technical College, Nairobi. It is now planned to organize on similar lines Teacher Training and Secondary Education and, of necessity more slowly, Primary Education.²

While it affirmed in principle the recommendations of the Integration Committee, the White Paper did make some critical alterations. Troubled over the indefinite time

¹Cameron, "Integration of Education," p. 50.

²Tanganyika, Legislative Council, The Basis of an Integrated System of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), p. 2.

limit the Integration Committee established for eliminating priority of admission in primary schools to children of the community for whom the school was established, the White Paper decided that such "special interest will be adequately recognized if priority is accorded for a period of three years from the date on which the integrated system is introduced and the Non-Native Education Tax abolished."¹ The government did not envision that at the end of the three year grace period many changes would be required in the languages of instruction used in primary schools but left the issue open for subsequent government decision.

The other major White Paper alteration from the Committee's recommendations regarding integration was its refusal to abolish school fees in Swahili language primary schools. (In fact, all the Integration Committee's recommendations regarding fees and remissions were held in abeyance until they could be examined later relative to the overall development of the educational system.) In placing a three year limit on the ability of primary schools to give priority of admission to particular

¹Tanganyika, Legislative Council, The Basis of an Integrated System of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), p. 2.

groups, the White Paper seems to have been motivated by political considerations. In rejecting the Integration Committee's call for the abolition of fees in Swahili language primary schools, the government appears to have been motivated by economic considerations since this would have been a politically popular move in respect to the African electorate.

There are other sections of the government White Paper which also had far reaching consequences for the development of post-independence Tanzanian education. One such section was the government's decision to disregard the Integration Committee's recommendation for continuing the Standard Ten Junior Certificate Exam (Recommendation 12). The government argued that maintaining such an exam would reduce the flexibility of the proposed four year secondary course. As later chapters will show, the decision to abolish the Standard Ten exam proved to have significant effects on the structure of post-independence Tanzanian education and, as some would argue, on the quality of secondary school graduates. The government, while accepting the Integration Committee's recommendation for the eventual creation of a Unified Teaching

Service, was not prepared at that time to endorse such a system. However, in 1963, the Unified Teaching Service was created along with a statutory Central Board to both advise the Minister of Education and to supervise the execution of the scheme. Following the creation of the Unified Teaching Service all registered teachers enjoyed the same salary and housing rights, conditions of employment, pension, medical and maternity leave regardless of the managing agency of their school.¹

Historically, perhaps the most interesting feature of The Basis of an Integrated System of Education was the advance hint that the government gave as to its intentions

¹William A. Dodd, in his article, "Centralization in Education in Mainland Tanzania," Comparative Education Review, XII (October, 1968), 274-75, argues that the creation of the Unified Teaching Service was an important factor encouraging the centralizing tendency of education in Mainland Tanzania. After 1963, teachers no longer looked to their particular managing agency employer on matters affecting their employment but to the Central Board of the Unified Teaching Service. The elimination of disparities in terms of employment for all registered teachers also reduced the opposition of teachers to be re-posted to schools in areas where critical staffing shortages existed, often because of poor employment conditions.

regarding the allocation of educational authority between the central government and local government and the corollary financial issues surrounding the allocation of such authority. In a section entitled "Other Issues for Consideration" the central government expressed its intention to exercise overall responsibility for the administration and development of secondary education and teacher training. However, in regard to primary education, the government signalled its intentions by saying:

Under present arrangements, rural local authorities already run education, but urban local authorities generally have played no part in the field of education. The Government proposes that under the integrated system all local authorities should be required to assume responsibilities for primary education, including a duty to pay from their own revenues part of its cost. The Government also proposes that the present system whereby local authorities make contributions to the central governments should, as suggested by the Committee, be replaced by a system of central government subventions to local authorities.¹

Of course, the actual statutory delegation of power over primary education to local authorities had to wait for

¹Tanganyika, Legislative Council, The Basis for an Integrated System of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), p. 4.

the enactment of the Education Ordinance of 1961, but this early signal by the central government of its intentions in the area of responsibility for local primary education had far reaching consequences in the post-independence development of Tanzanian education.

The Education Ordinance of 1961

The last step before an integrated system of education was established in Tanganyika was the passage by the National Assembly on 13 October, 1961, of an "Ordinance to Make Provision for a Single System of Education in the Territory." This piece of legislation, signed by the Governor on 30 October, 1961, effective 1 January, 1962, repealed existing educational legislation and established the statutory framework for Tanganyikan education that remains in effect to this date.¹

The most striking impression of the Ordinance is the absence of any reference to race or racial systems of

¹Education Ordinance No. 37 of 1961 (Cap. 446) of the laws of Tanganyika repealed Education (African) Ordinance (Cap. 71), the Non-Native Education Ordinance (Cap. 264) and the Non-Native Tax Ordinance (Cap. 265) of the laws of Tanganyika.

education in Tanganyika. Nor does the legislation concern itself with structural questions, such as classification of stages, length of study within stages or exams. Essentially, the legislation defines the powers and limitations of various bodies to control education in Tanganyika. The scope and thrust of the legislation is evident from the sub-part titles: Advisory Council on Education, Local Education Authorities, Boards of Governors and School Committee, Control of Schools and General (which delineates the powers of the Minister of Education). That the Education Ordinance of 1961 was basically concerned with new patterns in the governance of education is not surprising, for as one expert has stated, ". . . the purpose of a law is to define and to limit the powers, rights, and duties of those participating in the educational process, particularly of the government."¹

Apart from the absence of reference to race, the Education Ordinance of 1961 contains some noteworthy

¹J. Roger Carter, Legal Framework of Educational Planning and Administration in East Africa; Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966), p. 13.

innovations from the pre-independence patterns of governance. If one had to isolate a key feature of the legislation it would be the almost endless list of powers granted to the Minister of Education (or his professional representatives) to direct, promote, and control the development of education in the territory. The list of powers conferred upon the Minister of Education (or his chief professional officer, the Chief Education Officer) included the power to decide who may open a school (Section 23), who must attend schools (Section 36), who may teach in a school (Section 26), what may be taught in the school (Section 38), and when a school could be closed (Section 33).

The statutory delegation of power held by former educational authorities was transferred by the Education Ordinance of 1961 to two new groups; in the case of primary schools to Local Education Authorities, and in the case of post-primary schools, to Boards of Governors and School Committees. (This was essentially the English pattern of educational governance.) The reasons for delegating control over primary schools to Local Education Authorities were partly financial, partly political and partly administrative. It was hoped that by such

decentralization local initiative, local financial resources and local needs would bear a direct role in the management of the vast primary system. Also, there is little doubt that financial stringency in the national exchequer at that time and the national developmental priority given to the expansion of secondary schools also played a role in the decentralization decision regarding primary education.

Fears later expressed by the 1962 UNESCO Educational Planning Mission that both local finances and administrative talent would prove inadequate in the short run for the orderly governance of primary education proved correct. It took several years before the combined effort of knowledgeable local authorities and such central Ministry of Education officers as Regional Education Officers, District Education Officers, and Primary School Inspectors could cope with the problems of governing the vast primary school system.

What effect did the Education Ordinance of 1961 have on the former ability of religious voluntary agencies to manage schools of their religious affiliation? Critical is Section 29 of the Ordinance which forbade any

public school from refusing admission to any pupil on the basis of religion and which gave the parent the right to choose what (if any) religious training a child would receive at any Tanganyikan school. As the Minister of Education, Solomon Eliufoo, later pointed out, the changes made possible by the Education Ordinance of 1961 in the governance of religious (Voluntary Agency) schools in Tanganyika has not been widely recognized. He reports that with the passage of the Education Ordinance of 1961, the Ministry of Education in regard to all grant-aided schools exercised complete and effective control of:

- a) staffing-recruiting, posting and promotion and conditions of pay and service;
- b) admission of pupils on a non-racial and non-religious basis; and strictly on merit;
- c) syllabus and secular instruction which are now common to all schools;
- d) common standards of discipline and internal organization;
- e) fair share of public funds, all public schools now receive the same amount of public support.¹

¹University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, Report on the Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar-Es-Salaam in a Socialist Tanzania, 1967, p. 14. (Mimeographed.)

It is not surprising, then, that the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission in 1962 was able to conclude that existing educational legislation ". . . gives the Minister responsible for education all the powers necessary for its control whether it be provided by others or by the government itself."¹

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has examined the major problem and policy response that characterized Tanganyikan educational development in the transitional years (1958-1961). The problem was a diverse, racially structured system of education creating considerable inequities in educational opportunity on the basis of race, religion, geography, and sex. The policy response was the creation of an integrated system of education with the predominant power to control education in the territory being placed in the hands of the central government's Minister of Education. After documenting the extent of the educational inequities

¹Report of the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission to Tanganyika, June to October, 1962 (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), p. 23. (Mimeographed.)

present in the 1958 Tanganyikan educational system, the chapter traced the evolution of the government's policy response through the convening of a Committee on the Integration of Education, the issuance of a Government White Paper, The Basis for an Integrated System of Education, and finally the passage of the Education Ordinance of 1961. The statutory powers entrusted to the Minister of Education in the ordinance not only encouraged the centralization tendency of subsequent educational development following independence but had the additional virtue of bestowing upon a politically accountable individual sufficient power to redress former inequities in educational opportunity. The policy response, then, was appropriate to the problem faced by transitional leaders in Tanganyika.

Some overall impressions are gained from the recital of these events. One is the remarkable speed in which far reaching reforms were finalized in the form of statute. What previous educational administrators had either been unwilling or unable to do over decades was now accomplished in a matter of three to four years. Little doubt exists that the assumption by Tanganyikan Africans of political power in the territory played no inconsiderable role in

the short time span required for these reforms.

At the same time, the recognition that Africans would soon be inheriting the reins of government did not result in sweeping and discriminatory reforms directed solely against the interests of non-Africans in the territory. The proof of the wisdom and generosity characteristic of the national reforms of the transitional period is that there was no wholesale exodus of non-Africans from the very active role they had been playing in pre-independence Tanganyikan education. Of course, it would have been against the government's long range interest if alterations in the governance of Tanganyikan education has been so drastic as to discourage the continuing efforts of non-Tanganyikan agencies, such as the expatriate religious communities, in the development of Tanganyikan education.

In this investigator's opinion, the acceptability of the educational reforms during 1958-61 was due to the farsighted wisdom of members of the Integration Committee as to what was the essential change required in the governance of Tanganyikan education. The essential change required was not the eradication of all traces of

religious and racial discrimination in Tanganyikan education. Years after the enactment of the Education Ordinance of 1961, one could visit schools in Tanzania and find a predominance of one racial or one religious group in the student body. The critical and essential change required was to ensure that the power to govern the pace and extent of eliminating inequities in educational opportunity was in the hands of a single, politically accountable individual, e.g., the Minister of Education. What had occurred between 1958-61 was not just the centralization of educational governance in Tanganyika but the statutory assurance that post-independence educational governance in Tanganyika would be politically responsive and accountable.

Of course there is an inherent danger in the alterations in the governance of Tanganyikan education brought about in the transitional period. The danger is the consequences of sweeping powers over education in the hands of a Minister of Education who becomes unresponsive to the educational aspirations of the body politic. Whether this potential danger was considered is not clear from the record. It appears that the framers of Tanganyika's policy response to the problem of an inequitable,

segregated educational system, opted for a single centralized power center for the governance of Tanganyikan education. Perhaps, in their eyes, the political risks of attempting a piecemeal, patch work revision of the old system were far greater than the potential for abuses inherent in a new system with a single political figure the responsible agent for the overall governance of Tanganyikan education.

CHAPTER II

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL STAFFING CRISIS

Background

Up to this point, the story of Tanganyika's educational development during the transitional years has focused upon the internal or domestic changes that occurred within the educational system. This is a natural focus since during the transitional years the first concern must be in preparing the country for the internal political and administrative changes that accompany the advent of independence

However, the advent of independence means more than the mere replacement of colonial administrators by local indigenous civil servants. In a broader sense independence elevates a former colonial territory into the international family of nations with equal rights and status as a sovereign political entity. In other words, independence brings with it significant change in the external as well as the internal political status of a

nation.

Much in the same way, the transition from dependent to independent status may cause the educational establishment to look beyond national boundaries. For example, the pre-independence planning for Tanganyika's first three year development plan for education had to take into account potential foreign aid donors, because Tanganyikan resources, both human and financial, were inadequate to meet the targets of that plan. Foreign aid was needed to meet the costs of constructing dormitories, classrooms and laboratories. Technical assistance was needed to staff schools and universities until local teachers could be trained to assume such responsibilities. Places at foreign universities had to be obtained for Tanganyikans to be trained in the requisite skills called for by the development plan. All of these needs required the men responsible for Tanganyikan education to turn outward to other foreign countries besides the former administering country, Great Britain, for advice and assistance as the country prepared for the responsibilities of self-government.

This need to turn outward is evidenced by the increased tempo of visits, conferences and exchanges between Tanganyikan educators and educators of sympathetic governments that began occurring in the transitional years. In the summer of 1960, a group of American educators sponsored by the American Council of Education visited Tanganyika and other African countries to survey the educational needs of the countries as they approached independence. Following that visit, the historic Princeton Conference was convened, and in December, 1960, Tanganyikan educators travelled to the United States to participate. Tanganyikans joined their African colleagues at the Addis Ababa conference of African Ministers of Education in May, 1961. Tanganyika was represented at the Commonwealth Education Conference from which the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan was developed. By the year 1960-61, 1,062 Tanganyikans were studying abroad under the provisions of this plan. Such interchanges of people, ~~not~~ unusual for a country on the threshold of independence, are just one example of the new and expanding international involvement of the educational establishment of a former colony.

While there is little doubt that the proximity of independence brings into play a new international dimension to the story of educational development in Tanganyika, there is also little doubt that the difficulties of analyzing such development are increased correspondingly. For now along with the internal domestic politics of the recipient nation one has to consider the politics of the donor nation(s). As one political scientist reminds us, foreign aid can never be politically neutral for ". . . its effects are powerfully manifested . . . in the domestic politics of both the giver and the receiver."¹ Thus, in examining the secondary school staffing crisis in Tanganyika and the international policy response made to that problem, we must consider the particular political climate then present in the donor nations. In this respect, this chapter will be particularly concerned with the quite unusual political climate that existed in the United States of America during the transitional years (1960-61) since it is likely that that political climate had considerable effect on the formation of one

¹John D. Montgomery, The Politics of Foreign Aid (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 278.

of the most significant international policy responses to Tanganyika's secondary staffing crisis, the Teachers for East Africa program.

To convey some flavor of the international dimension that was part of the story of transitional educational development in Tanganyika without reciting endlessly the visits, agreements, programs, grants and loans that flowed into Tanganyika during these years, it has been necessary to be selective and pick the most important international policy response to the problem of insufficient secondary teachers in transitional Tanganyika. A case study of this particular Tanganyikan problem and the policy response made to it is useful in that many political ramifications, both internal and external to Tanganyika, are opened up for scrutiny. Lessons learned from what has been generally considered a successful policy response to an internal Tanganyikan problem have influenced later international educational activity both in Tanganyika and in the United States.

Therefore, while this chapter will necessarily have to focus and limit its attention to one particular Tanganyikan educational problem of the early 1960's and

the international policy response to that problem, it is hoped that the depth and breadth of the analysis will be helpful in understanding the broader impact that international education plays during the transitional years of an about-to-be independent African nation.

The Problem

To appreciate the extent of the secondary school staffing crisis facing Tanganyika during the transitional years one must first examine the staffing implications of the first three year development plan for the years 1961-64. As we will see in Chapter III, the main educational thrust of that plan was the expansion of secondary schools, particularly rural boarding schools. The additional staff required under this plan is detailed in Table 7. During the first three years of independence, with planned expansion of the secondary system so that any pupil could complete four years of secondary education upon being admitted to the first year, over 300 additional secondary school teachers would be required.

At the same time as additional teachers would be required to meet the needs of an expanded system,

TABLE 7

ADDITIONAL STAFF REQUIRED FOR PLANNED EXPANSION OF
SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN 1961-64 DEVELOPMENT PLAN
OF MINISTRY OF EDUCATION^a

Category of Teachers	Number
New Graduate Teachers Required	184
New Non-Graduate Teachers Required	<u>145</u>
Total New Teachers Required	329

^aTanganyika, Ministry of Education, Three Year Development Plan for Ministry of Education, Dar-Es-Salaam, 1960, Appendix D. (Mimeographed.)

other teachers were required to replace those departing teachers, both local and expatriate, who would leave secondary teaching on or soon after independence. This number was of course much more difficult to predict in 1959 or 1960 since the decision of expatriate secondary teachers to remain or to leave depended upon many variables. Tanganyika did foresee the potential problem and attempted to retain expatriate Education Officers contracted from British Government Departments (Colonial Office up to July, 1961; Department of Technical Cooperation July 1961 - October, 1964) by offering attractive financial inducements. But, as one writer reports

happened in other African countries, a considerable number accepted the "Golden Handshake" and left, often with a considerable nestegg in lieu of either accumulated or prospective pension and retirement benefits.¹

Even with efforts to retain the expatriate teacher and given a quite friendly and enlightened attitude towards the former colonial civil servant by Tanganyikan leaders, in the first year following independence 105 expatriate Education Officers left Tanganyika on leave pending retirement or upon completion of contract. Many of the departing expatriate officers were posted at secondary schools. Some held administrative and teaching positions at other levels of the educational system.

Unfortunately, there is no way to know the exact quantitative effect independence had upon the retention of local secondary school teachers since the official summaries of the Ministry of Education did not break down

¹The term "Golden Handshake" refers to the quite considerable amount of money many long term expatriates received when they departed from an African country soon after independence. Such sums might include earned vacation leave, terminal leave and accumulated pension contributions. A. L. Adu in The Civil Service in New African States (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1965), p. 85 discusses this phenomenon of the "Golden Handshake."

the secondary teaching force by nationality before independence. Even after independence, Ministry of Education figures do not distinguish between the number of new entering teachers and departing teachers and just give the total of nationals on secondary school staffs for that year. Table 8 presents the figures of the total number of nationals on secondary school staffs for the years 1962-64 and reveals no decrease in the total number of nationals for those years.

TABLE 8

NATIONALS ON TANGANYIKAN SECONDARY SCHOOL STAFFS^a

Year	Nationals	Non-Nationals	Total Staff
1962	139	671	810
1963	148	638	786
1964	226	632	858

^aTanganyika, Ministry of Education, Annual Report of the Ministry of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer); 1962, p. 13; 1963, p. 14; and 1964, p. 34.

While these figures do not reflect any significant success in attracting Tanganyikans to secondary teaching during the first three years following independence, on the other hand, they do not support any claim that Tanganyikans left secondary teaching in force during those years. In fact, from 1962 to 1964, the percentage of Tanganyikans on secondary school staffs increased from 17.1% to 26.3%.¹ On the surface it does not appear that Tanganyika's secondary school staffing crisis was unduly aggravated by Tanganyikans (nationals) leaving secondary school teaching, at least in the first three years following independence.

The factors then that made up the Tanganyikan secondary school staffing crisis in the early years of independence were (1) the additional number of new teachers required to man an expanded number of classrooms and (2) replacements for expatriate teachers who left at or soon after independence.

The nub of the problem lay not in the demand created from these two factors but in the almost non-existent supply of Tanganyikan teachers to meet the demand.

¹Total Tanzanian secondary staff in 1962 was 810 of whom 139 were nationals; in 1964 it numbered 858 with 226 nationals.

If there was a villain in the story, it was the Tanganyikan secondary teacher training system which was completely inadequate for the task. When Betty George made her survey of Tanganyikan education in 1958 she reported that only 36 Tanganyikan Africans were then enrolled in any teacher training institution designed to prepare secondary teachers.¹ And in the transitional years (1958-60), the Ministry of Education reported that only five graduate African teachers and thirteen non-graduate African teachers joined the secondary teaching force.² In 1961, the year of independence, only one African was scheduled to complete the post-graduate Diploma of Education course at Makerere University, and four were scheduled to complete the same course in 1962.³ Thus, while the demand for secondary teachers was in terms of hundreds of additional teachers, the supply was in terms of

¹George, Education for Africans, pp. 58-59.

²Tanganyika, Ministry of Education, Triennial Survey of the Ministry of Education, 1958-60 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. 4.

³Republic of Tanganyika, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1962 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1964), p. 3.

tens.

Thus, by 1960, the unfortunate results of years of relative neglect by colonial administrators of the secondary teacher training sector of the educational system were upon African educators hard pressed to deliver on development targets calling for vast expansion of the secondary sector. The trickle of African graduates from teacher training institutions during these transitional years, much more than any precipitant exodus of either expatriate or local teachers, was the root cause of the secondary school staffing crisis facing Tanganyika as independence drew near. Fortunately, other educators from other nations also realized the dimensions of the crisis and were prepared to urge their governments to assist Tanganyika in meeting this crisis. We turn now to examine what was happening some 7,000 miles away as the dimensions of the crisis became apparent to educators outside Tanganyika.

An International Policy Response to the
Tanganyikan Secondary Staffing Crisis

In a sense, just as the years 1960-61 were years of dramatic political transition in Tanganyika, so were they politically transitional years in the United States of America. For these years saw a change of national temper from complacency to concern, culminating in the election and inauguration of a new young President, John F. Kennedy. The choice of this man by the American people was a fortunate one for Tanganyika since he was the first American President to have a sincere interest in the problems of the emerging independent states on the African continent. His interest in Africa, stretching as far back as 1957 when he delivered his famous speech advocating the independence of Algeria, and strengthened by his years as Chairman of the African Sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was evident in the national election campaign in 1960 when, as Arthur Schlesinger reports, Kennedy made 479 references to Africa in his campaign speeches.¹ In a very general way,

¹Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days (Cambridge, Mass: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 554.

Kennedy's policy towards Africa was one advocating "sympathy with the independence movement, programs of economic and educational assistance and, as the goal of American policy, 'a strong Africa.'"¹ When he appointed G. Mennen Williams as the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs he described this "as a position of responsibility second to none in the new administration."²

Thus, in 1961, African leaders could be assured that they now had a sympathetic friend in the person of the new American President.

At the same time as American political interest in Africa was growing so was the attention of American educators. Perhaps this interest stemmed in large part from the bloodshed, anarchy and cold war politics that accompanied the granting of independence of the Congo on June 30, 1960, a country that suffered from a shockingly inadequate supply of educated manpower.³

¹Schlesinger, A Thousand Days, p. 554.

²Ibid., p. 555.

³For an analysis of the educational problems in the Congo, see an article by Barbara A. Yates, "Structural Problems in Education; the Congo (Leopoldville)," Comparative Education Review, VII (October, 1963), 152-162.

In any case, during the summer of 1960, a group of leading American educators toured East Africa under the auspices of the African Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education to determine the educational needs of the nations as they approached independence. They came away sufficiently concerned with the approaching educational staffing crises facing these nations to recommend the convening of an international conference to determine measures by which America, in concert with other sympathetic powers, could best assist these African nations educationally. Such a conference, to which leading educators, government leaders and foundation spokesmen from Great Britain, East Africa, and the United States were invited, was held in Princeton, New Jersey, from December 1-5, 1960, through the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation.

The Princeton Conference

The participants at the Princeton Conference were a veritable "Who's Who of East African Education" from three continents. Both the Minister of Education and the Chief Education Officer of Tanganyika were present.

Representing the American government were both the outgoing and incoming Assistant Secretaries of State for African Affairs, Mr. J. C. Satterthwaite and Governor G. Mennen Williams, along with Arthur Fleming, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under the Eisenhower Administration. While the conference was held in the peculiar "lame duck" period that characterizes Presidential transitions in American government, the fact that both the old and new political administrations were represented insured some continuity to the conference recommendations.

While the conference participants discussed a broad range of educational problems facing the East African countries, the attention of the conference became increasingly focused upon the "bottleneck" in East African education, the secondary schools. Speaking of this "bottleneck," the conference report stated,

We have left to the last the subject of secondary education. It is at this level that there is the most urgent need for expansion. . . . The obstacles are shortages of teachers and of money. Unless these shortages can be overcome, there will be a barrier not only to the expansion of the whole education structure but also to the

plans for the advancement of Africans in other spheres and to the general development of the territories.¹

The conference report concluded that if this bottleneck was to be overcome so that these countries would emerge as a "stable and stabilizing force . . . they will need help from the outside on a large scale in order to be able to help themselves."² The conference recommended that in the short run, such help should take the form of secondary teachers recruited from abroad "to break this very serious bottleneck."³

As a specific proposal, the Conference recommended the creation of a new multi-lateral program (Great Britain, the United States, and the East Africa Territories) which would recruit some 150 graduates from the class of 1961 to be trained at Teachers College, Columbia University, the Institute of Education, University of London, and the Institute of Education at Makerere College, Kampala,

¹American Council on Education, African Liaison Committee, Report of the Conference on Education in East Africa (Princeton, N.J.: 1960), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 4.

Uganda, before beginning a two year tour of teaching service in the secondary schools of the East African countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. At the same time, a small group of teacher training professors would join the staff at Makerere to assist their staff in training the teachers from the United States and Great Britain.

The long-range importance of the Princeton Conference on both the American political attitude towards educational assistance to East Africa and the educational staffing crisis facing the East African nations can hardly be overstated. It must be remembered that prior to the conference the American government had viewed the development of East Africa as largely the responsibility of European nations, specifically Great Britain. Now, for the first time, the American government was being called upon to make a considerable financial and political commitment in the educational development of these territories. As for the immediate cause of this new commitment, the reference to the need for a "stable and stabilizing force" in East Africa suggests the impact the Congo educational debacle must have

had on the conference participants.

Whatever the real motivating forces behind this new American commitment and interest in East African education, it is clear that for the sake of Tanganyika and her secondary school staffing crisis the conference occurred at a politically propitious time as far as American foreign policy was concerned. This strengthens an earlier contention of this study that in analyzing international programs of educational assistance one has to consider the politics of both the donor and the recipient nation. The Princeton Conference provided a locus or converging point for a whole series of new political exigencies that led to a new American commitment to assist Tanganyika and her East African neighbors in meeting the secondary school staffing crisis threatening the successful evolution of those territories towards independence.

Policy Implementation: The Teachers
for East Africa Program

The speed by which the specific policy recommendations of the Princeton Conference were implemented was remarkable in view of the usual time lag in the creation

of such large scale multi-lateral programs of educational assistance. In February, a survey team of three Columbia University professors and two I.C.A. administrators travelled to London and East Africa to work out the details of a new Anglo-American effort to assist East African secondary education. A contract between Teachers College, Columbia University, and I.C.A. (soon to be A.I.D., The Agency for International Development) was signed in March, 1961, and in June, 1961, 150 young American teachers arrived at Teachers College to be dubbed "Educationaries" by Dr. R. Freeman Butts, Director of International Studies. In September, the first American teachers under the program were standing in front of African pupils. Nine months had elapsed since the Princeton Conference.

While the original contract between Teachers College and the U.S. government had both a teacher training and a teacher supply provision, the teacher supply provision, the Teachers for East Africa Program, is the component most relevant to the immediate staffing crisis facing Tanganyika. Unfortunately, at the time of its inception, the Peace Corps program of the Kennedy Administration was attracting the attention of the press and

public, so little publicity was given to this important program.¹ The essential features of the program were very similar to the Princeton Conference proposal. In the first wave of 150 American and British teachers there were three groups determined by the prior training and teaching experience of the participants. Group A, composed of some 60 experienced and trained teachers, would be orientated at Teachers College for a few weeks before leaving for a similar length of orientation at Makerere College. They would begin teaching in September. Group B, some 40 recent college graduates without any teaching experience or training, would spend an academic year at the Institute of Education, Makerere College, before entering secondary schools in March, 1962. Group C, some 50 members who had professional training

¹The Teachers for East Africa program has been described in Dr. R. Freeman Butts' book, American Education in International Development (New York: Harper & Row, 1963) and in his article, "American Teachers for East Africa," West African Journal of Education, VI, October, 1962, 113-116. A British point of view is expressed by P. C. C. Evans in his article, "American Teachers for East Africa," Comparative Education Review, VI, June, 1962, 69-77. A journalistic account is G. Samuels, "To Meet Africa's Greatest Need," New York Times Magazine, August 20, 1961, p. 33.

but no teaching experience, would receive about six months training at Teachers College, the Institute of Education, University of London, and the Institute of Education, Makerere College, before entering secondary schools in January, 1962.

In the first wave of TEA teachers, 73, or about one-half of the total number, were posted to Tanganyika secondary schools. This does not mean that all 73 arrived in Tanganyika to commence teaching in the year of independence. Only the trained and experienced group A teachers arrived during the 1961 calendar year (some 22 teachers) with the balance of Wave I (Groups B and C), some 51 teachers, arriving in either January or April, 1962, to begin their actual teaching. There is no question that the yearly supply of TEA teachers, in the beginning predominantly American but with a steady proportional increase of British teachers, helped alleviate the Tanganyikan secondary school staffing crisis in the early years of independence. In the 1962 Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, official recognition of TEA's assistance is given when after reporting the loss of 105 expatriate Education Officers during the year,

it is acknowledged:

The loss of these officers, which was felt particularly in the secondary field, was offset by recruitment under the Teachers for East Africa project of graduates from both Great Britain (eleven) and the United States of America (fifty-eight); the appointment of twenty-four expatriate officers on contract and the secondment on contract of five OPEX teachers by UNESCO.¹

Thus, the loss of 105 expatriate Education Officers in 1962 was offset by the total recruitment of 98 teachers of which 69 were provided under the TEA scheme.

To relate even more directly the effectiveness of the TEA policy response to the problem of meeting the additional graduate teaching staff called for by the 1961-64 development plan targets for secondary education it will be recalled that 184 additional graduate teachers were specified as the staffing implication of the plan (see Table 7). In the first three waves of TEA comparable to this development period Peter Williams reports that 173 American TEA'ers were posted to Tanganyikan schools--a number approximately equal to the need.²

¹Republic of Tanganyika, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of Ministry of Education, 1962 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1962), p. 3.

²Peter Williams, Aid in Uganda Education (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1966), p. 96.

Thus, there is little reason to doubt the sincerity of Tanganyika's Parliamentary Secretary for Education, Al Noor Kassum, when at the Entebbe Conference he remarked, "Most of the expansion in our secondary schools has taken place in recent times and continues to do so at a rapid rate. Indeed, it would have been impossible to meet this expansion without the assistance of the TEA program."¹ E. B. Castle, assessing the impact of the Teachers for East African program on the staffing crisis facing all three East African countries, speaks even more dramatically when he says, "But for the devotion of long term teachers in the schools of the Voluntary Agencies and the short term expatriate graduates provided by the Teachers for East Africa scheme, secondary education in East Africa would have collapsed by 1963."² No question exists, then, of the timeliness of the Teachers for East Africa program in meeting a staffing crisis facing East African schools in general and of course Tanganyika in particular

¹"Report of the Conference on the Supply and Training of Teachers for the Secondary Schools of East Africa, Entebbe, Uganda, January 21-23, 1963," Entebbe, Uganda, 1964, p. (Mimeographed.)

²E. B. Castle, Growing Up in East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 90.

Table 9, showing both the United States and British contribution to the Teachers for East Africa scheme from 1961-64 (the last year of American participation) shows a total of 702 TEA teachers provided over the four year period. What began as a predominately American program gradually evolved by 1963 into an equally shared British and American responsibility. In 1964, the British contribution exceeded the American share by 33 teachers. Including the first wave of American Peace Corps secondary teachers to Tanzania (30) some ⁴341 British and American teachers came to Tanzania during the years 1961-65 under the TEA and Peace Corps schemes.

Thus, the Teachers for East Africa program, begun initially as an Anglo-American program of secondary school staffing assistance (gradually becoming more Anglo and less American) proved to be an effective supplier of two year contract teachers for Tanganyika's needs and, at the same time, proved the feasibility of joint international cooperation in meeting the staffing crisis of Tanganyika and her East African neighbors.

TABLE 9
TEACHERS FOR EAST AFRICA PROGRAM
CONTRIBUTIONS BY U.S./U.K.^a

Country	1961	1962	1963	1964	Total
U.S. Contribution	152	109	99	75	435
U.K. Contribution	8	57	94	108	267
Total	160	166	193	183	702

^aPeter Williams, Aid in Uganda-Education (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1966), p. 96.

An Attempt at a Broader Assessment of the
TEA Policy Response

An account of how the TEA program met the Tanganyikan secondary school crisis during the transitional years would be remiss if it stopped simply at a recital of how successfully the program met the quantitative staffing requirements of the recipient nations. For while the program as a whole has received surprisingly little criticism, there have been occasional attacks leveled at particular features of the scheme. Therefore, it would be helpful if some attempt was made at a broader assessment of the

TEA policy response which would consider both the professional and political features of the design.

One of the positive professional outcomes that supporters of the TEA program hoped would ensue was the strengthening and expansion of the indigenous teaching force in East Africa. The argument ran that only with the supply of TEA teachers could the expansion of the secondary school output take place which, in turn, would permit additional numbers of secondary school graduates to enter teacher training institutions. While the intention may have been reasonable, the evidence suggests that the TEA program did not have this beneficial effect on teacher training output, at least during the early years of the program. During the first three year plan period (1961-64) the number of students entering Teacher Training Colleges for the first time in Tanganyika increased from 939 to 1,150, an increase of 22%.¹ This was the lowest percentage increase of any sector of the educational system over that time period. During the

¹A. C. Mwingira and Simon Pratt, The Process of Educational Planning (Paris: UNESCO; International Institute for Educational Planning, 1967), p. 64.

same period, the number of East African graduates from the Diploma in Education course at Makerere increased from 15 to 18.¹

This lack of success in training local secondary school teachers during the years of the TEA program has been reported to have caused the donors, Great Britain and America, to feel, "that their great effort under programs like the Teachers for East Africa scheme has, to some extent, actually encouraged inaction on the part of African countries."² Karl Bigelow, one of the architects of the TEA program, recognized this danger when he stated, "The easier the terms on which such teachers are provided the less African governments, harassed by their problems of limited resources, will be disposed to step up the production and employment of their own teachers."³ It is difficult (perhaps impossible) to document what effect the supply of TEA teachers had upon the

¹"Report of the Conference on Teacher Education for East Africa, University College, Nairobi, Kenya, April 5-7, 1965," Nairobi, Kenya, 1965, p. 31. (Mimeographed.)

²Williams, Aid in Uganda, p. 78.

³Karl Bigelow, Education and Foreign Aid (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 72.

establishment of developmental priorities by Tanganyikan officials as they may have affected the training of local secondary teachers. It appears, however, that the provision of TEA teacher assistance did not result in any immediate and substantial increase in the number of local secondary teachers trained. It should be noted that substantial growth in enrollment in Tanganyikan teacher training institutions came only after 1964, the last year TEA teachers from America were provided. The original TEA design may have been faulty in not linking the continued supply of TEA teachers to some index of effort by the recipient country to train its own teachers.

Some critics of the TEA program have objected to its two year tour as being too short for productive contribution. One writer, referring to Tanganyika, voiced the following objection:

Moreover, the tendency to appoint such staff on short term contracts may have serious disadvantages from an educational point of view. In Tanganyika, for example, it is expected that the annual turnover of staff may rise to 50% or more and it is hardly conceivable that any secondary school can be successful in setting high standards of learning, integrity, and

responsibility when such a high proportion of the staff serve on a temporary basis.¹

It is undoubtedly true, as one commentator has noted, that the first year of the expatriate teacher's tour is largely devoted to acquiring an understanding of the host country and its educational system leaving only the second year of the tour for any meaningful contribution.²

E. B. Castle, in discussing the limited productivity of the two year contract teacher, rightly points up the additional problems American teachers faced in the East African school context. Such features as the less democratic and more authoritarian atmosphere of East African schools, the strong and sometimes inflexible control of the headmaster, the English based syllabus and examination system and even the use of American English as opposed to British English as an oral teaching medium presented greater obstacles for American contract teachers to overcome than their British two year counterparts.

¹Adrian Moyes, Volunteers in Development (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1966), p. 36.

²Castle, Growing Up In East Africa, p. 168.

A corollary criticism of the two year contract feature of the TEA program is the alleged negative impact of inexperienced teachers on the exam performance of Tanganyikan pupils. E. B. Castle, quoting Elspeth Huxley, has stated, "staying put and getting results are two sides of the same coin."¹ This reservation suggests the handicap American TEA teachers experienced in structuring their teaching for the demands of the unfamiliar Cambridge School Certificate Exam within the two year contract period. In fairness to the original designers of the TEA program it should be noted that the possible difficulties that American TEA teachers might experience in orientating their teaching to a single exam given at the end of the secondary cycle were foreseen. American TEA teachers underwent a very thorough orientation in America and in Africa (Wave I, Group C, even spent a month in Great Britain) to the syllabus, texts and methods appropriate for preparing students for the Cambridge School Certificate Exam. Undoubtedly some American teachers found the rigidity and restrictions of

¹Castle, Growing Up in East Africa, p. 121.

an exam-orientated secondary school syllabus confining. But to prove that American TEA teachers were less successful than their British counterparts in preparing Tanganyikan pupils for the Cambridge School Certificate Exam requires more empirical data than is now available.

A preliminary examination of Tanganyikan School Certificate results both before and after the arrival of American TEA teachers does not give initial support to charges that American teachers were unable to prepare their pupils for this exam. School Certificate exam results for the year 1958-1966 are reproduced in Table 10.

When one examines the percentage of pupils sitting the exam who received either a Division I, II, or III pass for the years 1958-66, he sees a marked deterioration from 1958 to 1962 with a leveling off around the 50% mark for the remaining years except for 1964 when results dipped sharply to 42%. The height of the American TEA presence was reached in 1963 and school certificate results for that year do not show any marked deterioration. However, this investigator has heard Tanganyikan Ministry of Education officials point to the disastrous 1964 results as reflecting the cumulative effect of the American TEA

TABLE 10
TANGANYIKAN CAMBRIDGE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAM RESULTS
1958-1966^a

Year	Total Candidates Sitting	Total Candidates Receiving Div. I, II, and III Pass	Percentage of Those Sitting Receiving I, II, and III Pass
1958	681	478	70.2
1959	954	560	58.7
1960	1,359	832	61.2
1961	1,605	859	53.5
1962	1,950	1,006	51.6
1963	2,839	1,472	51.8
1964	3,630	1,525	42.0
1965	4,505	2,295	50.9
1966	4,760	2,455	51.6

^aUnited Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of Ministry of Education, 1966 (Dar-Es-Salaam, Government Printer, 1966), p. 73. In 1964, the Ministry of Education in its Annual Summaries began reporting pupils who received a General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) as part of the total number "passing" the Cambridge School Certificate Exam. (The G.C.E. is a less rigorous standard that does not demand a pass in English.) The result was that since 1964, the official Ministry statements on Cambridge School Certificate Exam results are not comparable to previous years. In the above table, the results for the years 1964-66 have been adjusted to agree with the earlier form of reporting used prior to 1964 and thus the percentage pass figures in the above table for those years would not agree with some official Ministry reports. As one can easily see, in 1964, the percentage of candidates who received either a Division I, II, and III Pass dropped significantly and it was probably this fact that persuaded the Ministry to change its reporting form.

presence. They argue that 1964 was the first year in which it was theoretically possible for the exam taker to have had an American teacher in one subject for the full four years of secondary school. They conclude that it took three years, i.e. from 1961-64, for exam results to reflect the weaknesses of American teachers in teaching for the Cambridge exam.

Such a charge, and it is a serious one, cannot be rebutted until an extensive analysis is done comparing the exam results of pupils in 1964 who were taught by American teachers with the results of pupils who were taught by either African or British teachers. Such a study would have to be expanded to explain why exam results in 1965 returned to 51% pass when substantial numbers of American teachers (now Peace Corps) were still operating in the Tanganyikan secondary schools.

Perhaps a more likely explanation for the 1964 exam deterioration is found in a study made by Mwingira and Pratt. They report that in 1964, one post in six at the secondary level was vacant, and conclude, "There, must, therefore, have been considerable difficulty in

the schools during the latter part of 1964."¹ The critical state of the secondary school establishment in late 1964 may be a better guide for explaining the poor exam performance in that year than any hypothesis linking that exam performance to the cumulative presence of American TEA teachers.

In conclusion, there has been no systematic attempt to evaluate the broad professional impact of the TEA program on Tanganyikan secondary schools. Until the time when some empirically respectable study of this kind is made, we will have to be satisfied with claims and counterclaims often based on the personal prejudices of the claimant. It would appear likely that the participation of some 200 American teachers in a relatively small secondary system would have some measurable effects but what those effects were still awaits definition.

Turning now from the professional to the more political features of the TEA program, one discovers a comforting absence of political attacks upon the original TEA design. It is likely that the political acceptability of the TEA program was due to amicable and close prior

¹Mwingira and Pratt, The Process of Educational Planning, p. 77.

consultations between the participating governments which in turn led to incorporating mutually beneficial safeguards into the original scheme.

Perhaps the most important feature of the TEA scheme which encouraged political acceptability by the recipient governments was the contractual terms under which the TEA participants served. In almost every respect, the TEA teacher was an employee of the recipient nation and served under the same conditions and regulations as his African counterpart. Such an arrangement had several beneficial political effects. Unlike its successor, the American Peace Corps, the TEA program did not require a large conspicuous in-country administrative and support organization. At no time did the Kampala based TEA administrative office require more than two full time administrators for all TEA teachers, British and American, serving in the three countries. But more important than African sensitivities to a highly visible administrative bureaucracy was the freedom and authority each employing Ministry had over the posting and supervision of the TEA teacher. Such administrative flexibility was welcomed by the East African governments.

But the ability of the Ministry of Education to post TEA teachers also had important political consequences. In a developing educational system the scarcest resource is trained manpower and the power to allocate that resource has political ramifications. A ministerial decision (perhaps based upon political considerations) to support a particular kind of school or a group of schools within a particular region is greatly strengthened by its ability to either withhold or extend staffing assistance. The guaranteed supply of a certain number of graduate teachers by TEA allowed the Tanganyikan Ministry of Education a freer hand in allocating teachers to support political-educational priorities as stated in the Three Year Development Plan.

Table 11, which compares data regarding the posting of TEA and Peace Corps teachers with types of Tanzanian secondary schools, discloses the interesting fact that a disproportionate number of TEA and Peace Corps teachers were posted to government boarding schools (traditionally African). Some 68% of all such teachers posted to Tanganyikan secondary schools from 1961-65 were assigned to government boarding schools which comprised 24% of all

TABLE 11
COMPARISON OF POSTING DATA WITH TYPE AND SIZE OF
SECONDARY SCHOOLS^a

Type of School	TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-1965	Percentage of Total TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted	Number of Operating Streams 1965 Forms I-IV	Percentage of Total Operating Streams 1965 Forms I-IV
<u>Government</u>				
Boarding	231	67.7	152	23.8
Day	53	15.5	130	20.3
Total Gov't.	284	83.3	282	44.1
<u>Voluntary Agency</u>				
Catholic Boarding	33	9.7	111	17.4
Protestant Boarding	24	7.0	88	13.7
Others Boarding	0	0.0	7	1.0
Day	0	0.0	111	17.4
Total. Voluntary Agency	57	16.7	317	49.6
<u>Non-Aided</u>				
Total Non-Aided	0	0.0	40	6.3
Grand Total	341	100.0	639	100.0

^aPosting Data taken from published listings from TEA administrative office, Kampala, Uganda, for first four waves of TEA teachers and from Peace Corps records for first wave of Peace Corps Secondary school teachers for Tanzania. "Type of school" data taken from data of Ministry of Education entitled, "List of Tanzanian Secondary Schools-1965," Ministry of Education, EDS10/127, Dar-Es-Salaam, 1964. (Mimeographed.)

operative streams in 1965. Voluntary Agency schools which maintained about 50% of all operative streams received only 16% of the contract teachers. No TEA or Peace Corps teacher was posted to a Voluntary Agency day school (traditionally Asian) even though that type of school contained 17% of Tanganyika's operating secondary streams.

The fact that TEA and Peace Corps teachers were concentrated in certain kinds of Tanzanian secondary schools is understandable when one realizes one major emphasis under the first Three Year Development Plan was to be the expansion of rural secondary boarding schools which traditionally catered to African pupils (see Chapter III). Thus, the posting patterns of TEA and Peace Corps secondary teachers reveals how the Ministry was able to allocate its scarcest resource, trained manpower, to achieve one of the political-educational aims of its development plan. Conversely, the donor governments by supplying such contract teachers assisted the Tanganyikan government in fulfilling its political-educational objectives.

Another politically attractive feature of the TEA program from the recipient's point of view was the

assurance that no untrained teacher would begin teaching without first completing the Diploma in Education course at the Institute of Education at Makerere College. This was also a wise step from the American point of view since it removed the potentially embarrassing political issue that can arise if the recipient nation objects to the quality of personnel sent by the donor nation.¹ It was a particularly astute move since at the time of the inception of the TEA scheme much of the East African educational establishment was in the hands of British expatriates or British trained Africans, both of whom may have had suspicions about the quality of American teacher training institutions. By giving the recipient ministries of education the assurance that untrained American teachers would obtain a Diploma from an African Institute of Education the potential issue of dumping unqualified teachers never arose.

Finally, mention should be made of an important political feature of all international programs of technical assistance--that being the repercussions of a sudden termination of the program by one of the parties.

¹Such an issue did actually arise when the first contingent of American Upper Primary Peace Corps Teachers arrived in Tanzania.

Unfortunately, this occurred when the American government in 1964 unilaterally decided to end its secondary teacher supply through the AID-TEA arrangement and substitute the American Peace Corps as the supplying agency. One of the few published accounts of this decision states the following:

The decision of the U.S. government to pull out of TEA and to use the Peace Corps instead came as a shock to both the British and the East African governments, and was not popular with either. . . . The American decision is a most unhappy ending to one of the few promising genuinely co-operative ventures between two major donors in the foreign aid field.¹

The reasons for this decision, generally attributed to inter-agency rivalry between AID and the Peace Corps, do not lie within the concern of this study. But the potential political repercussions on the recipient nation must be mentioned. The withdrawal of an important supply of expatriate secondary teachers could have produced a politically serious situation for Tanganyika if the American Peace Corps had not assumed the responsibility for continuing the supply of American teachers. Secondary

¹Williams, Aid in Uganda, p. 112.

education expansion plans would undoubtedly have been curtailed and, more importantly, the expectations of some pupils already in secondary school would have been threatened by such a sudden unilateral cessation of expatriate secondary teachers. Both of these contingencies would have been politically embarrassing to the Tanganyikan government.

The lesson of the unilateral withdrawal of the American government from the TEA program points up once again the necessity of incorporating into any analysis of an international program of teacher assistance the domestic political situation in both the donor and recipient governments. The vagaries of International Education are increased when a scheme such as the Teachers for East Africa program, highly regarded both politically and professionally by the recipient nation, is suddenly terminated as a result of what appears to be a bureaucratic power struggle within the government of the donor nation.

Post TEA Developments

Although this chapter has concentrated on the TEA program, a successful policy response that had its

inception during the transitional years and flourished in the early years of independence, some mention should be made of more recent developments in the international staffing of Tanganyikan secondary schools.

The heavy reliance by Tanganyika and her East African neighbors upon the two year contract teacher provided in such schemes as the Teacher for East Africa program in the early 1960's marked a turning point in those territories traditional reliance upon the career expatriate education officer. As E. B. Castle has written: "The era of the career education officer is past . . . whose officers, it would seem, were posted less to cater for the needs of particular schools than to preserve the smooth routine of promotion by seniority."¹ Castle goes on to argue that with the advent of large numbers of two year contract officers being recruited from abroad, and placed within a general pool of available staff which can be posted and transferred at the government's wishes, continuity, tradition and stability of secondary schools suffered.

¹Castle, Growing Up in East Africa, p. 121.

But with the phasing out of the American contribution to the Teachers for East Africa scheme a new kind of international staffing assistance pattern in Tanganyika began to gain headway. This was the increased role of two year (or even one year) international volunteer teachers, characterized by the American Peace Corps and its international counterparts. In 1964, the Ministry of Education stated that its teaching establishment included 361 volunteers¹ and by 1965, 549 volunteers (not all of them teachers) were working in Tanzania.² Of that number, 400 were American Peace Corps volunteers with additional complements averaging 40 from Great Britain, West Germany, Canada, and Denmark. Of the total American Peace Corps Volunteers, 210 were upper primary school teachers and 74 were secondary school teachers. The Tanzanian example of increasing reliance upon volunteers was not unique for as a very useful study of the volunteer movement reports, by 1965, some 7,000 volunteers were working in Africa.³

¹United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1964 (Dar-Es-Salaam: 1967), pp. 24-25.

²Adrian Moyes, Volunteers in Development, p. 122.

³Ibid., p. 41.

The reasons for the shift in Tanzanian reliance upon the more experienced two year contract teacher (such as the TEA teacher) to the less experienced volunteer have not been fully explained. Cost to the host government was probably a factor, but as Peter Williams reports, using Ugandan data, the cost difference between the contract and volunteer expatriate teacher is only about £550 per annum.¹ Perhaps multi-national volunteers, younger than most contract teachers, were seen as less politically threatening by recipient governments. However, Tanzania in 1968/69, for what appears to be mainly political reasons, terminated its use of American Peace Corps teachers.

No doubt one important factor for greater reliance upon international volunteer teachers was the superior recruiting success of supplying agencies in the donor countries for this younger, less professionally settled individual. In other words, the supply of such teachers and not the demand for them may have been the reason why Tanzania was forced to place greater reliance upon

¹Williams, Aid in Uganda, p. 111.

international volunteer teachers to meet its secondary school staffing needs.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has explored an educational problem that became evident to Tanganyikan leaders in the years prior to independence--the problem of staffing the expanding secondary sector of its educational system after independence, and the policy responses made to that problem. The staffing problem at the secondary level in Tanganyika was chosen for close examination since the staffing problem appeared most acute at that level. It was seen that as independence drew near, Tanganyikan educators began participating in international conferences which not only documented the extent of the secondary staffing problem facing new African nations but in the case of the 1960 Princeton Conference, led to an effective policy response, the Teachers for East Africa program. The provision of large numbers of expatriate contract teachers under the TEA scheme not only helped solve Tanganyika's secondary school staffing problem in the early years of independence, but also permitted

the faster expansion of certain kinds of secondary schools that had high political-educational priority. This chapter concluded by suggesting some reasons for the success of the TEA program and some of the possible reasons for the gradual shift to Tanganyikan reliance upon volunteer teachers from many countries.

Looking back on the years 1960-61, one is impressed with the fortuitous occurrence of Tanganyika receiving its independence in that period. For up to that time, there had not been (and perhaps will not be again) such a responsive and extensive international commitment to the educational staffing needs of African countries. By becoming independent in late 1961, Tanganyika was the beneficiary of much of that enlightened international educational commitment to African education. One example of that era's enlightened international commitment to African education, the Anglo-American Teachers for East Africa program, some observers believe, prevented a collapse of secondary education in Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda in the early 1960's.

Those of us who were participants in that period of partnership look back with some nostalgia on a time

relatively free of political considerations. However, as Tanzania first decreased the two year contract teachers (mostly British and American) and later her international volunteer teacher contingent, one might suspect that political factors played an increasing role in Tanzania's reliance upon expatriate teaching assistance. Admittedly, as Tanzanian teacher training institutions, first primary and then secondary training colleges, began increasing output there was some reduced "need" for large numbers of expatriate teachers. What appears to have been more important than any demonstrable reduction in "need" on purely professional grounds in Tanzania's reliance on expatriate teachers was increasing political sensitivity to large numbers of foreigners instructing Tanzanian youth. As subsequent chapters show, Tanzanian efforts to re-define Tanzanian socialism in terms of self-reliance no doubt had implications for any continuing large scale reliance on non-Tanzanian teachers. Here again, the post-independence Tanzanian re-definition of her "need" for expatriate teacher assistance demonstrates the close interaction between a country's domestic and foreign policy.

PART II .

THE INTEGRATION OF EDUCATIONAL AND NATIONAL

DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

(1961-1966)

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE FIRST THREE YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Tanganyikan Educational Planning Before 1961

As has already been pointed out, the date of independence is not a magic watershed in which everything new begins and everything old ceases. This is true of educational planning in Tanzania, for early efforts to plan educational development in Tanganyika had occurred some time before 1961.

Shortly after the cessation of World War II when Tanganyika became a U.N. Trust Territory under the supervision of the United Kingdom,¹ it became evident that if there was to be an orderly advancement of Tanganyikans into the executive and legislative roles of governance (as required by the trust obligation assumed by Great

¹An excellent source of the trusteeship period in Tanganyika's history is B. T. G. Chidzero, Tanganyika and International Trusteeship (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Britain) there also must be a considerable expansion of the educational system. So, in 1946, the Tanganyikan Government issued a Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education which stressed expansion of primary education (the goal was 36% of the appropriate age group enrolled by 1956), less but still considerable expansion at the middle school level and even less at the secondary and post secondary levels. (Specific features of this plan will be examined later as they related to planned changes under the Development Plan for Tanganyika, 1961/62-1963/64.) Estimated new annual revenue outlays required for the Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education ran in the neighborhood of £500,000 for both capital costs and recurrent charges.

In 1950, the Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education was revised, raising both the annual capital and recurrent expenditure targets to £1.4 million, with new and increased emphasis on girls' education, teacher training and technical education. At the same time, a temporary halt was called to the expansion of middle level education (Standards V-VI) to allow the growth of village schools (Standards I-IV) to catch up.

As the end of the ten year plan period neared, studies were undertaken to prepare the way for a new plan period of educational development covering the years 1957-1961 (later extended to 1963 for financial reasons). These studies were incorporated as official policy of the government in two sessional papers; Draft Five Year Plan for African Education (Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1956) and the Riddy and Tait Report on Development of Non-African Education (Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1956). In the Draft Five Year Plan for African Education, emphasis was placed on middle school expansion and redirection of its curriculum to the likely vocational future needs of its graduates, i.e. agriculture and simple handicrafts. It was hoped that by the end of the five year plan period (1961) a higher percentage of those completing each level of education would proceed to the next higher level so that 30% of the boys completing primary education would continue to middle level, and that 20% of middle school leavers would proceed to secondary school.

Apart from the substantive content of these examples of Tanganyikan educational planning before independence, six generalizations can be made regarding them.

The first is obvious--Tanganyikan Africans were not primarily responsible for their preparation. Instead, these plans were usually prepared by expatriate civil servants working in Tanganyika with the occasional ad hoc assistance of other international educational experts. Second, the pre-independence educational plans were not conceived with imminent independence as a basic planning assumption. The year 1958 saw the first election of Africans to the Legislative Council, and not until 1960 did "responsible government" by Tanganyikan Africans come into being. Thus, both the Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education and the Draft Five Year Plan for African Education were formulated free of the compelling pressures imminent independence creates for educational planners--pressures which tend to give priority to the expansion of secondary and post-secondary institutions. Third, the pre-independent educational plans were not integrated with any overall developmental effort of the government. Unlike the subsequent Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Social and Economic Development, 1964/65-1968/69, pre-independence plans were not conceived as part of a total national development effort, integrating the

developmental effort of all government ministries over a comparable period of years. Instead, such plans were concerned only with education. Fourth, the pre-independence plans did not establish priorities among several desirable planned objectives. All plan objectives theoretically were of equal worth. Fifth, while overall capital and recurrent cost estimates were made for the successful implementation of the plans, various subparts or plan projects were not individually costed. Thus, from the plans themselves, it is impossible to know what relationship existed between the cost of a planned recommendation to increase Standards V-VI enrollment by 30% and another plan recommendation to increase Standards IX-X enrollment by 25%. Sixth, the staffing implications of the plan's recommendations were not spelled out in detail. For example, if the plan called for a certain percentage increase in the teacher training college output of Grade II teachers, the plan neglected to mention the staffing implications for the colleges of such increased teacher training college output.

In short, the tendency of educational planners in Tanganyika before independence was to propose to the government broad policy directions for educational development accompanied by rough costing estimates. Such plans were often hortatory in nature, very descriptive and without explicit formulation of integrated territorial development goals as the basis for their recommendations. This in no way suggests that the substantive recommendations of the plans were either ill-conceived or unimplemented. (Actually, as far as the Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education was concerned, plan "targets" were substantially met.) It only means that pre-independence educational plans in Tanzania were less specific and comprehensive than the educational plans that were to characterize the post-independence record.

The Inherited Structure of Education at Independence

Whatever the limitations characterizing pre-independence educational planning in Tanganyika, it is obvious that the implementation of such plans had created

an educational structure by 1961. This structure, inherited by Tanganyikans, was a constraint upon the freedom of educational planners at independence to devise a new structure more appropriate to the overall educational demands of independent status. Before one can adequately appreciate what structural modifications independent Tanganyikans made to their educational system, it is necessary to survey briefly the main characteristics of the inherited structure.

It is difficult to describe the inherited educational structure operative in 1960-61, for in essence there were several different educational structures corresponding to the different racial systems of education. Each racial system had its own classification of stages with differing exit points and varying appropriate ages for enrollment in each stage. Table 12 illustrates the structural complexity of the pre-integration system.

The main structural difference existed between the three stage African system and the two stage European, Indian, and the Other Non-Native (including Goan) systems (not shown). In turn, this difference resulted in an African pre-secondary cycle of eight years as opposed to

TABLE 12

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF NOMENCLATURE AND AGES IN SCHOOLS IN PRE-INDEPENDENCE TANGANYIKA^a

Year of Education	African Schools			European Schools			Indian Schools		
	Stage	Nomenclature	Average Age	Stage	Nomenclature	Average Age	Stage	Nomenclature	Average Age
1.	P	Standard I	8	P	Class 1	5-6	P	Standard I	5-6
2.	R	Standard II	9	R	Class 2	6-7	R	Standard II	6-7
3.	I	Standard III	10	I	Standard I	7-8	I	Standard III	7-8
4.	M	Standard IV	11	M	Standard II	8-9	M	Standard IV	8-9
5.	A	Standard V	12	A	Standard III	9-10	A	Standard V	9-10
6.	R	Standard VI	13	R	Standard IV	10-11	R	Standard VI	10-11
7.	D	Standard VII	14	D	Form I	11-12	D	Standard VII	11-12
8.	L	Standard VIII	15	L	Form 2	12-13	L	Standard VIII	12-13
9.	E	Standard IX	16	E	Form 3	13-14	E	Standard IX	13-14
10.	S	Standard X	17	S	Form 4	14-15	S	Standard X	14-15
11.	C	Standard XI	18	C	Form 5	15-16	C	Standard XI	15-16
12.	O	Standard XII	19	O	Form 6 (lower)	16-17	O	Standard XII	16-17
13.	N	Form V	20	N	Form 6 (higher)	17-18	N	Form H.S.C. 1	17-18
14.	D	Form VI	21	D			D	Form H.S.C. 2	18-19

^aTanganyika, Report of the Committee on the Integration of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), p. 24.

a six year pre-secondary cycle in the non-African systems. The longer pre-secondary stage in the African system stemmed historically from the 1950 Scheme for Revision of the Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education which lengthened the primary cycle to eight years to insure better employment preparation for African children not proceeding to the secondary stage.

As one might expect from the structural differences in the several racial systems, there were also marked differences in the slope of the educational pyramids in each system. The sharpest slope occurred in the African system, reflecting more than anything else the much broader intake base at Primary Standard I.¹ Historical reasons also played a part. The Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education (1946-56) had stressed education for literacy, a policy which in turn spurred government efforts to create a broad base of at least four years of primary education for African children. While the Draft Five Year Plan for African Education

¹In 1960, there were 414 European children enrolled in Standard I, 243 Other Non-native (including Goan), 2,996 Indian, and 114,358 Africans.

(1957-61) had called for substantial expansion of the four year middle level sector, actual growth of middle level schooling had lagged so that only about 25% of primary school leavers proceeded on to middle school (Standard 5) in 1960.

Thus, as a result of historical decisions made by colonial administrators, planners in 1960 found an African system of education which, while enrolling some 56% of the appropriate age group in Primary Standards I and II, had narrowed itself to 6% in Standards VII and VIII and to one-half of one percent of the appropriate age group at the secondary level.¹ Perhaps in attempting to describe the shape or slope of the African educational system of 1960-61 a more accurate image than a pyramid would be an iceberg, one with sharp and distinct levels. These levels were caused by several exit points in the system, each marked with a selective exam designed to reduce sharply the number of pupils proceeding to the next higher level or standard of the educational system.

¹United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Report of UNESCO Educational Planning Mission for Tanganyika, June to October, 1962 (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), p. 15. (Mimeographed.)

Table 13 shows the effect of these exams and exit points on the African educational system.

TABLE 13

NUMBER OF AFRICAN STUDENTS ENROLLED IN EACH STANDARD FOR EACH 1,000 STUDENTS ENTERING STANDARD I, 1960^a

Standard	Enrollment as Percentage of Previous Standard	Enrollment (Using a Base Figure of 1,000)
1	-	1,000
2	91	910
3	93	846
4	97	820
	----E X A M----	
5	18	219
6	92	196
7	85	166
8	96	160
	----E X A M----	
9	25	40
10	99	40
	----E X A M----	
11	35	13
12	100	13
	----E X A M----	
13	35	5
14	91	4
	----E X A M----	

^aArthur J. Lewis, "The Shortage of Teachers in East Africa: The Causes, Extent and Plans for Alleviation" (paper presented at Conference on the Supply and Training of Teachers for the Secondary Schools of East Africa, Entebbe Uganda, January 21-23, 1963), p. 6.

Table 13 graphically illustrates the sharp but jagged slope of the African educational pyramid in 1960 due to large egress of pupils at the end of Standards 4, 8, 10, and 12. The fact that of a base figure of 1,000 pupils enrolled in Standard I only 4 were enrolled in the last year of the secondary cycle points up the tardiness by which colonial administrators had attacked African post-primary education in Tanganyika up to independence.

The substantial difference in the number of pupils enrolled in Standard I and Standard XII has sometimes been referred to as the excessive attrition or wastage rate which characterized pre-independent Tanganyikan education for Africans.¹ One must be careful in using these terms since they often have a loaded or pejorative meaning. It is not fair to criticize pupils who "drop-out" along the way, if in fact there are

¹For a better understanding of the controversy surrounding wastage in Tanganyika schools during the period under discussion see John Cameron's article, "Wastage in Tanganyika with Special Reference to Primary Schools," Teacher Education, VI (November, 1965), 103-114, and Sidney Collin's contribution entitled, "The Social and Economic Causes of Wastage in Schools and Other institutions in Tanzania," Teacher Education, V (May, 1964), 44-50.

insufficient places at the next higher stage for their promotion. Such wastage could be called forced or structural attrition since the lack of places at the next higher stage itself causes pupils to "drop-out." An example of forced attrition is the sharp drop in the enrollment of African pupils from Standard IV to Standard V, the first year of the next higher Middle School stage.

The other kind of wastage occurs when pupils for a variety of reasons fail to advance in the system even when sufficient classrooms exist at the next highest standard. Obviously, there was this type of wastage also, although there is some controversy as to the extent of it. Of the 107,261 African pupils enrolled in Standard I in 1958, 93,978 were still enrolled in Standard IV in 1961, indicating an attrition rate of 12% over four years.¹ This is not a devastating attrition rate by African standards for the first four years of primary schooling.

To complete this brief survey of the inherited structure of Tanganyikan education mention should be made of two trade schools for Africans (Ifunda and Moshi), a Technical Institute at Dar-Es-Salaam and the K.N.C.U. College of Commerce in Moshi, all open to students of

¹Includes repeaters.

all races. In November, 1960, the total of full and part time African students at these institutions numbered 1,627.¹ In addition, some 450 African students attended vocational schools operated by voluntary agencies. At the teacher training level in 1960 the Government operated five centers for African trainees and one for Indian trainees. However, Voluntary Agencies operated some 25 teacher training institutions for Africans giving a total African enrollment at the teacher training level of 1,441.²

This then was the extent of the inherited educational system. Tanganyikans who desired higher education had to go outside the territory to institutions in neighboring Uganda and Kenya or abroad. Betty George, in her excellent study of Tanganyikan education in the years prior to independence, reported that around 200 Tanganyikan African students were enrolled in East African institutions of higher learning and about 200 more were enrolled in foreign universities and

¹Tanganyika, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1960 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. ii.

²Ibid.

colleges.¹

The Development Plan for Tanganyika
1961/62-1963/64--An Overview

During the summer of 1959, a nine member commission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development visited Tanganyika at the request of the Governments of Tanganyika and the United Kingdom to study the productive sectors of the Tanganyika economy and to make recommendations regarding Tanganyika's future social and economic development. While the commission did not include any educators, the final report of the commission, The Economic Development of Tanganyika did contain a chapter on education along with some recommendations regarding the future development of education in the territory.²

The importance of the World Bank study is the key role it played in the formulation of the first three year

¹Betty George, Education for Africans, pp. 73-74.

²International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Economic Development of Tanganyika (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), pp. 301-321.

development plan for Tanganyika covering the years 1961/62-1963/64. This heavy reliance upon the World Bank study is acknowledged in the plan itself, "The broad framework of development expenditures recommended by the World Bank Mission has been accepted by the government and forms, in fact, the backbone of the present plan."¹

The general thrust of both the World Bank Mission study and the Three Year Development Plan was the strengthening of the existent agricultural and livestock industries (the main revenue producing activities of the territory) and the supporting economic infrastructure required if these primary economic activities of the territory were to flourish. Thus, Ministries responsible for water development, irrigation and transportation received large allocations of development funds. Development of roads, particularly secondary feeder roads necessary for getting agricultural produce to markets, also received a high development priority. The actual allocation of development funds under the Development

¹Tanganyika, Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. 14. Hereafter this plan will be referred to as the Three Year Development Plan.

Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64 by ministry is shown in Table 14 and reflects the overall developmental targets just enumerated. Over 50% of all development funds were

TABLE 14

ALLOCATION OF DEVELOPMENT PLAN FUNDS
1961/62-1963/64^a

Ministry	Allocated Funds	Percentage of Total Funds
Education	£ 3,270,000	13.7
Prime Minister	1,252,000	5.2
Agriculture	5,637,000	24.0
Communications, Power, and Works	6,900,000	28.8
Commerce and Industry	1,095,000	4.6
Local Government	1,244,000	5.2
Home Affairs	2,180,000	9.1
Health and Labor	954,000	4.0
Lands and Surveys	1,298,000	5.4
Total	£23,930,000	100.0

^aTanganyika, Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. 13.

allocated to just two ministries, Agriculture and Communications, Power and Works, reflecting the planners intent to establish a base for the future economic development of the country.

Scholars from various disciplines tend to be critical of the Development Plan for Tanganyika, 1961/62-1963/64. Some contend that the plan did not represent any significant advance in the planning art in the Tanganyikan context. In the plan's introduction, its framers state that the plan goes beyond the traditional public capital expenditure program in the old sense. They point to its incorporation of statistical studies, the inclusion of the plan's recurrent budgetary costs and manpower implications and the extensive role ministerial coordination played in the plan's formulation.

Gilbert Rutman, an economist, feels that the Three Year Development Plan was essentially a capital budget plan in the traditional sense. He argues that its planning ". . . did not involve the complete governmental administration of all phases of economic activity; nor did it even evolve the stating of specific growth rates for the economy, or the attainment of target increases

in production in certain sectors by certain dates,¹

Rutman's statement is correct in that while the Three Year Development Plan demonstrated considerable inter-ministry agreement on broad planning objectives it still fell short of the planning art as it developed in Tanzania after 1964.

Another scholar, Henry Bienen, attempting to explain why so many of the Three Year Development Plan targets were not fulfilled, attributes such failure to the lack of African identification with the plan's underlying economic philosophy. He writes,

It was its colonial origins which counted against it. TANU leaders realized it was no plan at all but merely the collection of development projects. It did not commit the government to a full scale onslaught against poverty, it did not call for structural changes in the economy and, it did not question most of the basic assumptions which had governed the colonial government's economic policies.²

This criticism no doubt has some validity but, as the subsequent examination of educational development

¹Gilbert L. Rutman, The Economy of Tanganyika (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 29.

²Henry Bienen, Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967); p. 278.

under the Three Year Development Plan will show, Tanganyikan planners in 1960-61 at least were not insensitive to African educational aspirations.

Educational Problems Under the Three Year
Development Plan

As the Ministry of Education officials began preparing their draft three year educational development plan in 1960 they faced at least three educational problems, all of which had structural implications. They were:

(1) How could the educational system be expanded to best meet the rising educational aspirations of the majority African race once independence was attained? (2) How should the educational system be restructured to insure an adequate output of trained Tanganyikans to man the administrative bureaucracy after independence? (3) How could internal inefficiencies within the educational system be reduced to insure the maximum use of scarce educational resources?

The educational component of the Three Year Development Plan embodied their policy responses to these educational problems along with educational policy decisions

taken over the three year period as the problems became clearer in all their ramifications. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the government's policy responses to each of these problems.

Restructuring to Meet African Educational Aspirations

Ministry of Education planners in 1960 operated under the assumption that concurrent with independence racially segregated education in Tanganyika would legally end. A single integrated educational system presented a dilemma to educational planners because with integration there would be no identifiable African educational system which could be singled out for preferential treatment. Some way had to be found whereby schools continuing to cater to Africans after independence could be expanded faster than schools continuing to cater to non-Africans.

The planning device called upon to solve the dilemma was to make distinction in the Three Year Development Plan between plan projects directed towards the expansion of rural schools as opposed to urban schools.

Rural schools had traditionally catered to Africans, urban schools to non-Africans. There was nothing underhanded or sinister in this categorization, for as the plan itself admits, "The process of expansion of boarding secondary schools in rural areas which even after a single system of education has been introduced will continue to serve almost entirely the African community . . ."¹

Table 15 shows the functional allocation of the Ministry of Education's development funds utilizing the new categorization of rural-urban schools.

Comparing the total funds set aside for primary and secondary level rural school expansion (£1,550,000) against the total funds set aside for primary and secondary urban school expansion (£442,000) we see the independent government allocating over three times as much money to schools in rural areas, areas traditionally occupied by Africans, than to urban schools, schools traditionally occupied by non-Africans. In this indirect manner, the independent government set out to redress former

¹Tanganyika, Development Plan for Tanganyika, 1961/62-1963/64 (Dar-Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. 81.

TABLE 15
 MINISTRY OF EDUCATION EXPENDITURES^a
 CHARGED TO DEVELOPMENT FUNDS,
 1961/62-1963/64

Project	Capital Expenditures	Recurrent Expenditures	Total Expenditures
Rural Secondary Expansion . . .	£ 992,000	L238,000	£1,230,000
Rural Primary Expansion . . .	60,000	-	60,000
Urban Secondary Expansion . . .	120,000	112,000	232,000
Urban Primary Expansion . . .	190,000	-	190,000
Girl's Rural Boarding Primary Expansion	260,000	-	260,000
Teacher Training and Institute of Education .	128,000	-	128,000
Higher Education	850,000	-	850,000
Probation Services	28,000	-	28,000
Library Services	27,000	-	27,000
Totals .	£2,920,000	£350,000	£3,270,000

^aTanganyika, Development Plan for Tanganyika, 1961/62-1963/64 (Dar-Es Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. 81.

inequities in educational opportunity based on race by directing development funds towards expansion of rural schools which continued to serve Africans, even with an integrated system of education.

This examination of the functional allocation of Ministry of Education development funds over the Three Year Development Plan tends to counteract any argument that African interests were not a governing factor in the plan's formulation. But what of the question of total government commitment to education under the Three Year Development Plan? If it is assumed (probably rightly) that an increased government commitment to education would work more to the advantage of the Tanganyikan African than the Tanganyikan non-African, did the Three Year Development Plan show any sizeable increase in government commitment to education over the pre-independence commitment?¹ Here the answer depends

¹Since education is a social service it is defensible to argue that the main beneficiaries of increased educational expenditure are the students themselves. Even though educational expenditure is not entirely a consumption expenditure (economists differ on the extent educational expenditure is an investment expenditure) it is likely that Tanganyikan Africans would benefit more directly from increased government

upon the base year utilized and the index of effort employed to compare the government's financial commitment to education before and after independence.

Historically, in the five years prior to independence (1955-60) total annual government expenditure (capital and recurrent) on education had ranged from a low of £3,343,000 in 1955-56 to a high of £4,438,000 in 1958-59. Annual expenditure on education as a percentage of total governmental expenditure for those years similarly ranged from 15.0% in 1955-56 to 18.0% in 1958-59.¹ In terms of percentage of Gross Domestic Product, educational expenditures in the five years prior to 1961 averaged around 2.4% annually by government with an additional 0.3% of GNP contributed by voluntary agencies.²

expenditure to education than by increased government expenditure towards strengthening the economic infrastructure, some of the results of which would abound to the benefit of the non-African owners of the major commercial and agricultural activities in the country.

¹United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Report of the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission for Tanganyika, June to October, 1962 (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), p. 87. (Mimeographed.)

²Ibid.

Table 16 shows the percentage of total government expenditure allocated to education during the three year plan period.

In absolute terms, government recurrent and capital expenditure on education in the first three years following independence (ranging from £5 million to £6 million) showed increases over the pre-independence period (£4.4 million in 1958 being the highest). However, as a percentage of total government expenditure, government expenditure on education during the first three years of independence never equalled the record percentage of 1958 (18.0%). But as one expert has noted, "it is difficult to say, whether, or to what extent this fall resulted simply from the change in accounting procedures . . . an increasing contribution from non-government sources, or a diversion of national resources away from education . . ." ¹ Therefore the record is unclear as to any greater financial commitment by government to education under the Three Year

¹J. B. Knight, Costing and Financing of Educational Development in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966), p. 20.

TABLE 16

GOVERNMENT RECURRENT AND CAPITAL EDUCATION EXPENDITURE 1961/62-1963/64^a

Year	Recurrent Expenditures			Capital Expenditures			Capital and Recurrent Expenditures		
	Total (£ mil- lion)	Educa- tion (£ mil- lion)	Per- centage of Total	Total (£ mil- lion)	Educa- tion (£ mil- lion)	Per- centage of Total	Total (£ mil- lion)	Educa- tion (£ mil- lion)	Per centage of Total
1961/62	24.71	3.91	15.8	7.34	1.10	15.0	32.05	5.01	15.6
1962/63	25.59	4.41	17.2	5.67	1.06	18.7	31.26	5.47	17.5
1963/64	27.12	4.94	18.2	7.26	1.06	14.6	34.38	6.00	17.4

^a J. B. Knight, Costing and Financing of Educational Development in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO; International Institute for Educational planning, 1966) p. 19.

Development Plan.

Similar problems occur when one attempts to use a different measure, "educational expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product," to determine whether the government's commitment to education rose after independence. Knight's study, using 1956 as a base year, indicates that educational expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product rose from 3.1% in that year to 3.5% by the end of 1963.¹ Even though Knight feels that educational expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product is a preferred measure of government commitment to education he warns that in Tanzania, as in most African countries, estimates of Gross Domestic Product can be subject to considerable error.

What then can be said about the financial commitment of government under the Three Year Development Plan to education? There seems to be some ground for viewing the government's post-independence financial commitment to education as not being dramatically greater than that of the pre-independence government. In this sense, the

¹Knight, Costing and Financing, p. 21.

Three Year Development Plan was not noteworthy in its response to rising African educational aspirations.

At the same time, the Three Year Development Plan was responsive to the educational needs of the Africans in its skillful re-direction of development effort from those segments of the educational system which formerly had catered to non-Africans to those segments that would now most directly serve the educational needs of Africans. As such, the Three Year Development Plan served a very useful transitional function as educational priorities were shifted gradually over time to better meet the educational aspirations of the majority race. Perhaps, only after the integrated system had taken some years to 'settle in' could the government with confidence expend the large portions of the national budget upon education it did with the initiation of the Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development in 1964.

Restructuring for Increased Trained Manpower Output

No Tanganyikan educational planner in 1960 could dismiss the tremendous demands independence would make

upon the scarce reservoir of educated, trained Tanganyikan manpower. It appeared that the most immediate need would be well educated civil servants to keep the machinery of government in operation if and when sizeable numbers of expatriates departed. This most basic requirement of any viable new government had real implications as to which levels of the educational system would receive priority attention in terms of Three Year Development Plan funds. There is little doubt that when faced with this critical manpower problem Tanganyikan educational planners opted to shift developmental efforts to secondary education. The Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64 stated, "The Government considers that, at this stage of the country's development the greatest need is for a considerable expansion of secondary education."¹ A lower priority was given to expansion of the primary sector; any expansion beyond the 400-500 additional primary classrooms that would be supported by central government subventions would depend on the extent to which local

¹Tanganyika, The Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. 79.

authorities were able to increase their contribution to primary education. Thus it appears that beginning with 1961, the government decided that secondary sector expansion would take precedence over expansion of all other sectors of the educational system.

Table 17, showing the sectoral allocation of Development Funds (just capital) under the Three Year Development Plan, leaves little doubt of the planner's intention to expand the capital plant of the secondary sector. Table 17 shows that almost forty percent of the total Three Year Development Plan (capital) funds were allocated to secondary sector expansion. The sector receiving the next highest allocation (29.7%) was Higher Education, another critical level in preparing trained and qualified Tanganyikans for the modernizing sectors of the economy.

Recurrent expenditures on education over the three year plan period also show an increasing percentage of the total educational budget being directed to secondary education. Because of its dominant size within the system, recurrent expenditure on primary education continued over the three year plan period to dwarf recurrent

TABLE 17

SECTORAL ALLOCATION OF THE THREE YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN
FUNDS FOR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
(Just Capital)^a

Sector	Development Funds	Percentage of Total Development Funds
Primary	£ 510,000	17.8
Secondary	1,112,000	38.8
Teacher Training (Including Institute of Education)	265,000	9.2
Technical Training	128,000	4.5
Higher Education	850,000	29.7
Total	£2,865,000	100.0

^aExtrapolated from Tanganyika, Development Plan for Tanganyika, 1961/62-1963/64 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. 81.

expenditure on all other sectors of the system. The interesting fact is that starting with 1961 the percentage share of total recurrent expenditure on primary education decreased each year of the plan period. At the same time, the percentage share of total recurrent expenditure on

secondary education increased each year of the plan period.¹ J. B. Knight concludes that "Compared with many African countries, the planned growth rates for primary education in Tanzania reflect a remarkable measure of restraint."² Such restraint is reflected in the decreasing share of recurrent expenditure on primary education and the increasing share of recurrent expenditure on secondary education beginning with independence.

The shifting of development effort from primary to secondary education is also reflected in the percentage change in enrollments at these two sectors. Table 18 presents these enrollment figures for the years 1961-64.

Table 18 indicates that from 1961-64 pupil enrollment at the primary level increased by 30% while secondary enrollment increased by 68%. Over the entire system pupil enrollment rose by 30%, a rate comparable to the

¹From 1961 to 1964, the percentage of total recurrent educational expenditure devoted to primary education fell from 66.3% to 60.2% while the percentage of total recurrent educational expenditure devoted to secondary education rose from 16.8% to 19.7%. (Knight, Costing and Financing, p. 73.)

²Knight, Costing and Financing, p. 72.

TABLE 18
 PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN PUPIL ENROLLMENT BY SECTORS, 1961-1964^a

Sectors	1961 Enrollment	1964 Enrollment	Absolute Change	Percentage Change (1961-64)
Primary	486,470	633,678	†147,208	†30.3
Secondary	11,829	19,897	†8,068	†68.2
Teacher Training (Total Enrollment)	1,748	2,263	†515	†29.5
Technical	2,611	2,422	- 89	- 7.2
Total	502,658	658,260	†155,602	†30.7
Higher Tanzanians in University of East Africa	206	415	†209	†101.5
Other post-secondary	1,002	1,712	†710	† 70.9
Total	1,208	2,127	†919	† 76.1
GRAND TOTAL	503,866	660,387	†156,521	† 31.1

^aA. C. Mwingira and Simon Pratt, The Process of Educational Planning in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966), p. 64; Tanganyika Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of Ministry of Education, 1961 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1962), pp. ii-xiii; United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1964 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), pp. 36, 38.

primary sector growth but less than one-half of the secondary growth rate.¹

Thus both in terms of financial commitment and the resultant growth in pupil enrollments, it seems clear that after 1961, the Tanganyikan government, responding to the manpower requirements of independence, placed highest priority upon expansion of secondary and post secondary education. At the same time, the relative weakness of the teacher training and technical education sectors in terms of pupil enrollment growth were disturbing features of the three year plan period and would come to haunt Tanganyikan educators after 1964. But the educational policy response to what then appeared as the most critical problem--the provision of secondary graduates to staff the governmental and commercial segments of the society--seems to have been appropriate and effective.

¹It should be noted that the impressive growth rate in secondary pupil enrollment after 1961 continued an equally impressive growth rate in the years 1957-60. From 1957 to 1960, secondary pupil enrollment rose from 6,288 to 10,133 for a growth rate of 61.1%.

Restructuring for Internal Efficiency

As we have seen, one of the constraints operating upon educational planners in 1961 was the mandate to integrate the educational system beginning January 1, 1962. Some of the political consequences for Tanganyika's Three Year Plan formulations were discussed earlier in this chapter. But the government's decision to integrate its educational system, spelled out in The Basis for An Integrated System of Education, also had structural ramifications. These structural ramifications demanded planning decisions regarding new classification of stages, the number of years within stages, the designation of appropriate exit points both within and between stages, and the relational role of one stage to another. In other words, planning responses were necessary to maximize the internal efficiency and consistency of the educational system.

It will be recalled from the earlier discussion of the educational structure on the eve of independence (1961) that the varying racial systems of education had varying classification of stages and varying number of

years within each stage (see Table 12). The important difference in stage classification was between the three stage African system (primary, middle, secondary) and the two stage non-African systems (primary and secondary). As the Three Year Development Plan illustrates, in order to have planned expansion of an educational system within the framework of a single integrated system, some agreement as to both the classification and length of stages had to be made. The decision of the Three Year Planners following the recommendation of both the Committee on the Integration of Education and The Basis for an Integrated System of Education was to adopt a two stage system (primary and secondary), or in other words, the former non-African pattern.

As far as the number of years to be included within each of the two stages, primary and secondary, in The Basis for an Integrated System of Education the government declared:

It is proposed that the single system of education for Tanganyika will provide for a four year secondary course leading to the School Certificate Examination. At the present time, it is not possible to evolve a uniform system of education which provides for the School Certificate Examination

to be taken after less than twelve years schooling. It follows that it is necessary to lay down that the primary course will be one of eight years.¹

In this respect, as far as the number of years in the pre-secondary stage, the government decided to adopt the former African pattern, i.e. a stage of eight years.²

The decision of the government in 1961 to move towards a two stage educational structure, with a primary stage of eight years and a secondary stage of four, contained within it the need to re-examine the role of

¹Tanganyika, The Basis for An Integrated System of Education, Government Paper No. 1, 1960 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), p. 3.

²The government recognized in the Three Year Development Plan that the decision to create an eight year primary stage would take many years to accomplish. Project A3, Rural Primary Expansion, began the process by calling for expansion of the four year primary schools to six years during the 1961-64 plan period and provided equipment grants for some 1,200 additional classrooms for this purpose. These schools then became known as Lower Primary schools while the former four year middle schools, now only having two standards (VII and VIII) became known as Upper Primary Schools. As far as the Urban (non-African) primary schools were concerned, Project A2, Urban Primary and Secondary School Expansion, the Development Plan provided for some 90 new classrooms in former primary schools to handle Standards VII and VIII which formerly were included in the six-year secondary schools.

selective exams within and between stages. In the past, such selective exams had largely determined the points in the system where the major exodus of pupils occurred. The government's 1960 decision to move towards a four year secondary stage whereby each entering pupil in Form I would proceed uninterrupted through four Forms to sit the Cambridge School Certificate Examination necessitated the abolition of the former Standard 10 (Form II) selective exam which formerly terminated about 2/3 of Form II students at the end of two years of secondary schooling.¹ As one would expect, during the three year period 1961-64, the percentage gains in Forms III and Form IV enrollment were dramatic (see Appendix C) and accounted for a large part of the total percentage increase in secondary school enrollment during those years (see Table 19).

¹ Interestingly, the Report of the Committee on the Integration of Education (1960) argued for the continuation of the Standard 10 exam on grounds of limited provisions of Standard 11 places in African boarding schools. Obviously, this concern was rejected by the government in its policy declaration, The Basis of an Integrated System of Education (1960), p. 3.

But the more troublesome issue regarding exams and exit points occurred at the new primary stage. Previously, under the old three stage system, a selective exam at the end of Standard IV had 'prevented' 4/5 of pupils completing Standard IV from continuing on to Standard V. In principle, the adoption of an eight year primary stage would require the abolition of the Standard IV exam so that all pupils entering Standard I would be able to complete the eight year primary stage. But the abolition of a selective exam after Standard IV permitting the continued progress of all Standard IV pupils on through Standard VIII was an impossibility for many reasons. One obvious factor was cost.¹ A second factor was shortages of trained staff because higher primary standards required a greater proportion of Grade A and B teachers, teachers who respectively had either completed a four year secondary course or two years of

¹The UNESCO Educational Planning Mission to Tanganyika in 1962 estimated the annual recurrent per pupil cost at Standard V and VI to be £6-16/ and at Standards VII and VIII to be £12-7/. These costs are increased by £20 if the pupils are boarders. Per pupil costs at Standards I-IV range from £2-18/ - £5-18 depending upon whether single or double sessions are held. (Report of the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission

secondary work.¹ Because such teachers were in short supply in 1961, the rate of expansion of the Upper Primary Schools (Standards 7 and 8) was necessarily limited. Still another limiting factor on a speedy removal of the Standard IV selective exam was that most former rural (African) middle schools had been boarding schools so that the capital costs involved in rapidly converting day schools to boarding schools were considerable. Confronted with these practical limitations, the government decided to extend the former day primary schools (Standards I-IV) to Standard VI so that more African pupils could attend school through Standard VI without the heavy cost of providing new boarding facilities. Thus, some selection device had to be maintained in the rural primary schools after Standard IV (the necessity was not so great in urban primary schools which were predominantly day schools) during most of the 1961-64 plan

to Tanganyika June to October, 1962 (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), p. 92.)

¹The actual staffing formula for a single stream Upper Primary School was a Grade C teacher for Standard V, a Grade B teacher for Standard VI and a Grade A teacher for each of Standards VII and VIII with one additional grade C teacher for each school.

period. These factors limited the ability of the government to build an uninterrupted eight year primary stage during the first Three Year Development Plan period.

Still, measures taken by the government after 1961 did result in considerable diminution of the pupil attrition that had characterized the pre-independence educational system. Table 19 documents the success the government had in reducing attrition in the educational system after 1961 by comparing pupil attrition rates over two comparable time periods, one before independence and one just after independence. While the enrollment figures do include repeaters, pupil attrition rates at all three stages of the educational system show reductions after independence as compared with the pre-independence period. Attrition of the entering standard of the primary stage fell from 14.1% before independence to 5.6% after independence. At the middle school stage, there were actually more pupils enrolled in 1964 in the same standard that had entered Standard V four years earlier. The most remarkable reduction in attrition rates occurs at the secondary level where attrition in the entering standard (Std. IX) decreased from 49.6% before independence to 13.4% after

TABLE 19

ATTRITION IN THE TANZANIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, 1961, 1964^a

Stage	1958-1961			1961-1964		
	Enrollment 1958	Enrollment 1961	Percentage Attrition 1958-61	Enrollment 1961	Enrollment 1964	Percentage Attrition 1961-64
Four Year Attrition in Entering Standard of Primary Stage (Standard I)	110,939	95,391	14.1%	121,386	114,471	5.6%
Four Year Attrition in Entering Standard of Middle Stage (Standard V)	13,426	11,732	12.6%	19,721	20,348	--
Four Year Attrition in Entering Standard of Secondary Stage (Standard IX)	3,182	1,603	49.6%	4,196	3,630	13.4%

^aTanganyika, Department of Education, Triennial Survey of Department of Education, 1958-1960 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1961), p. 17 and United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of Ministry of Education, 1964 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1964), pp. 28, 35. All enrollment figures include repeaters.

independence. There is no question that the abolition of the Standard 10 exam in 1962 was instrumental in the sharp reduction of pupil attrition at the four year secondary stage. With the abolition of that exam, there no longer was any structural reason why pupils entering the first standard of the secondary stage could not proceed uninterrupted through four years of secondary schooling.

Overall, the record of the independent government in restructuring for greater internal efficiency of the educational system is impressive, particularly when one reviews the reduction in pupil attrition rates after independence. By 1964, more and more Tanzanian pupils were staying in school long enough to complete the four years of the stage in which they were enrolled.

Summary and Conclusions

In attempting to summarize the overall development of Tanzanian education under the Three Year Development Plan it is probably safe to say that the main emphasis was on restructuring the system to make it both more internally

efficient and more responsive to the increasing demand for trained African secondary graduates to meet the employment requirements of independence. The stimulus for much of the restructuring was the integration mandate contained in the government's White Paper, The Basis for an Integrated System of Education. As we have seen, this led to a reclassification of the system into two stages, primary and secondary, of eight and four years respectively and the elimination of some selective exams which reduced attrition within stages. Manpower requirements brought on by independence led to highest development priorities being given to secondary and post-secondary education, critical levels if trained Africans were to be ready to assume positions of leadership in the government bureaucracy. Overall, the government's efforts to implement structural changes during the first three year plan period were consistent with its stated educational policy objectives for the period.

However, in looking back at the period, one can see potentially troubling structural problems arising for the future, problems which in some sense may have been exacerbated by planning decisions taken in 1960/61.

One problem was the weak and ineffective efforts under the Three Year Development Plan to develop an adequate teacher training program. The enrollment growth in teacher training institutions during the period lagged behind all other sectors of the educational structure (except technical education). The results of the decision not to devote considerable governmental developmental effort to the increased output of Tanganyikan teachers would become more evident in the next planning period.

Another serious problem that had its germination during the Three Year Development Plan was the primary school leaver problem. Although Tanganyika was unique among African countries in deliberately limiting primary school expansion, it appears that some structural modifications affecting the primary school stage made during the Three Year Development Plan had far-reaching ramifications. For example, the decision to move towards an uninterrupted eight year primary stage without answering the question whether primary education should be viewed as terminal or preparatory to secondary education would come to plague the government in 1966/67. It seems clear that when the government committed itself, as it

did in the Three Year Development Plan, to an extension of the former four year primary stage to a six year primary course, as the first step to an eventual eight year course, it undoubtedly encouraged parents and pupils alike to think that they are now entitled to an eight year primary course once a child was accepted into Standard I of the primary stage. And it is also likely that with eight years of primary schooling, pupils would be increasingly reluctant to have their education terminated at that point without continuing on to the secondary stage. Resentment would follow when insufficient places at the secondary stages were available for these primary school graduates.

Finally, even though the development of Tanganyikan education from 1961-64 is commendable in terms of enrollment gains and internal efficiencies realized, the long range effects of policy decisions taken during the Three Year Development Plan may prove to have been more consequential for the subsequent development of post-independence education in Tanganyika. For the two educational crises of 1966, the primary school leaver problem and the university student-National Service controversy,

had their roots in two of the major restructuring decisions of the Three Year Development Plan, i.e. the decision to move towards an eight year primary stage and the decision to give highest development priority to secondary and higher education. The full ramifications of these two crises will be the focus of chapters in Part III of the study.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

Introduction

The year 1964 was a momentous year in Tanzania. The January overthrow of the Sultan's government in Zanzibar, the Tanganyikan army mutiny and the April union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar into the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar were some of the dramatic events which make 1964 a significant year in Tanganyikan history.

However, the long run significance of 1964 in Tanzania's history may lie not with the political events, dramatic as they were, but with economic and social endeavors. For it was in that year that Tanzania committed itself to the first of three five year comprehensive national development plans, the Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Social and Economic Development, 1st July

1964-30th June 1969.¹ Unlike the former Three Year Development Plan, the Five Year Development Plan was a comprehensive national development plan built upon Tanganyikan development objectives. These development aims in turn provided the basis for determining priorities for the allocation of scarce national resources and funds. Thus, an examination of the Five Year Development Plan reveals much of what Tanzanians desired for the development of their country in 1964, since the plan states the development goals of the country as articulated by its leaders.²

While it may not be quite so evident, 1964 may prove to have been an epochal year for the development of education in independent Tanganyika. The 1964 Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education states:

¹United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Tanganyika Five-Year Plan for Social and Economic Development, 1st July 1964-30th June 1969 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1964). Hereafter this plan will be referred to as Five Year Development Plan.

²Henry Bienen argues that the real significance of the Five Year Development Plan is its genuinely Tanganyikan quality. He considers prior national plans as basically colonial inheritances which the Tanganyikans were saddled with until they could construct a national planning

. . . the importance of 1964 stems from the fact that this was the first year of implementing a program that would determine the future of the nation. The role which the Ministry of Education is to play in this great task makes the inaugural year all the more significant [since] . . . this is the first time that the Ministry of Education is to play an unprecedented role in the provision of manpower requirements for nation building.¹

Whatever its lasting significance, the year 1964 provides the educational historian a convenient starting point, for the Five Year Development Plan carefully articulates the developmental objectives for the educational system over a set period of time, 1964-69. This does not necessarily mean that educational development took any new or radical departures in 1964, but only that from 1964 on educational policy responses are extensively documented and related to broader national policy objectives. In other words, the task of the chronicler becomes somewhat easier after 1964. At the

mechanism which would then translate their nation-building aspirations into concrete national development programs. Bienen, Party Transformation, p. 277.

¹United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1964 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 5.

same time, the task of relating educational development in Tanzania is riskier because of the temptation to accept something as "given" because it is announced in an impressive national development plan.

With this introduction, let us first examine briefly the historical antecedents of the educational component of the Five Year Development Plan.

The UNESCO Educational Planning Mission
for Tanganyika

The story of educational development under the Five Year Plan probably should begin with the historic Addis Ababa Conference of African Ministers of Education held in May of 1961, some months before Tanganyika received its independence. This conference, a landmark occasion for the continent, established priorities for educational development in Africa through 1980 and set forth enrollment targets by sectors in terms of percentage of appropriate age group to be enrolled.¹

¹The recommendations of this conference can be found in Final Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa, 15-25 May 1961 (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), p. 19.

Representatives from Tanganyika attended.

Late in 1961, the Government of Tanganyika invited UNESCO to send an educational planning mission to plan future development of education in the country both in view of the Three Year Development Plan and the enrollment targets established by the Addis Ababa Conference. In essence, the original purpose of this UNESCO team was to determine both the cost and the extent of structural changes necessary if Tanganyikan education was to attain the enrollment targets set forth by the Addis Ababa Conference targets by 1970. Instead, the most urgent recommendation of the UNESCO team was the establishment of a permanent educational planning unit within the Ministry of Education. This unit would be directed by an Assistant Chief Education Officer for Coordination and Planning (the actual title became "Assistant Chief Education Officer for Planning") who would not only be responsible for the collection of educational statistics but would also have the responsibility for coordinating all educational plans with national planning agencies and

external aid donors.¹

It was this planning unit within the Ministry of Education that had the major responsibility for the preparation of the educational component of the Five Year Development Plan.

Manpower Surveys and Tanzanian
Educational Planning

At the same time as the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission was visiting Tanganyika (1962) two of the three manpower surveys which would play a crucial role in the formulation of the Five Year Development Plan were underway. The first survey, undertaken by Guy Hunter for the University of East Africa, was a preliminary assessment of the high level manpower requirements of the three East African countries for the periods 1961-1966 and 1966-1971. The Hunter study divided East African high-level manpower needs into two broad categories; Category I,

¹The full range of responsibilities of the Tanganyikan Educational Planning Unit are well discussed in Mwingira and Pratt, The Process of Educational Planning, pp. 28-31. The first of the co-authors was the first Assistant Chief Education Officer for Planning.

comprising professionals, technologists, senior administrators and managers, and Category II, comprising technicians, secondary school teachers, junior administrators and supervisors, nurses and senior members of the extension services. Hunter in turn specified the minimum preparation required for these two categories of skilled manpower as Higher School Certificate graduates required for Category I occupations and School Certificate graduates required for Category II. Using the 1961 stock as a base, then adding expected wastage, Hunter projected the total manpower requirements in the two categories on the basis of two different rates of growth in GNP. For Tanzania, for the period 1961-66, Hunter projected a total requirement of 10,000-12,300 (depending upon the GNP growth rate) jobs requiring either a School Certificate or Higher School Certificate.¹

Both the strengths and weaknesses of the Hunter study are summarized well by George Skorov who points out that while the Hunter study was the first effort in

¹Guy Hunter, High Level Manpower in East Africa: Preliminary Assessment (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1963), p. 13.

East Africa definitely incorporating a manpower planning approach it suffered from the lack of precision in both defining manpower categories and equating those categories to the requisite level of education needed.¹ Despite its weaknesses, the Hunter study was important for it pointed out very soon after independence that existing plans for the expansion of Tanzanian secondary and post-secondary schools through 1966 would be inadequate to meet the estimated Category I manpower needs (at both rates of growth in the GNP) and would be inadequate to meet even the Category II needs if the economy grew at the faster rate (15% per annum as opposed to 10%).²

Hunter's essential conclusions were verified by later more sophisticated manpower surveys.

At the same time as the UNESCO Educational Planning Mission was visiting Tanganyika, another manpower survey by George Tobias, a Ford Foundation consultant, was underway. Tobias interviewed employers (both public and

¹George Skorov, Integration of Economic and Educational Planning in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966), pp. 21-25.

²Hunter, High Level Manpower, p. 19.

private) of 71.5% of all the non-agricultural employees¹ in Tanganyika, asking first the number of people employed as of March, 1962, and then the likely increases in employment needed through 1967 on the basis of planned production expansion. From the responses of employers and using projected rates of growth in the economy, Tobias calculated the amount of trained manpower that would be required through 1967.

Tobias' conclusion was essentially the same as Hunter's; there would be a shortfall in the supply of skilled manpower for administrative and professional positions. The need for such people (for which the very minimum educational requirements would be 12 years of schooling) would double by 1967 for a total requirement of 8,054 while the supply would amount to 2,267. On the other hand, in the crafts (occupations not requiring secondary education) gross additions would amount to only 2,448 over the period 1962-67, an amount which could be met by the planned expanded output of the educational system.¹

¹Tanganyika, Survey of the High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Tanganyika, 1962-67 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1963), p. 24.

It is not surprising then that Tobias, like Hunter before him, recommended that the greatest emphasis be laid on the expansion of the secondary educational sector. But, because of the greater sophistication of his study which broke down expected manpower requirements into occupations showing the great shortfalls in the future supply of engineers, scientists, medical personnel and teachers, Tobias could argue that a greater technical content be built in secondary education along with provisions for vocational counselling.¹ These educational recommendations flowing from Tobias' occupational group survey were to prove important later in the Five Year Development Plan, for the "initial estimate of manpower needs of the five year plan were derived by extrapolating the data of the Tobias survey . . . [and] . . . no doubt . . . it greatly contributed to the formulation of major

¹Just as Tobias's survey confirmed the shortfalls predicted by Guy Hunter in his earlier study, so did the educational recommendations of Tobias agree with many of Hunter's recommendations. Hunter agreed that the secondary sector must be expanded as first priority. Although Hunter did not specifically divide manpower categories into occupations, he did specifically point out the great shortfalls that were likely in the medical, agricultural, and veterinary services, engineers, scientists, and graduate teachers.

policy decisions in the field of education.¹

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning submitted to the Ministry of Education the extrapolated results of Tobias's survey for that ministry's use in preparing the education component of the overall development plan. In the submitted guide for the Ministry of Education's use, a new categorization of jobs was used equating jobs to the educational levels necessary for entrance to each category. The following categories were used in the planning guide.

Category A -- Jobs which normally require a university degree.

Category B -- Jobs which require from one to three years of post-secondary education

Category C -- Jobs which require a secondary education.

With this revised categorization of jobs (closely attuned to the developing Tanganyikan educational structure),

¹Skorov, Integration of Educational, p. 30.

the Ministry of Education proceeded to make preliminary estimates on how the structure of the educational system should be altered over the planning period to produce the numbers required for each category of occupation.

The third and final manpower survey was undertaken by Robert Thomas, a Ford Foundation manpower advisor in 1964.¹ Thomas had the advantage of having access to the preliminary broad policy directions governing the public sector that the Ministry of Development Planning had tentatively approved for the Five Year Development Plan. Thus, the Thomas survey (unlike the Tobias survey) could project the probable manpower needs of individual ministries (the country's major employer of skilled manpower) depending upon the projected role each would play in attaining the broad developmental targets of the draft Five Year Development Plan. This knowledge of the major directions the Five Year Development Plan would take also helped Thomas in estimating manpower needs in the private sector, since the plan included growth targets

¹United Republic of Tanzania, Directorate for Development and Planning, Survey of the High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources for the Five Year Plan 1964/65-1968/69 (Thomas survey) (Dar-Es-Salaam, Government Printer, 1965).

and expansion rates for the various components of the private sector.¹

The Thomas survey results reinforced the major finding of the Tobias survey in that the total demand for manpower in Categories A and B (minimum of Higher School Certificate work required) would require the production over five years of more than the total present complement of manpower in these two categories. While the actual numbers in the Thomas survey differ considerably from the Tobias (because Thomas had a broader occupational coverage), Thomas' conclusion was the same-- first priority must be given to the expanded output of secondary schools and a ratio of 4:3 between science and arts should be maintained at the Higher School Certificate level. University work must be closely tied to the country's manpower needs in terms of the plan's social and economic development philosophy. Finally, Thomas recommended a much greater use of on-the-job training (as Hunter had several years before) for

¹For Tanzania, Thomas projected a 2.5 percent per annum growth rate in the private sector and 3.4 percent in the public sector over the plan period.

Category C manpower.

The three manpower surveys of Hunter, Tobias, and Thomas provided Tanzanian educational planners with much more exact data on likely manpower requirements than was available in other African countries. It may well have been this exactitude as to future manpower needs that created a 'halo effect' around the educational planning suggestions of the manpower surveyors. One expert who has examined the major conclusions and methodology of Tanzanian manpower surveyors concludes that whatever limitations characterized their work, their educational conclusions are unlikely to have been wrong; i.e., that first priority be given to secondary school expansion over primary education, and that at the secondary level science subjects should predominate over arts subjects. And the expert adds that any subsequent oversupply of trained high level manpower could probably be absorbed by a faster Africanization program in the event the manpower surveyors miscalculated.¹

¹Skorov, Integration of Educational, p. 35.

The government's reliance upon earlier manpower surveys became apparent when the Five Year Development Plan was made public in 1964. As President Nyerere stated in his introductory description, the Five Year Development Plan had three major objectives. They were by 1980:

1. to raise the per-capital income from the present £19 6s to £45;
2. to be fully self-sufficient in trained manpower requirements;
3. to raise the expectation of life from the present 35-40 years to an expectation of 50 years.¹

The second objective of the Five Year Development Plan, to be fully self-sufficient in trained manpower by 1980, proved to be the development goal of the government towards which the Ministry of Education was given prime responsibility. The critical link between the recommendations of the manpower surveys incorporated in the Five Year Development Plan and the development of education in Tanganyika during the plan period, 1964-69, was provided by President Nyerere when he discussed the role of

¹The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1st July 1964-30th June 1969, I (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1964), viii.

education in the development of Tanganyika. His words provide a clear, succinct statement of the manpower approach to educational planning.

I have already stated that one of the major long-term objectives of our planning is to be self-sufficient in trained manpower by 1980. This means a carefully planned expansion of education. This expansion is an economic function; the purpose of Government expenditure on education in the coming years must be to equip Tanganyikans with the skills and knowledge which is needed if the Development of this country is to be achieved. It is this fact which has determined Government educational policy.¹

Here we have, in 1964, from the President himself, a clear statement as to what the Tanzanian policy governing educational development would be for the period 1964-69. As A. C. Mwingira later admitted, as of 1964, Tanzania had adopted the manpower approach to educational planning.²

¹The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1st July 1964-30th June 1969, I (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1964), xi.

²A. C. Mwingira, "Educational Policy and Development Policy in Tanzania," Reprint No. 6, Institute of Adult Education, University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, 1966, p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

Integrating Education with Development
Plan Targets

There is little doubt that beginning in 1964 the Tanzanian government increasingly looked to formal education as the means to fulfill the country's aspirations for manpower self-sufficiency by 1980. This increased reliance upon formal education also required a close integration of educational development with over-all national development.

If one uses education's share of total government recurrent expenditure as a measure, government's commitment to education substantially increased during the Five Year Development Plan period over that of the Three Year Development Plan period. (See Table 20.) By 1969, the last year of the Five Year Development Plan, government planned to commit 20.0% of its total recurrent expenditure to education. Education's resultant share of total capital expenditure showed a small reduction in the Five Year Development Plan over that of the Three Year Development Plan. Except for the year 1967/68, the government planned to devote about 13.5% of total capital

TABLE 20
 FIVE YEAR PLAN
 GOVERNMENT RECURRENT AND CAPITAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION^a

Financial Year	Recurrent Expenditure			Capital Expenditure		
	Total (£ Million)	Education (£ Million)	Education Expenditure as Percentage of Total	Total (£ Million)	Education (£ Million)	Education Expenditure as Percentage of Total
1964/65	32.94	5.93	18.0	14.90	2.00	13.4
1965/66	34.83	6.52	18.7	16.89	2.30	13.6
1966/67	37.01	7.05	19.0	19.77	2.70	13.7
1967/68	39.20	7.68	19.6	23.95	3.42	14.3
1968/69	41.58	8.32	20.0	26.49	3.58	13.5
Total	185.56	35.50	19.1	102.00	14.00	13.7

^aUnited Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Social and Economic Development, 1st July 1964-30th June, 1969, I (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1964), 93-94.

expenditures to education during the Five Year Development Plan.¹

In terms of the percentage of the Gross Domestic Product devoted to education, the Five Year Development Plan also shows an increase over the Three Year Development Plan. Under the Five Year Development Plan, total educational expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product was to rise to 4.7%, a considerable increase over the figure of 3.5% in 1963.²

These measures of the central government's increased financial commitment to education under the Five Year Development Plan reflect the increased responsibility given to the Ministry of Education as one of the key ministries charged with the attainment of the second of three developmental targets of the Five Year Development

¹ Mwingira and Pratt, The Process of Educational Planning in Tanzania, devote Chapter Five to a step by step account of the formulation of the educational component of the Five Year Development Plan. This chapter is a valuable source for anyone interested in the many factors and forces that come to bear upon educational planners in a developing country as they work through the educational component of a national development plan, from first to final draft.

² Knight, Costing and Financing, p. 21.

Plan--self-sufficiency in high level manpower by 1980.

Additional evidence of the new high level manpower emphasis placed by the Five Year Development Plan upon formal Tanzanian education is visible when one examines the sectoral allocation of development funds. Table 21 provides this data.

As a single sector, primary education continued under the Five Year Development Plan to receive the greatest percentage allocation of total recurrent and capital funds. However, reflecting the gradual but steady success of the central government in transferring financial responsibility for primary education to Local Educational Authorities, the central government's recurrent expenditure on primary education under the Five Year Development Plan was cut to about one-half of the Three Year Development Plan record. (See Table 16.)

As far as capital expenditure was concerned, Higher Education clearly received highest priority with one out of every three £'s going to capital formation at that level. Recurrent expenditure continued to reflect the relative size and per pupil costs of each sector of the educational system.

TABLE 21

ALLOCATION OF EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES UNDER FIVE YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN^a

Sector	Capital Expenditures		Recurrent Expenditures		Recurrent and Capital Expenditures	
	Amount (£ Thousand)	Percentage of Total	Amount (£ Thousand)	Percentage of Total	Amount (£ Thousand)	Percentage of Total
Primary	2,697	19.3	13,103	37.1	15,800	31.9
Secondary	2,651	18.9	10,002	28.1	12,653	25.5
Teacher Training	2,000	14.3	3,234	9.1	5,234	10.5
Technical	1,500	10.7	1,800	5.0	3,300	6.6
Higher	4,902	35.0	4,417	12.4	9,319	18.8
Other (Administration)	205	1.8	2,950	8.3	3,200	6.4
Total	14,000	100.0	35,506	100.0	49,506	99.7

^aUnited Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Social and Economic Development, 1st July 1969-30th June 1969, I (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1969), 67-67.

The sectoral enrollment targets under the Five Year Development Plan, reflecting the sectoral allocation of central government funds, are detailed in Table 22.

In terms of percentage growth, teacher training and university enrollment targets far outstrip the other sectors of the system. This post-1964 developmental emphasis on post-secondary education (made possible by earlier gains in secondary school output) demonstrates once again the integration of educational planning and national development planning after 1964.¹

¹ Technical Education's surprising lack of vigor, despite its seemingly important role in the manpower requirements of a developing nation, reflects a high level government decision to transfer to private industry from the Ministry of Education much of the responsibility for on-the-job training. Apprenticeship training was also transferred out to the Ministry of Labor. By 1966, the former trade schools at Ifunda and Moshi had been partially converted to secondary schools. Only the Dar-Es-Salaam Technical College remained a Ministry of Education responsibility in the Technical Education area.

TABLE 22

ENROLLMENT TARGETS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION,
1964-1969^a

Category of Student	Enrollment 1964	Enrollment 1969	Percentage Increase
(a) Number of Tanganyika students entering the University of East Africa	175	528§	202
(b) Number of pupils entering Form 5 of secondary schools (Higher School Certificate Course)	680	1,280	88
(c) Number of pupils entering Form 1 of secondary schools (School Certificate Course)	5,250	7,070†	35
(d) Number of students entering craft courses (Moshi Technical School and grant-aided establishments	188	350	86
(e) Number of students entering teacher training courses Grade 'A'	320	1,300	306
(f) Number of students entering teacher training courses Grade 'C'	920	to be discontinued	

TABLE 22-Continued

Category of Student	Enrollment 1964	Enrollment 1969	Percentage Increase
(g) Number of pupils completing Standard VIII (later Standard VII)	18,500*		
(h) Number of pupils entering Standard V	44,000*		
(i) Number of pupils entering Standard I	142,000*		

§ A lower figure of 450 will apply if it does not prove possible to accommodate the additional students at the reduced cost.

† Assuming adequate external aid will be forthcoming.

* The increase in these figures will be determined largely by the capacity of Local Education Authorities to bear their share of the recurrent cost of primary education.

^a United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar,
Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Social and Economic Development
1st July 1964-30th June 1969, I (Dar-Es-Salaam:
 Government Printer, 1969), 67.

The Student and National Development Planning

Up to this point, this chapter has analyzed the integration of Tanzanian educational development with the aims of the Five Year Development Plan. The modifications described so far involved "macro" level decisions: e.g., the percentage of national resources to be devoted to education and the sectors of the system to receive priority for expansion and development. As we have seen, the policy responses in these cases reflected and were responsive to broader overall national development goals, particularly the development goal to attain self-sufficiency in skilled manpower by 1980.

At the same time, other policy issues had to be faced by the Tanzanian government, issues at the "micro" level which focused upon academic and vocational decisions by students themselves. Even with a restructured educational system potentially capable of producing sufficient quantities of graduates to meet national manpower needs, the government felt additional direction was needed to insure that the individual student pursued academic studies that fit overall national manpower needs.

The Principal Secretary to the Minister of Education, F. K. Burengelo, once said, "All our students go to the various faculties of the University of East Africa because our government wants them there,"¹ and the Principal of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, W. K. Chagula, admitted, "Our country is determined to link the university intake and output to national needs. It is therefore obvious that a certain direction of students is necessary."²

The following pages analyze some of the policy responses the government made to achieve this "certain direction" of Tanzanian students.

Each of Tanzania's manpower studies had emphasized the need for greater numbers of science graduates at the university level if critical science related manpower requirements were to be met. Because the Tanzanian educational system (patterned after the British model) began subject concentration at the Higher School Certificate

¹Richard Greenough, African Prospect Progress in Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1966), p. 57.

²Ibid.

level (Forms V and VI), the key to adequate numbers of university science students actually lay at the Higher School Certificate level. To insure that adequate numbers of Higher School Certificate science graduates would be available for university entrance, the Five Year Development Plan decreed that from 1964/65 the ratio of Higher School Certificate graduates in science to arts would be 4:3. The next step was to insure that sufficient numbers of Cambridge School certificate graduates (Form IV) could be directed into Higher School Certificate science concentrations to satisfy the 4:3 ratio.

To insure greater numbers of science oriented Form IV graduates for entrance to Higher School Certificate work, the government, in 1964, introduced a novel scheme called the Mock Cambridge Exam. Before 1964, a considerable number of able secondary science students failed to gain admission to Form V because they failed the English section of the Cambridge Examination, which prevented them from receiving a Cambridge School Certificate. After 1964 with advance selection to Form V made on the basis of a Mock Cambridge exam given prior to the

regular exam, able science students could now gain admission to Higher School Certificate studies and have another chance to pass English if they subsequently failed it on the regular Cambridge School Certificate Exam. (They were permitted to re-sit the exam at the end of Form V.) Table 23 shows that, beginning in 1965, over a hundred successful Higher School Certificate science graduates began emerging from Form VI each year to begin university level science studies work, studies which had received high priority in all three of Tanzania's manpower studies.

The next critical step in the government's efforts to provide increased direction to Tanzanian students' academic progress was at the university level. To insure that Tanzanian students beginning higher education would in fact study subjects critical to the nation's manpower requirements, the government took three policy steps; secondary school vocational counselling was introduced, a tied bursary scheme for students attending the University of East Africa was established, and central government control over Tanzanian students proceeding overseas for university study was tightened. Let us examine each

TABLE 23

TANZANIAN HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE RESULTS, 1960-1966^a

Year	Arts Results			Science Results			Total Results		
	No. Sitting	No. HSC's Awarded	Percentage Pass	No. Sitting	No. HSC's Awarded	Percentage Pass	No. Sitting	No. HSC's Awarded	Percentage Pass
1960	53	32	60.4	65	34	52.3	118	66	55.9
1961	84	48	57.1	73	22	30.1	157	70	44.6
1962	85	55	64.7	114	47	41.2	199	102	51.3
1963	141	100	70.9	117	41	35.0	258	141	54.7
1964	239	121	50.6	232	70	30.2	471	191	40.6
1965	348	106	30.5	269	153	56.9	617	259	41.9
1966	367	195	53.1	401	116	28.9	768	311	40.5

^aUnited Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of Ministry of Education, 1966 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 73.

policy step.

Vocational counselling was introduced in Tanzania in 1964 with the publication by the Directorate of Development and Planning of a guidebook for secondary school leavers entitled *Careers for Nation Building*. This loose leaf booklet, distributed to all secondary schools and placed in the hands of a teacher appointed as "careers master," described possible vocations and listed the qualifications required, the prospects of employment, and expected remuneration. Students, after reading the booklet and discussing vocational choices with school officials, were permitted to list on a specified Ministry form several options they would like to pursue if granted entrance to some form of post-secondary training.

George Skorov praised the effectiveness of the booklet, saying that in 1965 more than 85% of those who eventually received bursaries for teacher training had indicated teaching as one of their first two career choices.¹

Such prophetic career choice by secondary leavers in 1965 may as much have reflected their recognition of the likely

¹Skorov, Integration of Educational Planning, p. 49.

bursary awards available as their acquiescence to the attractive features of teaching as documented in the Careers handbook.

Probably a much more effective device for "directing" career choice of Tanzanian university students was the introduction of the tied bursary scheme in 1964/65. The tied bursary is essentially a full government scholarship offered to the Tanzanian student for study at any of the three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa. In return, the student agrees to work for the government upon graduation for five years in whatever job he is assigned by the government. Because of the meager financial resources of most Tanzanian students, virtually all Tanzanian students at the University of East Africa fall under the tied bursary scheme. The allocation of bursaries tightly conforms to future projected manpower requirements, with 24% of all government bursaries being awarded to students studying engineering, medicine, or science; 28% to students in agricultural science, and the remaining 48 percent for students pursuing arts subjects.¹ One half of the arts bursaries

¹Skorov, Integration of Educational Planning, p. 49.

were awarded to students preparing to be graduate teachers in the arts, and 30% of the science bursaries were awarded to prospective science teachers.

With the tied bursary, the government possessed considerable leverage in providing "direction" to the studies of Tanzanian students at the University of East Africa. Mwingira and Pratt conclude: "The resulting scheme of tied bursaries is regarded as a cornerstone of Tanzania's program for the achievement of self-sufficiency in high level manpower by 1980."¹

One other loophole needed to be filled if the government was to control the study paths of all Tanzanian university students, the Tanzanian student who left for overseas study. To control the career decisions of Tanzanians overseas was not an inconsiderable problem, for throughout the middle 1960's, three times as many Tanzanian students were studying overseas as in East Africa.² To insure that foreign scholarships were

¹Mwingira and Pratt, Process of Educational Planning, p. 19.

²In 1964, 328 Tanzanian students were enrolled at the University of East Africa and 926 Tanzanians were studying abroad.

awarded in accordance with Tanzanian manpower requirements the government established a Civil Service Advisory Group to the Government Committee on Education. The Registrar of the Ministry of Education was assigned the task of keeping an accurate roster of all Tanzanian students abroad, their courses of study, and their expected dates of return. This list was used in conjunction with lists of students studying in East Africa to forecast the supply of Tanzanian graduates available in any one year for the high level manpower posts detailed in the Five Year Development Plan. Effective control was maintained by close liaison with appropriate agencies of government to insure that passports were not issued to unauthorized students leaving Tanzania to pursue studies overseas. In addition, foreign study advisors were posted by the Tanzanian government in a few countries (e.g., the United Kingdom and the United States) where a large proportion of Tanzanian students were enrolled at universities. It is hard to judge how effective these measures have been in insuring that Tanzanian students studying abroad are pursuing studies in conformity with national manpower needs. But it is clear from recent Annual

Summaries of the Ministry of Education that much more complete and accurate records are being kept of overseas Tanzanian students than in the early years of independence.

By the measures just described, the government has succeeded in providing greater direction to the academic studies of Tanganyikan students at home and abroad at both the Higher School Certificate level and the university level. Much of the government's concern was, as we have seen, to insure that suitable numbers of science graduates would be available to fill Tanzania's science related manpower requirements. It should be noted that another beneficiary of these measures has been the teacher training sector of the educational system. After years of neglect, through the tied bursary scheme Tanzanian graduate teachers are emerging from the educational system. Such efforts by the government to control the academic progress of Tanzanian post secondary students, in conjunction with the overall structural changes made in the educational system described earlier in this chapter, augur well for the eventual success of the educational system in responding to its manpower mandate announced in the Five Year Development Plan.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has examined educational planning in Tanzania that accompanied the advent of the country's Five Year Development Plan. The chapter traced the evolving conviction of Tanganyikan educational planners that educational development should serve the broader social and economic development objectives of the country as set forth in a comprehensive development plan. It was seen that this concern to integrate educational and national development planning in Tanganyika could be traced back to the 1961 decision of the Tanganyikan government to invite a team of UNESCO Educational Planners to study the Tanganyikan educational system and make recommendations regarding its future growth and development. At the same time, the Tanganyikan government went to considerable effort and expense to enlist the services of recognized international experts to survey the manpower requirements of the country and to recommend appropriate measures that government should undertake to insure the output of skilled manpower sufficient for the country's development.

The conclusions of these manpower studies were incorporated in the Five Year Development Plan, one of whose three objectives was to make the country self-sufficient in high level manpower by 1980. The establishment of this as one of the country's development objectives led to the decision to give top priority to post secondary education, which was seen as the keystone for providing sufficient high level manpower for development.

Other non-structural policy decisions discussed in this chapter also were responsive to the government's commitment to channel educational development in Tanganyika towards the provision of critical high level skilled manpower. It has been argued here that the institution of a Higher School Certificate pre-selection exam (the Mock Cambridge), tied bursary schemes, and the Ministry's control over the granting of overseas scholarships were logical extensions of the basic decision to integrate educational development with national manpower requirements.

Despite the almost universal praise manpower experts and development planners have heaped on Tanzania's policy response to the problem of integrating educational and national development planning in an African setting,

some reservations should be noted. Recently, more critical attention has been given to any developmental role for African education which neglects the needs of students destined to return to the rural-agricultural sector.¹

Tanzania's past over-riding concern with the high level manpower ramifications of educational planning may prove to be counter-productive as long as the rural sector remains the predominant sector of her economy.

It now appears that Tanzanian educational development under the Five Year Development Plan continued and re-inforced the tendency of each stage of the educational system to look upward to the requirements of the next highest stage. Emerging then was an educational structure geared to the high level manpower training requirements of a small elite at the expense of the much larger and

¹The relationship between education and the needs of the rural-agricultural sector in an African context was explored in depth at the 1966 Kericho Conference and reported in James R. Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development: The Proceedings of a Conference held at Kericho, Kenya, in September, 1966 (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967). In a Tanzanian setting see Guy Hunter, Manpower, Employment and Education in the Rural Economy of Tanzania (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966).

less educated student population that leaves the lower stages of the system to work in the rural-agricultural sector.

Tanzania's success in developing a post-independence educational structure in which each stage of the educational system is planned to ensure suitably trained entrants to the next higher stage may have been temporary. What can happen is that an upward looking structure may produce such discontent on the part of the vast majority of pupils who fail to progress to the next higher stage that the seeds of its own destruction are sown. In the long run, any structure of education must be acceptable to the vast majority of people whose tax money supports it. Only an educational structure in which each stage, from the lowest to the highest, attempts to meet the educational needs of the vast majority of its participants can hope to enlist the continued support of the citizenry.

PART III

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AFFECTED BY EDUCATIONAL

DYSFUNCTIONALITY

(1966-1967)

CHAPTER V

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL LEAVER PROBLEM

Introduction

The Tanzanian primary school leaver problem that reached the crisis stage in 1966 was neither new nor endemic to Tanzania. The future of increasing numbers of primary school leavers ill-equipped or unwilling to re-enter the rural sector, as L. Gray Cowan points out, ". . . provides one of the most serious threats to political and social stability faced by new African states."¹ The problem has been the concern of writers on African education for many years;² it reached crisis proportions in Tanzania during 1966 when parents and

¹L. Gray Cowan, "British and French Education in Africa," Post Primary Education and Political and Economic Development, eds. Don S. Piper and Taylor Cole (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 186.

²For example, see Archibald Callaway's article, "Unemployment Among School Leavers," Journal of Modern African Studies, I (September, 1963), 351-71. Philip Foster also examines the problem in a Ghanaian context in his book, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

legislators became so aroused that discussion of the problem was elevated to the highest levels of government.

To understand the primary school leaver problem as it affected Tanzania in 1966, it is necessary to view it from several different perspectives; the economics of Tanzanian wage and salaried employment, the vocational aspirations of Tanzanian primary pupils and the structure and aims of Tanzanian primary education itself. These viewpoints will be utilized to first examine the problem and later to appraise the policy responses made by the Tanganyikan government to the problem.

The Economics of Tanzanian Wage and Salaried Employment

Tanzania is no exception to Professor Harbison's generalization, "Modernization is a generator of unemployment."¹ Tanzanian wage and salaried employment (about 6.5% of the total economically active population)

¹Frederick H. Harbison, "The Generation of Employment in Newly Developing Countries," Education, Employment and Rural Development: The Proceedings of a Conference held at Kericho, Kenya, in September, 1966, ed. James R. Sheffield (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 174.

has shown an absolute decline since independence. The figures in Table 24 show this decline that accompanied modernization of the Tanzanian economy.

TABLE 24
EVOLUTION OF WAGE AND SALARIED EMPLOYMENT
IN TANZANIA, 1961-1965^a

Sector	Numbers Engaged in Wage and Salaried Employment				
	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Private Sector	307,038	289,824	245,133	247,456	NA
Public Sector	104,500	107,204	95,191	103,801	NA
Total	411,538	397,028	340,344	351,257	333,755

^a George Skorov, Integration of Educational and Economic Planning in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966), p. 18.

A specific Tanzanian factor causing wage and salaried employment to decline after independence was the passage of a minimum wage law in January, 1963, which encouraged large scale employers (such as sisal estate owners) to offset higher wage costs by cutting part time and half time employment. Another reason for Tanzania's

low numbers of wage and salaried employment is the smallness of its industrial sector which because of its recency is often modern and highly automated.¹

Table 25 compares the number of new jobs created during the Five Year Development Plan period with expected new entrants to the job market. These figures show that fewer than one out of ten new entrants to the labor market could expect to find wage and salaried employment during the period 1964/65-1968/69. The other nine had no alternative, "but to subsist by self-employment, more particularly, to live on the land and produce food for subsistence and cash crops for sale."²

This is the hard economic reality which provides the economic impetus for resolving the primary school leaver problem. Even at the optimistic growth rates

¹For a detailed analysis of Tanzanian employment, underemployment and unemployment in 1965 by sex, age, location, educational preparation, category of work, hours of work, wage rates, etc., see United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning, "Labour Force Survey of Tanzania," Dar-Es-Salaam, 1966. (Mimeographed.)

²Skorov, Integration of Educational Planning, p. 58.

TABLE 25

TANZANIAN EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS FOR NEW ENTRANTS
TO THE LABOR MARKET, 1964/65-1968/69^a

<u>New Jobs</u>	<u>Number</u>
Wage Agricultural Employment	44,000
Non-Agricultural Employment	<u>66,000</u>
Total New Jobs	110,000
 <u>New Entrants to Job Market</u>	
Standard VIII Leavers	231,520
All Other New Entrants	<u>918,480</u>
Total New Entrants	1,150,000

^aGeorge Skorov, Integration of Educational and Economic Planning in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966), p. 58.

envisioned in the Five Year Development Plan (6.7% per annum), the primary school pupil contemplating his future wage employment prospects has little grounds for optimism. For nine out of ten, the only realistic prospect is a future on the land, a future which both primary school pupils and their parents have been disciplined to accept.

The Vocational Aspirations of Tanzanian
Primary Pupils

The fact that the vast majority of Tanzanian primary school leavers have no option except a life within the rural-agricultural sector is only a problem to the extent that those pupils do not see that option as a reasonably attractive life style. Whenever evidence appears that in fact Tanzanian primary pupils do not in fact view a career in the rural-agricultural sector as being desirable there is the tendency to blame the educational system for the creation of such attitudes.¹ But, the problem of unrealistic vocational aspirations can not be just attributed to what goes on in schools. What makes one vocational life style more attractive than another is rooted deep in a society's culture and history.

For years the tendency of many Africans to rank rural-agricultural work low on the scale of vocationally

¹George Von DerMuhll, in a paper entitled "Education, Citizenship and Social Revolution in Tanzania" delivered at the 10th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, New York City, November 4-7, 1967 examines in considerable detail the ability of the Tanzanian educational system to affect attitude change on the part of pupils, particularly in the direction of increased socialist sensitivity. Von DerMuhll points out the fine line between education to increase socialist fervor and education for political indoctrination.

desirable roles has been explained in the following way:

. . . Africans were less interested in carpentry and farming than in the mysteries of literacy, which they regarded as the secret of the white man's power. The young African noted that the clerk in the office wielded power over others and also earned better pay. He still believes this, and his judgment is sound. For it was true half a century ago, as it is today, that better wages go to the man who wields a pen than to the man who plies a hoe.¹

This traditional view has been challenged by a recent Tanzanian study. In a job preference test administered to 476 Standard VIII pupils in the Mwanza Region of Tanzania, the investigator found that farming ranked 7 out of a list of 22 occupations. Also surprising was the fact that 'garage mechanic' was placed higher on the list of preferred occupations than any white collar position. In assessing the results of his study for the Kericho Conference, J. D. Heijnen concluded, "This I believe effectively negates the opinion held by many commentators that the school leavers refuse to work with their hands . . . I cannot but think that their actual dislike of farming is much less than we are often tempted

¹Castle, Growing Up in East Africa, p. 83.

to believe."¹ Another Kericho Conference participant concluded:

Thus it is apparent that school leavers have a fairly realistic attitude to the lives they are likely to lead after school, although a disappointed one. There is a full realization that education leads to a better job and must be sought in or out of school. All types of jobs are eagerly sought, though a weather eye is kept open for the education/promotional opportunities involved. In respect to agriculture, there is an ambivalent attitude; an underlying respect for land and farming still lingers in many young people and can be aroused, but unless agriculture can demonstrate opportunities to provide more than a subsistence living, it cannot compete with regular income jobs and in areas where families are larger and land is over-committed or unavailable it has very limited attraction.²

Thus it appears that vocational preference in an African context differs little from vocational preference in more advanced societies once the realities of vocational opportunity are known to pupils. African students, like

¹J. D. Heijnen, "Results of a Job Preference Test Administered to Pupils in Standard VIII, Mwanza, Tanzania," Education, Employment and Rural Development: The Proceedings of a Conference held at Kericho, Kenya in September, 1966, ed. James R. Sheffield (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), pp. 433, 437.

²David R. Koff, "Education and Employment: Perspectives of Kenya Primary Pupils," Education, Employment and Rural Development: The Proceedings of a Conference held at Kericho, Kenya in September, 1966, ed. James R. Sheffield (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), pp. 419-20.

their counterparts in other countries, choose occupations that guarantee reasonable future economic security. Education is the 'villain' only in the sense that it opens up for the primary pupil the realities of vocational opportunity open to him.

Structure, Aims and Content of Primary Education

President Nyerere has said that the problem of primary school leavers was in fact a product of the existing educational system.¹ His view is substantiated when the structure, aims and content of the primary system are examined.

The educational structure at the time of the primary school leaver crisis in 1966 remained essentially as it was formulated in 1961, i.e. a primary course of seven or eight years followed by a secondary stage of four or six years. Structural changes which occurred during the Three Year Development Plan had increasingly whet the

¹Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 14.

educational aspirations of those primary pupils who were able to continue schooling after Standard IV.

The main structural modification under the Five Year Development Plan which contributed to the 1966 primary school leaver crisis was the decision to convert from an eight year to a seven year primary stage beginning in 1965. The conversion would be made over a three year period with one-third of the country's regions converting to a seven year primary stage each year. Thus from 1965 to 1967 many more primary school leavers sat the General Entrance Examination competing for about the same number of secondary places.

What resulted, starting with 1965, was a "primary school leaver squeeze." Table 26 presents the data documenting the plight that met the primary school leaver anxious to continue on to secondary school in the first ~~two~~ years of the changeover. From 1964 to 1966, the total selected for some post-primary education as a percentage of those sitting the General Entrance Examination dropped from 32.0% to 13.2%. It did not take long for the public to recognize this fact and begin venting its outrage upon the government.

TABLE 26

TANZANIAN POST PRIMARY SELECTION DATA^a

Year and Standard	Total Sitting General Entrance Examination	Number Selected for Secondary Education	Number Selected for Other Post-Primary Institutions	Total Selected	Total Selected as Percentage of Total Sitting
1964	20,348	5,915	601	6,516	32.0
1965	16,697	1,894	51	1,945	11.6
Ex. Std. VII	29,280	4,319	554	4,873	16.6
Ex. Std. VIII	45,977	6,213	605	6,818	14.8
Total					
1966	33,129	NA	NA	NA	
Ex. Std. VII	19,445	NA	NA	NA	
Ex. Std. VIII	52,574	6,604	362	6,966	13.2
Total					

^aUnited Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1964, p. 11; Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1965, p. 11 and Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1966, p. 21. (All Annual Summaries of the Ministry of Education are printed in Dar-Es-Salaam by the Government Printer.)

Although the post-independence structural changes precipitated the 1966 primary school leaver crisis, it can also be argued that the aims and content of primary education were also contributing causes. The last serious rethinking of the appropriate aims and content for Tanganyikan primary education was undertaken in the early 1950's following the establishment of a three stage African school system. Recognizing that large numbers of pupils left the formal system at the end of each stage, it was decided that each stage should represent a complete cycle of education. For example, the Provisional Syllabus of Instruction for Middle Schools (the second stage) expressed the aim of that stage this way,

The middle school course is designed to be complete in itself so that those who pass through it, whether they proceed further or not, will have received an education which will assist them to follow in a more intelligent manner whatever pursuits they take up and, generally, to play a more useful part in the development of the locality to which they belong. To this end, the form and bias of the course at any particular school will, so far as is possible, be related to the needs and reflect the life of the area in which the school is situated.¹

¹Tanganyika, Department of Education, Provisional Syllabus of Instruction for Middle Schools (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1959), p. 1.

Here was a carefully thought out aim for a certain stage of an educational system, an aim in the best interests of the vast majority of middle school pupils who would not continue on to secondary school.

With independence and the creation of an integrated system of education with a common eight year primary stage, official ministry interest in continuing a terminal, practical, agriculturally oriented primary course appears to have abated. As Dodd puts it, "Increasingly, attention in all types of middle schools came to be concentrated upon the more strictly academic subjects."¹ It was not surprising when the new Approved Primary School Syllabus for Standards I-VIII appeared in 1963 that practical agriculture as a subject was removed entirely from the core curriculum of pre-secondary Tanganyikan education.² Instead, academic subjects critical for success in later secondary work were emphasized as the main curriculum

¹William A. Dodd, Education for Self Reliance in Tanzania: A Study of Its Vocational Aspects (New York: Center for Education in Africa, Institute of International Studies, 1969), p. 19.

²Ministry of Education, Approved Primary School Syllabus for Standards I-VIII (Dar-Es-Salaam, Government Printer, 1963).

concern of primary education. Implicitly, seemingly without any careful study and articulation, the former terminal emphasis of the later years of the primary stage had gradually changed in the 1960's towards the academic preparation of pupils for secondary school entrance. Thus, in 1966, both the existent aim and content of Tanzanian primary education reinforced the frustrated expectations of parents and pupils that primary school was preparatory to entrance to secondary school. The stage was set for a showdown between angry citizens and their government.

The National Assembly--Primary School
Leavers Debate

In the early months of 1966 a substantial number of "Letters to the Editor" of Tanzanian newspapers objected to the lack of sufficient places at Form I for primary school leavers. The tone of these letters is exemplified by the following:

The decision by the authorities to provide only seven years of primary schooling was short sighted. . . . The authorities have been shouting and shouting pretty loudly that the land is our mother and we must

therefore resort to her. . . . But do we expect our mothers to help us at all stages of our lives? What can a twelve year old do with no money and education to get him started on the land?¹

The Tanzania Standard responded with an editorial that sympathized with parents and school leavers, but indicated that they were "setting their sights too high and asking more of the government at this stage of its development than they have a right to expect."²

A few days before the National Assembly opened, a legislator, Mr. Adam E. Kaombwe (Tabora East) submitted a notice of intention:

The Assembly requests the Minister of Education to reconsider and then rectify the present primary education system and also this Assembly requests the Social Services Commission to sit and consider the problems of primary education and recommend and advise the Minister of Education on how best to overcome these problems.³

On February 23-25, the problems of primary education were

¹Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam) February 8, 1966, p. 2.

²Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam) February 18, 1966, p. 4.

³Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam) February 16, 1966, p. 1.

the focus of the National Assembly debate with Mr. Kaombwe leading the attack and the Minister of Education, Mr. Eliufoo, and Vice President Kawawa defending the government.

One could summarize the attack by concluding that there were two main thrusts to the arguments of the detractors: (1) The government should provide additional post-primary educational programs for primary school graduates, and (2) The primary school program itself should be reformed to provide more relevant education for those who fail to gain admittance to secondary school. Reformers argued for the inclusion of agriculture, carpentry, and other practical skills in the primary curriculum, a postponement of entry into primary school until age eight, and new trade schools which would continue formal education for pupils not admitted to secondary schools.¹

The government made ineffectual replies, saying that they were aware of the problem, would study it and present recommendations. Vice President Kawawa did express his reservations about either expanding existing secondary schools or creating new trade schools beyond

¹Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam), February 24, 1966, p. 1.

planned expansion under the Five Year Development Plan not only because of the lack of funds but because such a step would only postpone the unemployment problem to a later, potentially more dangerous, age in life.¹ The debate ended, and foreign policy events (Nkrumah's ouster and the Uganda power struggle between President Obote and the Kabaka) captured the attention of the public, press, and the government.

The Government Response

After the February primary school leaver problem debate in the National Assembly, several months passed before any further response was made by the government. And when the response was made in June, it was made in a curious way--in the form of an internal Ministry of Education memorandum which was subsequently released to the press.

The memorandum entitled "Schools and Agriculture: It is the Responsibility of all Schools to Prepare Pupils

¹Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam), February 25, 1966, p. 1.

for Agriculture" addressed to all teachers and signed by the Minister of Education, reiterated that 96% of all Tanzanian primary school pupils will not proceed to secondary school but instead, will return to the rural-agricultural sector.¹ Yet, according to the Minister of Education, Tanzanian primary teachers act as if all their pupils should be prepared for secondary school entrance. This attitude in turn creates the impression that Tanzanian formal education must end with a "master job," a job devoid of any manual work.²

In the memorandum, the Minister of Education, Solomon Eluifoo, reprimanded Tanzanian primary teachers who engendered such attitudes and ordered that such practise must stop. Instead, he urged that Tanzanian teachers must promote love and respect for land and the role of agriculture and

¹United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, "Schools and Agriculture: It is the Responsibility of All Schools to Prepare Pupils for Agriculture," EDTT SI/10/36, 4 June 1966. (Mimeographed.)

²Three months before the issuance of the Minister of Education's memorandum to all Tanzanian teachers on their responsibility to prepare pupils for agriculture, a one day conference was held on March 14, 1966 at University College, Dar-Es-Salaam on "School Leaver Problems in Tanzania." Speakers at the conference pointed out the discrepancy between the aims of Tanzanian primary education and the likely vocational futures of most of its pupils. For a summary of that conference, see East Africa Journal, III (May, 1966), p. 27.

announced that special committees would be established in the Ministry of Education to propose specific ways in which the schools could prepare pupils for agriculture.

In the remaining months of 1966 there were no official pronouncements concerning the Ministry's plans for revitalizing agriculture in the primary school. However, as one might expect from the political nature of the issue, it occupied much of the attention of the higher officials in the Ministry of Education. A joint committee was established between members of the Ministry of Education Inspectorate and of the Institute of Education at University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, to propose alternatives in the existing primary school curriculum which would relate course content more directly to rural science and agriculture. At the same time, the idea of re-instituting a school farm program incorporating the best features of the 1950 abortive middle school attempt went under review. While this review was underway, the Ministry of Education requested the American Peace Corps to supply upper primary vocational and agricultural teachers to begin teaching in the fall of 1966. This investigator was involved in the negotiations which led to this program, which at best was

a hastily conceived and politically expedient effort by both parties concerned--the American Peace Corps and the beleaguered Ministry of Education. The Peace Corps teachers began training at Syracuse University and arrived in Tanzania in late August of 1966 with no firm idea of whether they would be teaching a new course, what syllabuses would be utilized, the nature of the school farm program, and their overall role in the upper primary school community.¹ The reason for their ignorance was the slowness of Tanzanian ministry officials in finalizing a new agricultural program at the primary school level.

In October, the National Service controversy erupted at University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, and that issue detracted public attention from the primary school leaver problem. Not until February, 1967, was a more definitive government response to the primary school leaver problem elaborated in two very significant documents, The Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance.

¹Unfortunately, none of the 30 American Peace Corps upper primary teachers had any substantive prior experience with American agriculture.

The October 22nd Crisis

At the October, 1966 session of the National Assembly, the government introduced a White Paper proposing obligatory National Service participation by university graduates and school leavers.¹ The Tanzanian National Service was a para-military organization created to train Tanzanian youth for nation-building tasks. It fell within the jurisdiction of the Vice-President's office.

The White Paper stated that the National Service had been generally misconstrued as an organization for the undereducated and unemployed. Such misconceptions had been responsible for the reluctance of educated youth, particularly university students and school leavers, to join its ranks. To remedy this situation, the government proposed in its White Paper that National Service

¹United Republic of Tanzania, Proposals of the Tanzanian Government on National Service Applied to University Graduates and School Leavers, Government Paper No. 2-1966 (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1966).

duty be made compulsory for all university graduates, Form VI leavers and graduates of other professional institutions. The period of service would be for two years, including a three months training course, two months of nation-building service and 18 months of service in a post appropriate for the training of the entrant. During the first 6 months the student would receive Shs.20/ per month and 40% of the normal salary would be paid during the 18 months substantive service. New courses appropriate to the educational level of the trainee would be introduced during training, emphasizing principles of African socialism, language, and literature. The National Assembly debated the proposal for two days in October and approved it with a single dissenting vote on October 4, 1966.

During and after the National Assembly debate student outcries were loud and angry against the plan. One student wrote to a newspaper editor, "History has proved that discipline and sense of responsibility cannot be obtained by forced labor."¹ Another, "The 60% axe on my pay now means that I have to tell my already helpless

¹Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam), September 30, 1966, p. 1.

aging parents to wait another two years before I can relieve them."¹

On October 22, a crowd of 393 students gathered outside the President's home and submitted a statement to him. They condemned the compulsory features of the National Service and declared their unwillingness to serve under the present proposed terms. Some members of the demonstration carried placards, one of which read, "We were better off under colonialism." The President listened to their demands, expressed his outrage and had the police round them up to be fingerprinted. He then ordered that all students who took part in the demonstration be rusticated from the university. They were transported to the university to pack their belongings, and under armed escort, were enroute to their homes within twenty-four hours. It later became known that 310 of the total 393 students were students of the University, while the remaining protestors came from some secondary institutions in or near Dar-Es-Salaam. At that time, the total Tanzanian

¹Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam), October 3, 1966, p. 2.

student body at the university was 552 students.

It is clear the President had been visibly shaken by the student demonstration, particularly with the signs extolling colonialism. He was quoted as saying, "These ideas cannot originate from our youth. They must be coming from elsewhere."¹ The blow was critical, not only to the President who had personally supported the growth of the university but to the nation's development plans in which the university students would play such a vital role.

Most important, perhaps, for the history of educational development in Tanzania was the effect the wholesale dismissal had upon public confidence in the University of East Africa. Perhaps this sense of shock and disappointment was best expressed in the editorial in the Nationalist, the official organ of the TANU party:

The memorandum of the students must give the government the occasion to review extensively the educational system in the country. When students who have so openly benefitted from the reclamation of our

¹Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam), October 24, 1966, p. 1.

political brighthouse of independence so earnestly tell the world that they would rather be under colonialism there must be something wrong with their educational institutions and methods. . . . They were not, in a word, being educated.¹

The sentiments expressed in this editorial probably reflected the national mood of troubled concern following the university student protest on October 22, 1966.

Lionel Cliffe, in assessing that period in Tanzania history concludes it was the evidence of that indifference of Tanzanian university students to the idea of service to the community that persuaded President Nyerere to undertake an immediate course of radical changes for that society.² The Arusha Declaration, issued some three months later, provided the national blueprint for such radical changes.

¹The Nationalist (Dar-Es-Salaam), October 24, 1966, p. 4.

²Lionel Cliffe, "Arusha Declaration: Challenge to Tanzanians," East Africa Journal, III (March, 1967), 5.

The Arusha Declaration

From January 25 to 29, 1967, the National Executive Committee of TANU met in closed session in the Community Center at Arusha, Tanzania. The results of the meeting, summarized in The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance, set forth far reaching social reforms and provided the theoretical framework for a later document, Education for Self-Reliance. While there is no specific reference to educational policy in the Arusha Declaration, (no doubt because of the imminent release of Education for Self-Reliance) both documents, one a social manifesto and the other an educational manifesto, should be examined together since the arguments in each interact and are mutually supportive.

Part Three, the heart of the Arusha Resolution, begins by condemning the past tendency of Tanzanians to relate development with money. "It is as if we have said, 'Money is the basis of development. Without money, there can be no development.'"¹ It then goes on to state

¹Tanganyikan African National Union, The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: TANU, Publicity Division, 1967), p. 5.

that money can come from two sources; the people of Tanzania (the elimination of whose poverty is the aim of the development problem) and external aid, which is inadequate, expensive, and politically exploitable. A corollary to Tanzania's past equation of money with development, claim the resolution framers, has been Tanzania's over-emphasis on industry as the basis for development. This in turn has led to undue concentration of government financial resources on urban development, the locale for Tanzania's small but growing industrial sector. Yet the revenue to pay for urban development ". . . will not come from the towns or industries. . . . We shall get it from the villages and agriculture. . . . If we are not careful we might get to the position where the real exploitation in Tanzania is that of the town dwellers exploiting the peasants.¹

The Arusha Declaration concludes that it must be recognized that agriculture, not industry, is the basis of future Tanzanian development. This is true because the overwhelming proportion of Tanzanian citizens are engaged

¹Tanganyikan African National Union, The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: TANU, Publicity Division, 1967), p. 13.

in agricultural enterprise and because it is Tanzanian cash crops (sisal, cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethrum and tea) that provide the bulk of Tanzania's exportable wealth from which the foreign currencies needed to finance both the urban and rural development of the country are obtained. The wealth of the country will increase only with increased production of these agricultural crops. And while money is one pre-requisite for such increased agricultural output, "between money and people, it is obvious that the people and their hard work are the foundations of development, and money is one of the fruits of that hard work. The PEOPLE and their HARD WORK, especially in agriculture is the meaning of Self-Reliance."¹

Did the Arusha Declaration contain any implications for past and future Tanzanian educational development? To this observer the clarion call of the Arusha Declaration for a concentration of national effort on the development of the rural-agricultural sector as opposed to the

¹Tanganyikan African National Union, The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: TANU, Publicity Division, 1967), p. 17.

urban- industrial sector questioned the main developmental emphasis of Tanzanian education under the Five Year Development Plan, the provision of high level skilled manpower. An educational system whose structure, aims and content are geared to the production of high level manpower is an educational system with an urban-industrial bias, since it is that productive sector which requires the greatest input of such manpower. Thus, it was foreseeable even before the issuance of Education for Self-Reliance, on the basis of the Arusha Declaration itself, that a redirection of Tanzanian education was in the offing.

Education for Self-Reliance

In March, 1967, just weeks after the Arusha Declaration was announced, President Nyerere issued the now famous Education for Self-Reliance, a document of sweeping scope which may deserve to be ranked among the the very finest state papers on education. As Nyerere himself admits, certain events of 1966, one of which was the primary school leaver National Assembly debate, demanded a thorough re-examination of Tanzanian education.

Education for Self-Reliance attempted this thorough re-examination. It is the intention here to examine only those sections of Education for Self-Reliance pertinent to the primary school leaver crisis and leave for later scrutiny those sections more pertinent to secondary and post-secondary education.

In assessing both past and current Tanzanian education Nyerere first delineates four features which "prevent or at least discourage the integration of the pupils into the society they will enter, and which encourage attitudes of inequality, intellectual arrogance and intense individualism among the young people who go through the schools."¹ Paraphrased, they are:

1. Tanzanian education is an elitist education designed to meet the interests and needs of a small proportion of those who enter the school system.
2. Tanzanian education divorces its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for.

¹Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 9.

3. Tanzanian education promotes the idea that worthwhile knowledge is acquired from books or from "educated people."
4. Tanzanian education removes from productive labor its healthiest and strongest young men and women.¹

Nyerere's charge that Tanzanian education is elitist embraces more than the simple statistics of pupil enrollment within the sharply sloped educational structure. Elitist education, according to Nyerere, occurs when an educational system places priority on the educational needs of the few who progress upward through the system to the detriment of the many who leave at the end of the primary cycle. Those who do not progress upward in the system are labelled "failures." Nyerere's prescription is primary education which is complete and terminal in itself and not just a preparation for secondary school. Primary education must focus on the needs of the majority of its pupils who will not proceed to secondary school but will participate in rural development. Such a focus

¹Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, pp. 9-13.

does not mean a lowering of standards or an inferior education, even for the few who go on to higher levels. In Nyerere's words, "Those most suitable for further education will still become obvious and they will not suffer."¹ But the vast majority of primary graduates who will leave after seven years must be equipped with the skills appropriate to and the value orientation necessary for living happily and productively in a socialist and predominantly rural society.

Nyerere's second charge that Tanzanian schools divorce their participants from society has both its literal and figurative meanings. Literally, Tanzanian schools (except for a few urban primary and secondary schools) have been boarding schools. Often such boarding schools became self-sufficient and isolated enclaves within Tanzanian society. More figuratively, all schools, both day and boarding, have not involved their pupils in the on-going life of the surrounding community. To remedy these defects, Nyerere first proposed that the entry age to primary schools be raised to seven years to counteract the increasing tendency to separate primary school pupils from their families and communities at the

¹Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, pp. 16-17.

age of five or six years. This step would also ensure that primary school leavers would be at least 14 or 15 years old and thus better prepared to begin full time rural development work.

But the most significant reform that Nyerere suggested to overcome the divorcing of pupils from the community was to make schools communities in their own right --communities which practice self-reliance, the principles of which were enunciated in the Arusha Declaration. To understand Nyerere's definition of a school as a community, it is important to use his own words. School communities:

. . . must realize that their life and well-being depend upon the production of wealth--by farming or other activities . . . they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities. Each school should have as an integral part of it, a farm or workshop which provides the food eaten by the community, and makes some contribution to the total national income . . . every school should also be a farm; that the school community should consist of both teachers and farmers and pupils and farmers.¹

As Nyerere develops the need for such Tanzanian school-communities he turns to his third criticism

¹Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, p. 17.

of Tanzanian education--the unfortunate equation of knowledge with book learning. To overcome this tendency school farms or workshops should become an integral part of the school. Any distinction between book knowledge gained in the classroom and practical knowledge gained on the school farm or workshop will be removed when school farm logs are made the mathematics texts or when the properties of fertilizer are a component of the science syllabus. Even conceptual skills will first be experienced on the farm before being "taught" in the classroom. Nyerere argues that when pupils mutually plan their school farm, set out work responsibilities and then actually perform work on the farm they will be learning the concepts of cooperative endeavor and self-reliance. Such concepts can then be usefully studied in the classroom. Thus, the proposed school-community will break down distinctions between book knowledge and experience, theory and practice, classroom and the world.

Realizing the power of exam content to establish value to a subject and pupils' aspirations for studying that subject Nyerere states that selection to post-primary educational institutions will no longer be based

only on exam performance but will also include both teacher and pupil assessment of the candidate's contribution to the school community. Presumably, this broader kind of assessment would reinforce the aim of primary education as a complete experience in itself and not just academic preparation for admission to secondary school.

Turning to the problem of creating economically viable school-communities, Nyerere admits that it may be unrealistic to expect each primary school-community to be economically self-sufficient. Still, primary pupils can help generate wealth by working in village communal farms with responsibility for a certain number of acres. School terms could be altered so that pupils might participate as members of their families in the family farm during harvesting seasons. Nyerere concludes, "The present attitude whereby the school is regarded as something separate, and the pupils as people who do not have to contribute to the work, must be abandoned. In this, of course, parents have a special duty; but the school can contribute a great deal to the development of this

attitude."¹

Nyerere's fourth concern was that schooling removes pupils from productive work and makes them in a sense consumers of the work output of older and weaker citizens; here also he had prescriptions. He argued that schools must be reorganized so that the pupils themselves do much of the work now done by hired employees and supervisors. For example, schools should not have to employ people to clean pupil's rooms, prepare their food or maintain school grounds.

Besides such chores, Nyerere also feels that labor costs in the construction of a school could be appreciably cut if pupils joined with local villages and craftsmen in the work. Also, during vacations, pupils should be expected to take part in community development and nation building activities on an unpaid voluntary basis.

In all these ways, pupils would contribute to national income while they were in school and thus diminish what society pays for the privilege of education they enjoy.

¹Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, p. 22.

Because of its breadth and complexity, Education for Self-Reliance is difficult to summarize both as a document and as a governmental policy response to the problem of the primary school leaver.

Perhaps Education for Self-Reliance is best viewed as a social document, one which attempts to outline the role that education should play within a developing society. After all, Education for Self-Reliance was issued by Julius Nyerere as a personal statement and not as Chairman of the TANU Executive Committee or as Chairman of the Economic Development Commission.¹

Nyerere seems particularly concerned with the relationship between formal schooling and the social aspirations of its recipients. As such, Education for Self-Reliance is a continuation of Nyerere's thinking on Ujamaa or African socialism applied to education. If one had to pick a paragraph which expresses the central concern of Education for Self-Reliance (and no doubt Nyerere's

¹Nyerere specifically disclaims any intent in Education for Self-Reliance to produce political robots who docilely accept the Government and TANU.

intention in writing it) it would be:

This is what our educational system has to encourage. It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortunes of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige, buildings, cars, or other such things, whether privately or publicly owned. Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community.¹

How similar the sentiments expressed here are to words written in 1962 by Julius Nyerere as he attempted to define African socialism:

Socialism, like democracy is an attitude of mind. . . . Acquisitiveness for the purpose of gaining power and prestige is unsocialist. . . . For when a society is so organized that it cares about its individuals, then, provided he is willing to work, no individual within that society should worry about what will happen to him tomorrow if he does not hoard wealth today. . . . This is what traditional African society succeeded in doing. That was socialism. That is socialism.²

¹ Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 7.

² Julius K. Nyerere, "Ujamaa--The Basis of African Socialism," Freedom and Unity: A Selection from the Writings and Speeches of Julius K. Nyerere, 1952-65 (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 162-164.

Thus, in its ideological setting, Education for Self-Reliance was not a radical departure in Tanzanian thinking.¹ Rather, it represented President Nyerere's continuing effort, this time with the educational system as the primary focus, to re-define African socialism in a Tanzanian context. After Education for Self-Reliance the teaching of and the training in socialist principles would become the business of Tanzanian schools.

Conference on Education for Self-Reliance

Following the issuance of the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance, the Minister of Education formed a permanent body within the Ministry under his

¹For a discussion of the historical development of the ideology expressed in the Arusha Declaration, see the useful article by Lionel Cliffe, "Arusha Declaration: Challenge to Tanzanians," East Africa Journal, III (March, 1967), 3-9. Another source which attempts to place Education for Self-Reliance in an ideological setting is Walter Rodney's chapter, "Education and Tanzania Socialism" in the book, Tanzania: Revolution by Education, ed. Idrian N. Resnick, published Longmans (1968). Rodney appears to be a doctrinaire socialist and his assessment of the ideological thrust of Education for Self-Reliance is highly praiseworthy. He attempts to link it with Cuban and Chinese educational experiments, which also receive his praise.

chairmanship to study the documents and prepare proposals for their implementation. One of the first tasks of this committee was to organize a conference on the implementation of the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzanian education. Such a conference was held from April 10-14, 1967, at University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, and was attended by senior members of Tanzania's educational establishment, including Ministry of Education officials, all Regional Educational Officers, heads of all secondary and teacher training colleges, and the Education Secretaries of the major religions engaged in educational work in the country. If for no other reason than its composition, the Conference on Education for Self-Reliance is significant, for it provided a forum for the educational establishment of Tanzania to respond to President Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance. Its recommendations for implementation of the new policy on education would have added significance, since the conference participants would have responsibility for implementing the manifesto.

The conference supported six general recommendations:

1. A wholehearted endorsement of the aims of education as outlined in the President's paper, "Education for Self-Reliance."
2. Primary and secondary schools retaining a name with a religious or 'community' connotation should be renamed on a purely historical or geographical basis.
3. School terms should be readjusted to the agricultural year in the school's locality.
4. All teachers and tutors should study the contents of the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance and devise steps to be taken to achieve desired socialistic and self-reliance attitudes. All expatriate candidates for Tanzanian teaching posts should be interviewed by Tanzanians who would also take part in their orientation both in the country of the expatriate and later in Tanzania.
5. Pupils and teachers should become involved in the cultural activities of the nation and of

- the locality of the school; dances, folk songs and stories of local interest should be incorporated into the daily life of the school.
6. Schools should become involved in the community with pupils and teachers participating in self help projects, teaching adult classes during weekends and attending community social activities such as games, concerts, and national festivals. School facilities, such as the library, dispensary and sports facilities, should be open to all members of the neighboring community.¹

These six general recommendations carry forward the spirit and intent of Education for Self-Reliance by detailing practical ways for implementing the essential aims of the document. Some of the recommendations affirmed existing practices. For example, before Education for Self-Reliance many schools had engaged in cultural

¹University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, "Report of the Education Conference on the Implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the New Policy on Education for Self-Reliance," Dar-Es-Salaam, 1967, pp. 1-5. (Mimeographed.)

activities such as ngomas (dances) and national festivals, and other schools had participated in community self-help projects. More innovative among the recommendations was the decision to adjust school term calendars to fit the agricultural year, and the proposals that expatriate teachers must first be approved by Tanzanians in their home country before leaving to teach in Tanzania. (The latter recommendation may reflect one of the national reactions to the university student-National Service crisis in which criticism was levelled at Tanzania's heavy reliance upon expatriate teachers.) Whatever the motivation, the six general recommendations of the Conference on Education for Self-Reliance can be characterized as attempts to insure that Tanzanian schools be better integrated into the total social and cultural life of the nation in the direction outlined by President Nyerere in Education for Self-Reliance.

Of particular interest to the concerns of this chapter are the conference's specific recommendations regarding primary education. Here, the recommendations were divided into six categories: (1) The role of primary schools, (2) Agriculture, (3) Curriculum revision,

- (4) Examinations and selection, (5) School terms and
(6) School entry age.

Regarding the role of primary schools, the conference adopted the general approach of Education for Self-Reliance by stating that the "major aim and effort in the primary school should be to prepare the child for life in his community (which for the most part would be the rural peasant community) and to train him for a life of service to that community."¹ The aim of primary education, stated in this way, countered the prevailing tendency to see primary schools as preparatory for secondary school admission.

Regarding the role of agriculture in the primary school, the conference recommended that "all subjects taught in the primary school should be related to agriculture and that where possible, every school have a school farm where local cash and food crops should be grown and modern farming techniques practiced with the

¹University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, "Report of the Education Conference on the Implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the new Policy in Education for Self-Reliance," Dar-Es-Salaam, 1967, p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

help and advice of the local agricultural extension officer."¹ In urban primary schools, other productive activities such as poultry raising, bee-keeping, carpentry, and simple handicrafts would be instituted in the school program.

In the section treating curriculum reform, the conference recommended that all subjects be related to agriculture, and curriculum content emphasizing non-Tanzanian concerns be reduced. In both these curriculum emphases, the more specific curriculum reforms suggested were consistent with the terminal aim of the primary school as stated earlier by the conference.

Regarding examinations and post-primary school selection, several important recommendations were made. The first was the change in the name of the General Entrance Examination (given at the end of the primary cycle) to Mtihani wa Kumaliza Kisomo cha Schule za Primary" (Primary School Leaving Examination). The content of this examination was to be altered to place greater emphasis on Tanzanian socialism, cooperatives,

¹University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, "Report of the Education Conference on the Implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the New Policy on Education for Self-Reliance," Dar-Es-Salaam, 1967, p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

unions, agriculture and civics. In regard to selection of primary school leavers for further studies, it was recommended that Form EF 65 (the pupil achievement record used for secondary school selection) should be modified to include room for the parents' name and address, an assessment of the pupil's general attitude towards work, his character, contribution to the community and a space for his overall position in class. The effect of these modifications would be the broadening of the selection criteria beyond academic performance. The changing of the name of the primary leaving exam was also consistent with the new aim of primary education of preparing the vast majority of its pupils for return to the rural community.

Regional Education Officers were given the authority to determine appropriate school term and vacation schedules in their regions, and headteachers of primary school were authorized to release pupils for a day or two for urgent local agricultural duties if such a need arose within the school term.

President Nyerere's recommendation regarding the setting of school entry age at 7 plus was the last

recommendation endorsed by the conference regarding primary education.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has focused on one of the two educational crises that confronted Tanzania in 1966--the primary school leaver problem. The crisis occurred when "the reality that primary school leavers could not be assured entry into the wage and salaried sector produced a crisis of expectations among people whose aspirations for their children were thwarted."¹

The national outcry in turn led to the February, 1966, National Assembly debate on primary education which forced government to devise some new policy responses. The initial responses, the publication of the Minister of Education's Schools and Agriculture: It is the Responsibility of all Schools to Prepare Pupils for Agriculture, the convening of curriculum committees within the Ministry.

¹ Idrian Resnick, ed. Tanzania: Revolution by Education (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1968), p. 8.

Inspectorate and the Institute of Education, and the inauguration of a U.S. Peace Corps Upper Primary Agriculture Teacher program during the summer of 1966, were examined and their limitations noted. It probably was the October, 1966, University Student-National Service controversy that actually galvanized the government into a deep and serious reconsideration that led to President Nyerere's outline for broad and sweeping reforms in Education for Self-Reliance.

Education for Self-Reliance called for radical changes in the role that primary schools should play in Tanzanian society. That role would be a terminal role, preparing Tanzanian primary pupils for return to the rural agricultural sector after seven years. The organization of the primary school would be altered to encourage involvement by pupils in both the cultural and economic activities of the surrounding community, and the content of the primary curriculum would be changed to emphasize the positive benefits of self-reliance and a rural agricultural way of life. Finally, the chapter examined the Conference on Education for Self-Reliance where the educational establishment of Tanzania prepared

practical means for the implementation of the aims of Education for Self-Reliance.

What conclusions can one draw from this recital of the events which led Tanzania to adopt a significant and revolutionary policy response to the primary school leaver problem? Certainly, one predominant feature is the speed that characterized the government's policy responses. About a year elapsed between the January, 1966, National Assembly debates on the primary school leaver problem and the issuance of Education for Self-Reliance, with another three month lapse until the formal educational establishment endorsed Nyerere's educational manifesto. Thus, within 15 months, a revolutionary new educational policy was first proposed and then adopted. Of course such speed may have its negative aspects. It would appear from both the timing and language of Education for Self-Reliance that it was not written by professional educators. Yet, it is they (as the subsequent convening of the Conference on Education for Self Reliance itself suggests) upon whom the successful implementation of the aims of Nyerere's proposal rests. In the long run, it might have been better if

the government had brought professional educators into earlier and fuller dialogue to insure their broad support and enthusiasm for the reform proposal.

What about the chances for success of the proposed reforms? Years, perhaps even a decade, will have to elapse before one could assess adequately the success of the government in implementing the reform provisions outlined in Education for Self-Reliance. But at this time this investigator would agree with the general line of thinking expressed by many participants in the Kericho Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development. One conclusion of that conference was that the problem of the primary school leaver is not basically an educational problem but rather a problem of agricultural economics. Curriculum reform, exam reform, and even structural modifications in the African primary school are unlikely to change substantially the present disinclination on the part of primary school graduates to enter agriculture until the economic returns of that activity show substantial improvement. Whether this improvement comes about by increasing numbers of small scale capitalist farmers prospering from the soil or by the improved life styles

of communal rural economic and social communities is not important.¹ What is important is that visible evidence of the growing economic potential of life in rural Africa is discernible by parents and pupils.

It would be grossly unfair to suggest that President Nyerere and the political and educational hierarchy of Tanzania are unmindful of the critical role that non-educational factors must play in solving the primary school leaver problem. What is somewhat disturbing is the absence of any recognition in that country's manifesto on educational reform, Education for Self-Reliance, of the rather limited power of the formal educational system itself to cope with this larger problem. As one expert, speaking of the rural economy of Tanzania, has said, "It is an illusion to suppose that formal education by itself achieves economic change in the traditional rural communities characteristic of tropical Africa."² One can

¹For a post-Education for Self-Reliance revelation of President Nyerere's thinking on the future development of agriculture in a Socialist Tanzania, see Socialism and Rural Development written in September, 1967 (Dar-Es-Salaam, Government Printer).

²Guy Hunter, Manpower, Employment and Education in the Rural Economy of Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966), p. 13.

only hope that the brilliance and cogency of Education
for Self-Reliance will not be dissipated by too close an
identification with such an illusion.

CHAPTER VI

THE UNIVERSITY STUDENT--NATIONAL SERVICE CONTROVERSY

Introduction

While this study is not primarily concerned with developments in Tanzanian higher education, a sector which falls outside the jurisdictional control of the Ministry of Education,¹ no study of post-independence Tanzanian educational development could fail to disregard the events of October 22, 1966, which enveloped University College, Dar-Es-Salaam. For the mass protest

¹University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, is a constituent part of the University of East Africa which in turn is governed by the Council of the University of East Africa. This Council is made up of representatives of the three constituent Colleges, the East African governments, the Central Legislative Assembly and other persons appointed in recognition of their likely contribution to the university. Tanzanian policy regarding the University lies in the hands of a Cabinet Committee on Higher Education, the secretary to which is the Registrar of Students who is an Officer of the Ministry of Education. While President Nyerere serves as Chancellor of the University of East Africa, this is more or less an honorary position and does not indicate that the direction of the university has a pro-Tanzanian bias.

meeting outside President Nyerere's residence by university students objecting to the provisions of the government's National Service proposal and their subsequent rustication from the university had ramifications that went far beyond the higher educational sector of the Tanzanian education. In fact, of the two educational crises of 1966, the first, the February National Assembly primary school leaver debate, and the second, the October 22 university student protest, it is likely that it was the second crisis which was the proximate cause for the 1967 re-evaluation of the educational system that culminated in Education for Self-Reliance.

Whatever the causal relation between the events of October 22, 1966, and Education for Self-Reliance, the facts surrounding the National Service-university student controversy deserve careful scrutiny. Was the wholesale dismissal of the vast majority of Tanzanian university students at University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, just an unfortunate example of the possible pique displayed by an African President reacting under stress? Or does October 22, 1966, provide additional evidence of the social dysfunctionality of post-independent

Tanzanian educational development, particularly at the highest level of the formal system, the university?

Such questions will be evaluated in this chapter by examining the background of the National Service-university student controversy and the subsequent policy responses made by the Tanzanian government to the crisis.

Background of the Crisis

University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, the youngest of the three constituent colleges of the University of East Africa¹ began in 1961 in temporary quarters, admitting 14 students to the Faculty of Law. The college added a Faculty of Arts and Social Science in 1964 and a Science Faculty in 1965. Along with these faculties, by 1966 several institutes housed at the new 860 acre modern campus some 10 miles from the capital were also in existence. They included an Institute of Education, Institute of Public Administration, Institute of Swahili

¹Sir Eric Ashby in his excellent work, Universities: British, Indian and African (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 319, describes some of the problems associated with the history of the University of East Africa.

Research and the Economic Research Bureau. The first graduates of the university (34, of which 5 were Tanzanians) received their degrees at a ceremony on 21 August 1964, which coincided with the official opening of the new campus. President Nyerere, as Chancellor of the University of East Africa, officiated.

During the 1966/67 academic year, the year in which the National Service-university student crisis occurred, University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, had expanded so that its total enrollment was 803 students, of which 552 were Tanzanians. (Appendixes D-E present the 1966/67 enrollment figures by faculties for University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, and the University of East Africa.) In 1966/67, 455 other Tanzanian students were enrolled in the two other constituent colleges of the University of East Africa, and 818 Tanzanians were attending overseas post-secondary institutions.¹ Thus, by 1966, 1815 Tanzanians were enrolled in institutions of higher education in

¹United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1966 (Dar-Es-Salaam: National Printing Co., Ltd., 1967), p. 79.

East Africa and overseas. This was a considerable achievement for a young country five years after independence.

The role of University College in the formal educational system was stated by the Minister of Education, Solomon Eliufoo:

It is well known that in Tanzania we have decided that higher education provision shall be directly related to high level manpower requirements. . . . Not only do we request the University (to accept a certain number of students) but we determine the numbers that shall go into every faculty such as Medicine, Engineering, Accountancy, Pharmacy, and many other disciplines.¹

¹In his speech before the Conference on the Role of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, in Socialist Tanzania delivered on 11 March, 1967, some five months after the National Service-university student controversy, the Minister of Education listed the contributions of University College in Tanzania. Each contribution listed by the Minister included some aspect of high level manpower production. The five contributions were: "(1) provide higher education for an adequate number of people to fill the high level manpower requirements of our country; (2) prepare its graduates for entry to specific professional careers; (3) provide institutional arrangements which are necessary to keep our precious high level manpower force up to date and thus prevent obsolescence; (4) assist in the development of the content of educational courses so that people who are highly educated are as well-suited to undertake the tasks which are most important in development and (5) carry out research activities related to high level manpower." It seems strange that at a conference devoted to the role of University College in a

From its inception, the provision of high level manpower in accordance with manpower requirements of the nation appears to have been the predominant role of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam.

But what of President Nyerere's attitude towards the University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, particularly his attitude before October 22, 1966? In his two major university addresses, one at the inauguration of the University of East Africa on 28 June, 1963, and the other at the official opening of the Dar-Es-Salaam campus on 21 August, 1964, Nyerere stressed both the intellectual detachment and the concerned involvement that the university must exhibit in meeting the problems of Tanzanian underdevelopment. In the earlier speech, he prophetically forecast the October 22, 1966, crisis:

I know I am asking a great deal of the University of East Africa. I am asking its members to be both objective and active which is a difficult combination. What is more, I

Socialist Tanzania, the Minister was either unwilling or unable to broaden the contribution of University College to include non-economic factors. University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, "Report of the Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania," Dar-Es-Salaam, 1967, p. 27. (Mimeographed.)

am asking this under circumstances in which I know that both are liable to give rise to some misunderstanding with the government and the people. . . I cannot claim that I, any more than my colleagues, will never mistake honest criticism for unconstitutional opposition. Nor can I honestly promise that our need for national unity in the struggles ahead will never lead us into the error of abusing the non-conformist. I hope that we shall never make these mistakes . . .¹

But there is a thread in his speeches which may help explain his rather emotional response when the university students confronted him in October, 1966. This was his obvious concern about the contrast between the lavish and expensive setting of University College, and the impoverished state of most of Tanzania. In the frequently-quoted section from his May, 1964, address to the National Assembly, President Nyerere, referring to students upon whom much money is expended, warned,

Those who receive this privilege therefore have a duty to repay the sacrifice which others have made. They are like the man who has been given all the food available in a starving village that he may have strength to bring supplies back from a distant place. If he takes the food and

¹ Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity (Dar-Es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 220-21.

does not bring help to his brothers he is a traitor. Similarly, if any of the young men and women who are given education by the people of this Republic adopt attitudes of superiority, or fail to use their knowledge to help the development of this country, then they are betraying our Union. I do not believe this will happen.¹

No doubt this statement was partially politically motivated to win public support for the large sums of money devoted to education under the Five Year Development Plan. Still, it would be a disservice to Nyerere if one did not accept his words as being a partial reflection of his concern with the privileged existence of Tanzanian students, particularly university students housed in the luxurious surroundings on Observatory Hill. Nyerere's pride in University College along with his reservations about it may help explain his reaction to the student confrontation.

Some evidence exists that the government was becoming increasingly critical of the lack of social concern of University College and its students even before October,

¹United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, Tanganyika Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1st July 1964-30th June 1969, I (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1964), p. xii.

1966. In February of that year Finance Minister Jamal, one of the few university graduates in Nyerere's cabinet, addressed the students at University College and chastized them for not participating in nation-building activities during their holidays. He said: "I was extremely pained the other day when I was informed that there is a demand from university students that vacation time fees and charges should be reduced to enable them to stay on in the hostels at the campus on vacations."¹ President Nyerere speaking in June, 1966, before the General Assembly of the World University Service at University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, said that he could no longer support the view that:

. . . the task of a university is to seek for truth and to ignore other responsibilities, leaving it to those outside the university to accept or reject the results in their practical politics. . . . I do not believe that this dual responsibility--to objectivity and to service is impossible of fulfillment.²

¹Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam), February 17, 1966, p. 5.

²The Nationalist (Dar-Es-Salaam), October 26, 1966, p. 4.

This then was the environment when the government proposed obligatory National Service for university graduates, the proposal which in turn set off the mass university student protest outside the President's home on October 22, 1966. Following the rustication of the protesting Tanzanian university students almost five months passed until President Nyerere summarized his thinking about future educational development in Education for Self-Reliance to which we now turn for its thinking regarding Tanzanian university life.

The Government Response to the
University Crisis

In March, 1967, President Nyerere issued Education for Self-Reliance which included some specific references to the particular problems of Tanzanian higher education. While a personal document, Education for Self-Reliance embodies the thinking of the President and his colleagues after a period of reflection on the events of 1966.

Nyerere's concern that Tanzanian education tends to divorce its participants from the mainstream of

Tanzanian society is particularly relevant to the university student who

. . . has spent the larger part of his life separated and apart from the masses of Tanzania. . . . He does not really know what it is like to live as a poor peasant. . . . Only during vacations has he spent time at home, and even then, he will often find his parents and relatives support his own conception of his difference, and regard it as wrong that he should live and work as the ordinary person he really is . . .¹

At the same time, the university student, because he has survived to the highest level of the educational structure displays even greater trust in the value of book learning and paper qualifications than his younger counterparts. Nyerere criticizes this naive faith by citing the difficulty of finding a man to run a small factory in Tanzania. He argues that a recent graduate with a Doctorate in Commerce may not be as successful a manager of men as a non-degree laborer who has worked in the factory for five years. Both kinds of men bring different but equally valuable expertise to the enterprise. Yet, too often in Tanzania, only the man with the degree

¹ Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 11.

or some other paper qualification is eligible for employment in government and industry positions of responsibility. For Nyerere, this is lamentable.

Finally, Nyerere attacked the reluctance of Tanzanian university students to participate in productive labor. Pointing to the United States of America, where university students traditionally work to help support their studies, he questioned why Tanzanian students in a much poorer country should regard labor as distasteful once they enter a university. By working during vacations not only would they be experiencing the real problems of Tanzanian society, but they would also be contributing toward the increased wealth of the nation.

To remedy these defects, President Nyerere in Education for Self-Reliance offered some prescriptions. To overcome the isolation of the university student from society, he should be willing to work during vacations "digging an irrigation channel or a drainage ditch for a village or demonstrating and explaining the benefits of a deep pit latrine."¹ The university student should be

¹Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, p. 13.

willing to perform the work voluntarily along with thousands of his less fortunate countrymen who already contribute free labor on Tanzania's self-help projects. To partially offset the great expense in maintaining Tanzanian students at the university level, Nyerere suggests that all university students do their own washing and cleaning and have greater responsibility in the general upkeep of the university facilities. To counteract the overrated status of book learning and degrees Nyerere proposed ". . . students at such institutions should . . . be required as part of the degree or professional training to spend at least part of their vacations contributing to the society in a manner related to their studies."¹ Science students could work in a village dispensary, and arts students help collect local history or assist in adult education classes. Any wages received in these activities would be placed in a general fund to help defray costs of student welfare programs and sporting equipment at the university. Students who failed to show

¹Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, p. 25.

appropriate enthusiasm for this kind of practical work experience would have their degrees down-graded accordingly.

Nothing is mentioned in Education for Self-Reliance regarding the university student's role in the National Service. Nor does Nyerere propose any new courses or reform of the curriculum. No group, administrators, faculty or students, is singled out for particular criticism. Instead, Nyerere seemed more concerned with suggesting ways in which the university student could be brought into a more active and productive relationship with the on-going social and economic life of the country. Nyerere appears to have great confidence in the ameliorating effects of participatory labor in self-help projects and nation building activities. This appears to be the President's solution to the university's October crisis.

It is interesting to note the difference in Nyerere's approach and the approach taken by the university community itself in its Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, in A Socialist Tanzania to which we now turn.

Conference on the Role of University
College in a Socialist Tanzania

Immediately following the events of October 22, a Committee of the Academic Board (Chairman, Professor Terrence Ranger) was created at University College to propose to the College Council measures that should be taken by the university. While the Academic Board Committee was meeting, the government pressed ahead with its intention to compel all Form VI and university graduates to enroll in the National Service by introducing legislation in the National Assembly to that effect on December 16, 1966. Government officials visited the college, attempting to reassure the remaining students of the future of the university but gave no evidence of any official regret by the government over its decision to rusticate the protesting students.¹

Meanwhile the rusticated students remained at their homes with no indication of when or whether they would be

¹In a visit to the university on December 14, 1966, Vice President Kawawa is quoted as saying, "To be ready and willing to render ideas and expert advice is one thing; to oppose is quite another. It is no part of the university to constitute itself an unofficial opposition to the government." Tanzania Standard (Dar-Es-Salaam), December 15, 1966, p. 1.

allowed to return.

On 11 March, 1967, one day after Education for Self-Reliance had appeared in the newspapers in Tanzania, a Conference on the Role of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania was convened in Dar-Es-Salaam. Unlike the later Conference on Education for Self-Reliance, the list of official delegates to the conference on the Role of University College was not a gathering of the educational hierarchy; in fact, twice as many official delegates from the National Service as the Ministry of Education attended.

Soon after the conference convened, Dr. Chagula, Principal of University College, briefed the delegates on the findings and recommendations of the Committee of the Academic Board so that the conference recommendations would take into account what the college itself intended to do. Dr. Chagula reported that the college had already requested that a TANU branch be opened on Observatory Hill and stated that a branch of the TANU Youth League would soon open on campus. He announced that committees had been established to prepare a common course for all students, to establish liaison with the National Service

on the roles University students would play in that organization and to investigate means for a more effective and rapid recruitment of East African staff members. Also departments were to re-examine their syllabuses and devise systems of rotating headships. Finally, appointment procedures to both the Academic Committee and the Student Affairs Committee were to be re-examined.

Following the receipt of reports of various conference committees, the conference as a whole met to prepare the final recommendations of the conference. It was the unanimous feeling of the conference that University College must assume as one of its responsibilities the imparting of political education. To that end, a new common course, compulsory for all students, emphasizing Tanzanian political theory and history was to be inaugurated. This course would be supplemented by required community and nation-building activities by university students and staff.

Besides curriculum innovations, the conference was explicit on reforming staff recruitment. East Africanization of all staff was urged, and any expatriate staff member should be sympathetic to Tanzanian socialism, be

oriented upon his arrival in Tanzania, take part in communal activities within the country, and make periodic visits to socialist countries.

To bring about closer integration of the college with the community, the conference recommended that all students be allowed to live away from the campus during part of their university career, that college housing be open to non-members of the university community, and that all university sports, cultural and social activities be open to all members of the university community.

Regarding the organization of the university, the conference recommended that there be more public and political representation on the College Council and its committees, that an inquiry be made in the organization and functioning of the Student Union, and that a Standing Committee with power, to make recommendations to the College Council ~~itself~~ be instituted to oversee progress towards the implementation of the conference's recommendations.

In general, the recommendations of the Conference on the Role of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania focused upon reform of the curriculum,

the staff and the structure of University College.

The Significance of the Crisis

By the end of 1967, most of the rusticated Tanzanian university students had been permitted to re-enter the university and continue their studies. The government had enforced its will that university graduates participate in the National Service, but the rusticated students had been permitted to complete the degree work which would ultimately permit their entrance into the intellectual, social and economic elite of the nation.

The main interest of this study in the university crisis of October 22, 1966, are any possible implications it raised regarding the overall development of post-independence Tanzanian education. In other words, was the university student protest an isolated incident or does it have significance and meaning beyond the event and the individuals involved? Does it tell anything about either the success or failure of Tanzanian educational development from 1958-1966?

In attempting to assess the events of October, 1966, there is evidence that suggests its isolated nature. One bit of evidence was the apparent breakdown of communication between the government and the Tanzanian university community in October, 1966. Both sides have subsequently admitted that such a breakdown in communications occurred. Vice President Kawawa, in addressing the Conference on the Role of University College admitted:

Even when the Government drew up its National Service proposals for the educated young people we presented them with something like an apology! Instead of putting this forward as a call to idealistic service and therefore a challenge, we talked of percentages of wages that would otherwise be earned, and so on. This may well have been a mistake, though I hasten to add, that I do not consider that this excused the response.¹

And Principal Chagula, in his subsequent assessment of October 22, said:

Looking back and being wise after the event, the college and government ought to have tackled the problem more vigorously and positively than they did. Perhaps the existing good relations made people feel too comfortable. . . Thus, both sides

¹University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, "Report of the Conference on the Role of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania," Dar-Es-Salaam, 1967, p. 10. (Mimeographed.)

were shocked at the other's behavior without understanding each other's reasons. . . . What was needed, of course, was a much more thorough dialogue about the purposes of National Service.¹

Not only did the government's National Service proposal fail to address the latent idealism of Tanzanian university students, but more importantly, it exhibited obvious hypocrisy on the part of government. In the White Paper proposing the new plan, the government had stated its motivation for the proposal as being the need to clarify the status of university graduates as prospective entrants to National Service, since in the past that uncertainty may have resulted in few of them volunteering for such service. And then the proposal recommended compulsory service for all university graduates. It would have been preferable if the government had honestly stated its motives for requiring National Service of university graduates and not attempted to hide its purposes by such a subterfuge.

On the other hand, from the government's point of view, the student responses were inflammatory at their

¹University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, "Report of the Conference on the Role of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam, in a Socialist Tanzania," Dar-Es-Salaam, 1967, p. 39. (Mimeographed.)

worst and irrelevant at their best. Student objections to the salary features of the proposed legislation were neither politically astute nor morally justifiable. It would have been much wiser if the students had questioned the National Service as the most appropriate vehicle for utilizing their particular talents and training in solving the developmental problems of Tanzania. With such an approach (one that Dr. Chagula subsequently supported) the government may have given a more sympathetic hearing to their protests, although it is unlikely the government would have dropped the entire idea.

Thus, evidence exists that the Tanzania university crisis in 1966 may well have been an isolated incident in Tanzanian educational development.

On the other hand, there are elements in the crisis which suggest deeper and more significant problems relating to the development of higher education in Tanzania. Had the remarkable success of the Tanzanian government in relating university study to manpower requirements been counter-productive in terms of producing university graduates with a high social and political consciousness? In a study of Ghanaian student politicization, a country

which has a similar educational heritage and a comparable but broader educational pyramid, the authors commented on the attitudes of university students towards the political establishment:

Prospects of recruitment into high income, high status roles are normally very good in elitist educational systems; so few gain access to higher education that a degree virtually guarantees an appropriate occupational placement. Therefore, students in such systems may tend to identify with the existing elites and the consequences of alienation from these elites may be severe.¹

This quotation is remarkably descriptive of what happened in Tanzania. Since 1961, Tanzanian university students had been career oriented with little or no interest in active political participation. Because they had prospered from governmental action (generous but restrictive government tied bursaries were supporting their studies) they tended to identify with the ruling political elite. There had not been any organized political opposition to the government by students.

¹David J. Finlay, Roberta E. Koplin, and Charles A. Ballard, Jr., "Ghana," Students and Politics in Developing Nations, ed. by Donald K. Emmerson (New York: Praeger, 1968), p. 65.

Only when the government for the first time in October, 1966, threatened university students' career expectations by proposing a scheme that would postpone their future high earning potential did Tanzanian university students become politically alienated from the TANU government. The consequences of that alienation, as the Ghanaian example indicates, were severe, not just because of the naivete and ineffectiveness of the protest outside the President's house, but because neither party in the dispute had had any prior experience of handling political controversies arising between them.

The result of each side over-reacting to the other's reactions and not to the reasons for each other's actions, says something about the political hierarchy in Tanzania. But it also says something about the Tanzanian educational system in the form of its products, the students. An educational system, elitist in structure, which tightly dictates academic choice of university students, but at the same time guarantees a eventual high economic status, has built-in potential for the kind of occurrence that befell Tanzanian university students in October, 1966. Any threat to the career expectations of university

students, expectations which the educational system through its structural attrition, and its bursaries and bonding systems has largely encouraged, is likely to result in political alienation by the affected students. The resulting dilemma is the lessened ability of the government to rely upon student support and involvement when the political or social environment dictates any alteration in their privileged status.¹

¹In an address to the East African Academy at Kampala, Uganda, delivered one month before the Tanzanian university crisis, Dr. Chagula argued against the tendency to view any conflict between African university students and African governments as being a conflict between first and second generation elites, the former jealously preserving its position against the ascendancy of the latter. While there may be elites in modern African societies, Dr. Chagula would rather define them in more functional terms, e.g. intellectual, economic and political elites. In any case, Dr. Chagula does not see university students as necessarily aspirants to any of these three elites but more likely as prospective entrants to the small but growing intelligentsia or substantially larger category of educated people who now man the middle and higher levels of the civil service. The Nationalist (Dar-Es-Salaam), October 5, 1966, pp. 4, 5 and October 6, 1966, pp. 4, 5. His views agree with the conclusions of a later study of Tanzanian university students which stated, "It would seem that East African students should not be regarded as a presumptive elite so much as an emergent upper-middle class." Joel D. Barkan, "What Makes the East African Student Run," Transition, VII (October, 1968), p. 31.

Summary and Conclusions

Some interesting questions are posed by the response of the university community itself to the events of October 22, 1966. The creation of an obligatory common course for all university students under the aegis of a newly created and autonomous Institute of Development Studies calls into question the future direction of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam. To begin with, some question exists as to the impetus for the reforms stemming from the conference on the role of University College in a socialist Tanzania. There is no doubt that the so called "group of nine lecturers"¹ played a very instrumental role in persuading the university community to respond in the way they did. As Ali Mazrui points out, the pressure to reform university college did not come from outside the University College but from a small group within the university. He concludes that "A number of Western Marxists, in alliance with other Marxists, have apparently been

¹For a representative viewpoint by one of the "group of nine lecturers" see John S. Saul, "High Level Manpower for Socialism," Tanzania: Revolution by Education, ed. Idrian N. Resnick (Arusha, Tanzania: Longmans of Tanzania, 1968), 93-105.

continuing to 'socialize ' the University College."¹

The basic concern of Mazrui is rightfully not with the fact that a small group of individuals were so successful in persuading a university community to adopt the measures it did, but with the long range effects of those measures on the future direction of the university.

Mazrui's fear is that University College, Dar-Es-Salaam may be moving in the direction of an ideological institute, an institution not unknown in other African countries.

In his words, a university "should be multi-ideological rather than uni-ideological. It should permit maximum interplay between different interpretations of reality."²

It would appear that there is some ground for his concern in view of the new obligatory common course for all students not administered by any of the traditional disciplinary departments of the university. Certainly all interested in ~~the~~ continuing intellectual freedom of University College, Dar-Es-Salaam must recognize the powerful role played by a small group of its expatriate members,

¹Ali Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia," Transition, VI (June, July, 1967), p. 25.

²Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia," p. 26.

a continuing role until that institution rests solidly in the hands of Tanzanians themselves.

Perhaps the most basic question raised by the university response to the events of October 22 is whether freedom of inquiry, a necessary ingredient for an intellectual community, will be able to flourish in a university atmosphere dedicated to political attitudinal change. Even apart from one's views on the rightness of socialistic realism as an appropriate ideology for Tanzania one can still question whether individual freedom on the part of the university scholar (or the primary school pupil for that matter) can survive when the instrumentalities of the society push forward a particular ideology. So far, Tanzanian efforts to promote student attitudinal change have been relatively non-oppressive. The threat to individual freedom remains, however, particularly if the relatively mild reforms instituted in University College fail to bring forth the attitudinal change that the leaders of Tanzania seem eager to obtain.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined the main problems and policy responses of post-independence Tanzanian educational development. Chapter VII will summarize the major conclusions of the study over the years surveyed, 1958-1967.

Overall, the record of educational development in Tanzania from 1958-1967 is impressive. Among the notable achievements are the integration of the system in the years just prior to independence, the statutory enactment of the Education Ordinance of 1961, which bestowed upon the Minister of Education both the responsibility and the power to direct educational development in the country, impressive gains in pupil enrollment, and a planned restructuring of the system to insure that the output meshed with the country's projected manpower requirements. Less impressive has been the ability of Tanzanian educators to rethink both the aims and content

of Tanzania education. (at least until 1967) and then innovate in directions that would make the Tanzanian schooling experience more supportive of the broader social and political objectives of the country as articulated by the leaders of the ruling party, TANU. Chapter VII will not document again the successes and failures of Tanzanian educational development; hopefully, the preceding chapters have done that. Instead, the investigator will present some personal reflections on post-independence Tanzanian educational development.

The investigator worked within the Tanzanian educational system during two periods--the first for two years just after independence, 1961-63, and the second during the years 1965-66. This provided an immediate opportunity to assess changes within the system from 1961-66. Remarkably, impressions derived from this historical study of Tanzanian educational development agree with the investigator's reflections gained from his working acquaintance with the system.

One of the personal impressions gathered from a second exposure to Tanzanian education some five years after the first is how little what went on in Tanzanian schools had changed in the interim. In the main,

apart from incorporating some Tanzanian (or African) subject matter in the secondary English, Geography and History syllabuses, the curriculum in 1966 was not radically different from that existing in 1961. The content and role of both the primary and secondary leaving exams appeared basically unchanged as did the aspirations of pupils and parents towards formal education per se.

This first impression, the minor alterations in the Tanzanian schooling experience from 1961 to 1966, may assist in understanding the educational problems surveyed in Part III of the study, problems which have been referred to as the "crises of 1966." Both the primary school leaver problem and the university student-National Service controversy are explained partially by the fact that while Tanzanian schooling experience had not changed appreciably since independence, the conception of the role of formal education on the part of the political leaders of Tanzania appears to have altered. The government, in the case of the primary school leaver problem, did not share the popular expectation that primary education was not to be viewed as terminal. In the case of the university crisis, the government obviously did not share the students' perceptions

of the role of the university graduate in a socialist Tanzania. This lack of understanding between government leaders and the citizens of Tanzania is understandable if, in fact, the Tanzanian schooling experience had not altered significantly since 1961. The people, unlike the government, continued to expect the same things from Tanzanian education, since in their eyes, what went on in schools remained the same. The gap between the government's changed aims for formal education and the public's unchanged aims led to the two crises of 1966.

Another personal impression supports one of the conclusions of this study. When the investigator first began teaching at a government secondary boys boarding school in 1961, the school contained seven streams up to Form IV. When he revisited the school in 1966, there were 16 streams up to Form IV plus the first year of Form V. The incredible growth of that particular secondary school, duplicated in other secondary schools visited during his tour reflects the impressive enrollment gains of the overall system since 1961, particularly in the secondary and higher education sectors. This expansion of Tanzanian education since 1961 is evidence of that country's praiseworthy financial

commitment to education, a commitment documented in Part II of the study.

The increased size of an educational system does not come without problems. Organizational structures have to be revised, new bureaucrats trained and placed within the structure, and new lines of communication established. Here, too, both the investigator's personal observations and the conclusions of the study coincide. The investigator can recall during his first tour the relative ease with which one could approach a single officer in the Ministry of Education (which then occupied a small two story structure) and secure action upon a request. During his second tour, when the investigator was a member of the Inspectorate (which, by itself, occupied an entire floor of a new modern four story Ministry headquarters) and wanted to communicate officially with a Peace Corps teacher, he would have to clear at least four levels of bureaucracy; the Assistant Chief Education Officer, the Regional Education Officer, the District Education Officer, and the school Headmaster. A critical issue might proceed to a fifth level, the Senior Assistant Chief Education

Officer, and the most critical issues would go to the sixth level, the Chief Education Officer himself. When the investigator made an inspection trip up-country, he could be met at the airport by one of 17 Regional Education Officers, 53 District Education Officers, or 75 Primary School inspectors, who would then accompany him to schools in one of 40 government vehicles assigned to the Ministry of Education.

This growth of the Tanzanian educational bureaucracy gives credence to the conclusion of this and other studies of the centralizing tendency of Tanzanian educational development since 1961. The increasing tendency of Dar-Es-Salaam to shape educational development throughout the country stems in large part from the provisions of the Education Ordinance of 1961 analyzed in Chapter I of the study. Even primary education, over which local authorities have both financial and administrative authority, can be effectively directed by the central government through the provision and withholding of grants and subventions and the close supervision provided by regional, district, and primary school Inspectorate officers of the central ministry. And though secondary schools since

1961 have been governed by independent Boards of Governors, and many continue to be run by expatriate religious groups, the Ministry of Education now possesses sufficient power to control staff, posting and promotion, pupil admission, syllabus content, standards of discipline and internal organization, and the amount of public support flowing to the school. In other words, by 1967, through the growth of a large bureaucracy, Tanzanian education was effectively directed from Dar-Es-Salaam.

The growth and centralizing tendency of the Tanzanian education bureaucracy since independence has not occurred without noticeable effects. On the positive side, the system can obtain accurate facts and statistics permitting for the first time meaningful educational planning. The growth of the central Ministry's Planning Section (whose chief architect, A. C. Mwingira, has subsequently become the Chief Education Officer) is particularly impressive for a developing African nation.

Negatively, though it is almost impossible to document, the creation of this vast bureaucracy may have stifled whatever innovative tendencies were present in the early years of independence. In visiting Tanzanian

schools, one senses that headmasters and teachers increasingly look to Dar-Es-Salaam for the latest circular or directive on what should or should not be done. New approaches in teaching or curriculum tried at a particular school are rarely disseminated broadly throughout the system. Central Ministry Inspectors visit schools and periodic in-service conferences are held, but the tendency is for the expert from Dar-Es-Salaam to lecture and the practitioners to listen dutifully.

The increasing inability of the system to encourage and disseminate innovation may also help explain why Tanzanian schooling has changed so little since independence, an observation commented upon earlier. Some means must be found within the highly centralized Tanzanian educational system for experimentation to thrive, with schools competing with each other, not just on the basis of exam performance, but on the basis of implemented innovation.

Another observation this investigator made during his second tour was the increasing tendency of the participants in the educational system to view it in calculating, dispassionate and quantitative terms. Secondary

pupils weigh their post-secondary academic options on the basis of what programs the government seems to be 'pushing' because of current manpower needs.

Such tendencies by the participants of the educational system are not surprising; Part II of this study documented the very careful efforts made by Tanzanian planners to integrate educational planning and national development planning. Knowing that educational opportunities are shaped to a large degree by national development priorities, and that admission to the higher levels of the educational system is rigidly determined by national manpower requirements, it would be irresponsible for parents and pupils to disregard the statistics of the situation. Still it is distressing to see the ever increasing dominance of a quantitative highly planned approach to educational questions. "It cannot be done since it does not fall within the Five Year Plan" is a customary response to suggestions for educational change. The dominance of "The Plan" with its carefully worked out targets (generally expressed in quantitative terms) is a pervasive and, in this observer's view, a dangerous tendency in Tanzanian education. In the case of the

primary school leaver problem it could be argued that what made quantitative sense to the country's planners (in terms of reducing primary education from eight to seven years) failed to win public understanding and acceptance. This breakdown between the government's and the public's expectations for the over-all developmental role of post-independence Tanzanian primary education does not in itself argue for or against the wisdom of the government's primary school policy decisions. As the study showed, government policy decisions regarding the development of primary education were consistent with the over-all thrust towards relating educational development to the provision of high level skilled manpower. As such it could be argued that the public and not the government had lost touch with the reality of Tanzania's educational needs at that stage of its development.

Still one ~~can~~ not deny that the evidence suggests that in the case of both 1966 educational crises there were open disagreements between the government and the participants about the direction that Tanzanian education should take. And if one believes that government has the responsibility to first explain and then obtain the support

of the citizenry on questions of public policy regarding education there is evidence to support the contention that at least during 1966 the government of Tanzania failed in considerable measure to fulfill that responsibility. President Nyerere's assertion in Education for Self-Reliance that post-independence Tanzanian educational development has largely been an un-examined continuation of pre-independence practise needs considerable qualification to explain the crises of 1966. There were substantial changes; changes in the governance and administration of the educational system, changes in the provision of educational opportunity and changes in the structure and purpose of Tanzanian education. What crises did occur in Tanzanian education from 1961-66 may not reflect so much any lack of change from the pre-independence model of education, as disagreements among different segments of Tanzanian society on the value and appropriateness of those changes. The greatest challenge to the leaders of Tanzania, post Education for Self-Reliance, may well be the creation of a national consensus supportive of the proposed reforms of the Tanzanian educational system, a consensus that appears to have been lacking in the later years surveyed by this study.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMITTEE
ON INTEGRATION OF EDUCATION^a

<u>Paragraph</u>		<u>Recommendation</u>
31	That any school, other than a Government one should be eligible to receive Government aid, provided that it has a place in an approved educational plan and that the management accepts and follows the principles of the integrated system of education.	1
33	That any child should be eligible for admission to any school in the Territory, provided that his knowledge of the language of instruction is such that he should be able to maintain his place in the school, and provided that in the case of a primary school, priority in admission should be given to the children of the community for whom the school was established.	2
34	That ultimately the length of the primary course should be eight years in all schools.	3

^aTanganyika, Report of the Committee on the Integration of Education (Dar-Es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1960), pp. 29-30.

APPENDIX A--Continued

<u>Paragraph</u>		<u>Recommendation</u>
35	That admission to all secondary schools should be by competitive examination.	4
36	That high priority should be given to the introduction of part-time classes in all townships to provide opportunities for further academic, technical and vocational education.	5
37	That selection to higher secondary education should be made on a pupil's results in the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate examination and on his general school record.	6
38	That the Teacher Training Colleges in the Territory should admit students of any race.	7
40	That a common syllabus covering the basic subjects of the curriculum should be introduced in all primary schools, with the reservation that the use of a language other than English as the medium of instruction in the lower classes of a primary school will involve some modification in these classes.	8
41	That the secondary school entrance examination should be set territorially and marked regionally, and that selections for secondary education should be made regionally.	9

APPENDIX A--Continued

<u>Paragraph</u>		<u>Recommendation</u>
45	That, within the limits of funds available, all future development, including that provided for in existing plans and proposals, should be so planned as to provide, either by extensions to existing schools or by the building of new schools for the future an education structure of a primary course of eight years, a secondary course of four years, and a gradual extension of Higher School Certificate courses.	10
45	That very high priority should be given to the provision of St. Michael's School--a girls secondary boarding school--either at Iringa, as planned, or in some other way, in order that St. Michael's and St. George's Schools may be incorporated into the integrated system.	11
45	That a Tanganyika Junior Certificate Examination should be held to test the first two years of secondary education.	12
45	That an examination should be made of the educational facilities available in small townships and minor settlements with a view to combining small schools, and that government aid should be conditional upon such an arrangement being made.	13

APPENDIX A--Continued

<u>Paragraph</u>		<u>Recommendation</u>
47	That Boards of Governors or School Committees should be appointed for all secondary schools (or groups of schools or colleges) the compositions of such Boards or Committees in the case of government aided schools being determined in consultations with the Voluntary Agencies concerned.	14
48	That a Unified Teaching Service, membership of which would be extended to all locally appointed teachers, should be established as soon as possible.	15
50	That government should consider the introduction of children's allowances on lines similar to those in other territories for all children of all officers engaged on expatriate terms.	16
54	(a) That no tuition fees should be charged in Swahili language primary schools (two members dissenting); (b) that for a period of five years following the introduction of the integrated system tuition fees should be charged at other primary schools on the same basis as present, remission of fees being made in necessitous cases, and that the position be reviewed towards the end of the five year period.	17

APPENDIX A--Continued

<u>Paragraph</u>		<u>Recommendation</u>
55	That a tuition fee of approximately 25 per cent of the annual tuition cost per pupil should be made available to insure that no child who qualifies is unable to proceed to secondary education on the grounds that his parents are unable to afford the tuition fee.	18
56	That a boarding fee of approximately the annual boarding cost per pupils be charged in all boarding schools, and that remission of fees should be made at primary schools and scholarships of bursaries made available at secondary schools to insure that no child who is obliged to attend a boarding primary school or who gains admission to a secondary boarding school, is unable to attend on the grounds that his parents are unable to afford boarding school fees.	19
57	That any child obliged to attend boarding primary school or admitted to a secondary school by competitive examination should be entitled to third-class travel between his home and school at the expense of the state, if such school is situated outside his home administrative district.	20

APPENDIX A--Continued

<u>Paragraph</u>		<u>Recommendation</u>
58	That, provided that they are managed and run efficiently, all government aided schools should be aided on a budget basis, that is, by the provision of a grant to cover the shortfall between approved expenditure and approved income.	21
60	That the Non-Native education authorities, the Advisory Committee for other Non-Native (including Goan) education, and the Advisory Committee of African Education, should be replaced by an Advisory Council on Education.	22
61	That a uniform system of nomenclature should be introduced in all schools.	23
62	That, where necessary, names of schools should be changed so that no reference to race is included.	24
63	That the planning of the new system should be done regionally and that a senior officer of the Department of Education should be assigned to coordinate such planning.	25

APPENDIX A--ContinuedParagraphRecommendation

64

That the new system should be implemented according to the following timetable:

26

- (a) the establishment of Boards of Governors and School Committee during 1961.
- (b) The holding of the first competitive examination for entrance to secondary schools--late 1961.
- (c) the introduction of a uniform method for the assessment of recurrent government aid--1st January, 1962.
- (d) the introduction of the new system--1st January, 1962.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF TANZANIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1965, AND NUMBERS OF
TEA AND PEACE CORPS TEACHERS POSTED 1961-65^a

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams Forms I-IV 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
GOVERNMENT BOARDING (21)				
Mkwawa High School	Iringa	Iringa	0	16
Tabora Secondary School	Tabora	Tabora	8	23
Shinyanga Secondary School	Shinyanga	Shinyanga	1	0
Old Moshi Secondary School	Moshi	Kilimanjaro	8	19
Mzombe Secondary School	Morogoro	Morogoro	16	23
Nyakato Secondary School	Bukoba	West Lake	9	13
Songea Secondary School	Songea	Ruvuma	9	11
K.N.C.U. Secondary School	Moshi	Kilimanjaro	9	13
Malangali Secondary School	Malangali	Iringa	8	8

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams Forms I-IV 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
Bwiru Boys Secondary School	Mwanza	Mwanza	8	12
Mpwapwa Secondary School	Mpwapwa	Dodoma	8	10
Tanga Secondary School	Tanga	Tanga	8	12
Same Secondary School	Same	Kilimanjaro	8	5
Iyunga Secondary School	Mbeya	Mbeya	4	2
Ifunda Secondary Technical School	Ifunda	Iringa	8	6
Tabora Girls Secondary School	Tabora	Tabora	8	23
Machame Girls Secondary School	Moshi	Kilimanjaro	8	12
Bwiru Girls Secondary School	Mwanza	Mwanza	7	13
Mtwara Girls Secondary School	Mtwara	Mtwara	6	8
Loleza Girls Secondary School	Mbeya	Mbeya	8	2

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams I-IV Forms 1-6 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
Korogwe Girls Secondary School	Korogwe	Tanga	3	0
Subtotal			<u>3</u> 152	<u>0</u> 231
GOVERNMENT DAY (10)				
Azania Secondary School (Girls)	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	21	5
Karimje Secondary School (Coed)	Tanga	Tanga	23	11
Mawenzi Secondary School (Coed)	Moshi	Kilimanjaro	16	4
Kazima Secondary School (Coed)	Tabora	Tabora	16	3
Dodoma Secondary School (Coed)	Dodoma	Dodoma	12	1
Lindi Secondary School (Coed)	Lindi	Mtwara	12	1
Arusha Secondary School (Coed)	Arusha	Arusha	8	6
Mbeya Secondary School (Coed)	Mbeya	Mbeya	8	5

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams Forms I-IV 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
Jangwani Girls Secondary School	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	12	10
Secondary Technical School (Coed)	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	$\frac{2}{130}$	$\frac{7}{53}$
VOLUNTARY AGENCY BOARDING (25)				
TANGANYIKA EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE (Catholic)				
St. Francis College, Pugu (Boys)	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	8	5
St. Thomas More College, Ihungo (Boys)	Bukoba	West Lake	8	2
Tosamanganga Secondary School (Boys)	Iringa	Iringa	8	2
Holy Ghost School, Ubwe (Boys)	Moshi	Kilimanjaro	8	3

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams I-IV Forms 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
Abbey Secondary School (Boys)	Mdanda	Mtwara	8	1
St. Marys Secondary, Nsumba (Boys)	Mwanza	Mwanza	8	1
St. Francis Secondary, Kwiwo (Boys)	Mahenge	Morogoro	8	1
Kigonsera Secondary School (Boys)	Songea	Ruvuma	8	0
St. Marys Secondary, Tabora (Boys)	Tabora	Tabora	8	0
Musoma College (Boys) Bihawana Secondary (Boys)	Musoma	Mara	8	3
Marian College (Girls)	Dodoma	Dodoma	8	1
Rosary College, Nyegezi (Girls)	Mwanza	Morogoro	8	5
Assumpta College (Girls)	Moshi	Mwanza	8	8
Subtotal		Kilimanjaro	<u>7</u> 111	<u>1</u> 33

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams Forms I-IV 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Crops Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF TANGANYIKA (Protestants)				
St. Andrews College, Minaki (Boys)	Kiserawe	Coast	12	7
Iliburu Secondary School (Boys)	Arusha	Arusha	8	4
Dodoma Alliance Secondary (Boys)	Dodoma	Dodoma	9	2
St. Josephs Secondary Chidya (Boys)	Masasi	Mtwara	8	3
Kahororo Secondary School (Boys)	Bukoba	West Lake	8	4
Musoma Alliance Secondary (Boys)	Musoma	Mara	8	0
Rungwe Alliance Secondary (Boys)	Tukuyu	Mbeya	8	0
Livingston College (Boys)	Kigoma	Kigoma	7	1
Magamba Secondary School (Boys)	Lushoto	Tanga	8	2

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams Forms I-IV 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
Ashira Girls Secondary School	Moshi	Kilimanjaro	7	0
Msalato Girls Secondary School	Dodoma	Dodoma	$\frac{5}{88}$	$\frac{1}{24}$
Subtotal				
OTHERS BOARDING (2)				
Kibaha Secondary School (Boys)	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	3	0
Galanos Agricultural Secondary School (Boys)	Tanga	Tanga	$\frac{4}{7}$	$\frac{0}{0}$
Subtotal				
VOLUNTARY AGENCY DAY (9)				
H. H. The Aga Khan Secondary Boys School	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	21	0

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams Forms I-IV 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
H.H. The Aga Khan Secondary School (Coed)	Morogoro	Morogoro	8	0
H.H. The Aga Khan Secondary School (Coed)	Iringa	Iringa	8	0
H.H. The Aga Khan Girls Secondary School	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	18	0
St. Josephs Secondary School (Coed)	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	16	0
Chopra Secondary School (Coed)	Mwanza	Mwanza	16	0
D.A. Girls Secondary School	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	12	0
Grewal Secondary School (Coed)	Bukoba	West Lake	8	0
St. Xaviers Secondary School (Coed)	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	4	0
Subtotal			<u>111</u>	<u>0</u>

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams Forms I-IV 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
UNAIDED SCHOOLS (9)				
Ikizu Secondary School (Boys)	Musoma	Mara	4	0
Likonde Seminary (Boys)	Peramiho Tabora	Ruvuma Tabora	4	0
Itaga Seminary (Boys)	Tabora	Tabora	3	0
Shabaan Robert Secondary (Coed)	Dar-Es-Salaam	Coast	13	0
Uyui Secondary School (Coed)	Tabora	Tabora	2	0
Lake Secondary School (Coed)	Mwanza	Mwanza	6	0
Academic and Modern Secondary School	Arusha	Arusha	4	0
Masasi Girls Secondary School	Masasi	Mtwara	3	0

APPENDIX B--Continued

Name of School	Location		No. of Operative Streams Forms I-IV 1965	No. of TEA and Peace Corps Teachers Posted 1961-65
	Town	Region		
Bukoba Girls Secondary	Bukoba	West Lake	$\frac{1}{40}$	$\frac{0}{0}$
Subtotal			639	341
GRAND TOTAL				

^aData taken from United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Teaching in Tanzania - The Expatriate Guide to Schools and Colleges in Tanzania (Dar-Es-Salaam), Government Printer, 1966, pp. 21-25, and unpublished posting lists of Teachers for East African Project, Teachers College, New York, and U.S. Peace Corps, Dar-Es-Salaam, Tanzania.

APPENDIX C

TANZANIAN PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FIGURES, 1961-66^a

Standard Aid Form	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966
I	121,386	125,521	136,496	140,341	149,314	154,512
II	108,992	115,556	125,889	130,976	137,665	140,722
III	97,340	104,583	117,989	122,718	133,345	135,022
IV	95,391	98,139	106,768	114,471	126,536	131,499
Subtotal	423,109	443,799	487,142	508,506	546,860	561,755
V	19,721	26,803	40,508	43,610	53,483	60,721
VI	17,259	18,601	28,968	36,577	47,355	52,755
VII	14,649	15,730	18,444	24,637	33,892	46,816
VIII	11,732	13,730	17,042	20,348	28,610	18,946
Subtotal	63,361	14,864	104,962	125,172	163,340	179,236
Total Primary	486,470	518,663	592,104	633,678	710,200	740,991
I	4,196	4,810	4,972	5,302	5,942	6,377
II	3,533	3,982	4,895	5,013	5,223	6,027
III	2,088	2,948	3,666	4,873	4,862	5,122
IV	1,603	1,950	2,937	3,630	4,505	4,723
V	236	286	497	616	780	826
VI	176	199	258	463	603	761
Total Secondary	11,832	14,175	17,175	19,897	21,915	23,836
GRAND TOTAL	498,302	532,838	609,279	653,575	732,115	764,827

^a United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1966 (Dar-Es-Salaam: National Printing Co., Ltd., 1968), p. 60.

APPENDIX D

ENROLLMENT AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
DAR-ES-SALAMM, 1966/67^a

Course	Kenyan Students	Ugandan Students	Other Students	Tanzanian Students	Total Students
Common Faculties	68	18	13	412	511
Professional Faculties	<u>58</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>186</u>
Total	126	63	19	489	697
Diploma	0	0	0	0	0
Post-Graduate	0	1	16	8	25
All Other	7	7	12	55	81
GRAND TOTAL	133	71	47	552	803

^aUnited Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education, Annual Summary of Ministry of Education, 1966 (Dar-Es-Salaam: National Printing Co., Ltd., 1968), p. 79.

APPENDIX E

TOTAL ENROLLMENT OF TANZANIANS IN UNIVERSITY
OF EAST AFRICA, 1966/67^a

Course	Makerere	Nairobi	Dar-Es-Salaam	Total
Common Faculties	42	99	412	553
Professional Faculties	<u>130</u>	<u>121</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>328</u>
Total Degree Course	172	220	489	881
Undergraduate Diploma Course	<u>28</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>40</u>
Undergraduate Total	200	232	489	921
Post-Graduate Courses	10	3	8	21
All Other	0	0	55	55
GRAND TOTAL	210	235	552	997

^aUnited Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education,
Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education, 1966 (Dar-Es-
Salaam: National Printing Company, Ltd., 1968), pp. 80, 83.

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