

POLITICS, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION IN TANZANIA 1919-198⁵

An Historical Interpretation of Social Change

Lene Buchert

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Department of International and Comparative Education

Institute of Education

University of London

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Abstract

This study analyses the functions of the national educational system and of specific educational institutions and programmes in the national development process in Tanzania before and after independence. The principal focus is the relationship between the formulated and the implemented educational policies with emphasis on the possible contribution of education to economic development. The analysis is undertaken both at the macro and the micro level. The macro-analysis relates the development and change of the national educational system to the development and change of the general socio-economic and political context during the two periods. The micro-analysis of selected educational institutions and programmes in different socio-economic regions investigates how the stipulated national political and economic development goals were implemented at the local level. The combined investigation sets an historical perspective for the policy of education for self-reliance by comparing its similarities with and differences from the mass education approach adopted during the British period. The major contribution of the study is the understanding of the influence of politico-ideological elements and socio-economic settings on educational achievements. By identifying the barriers to educational achievement, the potential for education to improve national development is underscored.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

"Thus events that are strikingly analogous, but taking place in different historical milieus, lead to totally disparate results. By studying each of these developments separately, and then comparing them, one can easily discover the key to this phenomenon, but one will never arrive there with the master key of a historico-philosophical theory whose supreme virtue consists in being suprahistorical." (Marx 1877)

The Issue

The above quotation is used, in an analogous sense, as the guide for the present work. The study compares in two historical periods, i.e. before and after independence, the contribution of education to the national development process in Tanzania.¹ The purpose is to enhance the existing body of knowledge concerning the development of education in Tanzania and to use the historical analysis as a basis to examine assumptions about the role of education in the predominant social theories of development.

The historical investigation combines a macro analysis of the development of the national educational system in the context of the general political and economic development process with a micro analysis of selected educational institutions or programmes in different geographical and socio-economic areas of pre- and post-independent Tanzania. The analysis seeks to identify some of the keys to development and change through an examination of the mutual interaction between the socio-economic and politico-ideological dimensions of development during the two historical periods. The outcome of the study will, it is hoped, reinforce the need for concrete historical investigations, and point to the limitations of a "master key of a historico-philosophical theory whose supreme virtue consists in being suprahistorical".

¹ The study considers only today's mainland Tanzania. The area formed part of German East Africa until after the First World War when it became a British mandate area under the name of Tanganyika. Tanganyika in 1964 amalgamated with Zanzibar and became The United Republic of Tanzania. The terms German East Africa, Tanganyika and Tanzania are applied in the study during the relevant historical periods.

The Context and Relevance of the Study

The body of knowledge on education in Tanzania is rich, particularly with respect to the more recent years (after 1967) and concerning certain aspects of the educational system. However, holistic analyses are virtually non-existent, and theoretical discussions of education and development rarely guide the empirical studies. For the pre-independence period, this work relates to two major traditions, one which will be called the 'liberal' tradition and another called the 'critical' tradition.¹ The presentation of the two traditions is highly selective. It focuses primarily on the general thrust of their arguments concerning the relationship between education and development which serves as a basis to sharpen the more detailed research questions for the present study.

An important issue, which will be examined, is the relationship between the formulated and implemented educational policies in Tanzania before and after independence, including the potential contribution of education to economic development. The question is a controversial one in the mentioned 'liberal' and 'critical' traditions as far as the pre-independence era was concerned, and also relates to a wide-ranging debate internationally regarding the link between educational output and economic or employment opportunities in society in general. (Cf. e.g. Oxenham 1984; Coombs 1985; Lauglo & Lillis 1988) Its manifestation in Tanzania is a considerable literature on the policy of education for self-reliance which, in the two examined traditions, includes some discussion of the possible similarity between the attempt at agricultural education for Africans during the British period and the attempts at education for self-reliance after 1967. This possible similarity is further explored historically in the present study and has partly

¹ The terminology 'liberal' and 'critical' is prevalent in various academic disciplines to distinguish between research traditions, paradigms or schools of thought that have a different approach, focus, interpretation and understanding of identical key research issues. The terminology is adopted here only for analytic purposes in line with prevalent use, for lack of any more adequate distinction.

determined the choice of the educational institutions and programmes which will be analysed before and after independence.

The overall approach of the study is inspired by current theoretical debates. The 'liberal' and 'critical' traditions implicitly or explicitly relate to the two predominant paradigms of educational sociology, i.e. modernisation and dependency theories. Dependency theory originally arose as a reaction to basic assumptions, concepts and explanatory factors of modernisation theory and represents an initial attempt to indigenise the social sciences. Both paradigms have continued to evolve and the question of an indigenisation of the social sciences is also a current one. (Cf. Chapter 2; Hoogvelt 1982:105-207)

The present study attempts to establish a framework of analysis that takes into consideration the criticisms raised against both prevailing paradigms, and a methodology that considers the debate on the indigenisation of the social sciences. As general conceptual tools and organising principles, it combines the perspective of the modes of production theory with historical-materialism as a model and methodology to analyse the national development process in Tanzania before and after independence. Both the concept of the mode of production and historical materialism originate in Karl Marx' writings.¹ They have, like Marx' writings in general, exerted a significant influence in western and non-western academic environments and in settings with more clearly established political purposes during the 20th century. In the academic sense, the marxist tradition can be regarded as a paradigm that has led to different schools of thoughts depending on the particular frame of reference to Marx' writings. (See e.g. Iggers 1985:123-174) The central notion in the interpretation and application of historical-materialism in this work is the dialectic interplay between the socio-economic and politico-ideological structures of society. It is an aim to identify particular sub-periods of

¹ On the concept of mode of production in Marx' writings, see Cohen 1978:79-84. On historical materialism, see e.g. Hilferding 1988.

the overall historical periods before and after independence when either of these societal structures could be said to be dominant in the development process and, moreover, to identify the relative influence of education.

The framework of analysis is established on the understanding that both before and after independence, the Tanzanian entity, which existed in an interdependent international context was characterised by a highly variegated socio-economic pattern and by a political and economic interaction with the outside world which set limits to national development efforts. The interest of the study is the internally formulated goals and the implemented policies for the national political and economic development process, and the use of education in fulfilment of these goals. The underlying assumption is that under particular conditions education can be and is a change factor for societal development. Individual educational institutions can serve as such at the micro level, and national educational systems can serve as such at the macro level. Their actual contributions as agents of change may, however, differ.

The study, then, breaks with a prevailing tendency to focus on the economic structure of society when applying historical-materialism as a methodology, the notion being that the base is determinant 'in the final instance'.¹ Instead it reasserts education as an important variable in the national development process and understands the function of education to relate to both the politico-ideological and socio-economic structures of society. While the applied paradigm is regarded as a valid guide to the particular research questions and historical data, the historical analysis will be used as a means to examine the current theoretical understandings of societal development. It is, thus, acknowledged that historical understanding advances by refining our understanding of both the empirical reality and the

¹ On Marx's view of society, see his preface to Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859). On 'the final instance', see Thompson 1978:80 ff.

theoretical model, or as a dialogue "between thought and its objective materials" (Thompson 1978:37).

The Structure of the Study and the Nature of the Materials

The introductory chapter is followed in Chapter 2 by a presentation of the two predominant research traditions concerning education in pre-independent Tanzania. These two traditions hold different assumptions about societal and educational development and include a varied range of primary historical sources. Their different views help sharpen the research questions and purposes of the ensuing historical investigation in Chapters 3-7 of the study.

In Chapter 3, the development of the socio-economic structure in pre-independent Tanzania is presented. The analysis investigates the socio-economic and political dynamics during the period. It questions the prevailing understandings of the area as either a dual or underdeveloped society. In Chapter 4, the contribution of education to development is outlined. The presentation includes an analysis of the British view on the purpose of education and, significantly, clarifies how the implemented educational policy impeded African participation in development before independence. In Chapter 5, the socio-economic and political setting in post-independent Tanzania is examined. The analysis underlines the discrepancy between the formulated goals and the outcome of the implemented policies. It points to the predominance of the politico-ideological structure and the relative impact of outside events and policies on the national development process. In Chapter 6, the consequences for educational policy-making and implementation are analysed. The presentation shows how the formulated educational goals were transmuted during the period and how competing development strategies affected the intended use of education. The identified tensions are seen to originate from both internal and external circumstances. In Chapter 7, specific examples of educational institutions and programmes are analysed. The

discussion centres on the possible similarity or difference between mass education before and after independence and its contribution to economic and political development. Crucial factors are identified which acted as barriers or stimulators to the use of education for social innovation.

The conclusions and perspectives of the study appear in Chapter 8. They include a discussion of the function of education in social change over time in Tanzania based on the empirical outcomes as well as the theoretical implications of the undertaken historical analysis. Some research and policy recommendations are, moreover, put forward.

The study combines primary and secondary evidence. Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 on the pre-independence period include the same category of primary sources as used by the 'liberal' and 'critical' traditions, in particular official government materials. The historical evidence is, however, approached from a different perspective and with a different set of research questions in mind. Secondary expositions help clarify and sustain the general argument. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 on the post-independence period rely on the same kind of primary and secondary materials as Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. Chapter 7 concerning the case institutions and programmes, and Chapter 4, are based on field work in Tanzania. Chapter 7 includes original primary official, unofficial and semi-official data gathered in the National Archives and extensive oral evidence collected in a number of different sites.

The inclusion of the original field data as well as post-colonial 'Africa-centred' historiography, which has attempted to reconstruct material life in pre- and post-independent Tanzania and to reinterpret the role of African initiative in the development process, counteract a potential bias in the secondary materials towards knowledge created by western researchers from a western perspective.

In an overall sense, the study is written in the spirit that historical facts are psychological facts.¹ It is based on the accumulated knowledge of former research, the additionally selected evidence and ideas prevailing at the time of writing this work. While it will, hopefully, contribute yet another piece to the historical reality that keeps unfolding, it is also believed that the discipline of history could make a considerable contribution to the field of development which is clearly dominated by other social science disciplines.

¹ Cf. Carr (1961:120): "The facts of history cannot be purely objective, since they become facts of history only in virtue of the significance attached to them by the historian".

CHAPTER 2 APPROACHES AND PARADIGMS FOR THE STUDY OF TANZANIAN EDUCATION

Underlying the following presentation and discussion of predominant views on education in Tanzania, especially in the pre-independence era, is the assumption that research is not value-free. Social research involves, implicitly or explicitly, values which emerge from communities of scholars who follow particular lines of reasoning and apply competing assumptions, questions and procedures. Inherent in the practice of social research are, similarly, assumptions about society and societal development. The purpose of social science and social theory is, therefore, not only to determine the empirical reality, but to understand the very traditions and their implications in order to create new themes and questions for research and, by means of new data, to provide additional insight into how society is constructed and changed. (Popkewitz 1984)

The aim of this part of the study is to highlight how the outcome of particular research on education in Tanzania is influenced by two competing paradigms in educational sociology, i.e. modernisation and dependency theories, and to indicate how controversies in previous research raise the set of questions that are taken up in the following part of the study.

'Liberal' Research on Education in Pre-Independent Tanzania

Knowledge about education in pre-independent Tanzania relies to a high degree on research undertaken by British educationists within the 'liberal' tradition. This work is based mostly on official and unofficial government materials. It undoubtedly also involves the understanding and expertise the researchers themselves gained as educational officials in the country in the 1950s, the 1960s and later on. The literature that supports the following outline was published during the mid-1960s to 1970. More recent publications by the selected researchers are included in the presentation in order to compare basic facts and

interpretations.

The common theme in the selected literature is the education of Africans in the formal educational system. The researchers distinguish between two overall historical periods of development and change. The time from 1919-45 was characterised politically by a British system of indirect rule set up under the mandate agreement of 1922. Economically, the area was relatively isolated from the outside world and therefore relied on self-sufficiency. Educationally, there was a growing interest in the education of Africans, particularly to satisfy the political goal of indirect rule. The period after the Second World War and up to independence, 1946-61, when the area was ruled according to the trusteeship agreement of 1946, was dominated by three new factors: the rise of Africans to political power; the intrusion of the outside world on local affairs; and the role of education in economic and social development. (Cameron & Dodd 1970:37-151) The years immediately after independence, 1961-66, were, according to Cameron & Dodd, characterised by continuity rather than change. The momentum of change is considered to have taken off later. Three factors were dominant in the post-independence period: the exercise of African political power; the interaction of the territory with the outside world; and the policy of education for self-reliance. (Cameron & Dodd 1970:155-228)

Thompson looks into two particular aspects of educational development in the pre-independence period. One is the changing role in educational development of the three major educational agencies, i.e. the voluntary agencies or missionary societies, the native or local authorities, and the British administration.¹ (Thompson 1965; Thompson 1976) Another is the formulation and implementation of British educational policies with special focus on the policy of adaptation to local circumstanc-

¹ 'Native' was the official term used during the pre-independence period concerning the indigenous population which represented different ethnic groups. The term is applied here in accordance with the prevalent official use. It is otherwise replaced by 'African'.

es. (Thompson 1968a; Thompson 1968b) The policy of adaptation was translated into a vocationally oriented curriculum for Africans and specified the need for agricultural education at different levels of the educational system and during different periods of time. The question of the similarity between agricultural education for Africans before independence and education for self-reliance after independence is touched upon both in the early and later works. (Thompson 1968a:478ff; Dodd 1969; Cameron & Dodd 1970:219-228; Cameron 1980; Thompson 1981:passim)

The approach, understanding and interpretation of education and development in Tanzania is identical among the selected researchers. Society is understood as a duality consisting of a vast traditional sector dominated by subsistence agriculture and a small, modern sector of export cash-crop agriculture and services. The modern sector is seen to grow in importance after the Second World War, partly because of capital transfers from the metropolitan country under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts since 1940. Any development of the traditional sector is considered to preserve already existing traditional elements, be they, for instance, values, inheritance patterns or traditional rulers. The traditional sector may reach a higher level of complexity, but it remains a very localised organic whole which is generally regarded as an obstacle to development.¹ Traditional education is seen to support the conservation of traditional society as it serves to transmit, for instance, the history, culture, values and practices existing in the particular local context. (Cameron & Dodd 1970: 13-26, 47-50)

Progress is considered to be an alien concept to traditional society. It was introduced into the area with the advent of colonialism and with reference to the modern sector. Economically, the concept refers to the development of a monetary

¹ "What is of concern is not that the traditional [sector] is large and the modern [sector] is small but that the former negates the hopes held out by the latter. The traditional is for this day and age, wasteful, destructive, out-moded and static." (Cameron & Dodd 1970:18)

economy based on cash-crop production and a necessary expansion of infrastructure and service industries. Politically, it relates to the creation of a national unit that was to be ruled, eventually, by Africans themselves through centralised, democratic political institutions. Education was consequently formalised to secure the transfer of knowledge, skills and attitudes that were necessary to develop this national politico-economic unit. (Cameron & Dodd 1970; Thompson 1968a; Thompson 1968b; Thompson 1976:9-12. See also Thompson 1981:3-22 on social change and development.)

British educational policies are seen to have changed in focus before and after the Second World War. The overall political laissez-faire philosophy, i.e. one of gradualism, paternalism and non-intervention, translated into a stated educational policy of adaptation to local circumstances before the Second World War. Education was to preserve the 'healthy' fabric of traditional society and to provide rulers from the local context to serve a future independent nation. It emphasised the use of the vernacular, the extension of elementary education as well as agricultural and practical activities in schools. The British administration established a level of cooperation with the predominant educational agencies, i.e. missionary societies of different denominations and origins. It gradually incorporated the local African authorities in this cooperation. The administration's own responsibility for educational provision increased after the Second World War when the laissez-faire philosophy was replaced by interventionist state policies. Education was no longer to preserve the traditional society only, but also to fulfil the manpower requirements of a developing modern sector and to prepare the future rulers of a modern democratic state. There was, therefore, a stronger emphasis on educational qualifications that led to low and middle level positions in the economy. (Thompson 1965; Thompson 1968a; Thompson 1968b; Cameron & Dodd 1970:58-76, 101-131)

The policy of education for adaptation was not successfully implemented, according to the mentioned researchers. In the interpretation and explanation of this failure, there is an emphasis on multi-causality and the complexity of a society under rapid change.¹ The key explanatory factors are, however, scarce resources as well as resistance and pressure from the African population. Africans, it is claimed, wanted access to modern knowledge in order to make their way into the benefits of the modern sector of society. They did not want to be taught in school what they had known for generations, namely to till the land of the subsistence sector. They wanted modern skills, not traditional knowledge.² Whereas education was considered by the British administration to be the major instrument of change to form the attitudes necessary for a modernisation process, the above researchers conclude that schools alone cannot invent social attitudes. Schools interact with the surrounding society and do not change quickly and radically even if government policies do. Their success as agents of change depends on the development of the community as a whole and, especially, on advancing its economy. (Dodd 1969:25-26; Thompson 1968a:31ff; Thompson 1968b:29)

This, it is argued, is also the lesson to be learned if the attempt at implementing education for self-reliance is to be successful. Based on the historical experience of agricultural education for Africans either before or after the Second World War, and listing a variety of educational, political, agricultural and other reasons for its failure, the researchers agree

¹ ..."the failure [of the adaptation policy] was not the result of blindness nor of stupidity; the inadequacy of the measures taken by educationists during the last forty years in this country [Tanzania] is not so much a commentary upon their incapacity or even upon their lack of resources as upon the complex and intractable nature of the problem of building a new educational system in a society in the process of radical change". (Thompson 1968b:15)

² "In consequence the greatest enemies of the Africanisation of education were the educated and of community development the uneducated. Together they prevented many of the educational reforms the colonial administration had hoped for." (Cameron & Dodd 1970:231). "This policy [of adaptation] which was based on gradualism, had been undermined by the rapidity of economic and political progress and by the fact that any education which could only be made available to a minority inevitably created an elite whose aspirations leaped far beyond the rural community from which they came." (Thompson 1968a:437)

that "the success of the vocational aspect of the education for self-reliance policy will depend upon the success of its social and political aspects, and upon whether the social goals for Tanzania are accepted with the heart as well as the mouth" (Dodd 1969:25). "The remoulding of the attitudes of the child will have to go hand in hand with changing attitudes of rural society and will have to be guided into a wider programme of integrated rural transformation." (Thompson 1968a:544)

The influence of modernisation theory on 'liberal' thinking

The presented understanding and interpretation of education and development is, as mentioned, based on official and unofficial British government materials, including policy statements, annual reports, memoranda and other correspondence. There is no specific reference to the predominant thinking about education and development within various academic disciplines at the time or to any particular school of thought. Official British government policies were, however, influenced by changing world views. They can be associated with officials who took part in the policy formulation process and who themselves represented different academic viewpoints. Government policies were always formed in view of general political considerations in the metropole and changed with the relative influence of the predominant political parties. The specific educational policies for the colonies were guided by two sets of overall considerations which were not mutually exclusive, namely, on the one hand, socio-cultural or socio-psychological concerns and, on the other, socio-economic concerns. (See e.g. Clatworthy 1971; McLean 1978; Ruddell 1982; Chapter 4)

The most apparent frame of reference between British government thinking about education and development in the colonies and the 'liberal' tradition is what developed into the so-called modernisation theory. This theory encompasses a number of theories and theorists from different academic disciplines over time since the evolutionary theories of the

late 19th and early 20th century. It is generally referred to specific academic disciplines depending on the particular focus of a study, for instance social-psychology when analysing attitudes and behaviour, sociology when analysing social structures and anthropology when analysing culture. (See e.g. Hoogvelt 1976:9-62)

As a general theory, modernisation theory is concerned with economic development or 'modernisation' of a given society. Socio-cultural and socio-psychological factors are generally subordinate to economic factors. This thinking goes back to classical and neo-classical economic theory, of which the major proponents in the 18th and 19th centuries were Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Thomas Malthus and in the 20th century John Maynard Keynes. The particular concern of classical and neo-classical economic theory is the progress of western nations. A key factor to promote such progress is increased economic growth. (See e.g. Hoselitz 1960) The thinking has influenced early theories about economic development in non-western societies, of which the writings by Evsey Domar, Roy Harrod, W.A. Lewis and Walt Rostow were particularly influential in the late 1940s, the 1950s and the 1960s. (Blomström & Hettne 1984:8-26)

The central force behind economic growth, in what came to be termed the Harrod-Domar model, is saving and investment. Capital formation is considered to be more or less synonymous with development: the higher the rate of saving of the national income, the higher the economic growth per capita is expected to be. Low rates of economic growth per capita are, then, necessarily explained by a shortage of capital. (Harrod 1948; Domar 1957)

The modernisation process of a given society, as in Walt Rostow's model, is understood to take place through stages, the end-point being a modern industrial society of self-sustaining economic growth with a representative political democracy. Capital investments are seen to secure an industrialisation process based on technological innovation of the leading sectors

of society, the effects of which would disseminate to the remaining sectors. (Rostow 1971 (1960):4-92) Early development theory looks upon non-western societies as dual societies which consist of two major economic sectors, namely the agricultural sector and the industrial sector. The forces of modernisation are seen as inherent in the society and can be activated either through outside intervention or through innovation from within. In W.A. Lewis' model, the agricultural sector serves as a labour reserve for the capitalist sector that is considered to be able to expand until the labour surplus of the agricultural sector is fully utilised. (Lewis 1954; Lewis 1955) In the presented 'liberal' tradition pre-independent Tanzania was explicitly understood as a dual society. Government intervention through capital investment in technological innovation was regarded as an effective means to develop export cash-crop production and related necessary infrastructure and service industries. The dynamics for modernisation were seen to be located in the modern sector, and the agricultural sector was regarded as being in a stage of backwardness, if not a direct barrier to development.

The emphasis on cash-crop production for export is considered to have a positive effect on local development in neo-classical and early development thinking. On an international scale individual countries should specialise in goods in which they have a comparative advantage of costs. A country like Tanzania with a relatively good supply of labour compared to capital should export labour-intensive commodities and import capital-intensive ones from countries with ample supplies of capital. It is assumed that this free exchange of goods would reduce price differentials and lead to an equal international distribution of income. (Letiche 1960)

In order to ensure an actual spreading of modern industrial activity, societies have to develop an appropriate institutional, social and psychological setting. This setting has to be a modern western one. A formal western educational system is regarded as the crucial institutional means to develop both a

modern national economic behaviour and a general positive attitude to socio-economic and political change. It is, moreover, seen as the major means to provide the skills and quality of manpower necessary to develop a modern economy and a western democracy. The actual type of education would depend on the nature of the growth of society. It would relate both to the economic structure and to the available material and human resources. (Fägerlind & Saha 1983:63-136)

As the level of industrialisation becomes more sophisticated, higher levels of education are considered to be necessary. In the late 1950s and the 1960s, the theory developed that investment in human capital is not only comparable to investment in physical capital but that investment in the 'residual' factor is equal to investment in education. This human capital theory, which it came to be termed, stresses the fact that economic growth cannot alone bring about the full range of change in society. Education contributes to economic growth by imparting skills and knowledge, while economic growth supports further educational expansion and efficiency through increases in national production, accumulation of capital and savings for reinvestment into the system and in the human resources. (Fägerlind & Saha 1983:44-50) This interaction between the economy and education and the necessity to develop both in order to develop society as a whole was one of the strong conclusions of the research on pre-independent Tanzania. It was recommended as the most relevant recipe for a positive outcome to the implementation of the policy of education for self-reliance in Tanzania after independence.

'Critical' Research on Education in Pre-Independent Tanzania

The 'critical' tradition includes other academic disciplines than those represented by the 'liberal' tradition. The presentation below is limited to research by the Tanzanian educational sociologist M. Mbilinyi and the British political scientist D.R. Morrison. In combination, their research is less profound than

the 'liberal' tradition. Mbilinyi's research incorporates a relatively limited amount of primary historical evidence. Morrison's main focus is the interrelationship between politics and education in 1961-67, whereas the discussion on education before independence merely serves as an historical background. The nature of their primary evidence is, however, identical with that of the 'liberal' tradition, i.e. official and unofficial government materials.

The major difference between the two traditions is their interpretation of the role of the British administration in economic and political development. They, moreover, disagree about the purpose of African formal education. As has appeared from the discussion above, the 'liberal' tradition focused on a cooperation between the British administration and the native authorities through a system of indirect rule, on the development of the modern sector of the economy to raise per capita income generally, and on an education of the African population balanced between vocational and formal education in order to fulfil the needs of the changing economic structure and for Africans to participate in political decision-making in the longer term.

Mbilinyi, on the other hand, argues that both the British administration and the missionary societies represented the interests of the British state and the metropolitan bourgeoisie. The establishment and development of the colonial mode of production was necessitated by metropolitan needs for particular primary goods, and the surplus from the production of these goods was controlled by the British bourgeoisie. The system of indirect rule was a device to preserve deliberately localism and tribalism and prevent the development of nationalism among the African population. It was a device to divide-and-rule especially the native authorities and the petty bourgeoisie. (Mbilinyi 1979a:80-81; Mbilinyi 1980:236-239)

In Mbilinyi's view, formal education of Africans served the purpose of providing the skills and knowledge necessary for them

to be productive peasant producers, workers and petty-bourgeois servants of the colonial state and to create acceptance of their place in the colonial social structure. The British administration deliberately maintained a racially segregated school system, namely one for Africans, one for Asians and one for Europeans, in order to reproduce the full division of labour needed by the colonial state and to maintain a natural rivalry and conflict of interest between the three communities. The formal educational system never functioned, it is maintained, to provide education for adaptation or mass education of the African peasantry. On the contrary, the colonial economy depended completely upon the labour of an illiterate unschooled peasantry. The explicit intention of both post-elementary agricultural training and elementary education was to adapt the peasant to his place as a producer in an underdeveloped capitalist system of exploitation. Post-elementary training was mainly reserved for children of chiefs and wealthy peasants or traders, in line with the policy of developing a comprador class to administer the people at the local level. (Mbilinyi 1979a:79-86; Mbilinyi 1980:239-243, 248-256)

Mbilinyi's views on the educational system as a tool of class formation is supported through a different approach by Morrison's study. Like Mbilinyi, Morrison interprets the area as an underdeveloped society without, however, addressing the contents of the concept. (See e.g. Morrison 1976:17, 308, 313) His particular concern is the relationship between education and politics, i.e. educational decision-making within the context of general political change. Education and politics are understood as mutually dependent variables. The reviewed educational policies are those that affect both the structure of political conflict and authority and the broader strategies for economic and social development. Formal education is regarded as a key factor in differentiating between those who can command the material and social rewards of high income employment and those who cannot. The distribution of educational opportunities is

considered to affect social cleavages (e.g. racial, religious, ethnic and geographical) which, in turn, influence the formulation and outcome of policies. (Morrison 1976:17-18, 32-37, 307-308)

Morrison concludes that education did not become an important political issue in pre-independent Tanzania although the effect of educational policies and practices were significant for political and social change. Differences in educational provision among races, regions, tribes, and religious communities both heightened social cleavages and widened the gap between educated and uneducated Africans. They therefore increased the potential for political conflict. In addition, an imbalance developed between the requirements of the occupational structure and the aspirations and skills of African school leavers. The educational system both fostered aloofness among the elite and contributed to increased political awareness and resistance. (Morrison 1976:64)

Morrison agrees with the 'liberal' tradition that the attempt to gear the educational system to the traditional and/or rural environment failed. The reasons were partly material and educational, and partly related to the feeling among Africans that such attempts would perpetuate the inferior status of their race. (Morrison 1976:57-61) For Mbilinyi, the real issue of mass education is whether the educational system is used as a means for Africans to acquire the basic principles of science and technology necessary for economic development; or whether they are restricted to basic skills training (in, for instance, farming, crafts and mechanics) to make them more efficient and productive producers of goods for the world-wide capitalist market. (Mbilinyi 1977:112) This issue is equally relevant before and after independence in Tanzania. Like the 'liberal' tradition, Mbilinyi and Morrison emphasise that formal education can only be used as an efficient means to alter attitudes and behaviour provided educational policies and practices are well integrated with broader strategies for development, such as more

far-reaching policies to stimulate agricultural production and improve living conditions and incomes in the rural areas. They similarly agree that attitudinal change would have to be developed not only through the educational system but by influencing other agents, such as the family, the peer group, the church and, more importantly, the social relations of production in order to achieve wide-ranging social change. Africans have to acquire a fundamental knowledge about society, the relations of production, the productive forces as well as science and technology and be able to situate such knowledge conceptually within the context of worldwide capitalism, in order to bring about change. (Morrison 1976:311-314; Mbilinyi 1979b:220-227)

The influence of dependency theory on 'critical' thinking

In contrast to the 'liberal' researchers, Mbilinyi and Morrison do specify their theoretical framework of analysis which places them within the underdevelopment or dependency school.¹ Mbilinyi refers specifically to the inspiration gained from colleagues at the University of Dar es Salaam when outlining her general framework of analysis. (See e.g. Mbilinyi 1979b:226; Mbilinyi 1980:271) Morrison, on the other hand, does not refer to or present the predominant assumption or understanding of Tanzania as an underdeveloped society. He states that "the relationship between education and politics is not the central contradiction of underdevelopment", but that "the relationship is significant in understanding some of the dilemmas confronting societies that are poverty-stricken, disease-ridden, exploited both economically and politically" (Morrison 1976:313-314). Rather than pursuing this statement, his central general purpose seems to have been to transcend the predominant political science tradition at the time by focusing on political change rather than political decision-making. (See Morrison 1976:1-2.

¹ Both terms are used to denote the paradigm that arose in reaction to the sociology of development or modernisation theory.

Cf. Blomström & Hettne 1984:22-24)

The underdevelopment or dependency school emerged in direct opposition to the influence of modernisation thinking on development in developing countries. Like the modernisation paradigm, it has incorporated a number of academic disciplines, especially economics, sociology and political science, and a number of different theorists over time since the 1930s. It is inspired by two major trends. One is the indigenous Latin American discussion of underdevelopment that reflects specific economic and intellectual experiences in various Latin American countries. Another is the particular kind of political economy and the economic history of developing countries that centre on the themes of exploitation and oppression. This tradition originates in what is usually termed the neo-marxist political economy of the late 1950s and the 1960s, of which Paul Baran is the major representative.¹ (Bernstein 1979)

Outside Latin America, the crystallisation of the theory of dependency is usually identified with the writings of André Gunder Frank in the 1960s.² In the context of this study it is, however, important to stress that the University of Dar es Salaam was an influential secondary centre of the theoretical debate on dependency and underdevelopment in the 1970s. (Blomström & Hettne 1984:145-155) Many western and non-western scholars covering a wide range of disciplines, such as Walter Rodney, Karim Hirji, Tamás Szentes, Henry Bernstein, Justinian Rweyemamu, Issa Shivji, Lionel Cliffe and John Saul, were, like Mbilinyi herself, influenced by and, in turn, themselves influenced the debate. In the broader African context, Samir Amin, a professor at and later director of the United Nations African Institute for Economic Development and Planning in Dakar, has, since the late 1960s, produced a series of works that transferred the Latin American dependency perspective to

¹ See his The Political Economy of Growth, 1957.

² See particularly his Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, 1967.

the African setting. (Blomström & Hettne 1984:141-144) The dependency school, therefore, expresses variations on the theme of exploitation and underdevelopment and on their underlying explanatory factors. What follows below is an elaboration of the aspects of dependency theory that guide the research results of Mbilinyi and Morrison and which stand in contrast to the general thinking on education and development in the modernisation paradigm. The selected theorists have inspired Mbilinyi's research.

The crucial difference between modernisation and dependency theories is their understanding and interpretation of the development process of developing countries. 'Backwardness' or underdevelopment is to dependency theorists the result of an active historical process in which developing countries are incorporated into a world economic capitalist system. The primary accumulation of capital in the metropolises or the centre nations is fed through a drain of wealth from the satellite or peripheral countries which typically involves their colonisation. The transferred wealth is the basis of a self-sustaining capitalist development of the centre. The periphery, on the other hand, reproduces its own underdeveloped stage. It cannot harness those sectors of the economy which generate growth or raise production to a new level altogether because there are few ties between one sector and another to sustain general economic development. (Rodney 1972:9-39)

This more general view is based on a model of central and peripheral capitalism worked out by Samir Amin. According to his model, the global capitalist system contains two types of capitalism: an autocratic dynamic capitalism in the centre and a blocked capitalism in the periphery. Both types are structurally linked and the system, therefore, reproduces itself at the global level. According to Amin, there must be a link between the production of consumer goods and capital goods in order to create a self-reproducing growing capitalism as at the

centre. In the periphery, the link is instead between the export sector and the sector producing luxury goods. The creation of the export sector by the centre fights the trend of a falling profit rate as production costs in the periphery are lower than those in the centre for similar products. The surplus extracted from the periphery is gained by lowering the wage level compared to that of the centre which in turn facilitates an 'unequal exchange' between the countries involved. (Amin 1974:37-394)

Export cash-crop production and international trade are, therefore, in this theory seen as means to block a local capital accumulation process and exploit the peasants, rather than as means to promote progress. A formal colonial political set-up secures the economic interests of the metropole as the colonial state intervenes either directly or through middlemen in, for instance, determining the prices, quantities and nature of products; controlling freight rates, banking and investment policies; and through land alienation. (Rodney 1972:162-189)

Colonial education is considered to be an ideological means to provide the psychological climate for colonisation and to ensure the functioning of the colonial state at administrative levels. The role of the missionaries is understood as making the colonised person consent to work for the coloniser and accept the colonial system. Their fundamental task is to ensure the spread and reproduction of the colonial ideology, to justify and rationalise colonialism, and to inculcate Christian morality, submissiveness and humility. The government sponsored educational system ensures the provision of skills needed for the colonial economy and the running of the state apparatus. As local people become dependent on the way of life imposed on them by colonialism, by getting increasingly involved in cash-crop production and in the migrant labour system, the colonial economy gives rise to a specific social structure which creates its own ideological demands. Peripheral economies internalise the conditions for the reproduction of the colonial social

formation as they become integrated into the global capitalist system. The transformed internal social, political and ideological conditions create their own needs for the perpetuation of colonial rule. (Rodney 1972:261-287; Hirji 1973; Hirji 1980)

Identification of Research Issues

This study enters the above empirical and theoretical controversy in three different ways. Firstly, it takes up the role of the British administration and the post-independent government in the development of the educational system. The analysis contrasts the stated educational policy aims with the empirical reality as it can be interpreted particularly from compiled statistics on educational provision. As far as the British period was concerned, the analysis covers the tripartite educational system. The relative financing of the African, Indian and European educational systems is considered to be a crucial instrument to identify the actual educational preferences of the British administration. The development and change of the educational sector before and after independence is interpreted in the light of the general socio-economic and political development during the two different periods. The analysis of British educational policy and practice can be seen as a contribution to the ongoing debate on education and colonialism which has called for concrete empirical studies to reassess "the principal criticism levelled at British colonial education policy during the past thirty years" (Whitehead 1982:47).

Secondly, the study focuses on similarities and differences between, on the one hand, the policies of education for adaptation and education for modernisation and, on the other, the policy of education for self-reliance, at the macro and the micro level of analysis. The macro-analysis weighs the emphasis on national political versus economic development goals. It seeks to establish the extent to which the national educational system contributed to the fulfilment of these goals in specific time periods. The micro-analysis compares in time and space the

selected master pilot schemes of education for adaptation, education for modernisation and education for self-reliance in different socio-economic regions which represent different forms of organisation. The selected institutions and programmes are: the Nyakato agricultural training centre in Bukoba district planned in 1932; the adult literacy and mass education programme in Singida district initiated in 1958; the Kwamsisi community school experiment in Korogwe district established in 1971 and Kwalukonge community school in Korogwe district established in 1976; and the adult functional literacy programme in Dodoma rural district initially started in the early 1970s. The purpose of the analysis is to clarify how the nationally stipulated goals for the development process were translated into goals for the educational system and implemented in the selected cases. The analysis identifies factors which are crucial for education to catalyse social innovation.

The combined macro and micro analysis sets an historical perspective on the ongoing debate on the relationship between educational output and employment opportunities. Considerations concerning this relationship, obviously, influence the balance and contents of vocational versus academic subjects at both the primary and post-primary educational levels. They, similarly, influence the allocation of resources to post-primary vocational training versus secondary academic streams. This general balance appears from the analysis. Besides, aspects of the analysis contributes to the debate on education as a possible means to alleviate rural poverty. (See e.g. Coombs & Ahmed 1974; Colclough 1980; Jamison & Lau 1982) An attempt is made to assess the influence of the selected mass educational institutions and programmes on agricultural production and productivity. This impact is weighed against the stipulated need for 'awareness' for Africans to participate in decision-making processes at the local and national levels before and after independence. The micro-analysis examines how the educational reforms at the local level were influenced by wider socio-

economic and political considerations at the national level.

The study, finally, relates to the debate that springs from the application of modernisation and dependency theories to developing countries. It is inspired, particularly, by the criticisms raised by the so-called modes of production theory and by the search for an indigenous social science which incorporates the cultural variable, in a broad sense, in understandings of the development process in developing countries.

The Framework of Analysis

The framework of analysis for the study is built upon the perspectives of the modes of production theory. This theory, which was most influential during the 1970s, focuses on how the capitalist mode of production coexists and interacts with pre-capitalist or non-capitalist modes of production. As such, it is more concerned with the peripheral society than the centre nation. Explanatory variables, therefore, also derive from the peripheral rather than the centre context. The theory raises two major criticisms of dependency theory. One is the tendency to attribute the dynamisms of the development process in the periphery to the metropolitan centre and, thereby, disregard possible dynamics at the local level. The other is the conceptual apparatus of dependency theory which focuses on the sphere of circulation instead of the sphere of production, and on a cooperation between a local and an international bourgeoisie instead of on class antagonisms. (Clammer 1975; Taylor 1979)

In the Tanzanian context, Hyden has argued that the problems of underdevelopment "stem from the inability of capitalism to produce the same dynamic transformation of the material base as it once did in Europe and America. Capitalism fails to break down the pre-capitalist barriers that still exist in Third World countries" (Hyden 1980:3-4). The pre-capitalist barriers are, however, not viewed as obstacles to development as in modernisation theory. Development is instead considered to be an ambiguous process which involves both potential risks

and losses, particularly for "those who have been only marginally affected by the forces of development and who have retained a reasonable degree of social and economic autonomy, for example, the many smallholder peasants in Africa" (Hyden 1980:4). For them, it is argued, development not only concerns the improvement of material conditions. It could also involve losses in respect of particular values, for instance the replacement of social autonomy by dependence on other social classes. Hyden points out the inadequacy of prevailing paradigms to analyse pre-modern societies that operate according to a different social logic from the western world. He argues that development on the African continent can only be fully grasped by reexamining the basic assumptions and conceptualisations of predominant analyses, and thereby transcending their conventional boundaries. A precondition for a self-sustained development process in Africa is, according to Hyden, the generation of an endogenous body of knowledge derived from the local experience. (Hyden 1980:248-260)

The generation of endogenous knowledge of the local dynamics is equally significant in the debate that searches for the missing link between culture and development in Africa and which includes the need for an indigenisation of the social sciences. This debate has questioned the universality of the dominant social science which, it is argued, was created to sustain the hegemonic capitalist world system. The view of development as incremental change in technological skills and efficiency, and the consequent instrumentalist view of the social sciences, has tended to encourage the neglect of critical normative issues in development and in development theories. (Ake 1982; Jinadu 1985; Mafeje 1988)

Similar views are expressed by educationists in criticisms of dependency theory. The application of dependency theory to educational issues has reduced education in developing countries to what Carnoy (1974) termed 'cultural imperialism'. Dependency theory disregards the possible liberating powers of the educa-

tional system, the dynamisms of the local socio-cultural and political development process, and the degree to which national governments are able to influence decision-making in an international setting. (McLean 1983; Holmes 1984; Coulby 1984) There is, therefore, a need for careful analyses both of the demand for and resistance to particular kinds and levels of education by the local population. (Ball 1981; Ball 1983)

The present study attempts to take these general criticisms into consideration by combining the perspective of the modes of production theory with historical-materialism as a model to understand societal development processes. The use of historical-materialism has, however, caused considerable controversy both in western historiography and in the context of the non-western social science debate during the 20th century. In the western context the debate has dealt with fundamental scientific questions, such as the integration of theory in historical analyses and the interrelationship between history and other social science disciplines. It has also focused on the actual interpretation of the model, in particular the extent to which it is deterministic and economistic. The application of the model to a non-western context added yet other issues, such as the relevance of some of its basic concepts in settings for which they were not constructed. (Kitching 1972; Shivji 1982:13-28; Tosh 1984:127-152; Iggers 1985:123-175)

As is well-known, historical-materialism interrelates the dimensions of society in what is called the base-superstructure model. The central and basic concept is the mode of production which comprises the forces of production (technology, labour, raw materials) and the relations of production (the appropriation and distribution of surplus). Defined in this way, the concept has been applied by modes of production theorists as either an economic concept or a concept which integrates an economic analysis with social and religious life or the role of the state. (See e.g. Suret-Canale 1969; Meillassoux 1977; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1980) At the abstract level, the identifica-

tion of particular modes of production, even in addition to those originating in Marx' writings such as Hyden's 'peasant mode of production', has led to a questioning of the validity of the concept for concrete analyses. A core issue has been whether the abstract concept can be expected to fit or be grasped in the empirical reality. (See e.g. Hindess & Hirst 1975; Jewsiewicki 1985; Kitching 1985)

This study applies the concept of mode of production in an empirical sense as the way in which a society undertakes and organises its production. It is related to the basic structure of society and functions in a dialectic interplay with the politico-ideological structure. The politico-ideological structure is generally considered to comprise the political, legal, religious and other non-economic institutions, such as the educational system. (See e.g. Larrain 1986) In controversies about the historical-materialistic model, the function of education has had no predominant part except, more implicitly, related to discussions of ideology and social consciousness. (See e.g. Larrain 1979; Larrain 1983) These two concepts are also central in contemporary debates about schooling or education in a capitalist context. (See e.g. Price 1986; Cole 1988)

Both the concept of mode of production and the historical-materialistic model are here applied only as guiding conceptual tools for the historical analysis. Their importance is considered to be their capability to direct our understanding and interpretation of tensions and contradictions, including the relationship between economic and non-economic variables in a particular historical context. The vantage point of the investigation is that historical causation is complex, consisting of both economic and non-economic factors. The different factors are considered to operate at different time-scales of historical development in a given society. This understanding of historical time was developed by the French historian Fernand Braudel. For Braudel, a historical sequence cannot be rooted in unilinear time, i.e. a single time-scale characterised by continuity of

historical development. Historical complexity demands the study of change alongside that of development which, again, presupposes a combined analysis of structures and events along different time-scales. Braudel, therefore, distinguished between the long term (*la longue durée*) to denote the fundamental conditions of material life, states of mind and the impact of the natural environment; the medium term to cover the forms of social, economic and political organisation; and the short term to reflect the time of the individual and *l'histoire événementielle*. (Braudel 1967; Braudel 1969. Cf. Tosh 1984:103; 127-151) In the present study both the socio-economic and the politico-ideological structures are viewed in the long term. An attempt is made to analyse how short and medium term events and policies affect their long term patterns.¹

Education as an institution is considered to be crucial to form and be influenced by the prevailing individual and social 'states of mind'. It is, moreover, considered to be able to permeate and influence social institutions and the economic and political spheres of society. It, therefore, operates along all three time dimensions. It can influence the socio-economic structure and the mode of production by imparting knowledge which improves the forces of production, for example new technology and skills. It can affect the relations of production by, for instance, creating awareness of particular socio-economic roles and relationships which could lead to a possible alteration in the appropriation of surplus. At the superstructural level, education can equally be a means of maintaining or changing particular political roles or power structures. At the individual or group level, education can function as a means of social mobility when formal education preconditions or coincides with particular socio-economic and political roles. It can act, simultaneously, as a social control mechanism when particular

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By contrast, there is a clear distinction in Marx's works between the application of the long term perspective in his economic writings and the short and medium term perspective in his social and political writings.

individuals or social groups are sorted out or have limited access to certain levels of education.

The following analysis of the function of education in the national development process in Tanzania before and after independence attempts to apply this dialectic understanding of the interaction between the educational system and the socio-economic and politico-ideological structures of society. The analysis combines both internal and external forces of development and seeks to identify and evaluate their character and relative importance in particular historical periods.

CHAPTER 3 PRE-INDEPENDENT TANZANIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE ECONOMY

In this chapter a long-term perspective on the impact of the external environment on pre-independent Tanzania is presented. It provides the economic and political background for the understanding of the formation of the national educational system which is discussed in Chapter 4. In the presentation, some of the basic assumptions of the 'liberal' and 'critical' traditions will be examined. The notion of pre-independent Tanzania as a 'static' society is investigated through an analysis of the nature of the interior of the territory during the pre-colonial period and of the relative impact of the German and British presence on local development. An attempt is, moreover, made to establish what social groups, both foreign and local, benefited from the economic development process and how this affected the patterns of social and geographical differentiation.

From the perspective of the applied framework of analysis, the most important consequence of the arrival of the German and the British powers was the attempt to establish a capitalist production pattern alongside the traditional one. The co-existence of these different production forms has, in the discussed traditions, termed pre-independent Tanzania either a 'dual' or 'underdeveloped' society. These understandings are questioned through an empirical analysis of the relative contributions of the different production forms to the total output and value of agricultural production from the end of the German period, before the First World War, until independence in 1961.

It will be argued that during the German and British presence, the territory was characterised by a trinity of agricultural production patterns of which the most dynamic was the African peasant sector. Although the sector became attached to the world economy, this did not, however, lead to a change of

its fundamental socio-economic characteristics which represented a continuation of pre-colonial rationales. This outcome underlines the importance of the socio-cultural or normative variable in the development process and also points to the relevance of the investigation of the contents and provision of formal education, as a means to influence the nature of values and skills, during the pre-independence period.

The Integration of Pre-Independent Tanzania into the World Economic System

Tanganyika's production for the world market was already of long standing when British rule was established after the First World War. Two important historical phases can be identified before then. One was the 'opening of the interior' since the beginning of the 19th century which attached local production to the Zanzibari economy. Another was the German period from the 1880s which attached local production to the western European, especially the German, economy. (See the chronology of e.g. Kimambo & Temu 1969; Iliffe 1979; Kaniki 1980; Coulson 1982)

In a general discussion about the understanding of the nature of pre-independent Tanzania and the impact of British rule, it is important to clarify how widespread the integration into the international exchange economy was and how it affected the local development process. Such an analysis would focus on the kinds of goods produced for exchange, its possible beneficiaries, and the extent to which the production caused disruption of local production patterns or advanced general conditions of life.

Seen in a long-term perspective, several important characteristics can be pointed out: the nature, pace and direction of change varied considerably before and after the impact of German and British rule. Nevertheless, it seems possible to establish a long-term continuity between the function of particularly advanced socio-economic or geographical areas before the beginning of the 19th century and their subsequent role in the

international exchange economy during the German and British periods.

The impact of long-distance trade on the interior of the territory

It is often maintained that the interior of pre-independent Tanzania developed relatively independently of external forces at least until the beginning of the 19th century. Its socio-economic and political forms of organisation were instead largely determined by the natural endowment of the major ecological zones in which numerous individual societies were located. The societies constituted local coherent unities within the territorial boundaries later set to form mainland Tanzania. They interacted with one another through trade and other forms of economic exchange undertaken locally, regionally and even long-distance with the Swahili towns on the coast. There seems to have been some correlation between the level of material advancement and the level of social and political organisation of the individual societies. Thus, societies that are recognised as having created appreciable surpluses¹ seemed also to be societies with the highest level of social differentiation and specialisation and with centralised political institutions. (Kimambo 1969; Kjekshus 1977; Kaniki 1980; Sheriff 1980)

The predominant economic forms were agriculture, pastoralism and hunting-gathering as well as some combination of the three, such as agro-pastoralism. Surplus-creating societies were either banana-producing, grain-producing or cattle-producing. Banana-based societies were located in the particularly well-endowed and populous mountainous areas of the north-western and north-eastern highlands with rich volcanic soils and also along the Lakes of Victoria and Nyasa, all of which were charac-

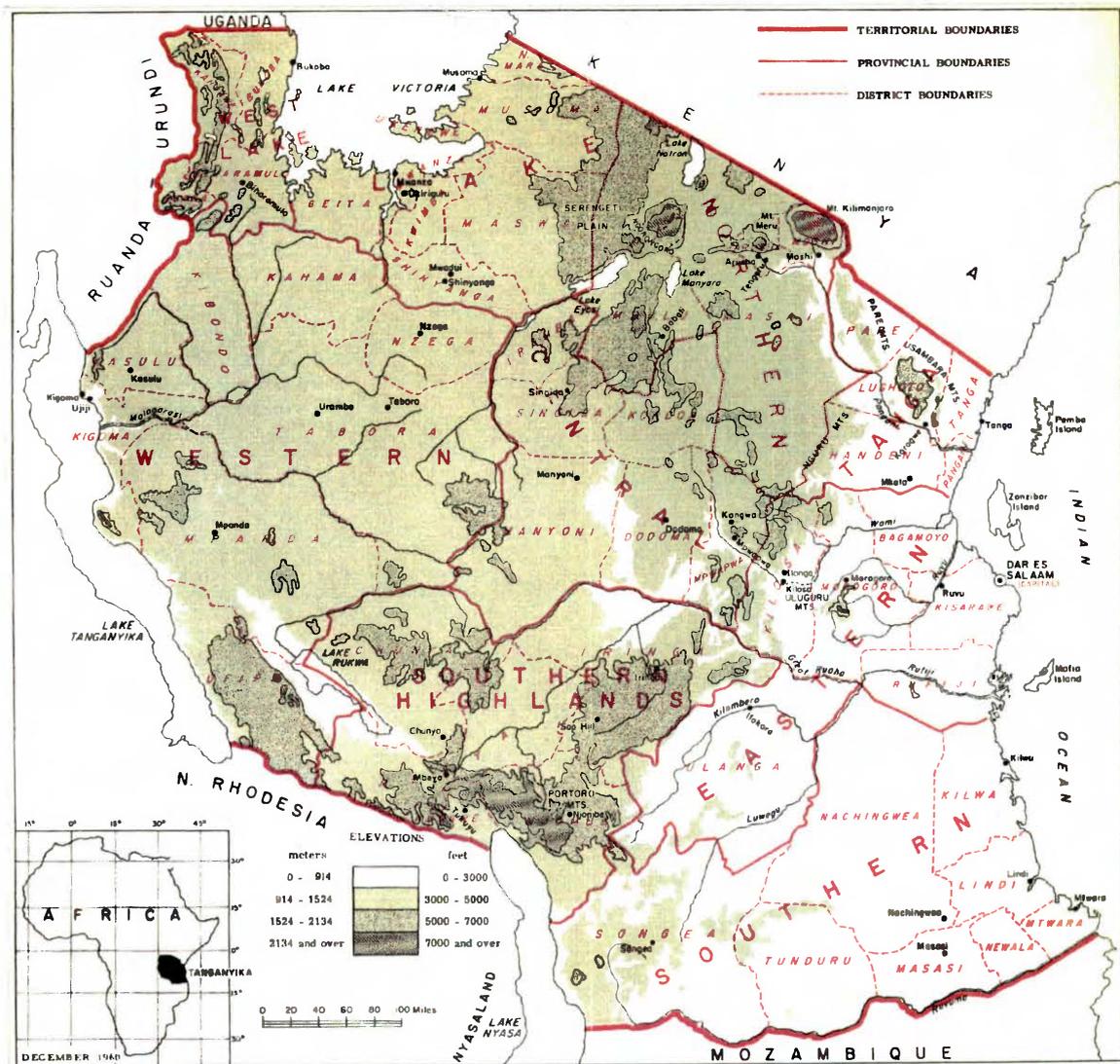
¹ Surplus involves the production of goods beyond the immediate subsistence needs of a population. It forms the basis of capital accumulation and investment in productive and non-productive activities by capital accumulators. As such, it is a relative concept determined by its social and historical context and cannot be easily quantified. (Cf. Koponen 1988:385-391)

terised by high and reliable rainfalls. (See Map 1) They were kinship societies in that common descent was the fundamental principle of political and social organisation. They were organised around the chief or the clan who possessed 'symbolic' powers based on royalty or ritual, and economic powers based on the creation and redistribution of surplus production according to the principle of reciprocity. They were stratified according to various social principles such as age-sets and patron-client relationships. Grain-based (e.g. millet and sorghum) societies were located in the drier and less populous lowland and high plateau areas of the south-eastern, south-western and central regions. As they were generally based on extensive cultivation which implied continuous migration to "colonise" new land (Iliffe 1979:15), these societies were relatively fragmented. They are considered not to have developed central political institutions and to have remained relatively unspecialised and undifferentiated. Elders seem to have had the crucial responsibility for long-term storage and redistribution of agricultural surplus. Implements were generally simple, the wooden or iron hoe being the most commonly applied, although some societies practised highly sophisticated forms of intensive cultivation techniques, such as ridging and manuring. Pastoralism was concentrated in the north-western and north-central regions, Sukumaland and the southern highlands in pastoralist, agro-pastoralist or mixed farming societies. Pastoral societies were particularly fragmented due to their migratory form. They are viewed as having been relatively undifferentiated and unspecialised except along age and gender lines. Surplus of cattle seems to have been exchanged for other necessities especially in times of famine and disease.¹ (Kjekshus 1977:26-69; Iliffe 1979:6-26; Sheriff 1980:11-31; Koponen 1988: 219-236, 241-257)

Two major external factors influenced this long-term

¹ This general outline makes no attempt to account for the rich variety of individual societies or prevailing, controversial research issues.

MAP 1: TANGANYIKA



SOURCE: The Economic Development of Tanganyika, Baltimore 1961.

historical development process during the 19th century. One was the 'opening of the interior' and its integration into the world market via the Zanzibari economy. The other was the invasion in the southern parts of the country of the military Ngoni. Both external factors seem to have relied on the long-distance trading system to maximise their influence on the indigenous societies. Both factors, similarly, contributed to a restructuring of the indigenous societies. Their impact varied in form depending on the degree to which the societies were exposed to the external change factors, and the degree to which they were capable of absorbing or moulding the external influences to fulfil local needs. (Iliffe 1979:40-77; Sheriff 1980:31-48; Koponen 1988:46-76)

In contrast to the interior, the coast had had commercial contacts with the outside world for more than two thousand years at the beginning of the 19th century. As city-states, it depended on the exchange of staples for manufactured goods through international trade. This coastal trade was extended inland during the 19th century along newly established long-distance trade routes which supplemented the existing route in the south-east from Kilwa to Lake Nyasa. Thus, the central route connected the coast off Zanzibar with the western plateau; the northern route from Tanga and Pangani covered the northern highlands; and the southerly route along the Ruaha valley to Unyamwezi and onwards incorporated the north-western highlands. (Alpers 1969; Iliffe 1979:40-52)

The long prevailing view that long-distance trade was created by and benefited only coastal merchants and Sultan Saiyid Said of Zanzibar and his successors has recently been challenged. Even though the Zanzibari economy was based on mercantile capitalism, 'the art of buying cheap and selling dear' and, so, depended on long-distance trade to increase wealth, it is now argued that the indigenous peoples also participated in the process in their self-interest. (Alpers 1969:46-56; Roberts 1968:v-xx; Koponen 1988:53-55)

Long-distance trade intensified the already existing regional trade and incorporated far more geographically remote areas into its network. The major export items of ivory and slaves were no longer procured from the coastal hinterlands but from the far interior. They were mostly exchanged for beads, cloth and firearms. The coastal hinterland and the coast itself, instead, supplied a range of other products, such as copal, copra, sesame, grain and wild rubber. (Alpers 1969; Iliffe 1979: 42-52)

The indigenous peoples participated in the exchange both as entrepreneurs (traders and slavers), employees (porters) and as objects (slaves). African chiefs, for instance in the southern part of the western plateau, grew economically and politically superior to their northern counterparts as they held a monopoly on the trade in ivory and slaves and as they acquired firearms. The northern part apparently provided the vast amount of caravan porters. This seems to have affected agricultural production when the trips to and from the coast coincided with the agricultural season. Slaves were procured from within and without the boundaries of the present mainland Tanzania in support of the clove plantation industry on Zanzibar and on coastal food plantations. The effect of the slave trade seems to have been particularly disruptive for the societies in the south and south-eastern parts which suffered severe depopulation and a consequent decline in agricultural production. The slave trade and its disruptive effects are also seen as a determining factor for the successful invasion of the Ngoni during the 19th century and of their subsequent dominance over the indigenous peoples in these areas. (Koponen 1988:76-80) The immediate coastal hinterlands, the north-eastern highlands and parts of the western plateau played a major role as food-crop producing areas for the booming coastal towns and for the caravans. It is an ongoing point of discussion whether the increased sale of food crops originated from additional growth of locally marketed production or from sales of otherwise normally long-term storage

of grains. (Koponen 1988:236-239) As on the western plateau, the exchange of slaves for firearms restructured the internal political balance between individual chieftaincies on Kilimanjaro and in Pare and Usambare. That same pattern also prevailed in the north-western highlands where chieftaincies, actively engaged in providing slaves from across the western boundaries, acquired political predominance due to the possession of firearms. (Roberts 1969; Iliffe 1979:52-77)

Thus, long-distance trade both provided new opportunities and altered prevailing modes of existence. It meant new outlet possibilities and means of spreading local industrial products, such as iron products (particularly hoes) from Buzinza and salt from Uvinza, but it also destroyed local cotton weaving and bark cloth industries both in the north-western, western and southern parts of the country. It disrupted agricultural production, especially in the south, south-east and western parts, but it also was a way of spreading the less labour intensive alternatives to the traditional food crops: maize, manioc and rice. (Iliffe 1979: 40-77) More substantially, the 'opening of the interior' was an opening to new socio-economic and political principles of organisation.

It has been questioned whether exchange undertaken in pre-colonial societies without a market institution can be considered equivalent to market-oriented trade based on rational calculations of comparative advantages. (Bohannan & Dalton 1962: 1-26; Godelier 1977) Instead, it is argued, goods should be seen as hierarchically classified into 'subsistence' products and 'luxury' products which were exchanged according to the principles of reciprocity and redistribution. Products like iron hoes and salt were recognised not only for their utilitarian, but also for their symbolic value before the long-distance trade of the 19th century. They were exchanged on a 'one-to-one' basis between representatives of particular social groups and were redistributed by the leaders of the individual societies. At the end of the century, however, the two separate

spheres of exchange of distinct categories of goods seemed to have broken down and the older principles had given way to clearer market principles. (Koponen 1988:102-110, 117-121)

A similar transformation apparently began in the political sphere. Chieftaincies, for instance on the western plateau and in the north-western and north-eastern highlands, adopted achievement criteria instead of or supplementing ascriptive criteria when selecting successors to their rulers. (Iliffe 1979:53ff; Koponen 1988:192-209) In particular instances tribute in labour was preferred to tribute in kind which, to some researchers, gave the patron-client relationship a slight resemblance to western feudal relationships and portorage a resemblance to colonial migrant wage-labour. (Iliffe 1979:45, 156) Other researchers, however, argue that the fundamental principle of redistribution was maintained also in societies relying on increased trade and firearms. Fundamentally, it is argued, long-distance trade did only marginally affect the long prevailing agricultural systems, production patterns and techniques. Similarly, social differentiation was mostly accentuated along the already predominant lines of differentiation. (Koponen 1988:236-241, 277-291, 376-82)

Socio-economic and regional differentiation under the Germans

The German presence from the 1880s altered the nature and pace of change in the interior of the area. In contrast to the Zanzibari sultans who operated as traders from the coast, the German government declared the area a protectorate in 1885. This merely involved protecting the possessions of the chartered German East African Company (DOAG) which were initially acquired by Carl Peters in 1884 and extended throughout the 1880s. A formal administration was established by 1891 with a governor at its head. The colony was divided into districts and administrative centres were set up inland along the caravan routes, though particularly in settled regions. District officers were responsible for law and order and for collecting the hut-and-poll tax

introduced in 1898. They had a high degree of power and autonomy, mainly due to lack of communication with the headquarters, and sought alliances with accommodating African leaders, particularly during the 1890s. The cooperation was based on mutual needs for political and military support. Where such cooperation was not achieved or where it collapsed, the Germans appointed akidas and jumbes - Arab or Swahili civil servants from the coast - to act as local administrators (for instance to collect taxes and try cases). (Iliffe 1972:8-9; Iliffe 1979:88-122; Temu 1980:100-101)

In order to cover the costs of the administration and to support industrial development in the metropole, the German rulers emphasised economic development of the territory. This process was sustained by new infrastructural developments, especially the construction of railways, roads and bridges which partially replaced the pre-colonial caravan routes and porters. New shipping facilities were also created at Dar es Salaam. The pre-colonial modes of production were partly altered in direction and partly supplemented with new economic forms. (Gwassa 1969; Coulson 1982:33-36)

The banana- and grain-producing areas, particularly in the north-western and north-eastern highlands and on the western plateau, became the key areas for societies which over time displayed the characteristics of African peasant production.

Peasant societies

are simultaneously involved in the local community and the wider state. Peasants live in small communities, cultivate land they own or control, rely chiefly on family labour, and produce their own subsistence while also supplying larger economic systems which include non-peasants. Characteristically, peasants belong to states which exploit them, and they practise a rustic variant of their rulers' high culture. (Shanin 1971; cf. Iliffe 1979:273)

The pre-colonial banana- and grain-producing societies had exchanged surpluses of traditional products for other necessities locally. Peasant societies instead turned traditionally grown products into crops for the world market in order to obtain cash, mostly to meet the demands of taxation. Generally,

however, cultivation tools and techniques remained the same, i.e. hoe cultivation based on family labour.

The predominant cash-crops during the German period were copra, cotton, groundnuts, coffee, sesame and rice. Robusta coffee was traditionally intercropped with bananas among the Haya of the north-western highlands. This production was increased during the German period when the British-built railway to Uganda, completed in 1901, provided easy market opportunities. Arabica coffee, on the other hand, was introduced among the Chagga on Kilimanjaro during the German period and gained importance in the British period. The Chagga marketed their production by way of the German constructed railway line from Tanga along the Pangani valley to Kilimanjaro, which was commenced in 1891. Cotton production was concentrated among the Sukuma on the western plateau and was marketed internationally along the central railway line which reached Lake Tanganyika at Kigoma from Dar es Salaam in 1914. The remaining products, i.e. copra, groundnuts, sesame and rice, originated from different societies along the central railway line, the coastal hinterland and from the south. (Iliffe 1971:18-19; Rodney 1980:132; Coulson 1982:36-39)

Peasant production was supplemented with foreign-owned plantation production and white settler production during the German period. Plantations had been established on the mainland already in the pre-colonial period as food producing entities for the caravans and cities. (Koponen 1988:64, 92-93) Production was undertaken by slave labourers who were allocated their own plots of land on the plantation to meet their subsistence needs. The plantations established during the German period were large-scale, capital-intensive industrial enterprises concentrated on sisal production. They were located along the northern railway line, along the coast and in the Usambaras and had far-reaching effects on the local societies since they relied on active policies of land alienation and introduced Africans to wage-labour along 'capitalist' principles. Wage

labour was recruited provisionally from the local area until the local peasantry managed to take up cash-crop production or food-crop production for the plantations and the coastal towns to meet their cash needs. Wage-labour was then provided through active policies especially from the former porter and slave producing areas, i.e. the western plateau, the south and the south-east. (Iliffe 1971:13-18; Iliffe 1979:151-163; Rodney 1980:134-142) The total wage-labour force employed in the plantations in 1913 has been estimated at about 92,000, out of a total wage-earning labour force of 172,000. (Rodney 1980:137) In contrast to the slave labour on the pre-colonial coastal plantations, migrant wage-labour remained attached to its home communities which covered the basic subsistence needs of the wider family as well as those of the labourer when he was not working on the plantations. This relationship is often interpreted as 'super-exploitation' as wages paid were not sufficient to satisfy the basic human needs of a labourer and his family. (Rodney 1980:137-139) Other researchers have also stressed migrant wage-labour as a once-and-for-all event in a man's life aiming at covering particular expenses, such as brideprice. (Iliffe 1971:17-18)

Like the plantations, white settler production relied on land alienation and African wage-labour. It was located particularly on the lower slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru as well as in the southern highlands and concentrated on products such as rubber, maize and coffee. The northern railway was extended from Mombo to Arusha in 1912 in support of white settler production but, significantly, a railway line was never planned in the southern highlands. White settler production was generally smaller in scale than the plantation industry. It introduced mechanised production techniques and intensive cultivation. The white settler community remained small in size during the German period, about 880 in 1913 (Rodney 1980:136) and apparently exerted a limited influence as a group on local development patterns. (Iliffe 1979:141-151; Rodney 1980:132-

134)

Table 3.1 shows the relative contribution of the various economic forms to agricultural exports from German East Africa in 1913. The figures for African peasant production are not equal to total African agricultural production as products were also marketed locally and covered subsistence needs. Some products, such as coffee and cotton, were produced by both African peasants and white settlers. As the figures cannot be broken down accordingly they are here included as African peasant production, undoubtedly the biggest producer at the time. African cotton production is for instance estimated to have constituted five-sevenths of the total in 1912 (Bald 1970; cf. Rodney 1980:136).

Table 3.1 Agricultural Exports from German East Africa 1913.
Quantity ('000 tons) and Value (£'000)

Produce	Quantity	Value	Percentage of total value
Sisal	20.9	536	30
Rubber	1.3	309	18
Hides and skins	3.4	275	15
Copra	5.5	117	7
Cotton	2.2	98	5.5
Groundnuts	9.0	96	5
Beeswax	0.6	71	4
Coffee	1.1	47	3
Sesame	1.5	20	1
Rice	0.8	9	0.5
Sugar	-	-	-
Others ¹	n/a	200	11
Total	46.3	1778	100

n/a not available.

1 Mainly minerals and forest products.

Source: Department of Agriculture, Annual Report (adapted from Leibuscher 1944). Here based on A. Coulson, Tanzania. A Political Economy, New York 1982:44.

As appears from the table, agricultural exports were rather evenly rated between plantation production of sisal which constituted about 45 percent of output and 30 percent of value, and African peasant production of copra, cotton, groundnuts, coffee, sesame and rice which constituted 43 percent of output and 22 percent of value. White settler production of rubber amounted to 18 percent of value, pastoral production of hides and skins to about 15 percent of value and hunting-gathering of beeswax to about 4 percent of value. The relative contribution of foreign versus African production in terms of value was thus equivalent. More than half of the exports went to Germany and Germany supplied about half of the imports into German East Africa at the time. (Rodney 1980:129) There were some mineral exports and wide-ranging local agricultural processing and other kinds of small-scale industries. (Rodney 1980:140-141)

The German presence reinforced the differentiation of the pre-colonial societies within the major ecological zones that had developed due to long-distance trade. A pattern of specialisation emerged between cash-crop producing, food-crop producing and labour-producing areas which roughly separated the north from the south along the central railway line. The cash-crop producing areas were located in the well-endowed northern highlands which were surplus-producing and actively incorporated into the long-distance trade system. As in the pre-colonial period, the food-crop producing areas were situated within reach of the coastal towns and plantations replaced caravans as major customers in similar geographical areas. The labour-producing areas came to overlap with the former slave and porter producing areas in the south and on the western plateau.

The German situation seems to show early features of industrial wage-labour but not a fully-fledged proletarianisation of the groups involved. Even though the wage-labour force was created out of compulsion and need rather than choice, it did not lose its rights or control of land. In the same way, food and cash crop production did not lead to social differentiation

along class lines. Although some African peasants, particularly chiefs, profited from coffee production, they did not in general become capitalists. Production methods remained the same and labourers were not landless.

Social differentiation instead began to appear along racial lines. The economic activities that secured the international exchange economy, such as banking, financing and import/export services, rested on and benefited German and other European interests. (Iliffe 1979:47-48; Rodney 1980:139-140) Retail trade, which followed in the wake of the international exchange and moved inland with the German administration, was monopolised by the growing Asian community. Arab low and middle level civil servants were gradually replaced by Africans, whereas German officials took over at the higher level. (Iliffe 1979:138-141, 208-210)

Economic policies and agricultural development under the British

An apparent difference between the German and British presence was that British rule was established under international supervision. Tanganyika was declared a mandatory area under the League of Nations in 1922 and an international trusteeship of the United Nations in 1946. Both the mandate agreement of 1922 and the trusteeship agreement of 1946 accorded the British administration with full legislative, executive and judicial power. The administration was responsible for law and order in the area and was to secure the rights and interests of the local population vis-a-vis the interests of British and other member states of the League of Nations and the United Nations. The mandate agreement stressed that the administration was to "promote the material, moral and social progress" of the local population (Article 3). The trusteeship agreement emphasised that the administration was to promote the "political, economic, social and educational advancement" of the local population (Article 10), develop free political institutions and participation by the local population in local and national political

decision-making processes (Article 6).¹

During the British period, a formal administrative structure was set up which stretched from the Secretary of State in London to the local governor in Dar es Salaam and via the local secretariat in Dar es Salaam through the provincial and district administration to the village headman or chief. Until 1922, the British administration adopted the German system of direct rule through district officers and akidas. After 1922, an active policy of indirect rule was pursued which involved the integration of indigenous political systems into the British administration. By 1931, native administrations were established over almost the whole area run by identified or created tribal chiefs. They comprised the native treasury which collected taxes, the native courts with judicial power, and the native authority with legislative and executive powers. They were supervised by the district or provincial officers of the British administration who could issue orders and otherwise intervene in native affairs. (Hailey 1938:434-443; Iliffe 1979:318-341) In London the Colonial Office was advisory to the Secretary of State who was responsible to the cabinet and ultimately to parliament. In Dar es Salaam the governor acted through the Executive and, since 1926, the Legislative Council. As from 1948 the Executive Council was subordinate to the Legislative Council. Each council contained representatives of the main interest-groups in the area, essentially of agriculture, commerce and the missions. They also included the heads of government departments who constituted a majority during the whole period. There was no direct African representation until 1945. As from 1955 unofficial representation was equally divided between African, European and Asian interests. In London the Secretary of State had the power to legislate for the colonies. Once local legislative structures had been developed, the great bulk of legislation was produced locally in a context

¹ Both the mandate agreement and the trusteeship agreement are reprinted in Chidzero (1961).

where the governor controlled the votes of the official majority and the Secretary of State had the power to veto. (Brett 1973:56-58. See also Hailey 1938; Morris-Hale 1969)

Colonial Development and Welfare Acts stated the fundamental economic principles underlying British rule. Policies rested on the belief that development should be based upon locally generated revenue. The British interest in access to particular raw materials and an enlarged market could encourage British investments in areas that would support agricultural and industrial development in Britain. (Colonial Development Act 1929) After the Second World War, British investments were allowed to stimulate local production and efficiency as improved social and economic conditions were, by then, seen to improve the colony's general position in international trade and, so, would increase British returns from the colony. (Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940)

British financial policy aimed at balanced budgets, the current revenue deriving from local taxation and duties as in the German period. The system of indirect rule provided the traditional authorities (chiefs or native councils) with an independent source of finance in support of the development of local services, such as roads and education. It constituted about 25 percent of the hut-and-poll tax. (Brett 1973:228) Economic policies aimed at restoring the productive potential of the area which was severely damaged during the First World War. Before the Second World War, particularly during 1926-32, they concentrated on infrastructural development; from 1932 the emphasis was to increase the agricultural output. After the Second World War, there was a more active 'development' policy which involved British investments in widespread agricultural schemes to improve production in various parts of the country. From the mid-1950s, attempts were made to introduce capitalist farming in various ways. (Ruthenberg 1964:45-103; Brett 1973:141-148)

With minor variations and changes over time, the production pattern during the British period remained that established by the Germans before the First World War. African peasant cash-crop production of coffee was reinforced among the Haya in the north-western highlands and the Chagga in the north-eastern highlands. Cotton was concentrated among the Sukuma on the western plateau. Cashew nuts were added to the groundnut production for export and cotton and coffee also spread to the southern highlands. Marketing, especially of cotton, was facilitated by an extension of the central railway line from Tabora to Mwanza on Lake Victoria in 1928. (Iliffe 1979:274-276, 286-291; Rodney 1980:146-147) The German sisal plantation industry was extended along the central line to the Morogoro district and was taken over by different European nationalities, mostly British who owned 60 percent, Greeks 14 percent and Asians 10 percent at independence. (Ruthenberg 1964:13-15) New plantation crops were introduced, particularly tea in the southern highlands and sugar in the north-eastern highlands, but remained relatively insignificant compared to sisal. Concessions were given to small-scale white settlement but this community, nevertheless, remained small in size throughout the British period, by 1938 numbering 9,345. (Brett 1973:221) Like the Germans the British did not favour a railway line to the southern highlands. White settler production was instead facilitated by road development and motor transport, partly supported by the traditional authorities. (Brett 1973:227-228; IBRD 1961:22) In total, the area provided by land alienation for the plantation and estate agriculture amounted to 2.5 or 3 million acres between 1956 and 1958, having been below 2 million acres in 1949.¹ The number of personal and corporate holders was around 1,500. Twenty-nine percent of the alienated area has been estimated not to be in use in 1961. The total area corresponded to about one percent of Tanganyika's land area and

¹ Hyden (1980:47) indicates 2.5 million acres in 1958, whereas Bowles (1980:184) indicates 3 million acres in 1956.

10 percent of the arable land, frequently that of higher grade soil. (Ruthenberg 1964:15) In comparison, the total land area under African cultivation has been estimated at 4½ million acres in 1956. (Hyden 1980:47; Bowles 1980:184) Of a total of 400,000 African workers in 1960, 199,000 were employed in agriculture, i.e. mostly on plantations and estates, and 38 percent of all wages earned by Africans were paid to them. (Ruthenberg 1964:17)

Table 3.2 lists the major areas and number of people involved in the kind of development schemes which were initiated by the British after the Second World War.

Table 3.2 Major Development Schemes by Location in Tanganyika in 1952. Area and People Involved

Location of Scheme	Approximate area covered by its operations in sq. miles	Number of inhabitants affected in individual area
Sukumaland	20,000	1,115,000
Uluguru	500	50,000
Usambara	8,500	220,000
Bukoba	6,000	300,000
Masailand	23,000	57,000
Mbulu	6,000	150,000
North Mara	1,500	110,000
Pare	<u>3,000</u>	<u>85,000</u>
	<u>68,000</u>	<u>2,087,000</u>

Source: Tanganyika, Report for the Year 1952:203.

The schemes represented far-reaching reforms in the agricultural and economic spheres and aimed at achieving higher social standards through mass education efforts. (See further in Chapter 7) The specific agricultural schemes were intended to increase agricultural production by alleviating what was considered to be negative effects on the land of 'traditional' production

patterns and techniques, population pressure and cattle. They were imposed through administrative ordinances. Local authorities were instructed to issue agricultural regulations which were implemented under the supervision of officers from the agricultural department. They fell into three categories: anti-erosion measures (such as compulsory tie-ridging and terracing, destocking and control of grazing) as in Uluguru, Mbulu, Usambare and Pare; improved methods of cultivation (such as destruction of old cotton plants and mulching of coffee) and of animal husbandry (such as cattle-dipping) as in Sukumaland and Bukoba; prevention of famine (compulsory production of some famine crop such as cassava or groundnuts) as in Usambara, Sukumaland and the coastal strip. Similar regulations were also attempted before the Second World War on a more piecemeal basis, for instance related to coffee production in Bukoba and Kilimanjaro in the 1920s and 1930s and to cotton in Sukumaland in the 1930s. (Cliffe 1972a:17-18; Ruthenberg 1964:48-58) The Sukumaland scheme also involved resettling approximately 30,000 people on virgin land. In Hyden's view, this allowed for the five-fold increase in cotton production between 1947 and 1961 (see Table 3.5). The production increase was primarily achieved by extending the acreage under cultivation rather than changing the farming system. (Hyden 1980:58-59)

In the late 1950s, similar measures were undertaken by agricultural extension on the principle of 'persistent persuasion'. The objective of an increased cash-crop production was attempted by appealing to the peasants' self-interest in cash-crops as a means of increased cash and social status. Demonstration farms were set up with the aim of popularising simple innovations. There was also a deliberate attempt to establish a gradually expanding modern sector by applying modern farming techniques to both food and cash crop production. Parts of the southern and north-eastern highlands became key areas for large-scale, intensive, mechanised food crop production of maize and wheat by relatively well-off African farmers who hired African

labour and who provided hire service of equipment for other households. Other schemes involved relatively unsuccessful attempts at large-scale, 'capitalist' production of beef and groundnuts by European farmers and relatively unsuccessful measures to introduce plantation crops among African farmers. (Ruthenberg 1964:60-103; Iliffe 1971:36-42)

Tables 3.3-3.6 summarise the relative development pattern of African peasant production, foreign-owned plantation industry and white settler production. The figures were mostly compiled by the agricultural department and should be used and interpreted with care. Most reliable are the figures for the export crops which passed through official marketing organisations. Less reliable are the figures for crops marketed locally and recorded for tax purposes. This production was likely to have been higher as trading was done outside official markets and as part of the production was consumed by its producers. (Ruthenberg 1964:39) The World Bank has estimated that the proportion of the total output which did not enter the market economy amounted to 40 percent in 1958. (IBRD 1961:26)

This reservation affects the interpretation of the development of the African peasant sector and white settler production. The African peasant sector combined subsistence with monetary activities. Outside the sector were cultivators who did not engage in monetary activities at all, and commercial farmers who relied totally on monetary incomes. Their relative size and contribution cannot be interpreted from the available materials, except in an impressionistic way. The available statistics, moreover, do not list the same range of products and individual crops are not always broken down between the different sectors or appear only as rough estimates. Throughout the period, different crops were produced by several sectors and cultivated according to different cultivation methods. An impression of their relative distribution appears in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Estimated Agricultural Production in Tanganyika in 1954. Acreage ('000 acres), Production ('000 tons) and Value (£'000)

Produce	Acreage		Production		Value ¹	
	African	Non-African	African	Non-African	African	Non-African
Maize, millet, sorghum	3,329	85	903	32	15,474	648
Root crops ²	1,266	-	2,542	-	23,387	-
Beans and pulses	716	15	231	5	4,133	146
Bananas	419	-	507	-	4,981	-
Rice (paddy)	167	1	58	1	1,332	13
Wheat	41	15	11	9	260	248
Groundnuts	193	3	25	1	1,453	25
Coffee (hulled)	93	29	13	9	5,120	4,607
Tea	-	13	-	1.5	-	843
Sugar ³	3	8	-	12	-	89
Non-indigenous fruits & veg.	9	3	7	2	99	29
Sesame ⁴	55	-	6	-	284	-
Copra	78	53	7	4	380	196
Sisal	-	451	5	167	276	12,621
Seed cotton	287	1	55	1	3,495	6
Tobacco	7	7	2	2	416	384
Papain	-	3	-	-	-	37
Pyrethrum	-	3	-	0.5	-	115
Total	6,663	690	4,372	247	61,090	20,007

1 Including consumption by producers.

2 Total production calculated on the basis of dried roots.

3 Excluding production of sugar cane by African farmers for direct consumption.

4 Excluding acreage for hedge sisal.

Source: UN Ninth Report of the Committee on Rural Economic Development of the Trust Territories, T/1544, June 1960. Here based on H. Ruthenberg, Agricultural Development in Tanganyika, Berlin 1964:18.

The table suggests that wheat, coffee, copra and tobacco were, generally, evenly produced by Africans and non-Africans in 1954. The estimates presented below are based on sisal as a plantation crop throughout the period as African production accounted for only 6 percent in 1960 (Ruthenberg 1964:18). Total cotton production and around 70 percent of coffee production are considered to be African peasant crops before the depression (Report by Sir Sydney Armitage-Smith 1932:10).

As displayed in Table 3.4, the generally equivalent agricultural export figures of the African peasant sector and the plantation industry in 1913 (see Table 3.1) were recaptured in 1929 when each sector accounted for 45 percent of the production by value. During the 1920s and the depression years of 1933-35, the African peasant sector was relatively more important than the plantation sector.

Table 3.4 Relative Proportion among Sectors of Agricultural Exports from Tanganyika 1923-37 (%). Value (£'000)

	1923	1925	1927	1929	1931	1933	1935	1937
African	61	55	48	42	45	49	49	44
Sisal	25	26	40	45	49	40	40	50
Other non-African	14	19	12	10	9	11	11	6

Source: Tanganyika, Annual Reports and Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports 1923-31. Here based on E.A. Brett, Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa, London 1973:222.

As suggested by Table 3.5 and Table 3.6, the plantation industry grew in importance from the late 1930s, particularly as a result of favourable world market prices for sisal which became the single most important product. In terms of output, sisal accounted for between 40 and 73 percent of total export production between 1939 and 1961. The highest figure was in 1946 when the Second World War had seriously disturbed African peasant production. The lowest figure was in 1956. In terms of value, sisal ranged from 34 to 61 percent of the total value, the

highest figure again being in 1946 and the lowest in 1957. The general trend after the Second World War was an increase in the production but a decrease in the value of sisal due to competition and price fluctuations on the world market. African peasant production accounted for most of the remaining share as white settler production constituted only a few percent of the total value throughout the 1950s.

Table 3.5 Agricultural Exports from Tanganyika 1939-1961.
Quantity ('000 tons)

Produce	1939	1946	1950	1952	1954	1956	1959	1961
Sisal	93	112	119	158	168	186	209	207
Cotton lint	12	4	7	11	12	28	31	30
Coffee	17	10	15	19	19	22	20	25
Tea	0,2	0,6	0,5	1,0	1,6	2,0	2,7	3,2
Tobacco, unmanufactured	0,4	0,9	1,1	0,6	0,4	0,1	0,3	0,5
Pyrethrum	-	0,6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Groundnuts, cashew nuts	4	0,4	6,6	20,9	18,8	31,8	45,3	43,4
Grains ¹	19	0,7	-	4,8	0,1	111	8,1	2,5
Fruits and vegetables ²	0,1	2,0	8,2	38,4	11,2	33,4	25,1	7,2
Seeds ³	5	0,9	12,2	30,5	45,8	37,3	39,1	32,9
Vegetable oils and fats	10	1	1,2	5,8	3,2	5,2	5,8	-
Hides & skins, mangrove bark	4	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rubber, gums, beeswax	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sugar	4	0,3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other products	-	-	10,5	1,6	4,4	4,6	7,4	0,8

1 Rice, maize, millet and sorghums. Wheat (1946).

2 Papain. Onions (1939, 1946). Beans, peas, manioc (1950-1961).

3 Sesame. Castor, sunflower and cotton seeds (1950-1961).

Note: Deliveries inside the East African market are included in the figures.

Sources: Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports. IBRD, The Economic Development of Tanganyika, Baltimore 1961:table 3. Statistical Abstracts 1961. Here adapted from H. Ruthenberg, Agricultural Development in Tanganyika, Berlin 1964:42.

Table 3.6 Agricultural Exports from Tanganyika 1946-1961.
Value (£'000)

Produce	1946	1950	1952	1954	1957	1959	1961
Sisal	3,916	11,856	21,709	10,902	9,482	13,057	14,028
Cotton lint	376	1,446	4,679	3,357	6,578	6,657	6,794
Coffee	676	3,472	5,541	9,992	6,969	5,745	6,762
Tea	78	90	303	504	601	771	1,337
Tobacco, unmanufac- tured	94	233	135	67	74	60	81
Pyrethrum	87	53	41	40	83	15	-
Groundnuts, cashew nuts	8	209	1,168	736	2,587	2,347	2,037
Grains ¹	4	-	11	-	12	8	5
Fruits and vegetables ²	232	9	40	12	7	13	8
Seeds ³	16	486	1,500	720	1,458	787	983
Vegetable oils and fats	136	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hides & skins, mangrove bark	267	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rubber, gums, beeswax	488	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sugar	7	-	-	-	-	-	-

1 Rice, maize, millet and sorghums. Wheat (1946).

2 Papain and onions (1946). Beans, peas, pulses, cassava root (1950-1961).

3 Sesame (1946). Castor and sunflower seeds (1950-1961).

Note: Trade with Kenya and Uganda is excluded from the years 1950-1961.

Sources: Department of Agriculture, Annual Report for the Year 1946:7. Statistical Abstract 1957:26-27; 1962:66-68.

In 1954, sisal production amounted to 63 percent of the total agricultural exports and 41 percent of the total value according to Table 3.5 and Table 3.6. These figures support the UN 1954 estimates that African farms accounted for 75 percent of the total agricultural product (see Table 3.3), 65 percent of the produce offered for sale and 55 percent of the exports. (Ruthenberg 1965:18) According to Table 3.6, the value of exports from the African peasant sector amounted to 57 percent when including the total value of coffee (excluding tobacco).

It was 43 percent when including around half the value of coffee and tobacco (cf. Table 3.3). Even if the actual contribution of the African peasant sector to agricultural exports may have been lower than the UN estimates, there can be no doubt about its central importance for agricultural output as a whole even in a year which was above the mean for sisal production during the period.

It has been estimated that at least half the peasants in Tanganyika were engaged in cash-crop production at independence, including about 400,000 coffee farmers primarily in the Kilimanjaro and Bukoba areas, 250,000-300,000 cotton farmers in Sukumaland and 60,000-80,000 pyrethrum farmers. (Ruthenberg 1964:18) The larger part added cash-crop to subsistence production and did not innovate or change existing forms of cultivation. This is viewed as a 'rational policy' by the World Bank as the terms of trade between food and cash crops were highly variable and the margin beyond starvation narrow. Besides, specialisation would have depended on improved transport facilities and increased storage in many areas and on increased efficiency in food production (IBRD 1961:26).

Cash-crop production did, however, reinforce the regional and social differentiation discernible at the end of the German period as the central railway line virtually divided a richer north from a poorer south. Areas within the north and the south, which overlapped with the better endowed ecological areas that were integrated into long-distance trade during the pre-colonial period, were islands of relative affluence in a sea of relative poverty due to cash-crop production. Thus Kilimanjaro, Bukoba, Mwanza and Tukuyu were relatively better-off than for instance Songea, Biharamulo, Musoma and Singida. (Rodney 1980:155)

Money incomes varied and income differentials increased among the African peasantry during the period due to the location and nature of cash-crop production. Cashew nut growers in the southern region have been estimated to have added

only around shs. 50-100 to their annual incomes in the 1950s. (Bowles 1980:187) In comparison, 60 percent of the Kilimanjaro coffee growers are estimated to have earned around shs. 75 annually in the depression years and some 4 percent (520 persons) up to shs. 4,000. (Rodney 1980:157) In 1961 an average 3-acre holding in Kilimanjaro was estimated to yield gross returns of shs. 1,880, the average family income being shs. 1,463. A 1963 survey of Sukumaland estimated the average gross yield at about shs. 2,000, the average farm income being shs. 1,500. (Ruthenberg 1964:25-26) African money incomes appeared to have averaged roughly shs. 120 per capita in 1957/58, high income coffee growers in Kilimanjaro and Meru having secured around shs. 940. (IBRD 1961:27) Most peasants invested their cash income in bride-wealth, school fees, funeral expenses, cattle or commodities from the exchange economy, such as kerosene. (Ruthenberg 1964:37; Hyden 1980:18) Some also invested in the market economy per se, for instance in mechanised production (oxen, ploughs, tractors, coffee hullers), intensive cultivation (fertilisers, insecticides, labour) and marketing (motor transport, shop). (Ruthenberg 1964:24, 28)

Social differentiation also intensified along racial lines, Asians and Europeans dominating the modern sector. Of the 8.7 million African population in 1957, less than 0.5 million were in paid employment, of whom around 199,000 on agricultural estates. Asians, who numbered around 100,000, continued to monopolise retail trade and some established themselves as capitalist owners of plantations. The 20,000 Europeans were primarily administrators and technicians but a small number were owners or managers of agricultural estates or engaged in commerce and industry. (IBRD 1961:12)

Continuity and Change in the Light of a Peasant Mode of Production

The understanding of pre-independent Tanzania as a dual economy presumes a duality between a traditional subsistence sector and

a modern sector of the economy. Cash-crop production is understood as a 'modern' activity. The subsistence sector contributes to the development of the modern sector by providing migrant wage-labour for the plantations and seasonal labour for white settlers out of its 'underutilised' labour force. The understanding of pre-independent Tanzania as underdeveloped, on the other hand, presumes the predominance of the capitalist mode of production which absorbs and transfers the locally generated surplus to the metropole. (Cf. Chapter 2. See also Seidman 1972)

The UN 1954 estimates substantiated by Table 3.5 and Table 3.6 hardly support such views. The UN estimates imply that in the late British period, there was a relative distribution of total agricultural production between 40 percent subsistence production, 35 percent African peasant production and 25 percent plantation/white settler production. The African peasant sector crossed the boundary between 'traditional' and 'modern'. It combined subsistence with cash-crop activities but mostly maintained traditional forms of organisation. Some African peasants did become 'modern' farmers. They relied totally on the monetary sector and applied 'capitalist' forms of production. Their number is uncertain, but it seems acceptable to conclude from the literature that their percentage was small. Assuming that the UN relative distribution is a fair view of the reality, it seems problematic to operate with a dual situation for pre-independent Tanzania. Rather, the predominant agricultural sector seems to have consisted of three units, i.e. the subsistence, the peasant and the plantation/white settler sectors, each accounting for roughly one third of the total produce. They each produced agricultural surpluses which were exchanged or marketed locally and internationally. The total production was sufficient to sustain population growth during the period.

The understanding of pre-independent Tanzania as 'underdeveloped' and dominated by the capitalist mode of production is

equally problematic. Only around a third of the total produce relied directly on a capitalist production form. The subsistence sector was untouched except for the supply of migrant wage-labour and the indirect appropriation of surplus. The African peasant sector on the whole did not become capitalist although it engaged in monetary activities. 'Underdevelopment' was defined in Chapter 2 as structural underdevelopment, peripheral countries growing poorer as the centre nations grew richer. The concept also covers the relative poverty of particular geographical areas and districts compared to the relative affluence of others within the peripheral country. The literature seems to substantiate that there was an intensified regional and social differentiation in pre-independent Tanzania and that there were capital transfers both from the metropole to the colony and from the colony to the metropole. (IBRD 1961:22, 43; Bowles 1980:175-185) The underlying explanatory concept of 'surplus' in this case presumes a modern market rationality.

Hyden and others have argued that the predominant social logic in pre-independent Tanzania was still largely pre-modern. The capitalist mode of production coexisted with the peasant mode of production, the latter operating according to a social principle which emphasised social reproduction of the family unit rather than economic production for the territorial unit. (Hyden 1980:1-66) Within the framework of such logic the concepts of 'underutilisation' of labour and appropriation of 'surplus', as applied above, would be alien. According to Hyden the scarce production factor was labour. Peasants would therefore consider how to invest their labour time according to the perceived needs of the family unit, and not the probable gains on the market. In this sense labour was fully utilised when the needs of the family unit, however basic they might be, were satisfied. Peasants did not operate according to an input-output scale of hypothetical labour productivity. The purpose of production was the satisfaction of human needs, not the production of surplus per se.

Such argument does not discount the presence of the capitalist mode of production and its distortion of the local development patterns. There undoubtedly was an extraction of labour power and surplus and a stronger social differentiation. It points, however, to the barriers and limitations of capitalist development and indirectly to the local situation as being characterised by continuity as much as change. There is a long historical line between the pre-colonial societies, which operated according to the principle of reciprocity and redistribution and were located in different ecological zones that partly determined the nature and size of surpluses, and the regionally differentiated geographical areas at independence which emphasised social reproduction of kinship organisation. Areas marginally incorporated in long-distance trade were areas marginally incorporated into the colonial economy. This lack of integration is often explained by a lack of infrastructure or that 'capitalism did not develop enough'. It is also viewed as 'cultural traditionalism'. (Cf. Chapter 2)

If the purpose of development is capitalist development, then resistance to change or innovation leading to capitalist development would display a lack of political or state power as much as it might be a demonstration of 'cultural traditionalism'. Existing research provides ample evidence of African peasants reacting against coercive agricultural change when it intervened in their production methods, their perceived balance between subsistence and cash-crop production or expected outcome. These examples range from interference by British agricultural officers in coffee cultivation techniques in Bukoba in the late 1920s which led to a political crisis in the late 1930s; politicisation of marketing organisations on Kilimanjaro in the 1920s and 1930s and of land distribution in the 1940s; non-response to demands of destocking in Sukumaland in the 1920s and Mbulu in the 1950s; to resistance to proposed soil erosion measures in Uluguru, Usambara and Pare in the 1950s. (Cliffe 1972a; Hyden 1980:49-62; Coulson 1982:52-55) As has been

demonstrated, the British officials changed their agricultural policies in the mid and late 1950s from coercive to persuasive techniques of introducing innovation in order to increase cash-crop production. Peasant reaction was considered, for instance by the IBRD mission, to be in many cases economically rational.

The 'state of mind' exhibited by peasants in their interaction with British officials preserved 'traditional' agricultural practices at the expense of 'modern' agricultural practices when the latter coincided with the fulfilment of the social principle according to which the peasants operated. The peasants continued to invest primarily in the social sphere rather than in economic activities. This, however, does not mean simply that the peasants had a circumscribed or traditional social universe. African peasants allied themselves with the emerging political leaders in the movement for political independence as a territorial political response to coercive agricultural change. (Cliffe 1972a:17-24; Pratt 1976:19-35) In this movement the 'traditional' socio-economic 'state of mind' converged with a 'modern' socio-political 'state of mind' as the political leaders represented the few well-educated Africans who were produced by the formal educational system during the British period.

The persistence of the principle of social reciprocity and redistribution and the lack of transformation of the predominant production forms may, however, also indicate the failure of the British administration to have successfully applied the educational system as a means of developing and changing production skills and attitudes among the African population. The social differentiation process which accelerated during the period, and which reinforced the racial division of the earlier period as Europeans and Asians dominated the modern sector of the economy, indicate that such 'modern' skills and attitudes were, nonetheless, prevalent at the time. Seen in relation to the argument in the 'liberal' and 'critical' traditions that Africans pressed

for modern education, it becomes important to clarify how education was provided for both the African and non-African communities in support of the development process.

CHAPTER 4 EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES AND PRACTICE IN PRE-INDEPENDENT TANZANIA

This analysis of the development of the formal educational system in pre-independent Tanzania pays particular attention to the British period. Views on and stipulated purposes for education are analysed as they appeared in policy papers, plans and other educational documentation issued by the Colonial Office in London and by the British administration in Tanganyika. The stipulated educational objectives are related to the broader goals for the socio-economic and political development process in the British dependencies. A distinction is made between the metropolitan and the local policy formulation and views on the one hand, and policy formulation and implementation on the other. The examination of this distinction demonstrates, it will be shown, the importance of the local policy-making process which reflected the combination of social, economic and political forces in the territory at the time.

Of particular interest is the British administration's role in the relative provision of formal education for both Africans and non-Africans. The analysis of non-African education is concentrated on the European and Indian communities who were economically and politically most influential among the immigrant communities. The British administration's provision and financing of European and Indian education, particularly at the post-elementary level, is considered to be crucial to understand and explain the design and development of formal education for Africans and the extent to which the formulated purposes for the development of the African population were fulfilled.

Contrary to the argument of the 'liberal' tradition, it will here be maintained that the British administration actively favoured the education of the non-African communities and, thereby, limited the participation of Africans in the modernisation process which took place after the Second World War. This outcome is seen to have conflicted with African expectations and

demands for economic and political opportunities and to have strengthened their participation in the movement for national independence, a result which indicated both the liberating powers of formal education for the few and a reaction against controlled education for the many.

The Introduction of Formal Education into Pre-Independent Tanzania

Formal education was introduced into pre-independent Tanzania by missionary organisations of different denominations which had established themselves in the territory since the 1840s. It supplemented traditional forms of education through which knowledge about the prevailing norms and practices of the indigenous societies was passed on by elders to new generations. Of particular importance were the initiation rites which were undertaken consecutively during the years of adolescence. The common purpose of the traditional educational activities was to transmit a common culture and the prevailing division of labour. As social and functional differentiation was mostly based on sex and age, education fulfilled an essentially cohesive role. (See e.g. Zanolli 1971:33-40)

The educational activities undertaken by the missionary organisations introduced competing values into the indigenous societies as the primary objective was to 'civilise' and christianise the heathen populations. The missionary activities expanded geographically under the protection of the formal German administration in the 1890s. Although the predominant religious aim was maintained, education also came to include secular purposes, in the forms of an academic curriculum and vocational activities. The secular orientation became more important after 1900 as the German administration became involved in the formulation of educational policy for the area and began to support mission schools financially. (Oliver 1952; Wright 1976)

The German administration's interest in education derived from its growing needs for middle layers of administrative personnel that could provide a proper level of communication, and technical personnel that could secure economic development in the territory. The first government school was established in Tanga in 1892. It was followed by others which were set up on the coast and, after 1897, in the interior where the mission schools were mainly concentrated. The education in government schools was non-religious and, unlike the mission schools, did not directly attempt to assimilate the local populations to western values. Due to the location of the schools on the coast and to a policy which emphasised Kiswahili as the language of communication in the area, the government schools, in fact, initially supported the spread of Islam as the recruited students were mostly Arabs or Indians who became employed as akidas in the district offices. From 1896, (African) headmen were obliged by the German administration to send their sons to the Tanga school and, from 1899, when the written Kiswahili script changed from Arabic to Latin, the headmen and sons of headmen were also trained in mission schools. These measures diminished the relative Arab influence and were, at the end of the German period, also reinforced by the deliberate adoption by the missionary organisations of education as an active means to curtail the influence of Islam. (Koponen n.d.)

The spread of formal education was slow during the period due to scepticism by, if not resistance from, the local populations. The missionary societies initially recruited many of their converts from marginalised social groups (for instance slaves), whereas the students of the government schools came from the Arab and Indian communities rather than the African. In the course of the period, however, education became a means for Africans to change their positions in the traditional societies which were based on ascriptive criteria. For some, education led to occupations in the middle position between the colonial administration and the local rulers, while for others,

it became a way to escape from the forced labour demands of the German administration related to, for instance, the construction of railways and the plantation industry. (Ploeg 1977)

The quality of education varied in both the government and the mission systems and the terms 'school' and 'student' did not involve common characteristics or clearcut categories and definitions. Any attempt to quantify the educational activities during the period is, therefore, highly questionable. For the year 1913, the German administration listed nine government main schools (in the cities and mission stations) with 2,394 pupils, 89 government branch schools (in the surrounding African communities) with 3,706 pupils and six government artisans' schools with 166 pupils. The total number of pupils in missionary schools was indicated as 108,551. (Koponen n.d.)

Most of this educational groundwork was seriously damaged during the First World War. It was restored during the British period as missionary societies resumed their activities and as both the British administration and the native authorities began to participate in the provision of education for the local communities. The formulated objectives for education, however, changed. In contrast to the German educational policy, the British policy emphasised both political and economic goals for the educational system which led to a higher degree of intervention into the local circumstances.

Education for adaptation versus education for modernisation

The crucial educational documents which were issued by the Colonial Office during the British period in Tanganyika addressed the education of the indigenous peoples in all British dependencies. They reveal two competing concepts of education, namely education for adaptation and education for modernisation. Education for adaptation was intended to support the system of indirect rule, to improve the living conditions of the mass of the population and to introduce western norms. By contrast, education for modernisation reflected the intentions to intro-

duce national political self-government through western political institutions and to develop the modern and capitalist sector by way of both the skills and norms provided through education.

Education for adaptation was announced in 1925 in the first and probably most influential policy paper of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education, 'Education Policy in British Tropical Africa'.¹ It was issued in a context where native interests had been declared to be 'paramount' in cases of conflict with immigrant communities, i.e. white settler or Indian interests. (Indians in Kenya 1923) For Tanganyika, the principle of the paramountcy of native interests must be seen in relation to the territory's mandatory status which implied external supervision of British rule at a time when there were still risks that the area might be handed back to the Germans (see e.g. Yaffey 1977:52-53), and when developments on the Indian subcontinent created fears concerning the possible consequences of the colonial experience. Tanganyika became, therefore, a prime site for the system of indirect rule which attempted to leave the governance of the territory at the local, rural level with the native authorities under the supervision of the British administration. By 1931, the system was established over virtually the whole territory as described in Chapter 3. (See also Stephens 1968:52-58) In reality, the principle came to indicate the paramountcy of the British administration over settler interests. The British administration supported the development of African peasant production, particularly in the 1920s and 1930s, in accordance with the underlying philosophy of adaptation.

The primary concern of the philosophy of adaptation was the attempt to preserve in traditional society and culture what was considered by the British authorities to be 'sound and healthy elements' and to blend these with selected modern western influences. The philosophy can be interpreted as one which both

¹ The committee was set up in 1923. From 1929, it was named the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (ACEC).

attempted to recreate traditional institutions and culture from a western perspective and to slow down an overall westernisation process. The aim of education for adaptation was to

render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life [...] to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. [...] The first task of education [was] to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision [was] also to be made for the training of those who [were] required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as of those who as chiefs [would] occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. (Education Policy in British Tropical Africa 1925:4)

As resources permitted, higher education was to be provided for those who were considered to be capable to profit by it. The educational system which was envisaged to fulfil the stated purposes was to comprise elementary education for both boys and girls; secondary or intermediate education, including more than one type of school and several types of curricula; technical and vocational education; institutions which might reach university rank and which would offer professional and vocational higher education; and adult education. (Education Policy in British Tropical Africa 1925:8)

The strong emphasis on vocational agricultural education, health, community development and self-help was inspired by recommendations to the Colonial Office advisory committee by the Phelps-Stokes Commission which undertook two study tours to Africa in the 1920s, the second one in 1924 to East, Central and South Africa. It had the secretary of the advisory committee, Hanns Vischer, as a member. The commission recommended for the African context what was practised in some institutions in some American southern states, namely an education which adapted the black population to its likely place in the occupational structure. For Africa, this implied a reinforcement of the rural sector and particularly the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the mass of the population. The commission also expressed skepticism about the narrowly proselytizing

purposes of much missionary education on the one hand, and the consequences of educating 'black Englishmen' on the other. (Lewis 1962. See also King 1971)

From the mid-1930s, doubts were expressed among authoritative British officials concerning the benefits of the system of indirect rule and the philosophy of adaptation. It was recognised that much of the traditional structure of authority and customs of African societies had been profoundly and differentially altered by the colonial experience, and that advantages could possibly be gained by speeding up a westernisation process which would link the local economies more effectively with the metropole. There was, therefore, a more pronounced emphasis on development and research, western institutions and self-government. (Hailey 1938; Hailey 1942. See also Coulson 1982:110-111)

The purpose of education was spelled out afresh in the advisory committee's memorandum on 'The Education of African Communities' in 1935 and in a report on 'Higher Education in East Africa' in 1937. The memorandum reinforced the earlier emphasis on community development and agricultural and health education for young and adults. It introduced, however, as a new task for the school

to further social progress by interpreting the changes which [were] taking place in African society, by communicating the new knowledge and skill which [was] necessary to improve the life of the community, [and] by supplying new motives and incentives to take the place of those which [had] ceased to be adequate. (The Education of African Communities 1935:2)

The memorandum stressed the need for a clear recognition of the connection between economic policy and educational policy. Educational programmes had to be limited largely by the capacity of the people to bear the cost and were to provide as wide a scope as possible for local initiative and responsibility. Native authorities were, therefore, to be related as closely as possible with community development programmes. (The Education of African Communities 1935:6-7, 16-20) The commission on higher education in East Africa supported the need for improve-

ment of health and agriculture. Such improvement was, according to the commission, best achieved by the general education of Africans since reading and writing skills were likely to lead to material progress and to a sound and prosperous rural population. In order to promote economic development, qualified African experts must, however, also be trained who had been exposed to western knowledge and scientific principles. These western elements had to interlock with African practice in order to fashion an indigenous culture which represented a synthesis of both. (Higher Education in East Africa 1937:8-10, 13-16)

After the Second World War, the focus on a western modernisation process for the colonies took its final shape. It implied an attempt to establish a development process similar to that of Britain over the last centuries, by which industrialisation based on capitalist agriculture and the expansion of a modern urban sector was given priority over the development of the traditional rural society. This economic development process was to be supported by a socialisation into western political traditions. In colonies and dependencies with settler interests, the inter-war colonial principle of the 'paramountcy of native interests' was substituted by that of 'multiracialism' or the parity of interests among the local and immigrant communities. (Coulson 1982:109-119) Even in the mandated territory of Tanganyika with a small immigrant population, the principle of 'multiracialism' involved changes in the political structure as unofficial representation in the central political councils in 1955 was distributed on an equal racial basis. The immigrant communities were simultaneously to be incorporated into the district councils. (Stephens 1968:91-98, 117-155)

The advisory committee's 1943 memorandum on 'Mass Education in African Society' foreshadowed these changes. It emphasised that

the general health, well-being and prosperity of the mass of the people [could] only be secured and maintained if the whole mass of the people [had] a real share in education and [had] some sense of its meaning and purpose. [Without such share in education] true democracy [could] not function and the rising hope of self-government [would] inevitably suffer frustration. (Mass Education in African Society 1943:4)

The committee pointed to the need for more systematic and energetic measures for the education of the mass of the community alongside the plans for school education. Such initiatives were becoming more urgent as the pace of social change accelerated and, therefore, required a process of social adjustment. Mass education was to provide the needed changing attitudes which would allow the development of social and civic responsibility by emphasising (i) more complicated techniques, for instance, concerning agricultural processes; (ii) citizenship in the form of a mature grasp of public issues and knowledge of the factors influencing decision-making; (iii) the play of economic forces upon life and welfare. Mass education would, thus, secure true democracy by providing understanding of the forces of change in society and at the same time call out the ability and will to share in the direction and control of these very forces. (Mass Education in African Society 1943:5-11)

The purpose of mass education for a democratic state was further pursued in the advisory committee's 1948 memorandum on 'Education for Citizenship'. It was here considered natural and desirable that peoples under British administration should aspire to the evolutionary democracy which Britain had marked out. Responsible self-government was, therefore, the declared aim which all economic and social development and, especially, the development of education should have in view. It was not enough to train the farmers as well as low and middle and high level manpower for the economy. It was also necessary to train men and women as responsible citizens of a free country, and to pass on western political experience in order that government of the colonial peoples by the people and for the people would materialise. In schools, citizenship was to be taught through particular subjects of the curriculum and through the experience with the methods of organisation and discipline in non-academic clubs and other out-of-class activities, such as the scout and youth movement. Among adults, mass education was to concern itself not only with literacy or with the acquisition of new

skills or new habits, such as better agriculture or hygiene, but also with the development of a heightened social consciousness. New ideas should be put into practice by turning local governments into training sites for the national government in view of the expected African participation in future national policy-making. Local government efforts were also to be extended through other institutions, such as cooperative societies, local education committees and local welfare and development committees. Old institutions were, in this way, to be made effective for new purposes as the colonial peoples were educated to appreciate the instability of the situation and to control the future development of their own political institutions. (Education for Citizenship 1948:5-10, 13-32)

In addition to political awareness and participation at the local level, the 'Report of the Commission for Higher Education in the Colonies' in 1945 stressed the need for university education to produce leaders with a capacity for national self-government and public service, to create national political institutions and to reduce the dominance of one culture over another. University education which combined professional training with liberal education in fields, such as medicine, agriculture, veterinary training, teaching, law and engineering, would promote the level of education both throughout the school system and for adults. The teaching of agriculture according to scientific principles and in practice was the means to increase agricultural productivity in order to secure significant progress in the economic field. (Report of the Commission for Higher Education in the Colonies 1945:10-19, 57-88)

The stated plans for education by the British administration in Tanganyika

In the dependencies, the governor could adopt and adjust the metropolitan recommendations to the local situation subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In Tanganyika, the educational policy-making process was highly

influenced by the different interest groups in the area and concerned, in contrast to the announced statements, the education of both the African and non-African communities.

The British administration in Tanganyika formally acknowledged its responsibility for the education of Africans at its first education conference in Dar es Salaam in 1925. The meeting assembled the missionary, commercial and industrial interests in the territory but had a very limited African representation. On this occasion, the British administration welcomed the 1925 memorandum on 'Education Policy in British Tropical Africa' as the charter for future educational activities and committed itself to the principle of education for adaptation. The land was considered to be the African's natural vocation and agricultural education was seen as a means to prevent educated unemployed - the overriding concern of the government at the time, "the source of most of the world's social ills". (Report of the Education Conference 1925:5-6) A formal cooperation concerning education was established between the administration and the missionary and commercial interests. This cooperation was gradually extended to the native authorities. In accordance with the 1925 memorandum, the central administration became responsible for the formulation of educational policies. It was to supervise all educational institutions, to establish a grants-in-aid scheme for non-government institutions which fulfilled government standards and to set up educational advisory bodies. (Report of the Education Conference 1925:3-13)

The central mechanisms of the grants-in-aid scheme were the number of qualified teachers and the number of registered and attending students. At different times grants-in-aid were given for specific purposes, such as industrial tool kits. During the period they involved discussions, especially between the British administration and the missionary societies, concerning the use of the local vernaculars, Kiswahili or English as the medium or subject of instruction and the relative balance between religi-

ous and secular subjects in the curriculum. In the late 1920s, the British administration seems to have focused on its staffing needs rather than the provision of agricultural education for Africans, as the Education Ordinance of 1927 and the Education Regulations of 1928 favoured technical and vocational education and instruction in Kiswahili and English, despite the adoption of education for adaptation as the guiding principle. (E.g. Report for the Year 1925:65-66, 1927:60, 1935:102; Annual Report 1927:60) This practice was reversed after the depression when the grants-in-aid scheme of 1933 favoured elementary education for Africans in the vernacular. (Report for the Year 1932:65-70, 1933:65, App. X, 1934:87) The reversal followed the report and recommendations of a government financial mission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that social services and educational expenditure in Tanganyika had to be cut as part of the fiscal strategy applied to the territory during the depression. (Report by Sir Sydney Armitage-Smith 1932:62-67) Cuts on educational expenditure did not, however, affect non-African education. In 1931, the British administration declared that non-African communities affected by the abolition of the educational cess, which was levied on these communities during 1930-32, would be entitled to a greater part of the allocation from the territorial revenue. (Annual Report 1931:3)

As the economy regained strength, the concern expressed by the British administration, after reconfirming the basic principle of the 1925 charter of education, was that Africans were not in a position to compete successfully in the more remunerative employment markets of the territory which were dominated by Europeans and Asians. Educational unemployment was no longer considered to be an immediate danger since the absorptive capacity of the economy was regarded as being vast enough for educated Africans to be employed along with Europeans and Asians. The government acknowledged at the same time its responsibility for the education of the non-African communities.

(Memorandum on African Education in Tanganyika 1933; Memorandum on Education in Tanganyika 1934)

After the Second World War, the British administration distinguished between the ultimate and immediate objectives of educational policy. Whereas the ultimate objective of a community "well-equipped by the advancement of education in its widest sense to assume full responsibility for guiding and shaping the destiny of the country" corresponded with the principles of the metropolitan statements, the administration laid emphasis on the immediate objective of advancing the more backward sections of the inhabitants. (Report of the Year 1947:151) The underlying view was similar to that expressed in the metropolitan documents, namely that literacy would make the factors of labour and production more effective and, therefore, should be considered as a form of capital investment. Educational activities could, however, only be expanded if the general economic development process allowed for increased economic growth for which reason investment in the directly productive sectors of society was given priority. Increased educational expenditure should be contributed to or borne by the communities concerned. In the case of Africans, emphasis was laid on self-help activities and the contributions from the native authorities. In the case of Europeans and Asians, a special education tax was to be reintroduced in 1948 to cover the planned expansion. (Ten Year Development and Welfare Plan for Tanganyika Territory 1946:2, 12, 55-56; The Revised Development and Welfare Plan for Tanganyika 1950-56, 1951:7ff, 34-35; Ten Year Development and Welfare Plan for Tanganyika 1950:4, 7, 9-13)

Despite the emphasis on the immediate objective of advancing the more backward sections of the population, the planned activities by the education department from now on concentrated on formal education of the young. Adult education instead became the responsibility of the Social Welfare Department and other departments of the administration. Until the mid-1950s,

the primary aim was to ensure that as large a proportion of the child population of school age would become literate which implied a vast expansion of the school system at the primary level. The ultimate objective was more in focus from the mid-1950s when middle level schooling, which provided agricultural and other practical skills determined by the local area, was emphasised along with a planned increase in the number of pupils who completed the secondary course, in order to secure a constant supply of well educated Africans with special technical and academic training. (Ten Year Plan for the Development of African Education 1947:7, 16-17; Development of African Education 1956:1; Five Year Plan for African Education 1957-1961, 1958:preface, 4-28) For the European and Asian communities, recommendations were made for expanded primary and secondary educational facilities as well as grants-in-aid for higher education outside the territory. (Report of the Special Committee on European Education 1948, 1951; Report of the Special Committee on Indian Education 1948, 1951; Non-African Education 1955:7-66, 83-90; Development of Non-African Education 1956:1-15)

The major difference between the stated purposes of education at the metropolitan and the local levels was the lack of emphasis by the British administration in Tanganyika on higher education for Africans and its limited emphasis on adult education. In the metropolitan statements, both higher and adult education were seen as necessary means to create political leaders at the national level and a participating population with political awareness at the local level, besides fulfilling purposes related to the economic structure of society. Even though local educational policies were designed in a situation where long-term plans and purposes might well have been overtaken by short-term needs, which may explain the stronger emphasis on formal education for economic development rather than for political self-government, the planning of education in Tanganyika was also undertaken with due attention to the non-

African communities. These populations were in a stronger political and economic position to influence educational decision-making than the Africans and may have become the preferential political partners as the emphasis on national development shifted from one of adaptation to one of modernisation.

The Implementation of Educational Policy by the British Administration in Tanganyika

At the end of the British period, the European and Indian communities constituted only about half of the immigrant population and 0.2 and 0.9 percent, respectively, of the total population. (Statistical Abstract 1962:11) Despite their paucity in number, their direct representation in the Legislative and Executive Councils surpassed or matched that of the African and they were to be incorporated in the district councils in 1955. Economically, the two groups dominated the modern sector of the economy. During 1948-1957, on average around half of the gainfully employed Europeans were in the public and other services and around 20 percent were employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing. More than 60 percent of the Indians were engaged in wholesale and retail trade as well as public and other services. (Census of Non-African Population 1948:Table XXXVII, 1952:Table XXV, 1957:Table 45) At independence, Europeans and Indians together constituted around 87 percent of the highest level graduate professionals, senior administrators and senior managers in industry and commerce. They formed in all 70 percent of the next level of technicians, sub-professional grades, executive grades in the civil service, middle management in industry and commerce and teachers with secondary education but without a university degree. (Hunter 1963:58) The two communities also largely controlled their own education through their advisory bodies.

In a similar way to the Colonial Office advisory committee, advisory bodies were set up in Tanganyika through which views on

and demands for education could be channelled. Missionary influence was strong both in the ACEC in London and in the local Advisory Committee on African Education (ACAE) which was formed in 1926. Missionaries were considered to represent African interests as well as their own, and direct African representation was always restricted. Besides the ACAE, separate advisory committees for European and Indian education were nominated in 1929. They were chaired by the Director of Education but were otherwise dominated by direct representation of the two groups who were granted executive power in 1948. This influence involved: the planning and organisation of education for their respective communities; the construction, maintenance and inspection of schools; the preparation of annual budgets which were presented to the Director of Education; and the control over their respective educational funds. (Annual Report 1925:65, 1929:53, 1947:1, 1948:2-3)

The expressed demands for education during the British period covered both education for adaptation and education for modernisation. Missionary societies generally supported elementary education for Africans, although understood in more cultural or religious terms than stipulated by the British administration. Education beyond the elementary level was supported by missionary societies in order to create staff for expanded mission, including educational, activities. For their part, native authorities or chiefs demanded government or government-supported educational facilities to avoid proselytization or mission control and as a means to develop cash-crop production or provide low and middle level clerical staff for the native and British administrations. Both cash-crop production and clerical work were likely means of increased influence and prestige. (Oliver 1952; Austen 1968:135-138, 176-178, passim; Ranger 1969; Wright 1971:178, passim; Lawuo 1984) There was, then, primarily a local orientation in the demands by missionary societies and native authorities which largely corresponded to education for adaptation.

Education for modernisation was demanded by other Africans as well as by the European and Indian communities. Both in the 1920s and the 1930s, African representatives in the ACAE pressed for a literary and industrial education for Africans alongside agricultural education. (Proceedings of the Tanganyika Advisory Committee on African Education 1929:17, 1933:2) In the 1940s and the 1950s, educated civil servants and teachers as well as African peasants voiced demands for increased access to both higher and wider education. (UN Visiting Mission 1948:144ff, 1954:11ff) Europeans and Indians sought to establish educational facilities in the territory to substitute for those of their home countries and to provide a similar academic curriculum. (Annual Report: passim) For these groups of Africans, Europeans and Indians, education, and particularly post-elementary education, was a means to gain access to the modern sector of the economy or to retain and enhance their communities' relative position in it. For Africans, fluency in English was also a necessary precondition to becoming part of the central political system.

The British administration joined forces with the missionary societies and the native authorities in their efforts to provide education for the African population. It also acknowledged its responsibility for educating Europeans and Indians. By its relative provision of educational institutions and by its relative preference for education for adaptation or education for modernisation it, therefore, had a determining influence on the relative position in society of the groups concerned.

The provision of education for Africans, Europeans and Indians

Tables 4.1-4.5 summarise the development and financing of the African, European and Indian educational systems during the British period. The selected years correspond in time with the changes in the formulated educational policies which coincided with the changes in the economic policies (cf. Chapter 3), namely before the depression, after the Second World War, in the

mid-1950s and at independence. All tables have been compiled from primary statistics produced by the Department of Education and the Ministry of Education. They are unlikely to represent the 'true' figures for the individual years since statistics were not collected and compiled systematically until after the Second World War and as it was always difficult to incorporate information from the less settled areas. The figures on European and Indian education are likely to be more reliable than those for Africans as the communities were smaller and lived less widespread. Although the later figures for African education are more reliable than the earlier, there are, nevertheless, differences between some of the later figures from the education department and corresponding figures from other sources, such as the annual colonial reports and the statistical abstracts. There are also occasional discrepancies between the figures in the general text and in the compiled tables of individual reports from the education department. In all, these inaccuracies do not affect the relative trends of the tripartite educational system which is the particular concern of this analysis. Individual figures have, therefore, been reproduced from the primary source, i.e. the education department. When data were unavailable, the mentioned other sources were consulted and applied.

Tables 4.1-4.3 show the relative expansion of the tripartite educational system. The figures on the student population represent actual enrolment. There was a considerable wastage in the African educational system, particularly in the lowest standards and before the Second World War, which cannot be accounted for systematically. Similarly, there was an in and out migration of European and Indian students which is reflected in the figures of the European system, in particular.

As can be seen from Table 4.1, African education was provided within different categories of institutions which gradually formed a uniform system. This development was a reflection of the increasing control by the British administra-

Table 4.1 African Education in Tanganyika by Category 1931-1961. Schools and Enrolment

Category	1931		1946		1956		1961	
	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment
GOVERNMENT								
Village schools	44	2,671	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary education (stds. I-IV, V-VI)	-	-	53	7,907	-	-	-	-
Primary education (stds. I-IV)	-	-	-	-	51	10,254	64	15,572
Girls schools	3 ^a	143 ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-
Central schools	8	1,766	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary education (stds. VII-XII)	-	-	7	667	- ^e	- ^e	-	-
Middle education (stds. V-VIII)	-	-	-	-	23	2,248	37	5,145
Secondary education (stds. IX-XII)	-	-	-	-	10	1,124	-	-
Secondary education (stds. IX-XII, forms V-VI)	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	2,562
Technical, vocational, teacher training	-	-	17 ^c	630 ^c	17 ^d	1,524	5	1,384
Post-secondary education	-	-	1	21	1	167	n/a	n/a
NATIVE AUTHORITY								
Village schools	39	3,071	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary education (stds. I-IV, V-VI)	-	-	189	20,348	-	-	-	-
Primary education (stds. I-IV)	-	-	-	-	660	84,062	700	106,345
Secondary education (stds. I-IV, V-VI)	-	-	1	28	- ^f	- ^f	-	-
Middle education (stds. V-VIII)	-	-	-	-	89	8,479	121	15,569
MISSION ASSISTED								
Village schools	149	12,444	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary education (stds. I-IV, V-VI)	-	-	647	73,845	-	-	-	-
Primary education (stds. I-IV)	-	-	-	-	1,806	235,516	1,966	288,001

Table 4.1 continued

Category	1931		1946		1956		1961	
	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment
MISSION ASSISTED (cont'd)								
Central schools	16 ^a	2,598 ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle education (stds. V-VIII)	-	-	-	-	220 ^g	20,192 ^g	230	31,786
Secondary education (stds. VII-XII)	-	-	15	751	-	-	-	-
Secondary education (stds. IX-XII)	-	-	-	-	15	1,264	27	3,407
Secondary education (stds. IX-XII, forms V-VI)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Technical, vocational, teacher training	-	-	34 ^c	1,274 ^c	22	1,518	28	1,451
MISSION UNASSISTED								
Village schools	3,175 ^b	143,524 ^b	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary education (stds. I-IV, V-VI)	-	-	198	13,079	-	-	-	-
Primary education (stds. I-IV)	-	-	-	-	72	6,427	100	40,726
Central schools	5 ^a	1,306 ^a	-	-	25 ^h	1,476 ^h	20	3,078
Middle education (stds. V-VIII)	-	-	-	-	1	21	-	-
Secondary education (stds. IX-XII)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary education (stds. IX-XII, forms V-VI)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	62
Technical, vocational, teacher training	-	-	-	-	1	35	8	249

n/a not available
 Note: a Including vocational education.
 b Including bush schools.
 c Including teacher training, some attached to secondary schools, stds. VII and VIII doing academic work.
 d Makerere College.
 e Including post-secondary stds. VII-VIII and number of pupils in district schools stds. V-VI.
 f Including district schools stds. V-VI.
 g Including district schools stds. V-VI and pre-secondary stds. VII-VIII.
 h Including district schools stds. V-VI.

Sources: Department of Education, Annual Report 1931:62-65, 1946:32-33, 1956:i-ii.
 Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education 1961:i-ii.

tion over the other educational agencies in the territory, particularly the missionary organisations.

Before the Second World War, most of the existing education was provided by missionary societies in unassisted village schools and bush schools (cf. Table 4.1 note b). In the village schools, the three R's and other subjects, such as religion, geography, biology, history, Kiswahili, and agricultural activities were taught in the local vernacular in sub-standards I and II and in standards I and II. The bush schools were mainly religious centres which brought literacy skills to converts as a result of the teaching of Christianity. Many of the bush schools, however, developed into village schools which, as they became assisted by the British administration, had to conform to the centrally decided curriculum and other educational policies. This affected, in particular, the relative importance of religion in the curriculum and the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction. (Annual Reports 1923-1946:passim; Reports for the Year 1919-1938:passim)

By 1931, village schools were also run by the native authorities and the British administration, and teaching beyond standard II was undertaken in both mission unassisted, mission assisted and government central schools. In standards III and IV, the teaching was in Kiswahili and included English as a subject in addition to the previously mentioned subjects taught in the village schools. In standards V and VI, English was the medium of instruction and the curriculum was academic. Vocational training, including teacher training (level II (Kiswahili)), different trades and clerical training, was also offered. Some central and special schools had further education for standards VII and VIII, including teacher training (level I (English)), trade and clerical training as well as technical and administrative training.

After the Second World War, the educational structure became more closely associated with the British educational system. Bush schools and mission unassisted schools diminished in

importance compared to mission assisted, native authority and government schools. The provided education expanded in years, in 1946 covering four full years of primary education in Kiswahili (for standards I-IV) in village schools, and middle and secondary education as well as different kinds of vocational training (for standards V-X) in a variety of middle, district, central, pre-secondary and other kinds of educational institutions. During 1952-1959, middle schools in rural areas taught according to an agricultural syllabus. The School Leaving Certificate was obtained after standard X. Post-secondary education, teacher training (level I), and clerical and other training was available (for standards XI-XII). (Annual Report 1947-1959:passim; Report for the Year 1947-1960:passim)

In 1961, the structure was fully formalised into four years of primary education, four years of middle education, and four or six years of secondary education. The School Leaving Certificate was obtained after standard VIII (end of middle level), the School Certificate after standard XII (secondary 'O' level), and the Higher School Certificate after form VI (secondary 'A' level). Vocational and teacher training (level II) were offered after standard VIII (middle level), and teacher training (level I), government departmental courses and technical training after standard XII. Form VI gave access to opportunities for higher education, such as at Makerere. (Ministry of Education 1961)

Table 4.1 shows that the number of institutions and students enrolled in the government and government-controlled African system expanded significantly at the expense of mission unassisted institutions at the primary and middle levels of the educational pyramid. The highest concentration of schools and students was in the government-assisted missionary and native authority sector. During the period, a fairly equal number of students was enrolled in secondary education in government and mission assisted schools. There was little expansion of technical, vocational and teacher training and access for only a

limited number of students to higher education outside the territory.

Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 indicate that the number of educational institutions and students enrolled in the European and Indian systems also increased during the period. This expansion concerned both primary and secondary education in government and government-assisted schools. Private unassisted schools were of relative importance in the European system as the total number of schools and students was small. There seems to have been some increase also of technical, vocational, post-secondary and teacher education during the 1950s.

Both the European and Indian educational systems offered six years of primary and six years of secondary education aiming at the School Certificate after standard 12 and the Higher School Certificate after standard 14. The contents of the curriculum in primary and secondary schools corresponded with that of the communities' home countries and was strictly academic. Vocational subjects were never included, Kiswahili was taught only in Indian schools and not until 1958, and English was taught already at the primary level in schools which used another medium of instruction in the early years (such as Urdu or German). (Annual Reports 1923-1959: *passim*; Report for the Year 1919-1938, 1947-1960: *passim*)

There was, then, a high degree of consistency between the British administration's generally stated educational priorities and its implemented plans for African, European and Indian education. The concern for vocational agricultural education for Africans was reflected in the numerical expansion of students and in the curriculum at the primary and middle levels. Secondary education was supported, particularly from the mid-1950s, in accordance with the five year plan for African education. European and Indian educational facilities were provided both at the primary and secondary levels and expanded significantly after the Second World War. Their curriculum was academic.

Table 4.2 European Education in Tanganyika by Category 1931-1961. Schools and Enrolment

Category	1931		1946		1956		1961	
	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment
GOVERNMENT								
Primary education (stds. I-VI)	2	85	4	412	8	1,104	10	1,064
Secondary education (stds. VI-XII)	-	-	-	-	1	290	2	57
Technical, vocational, post-secondary and teacher training	-	-	-	-	b	b	1	54 ^c
PRIVATE ASSISTED								
Primary education (stds. I-VI)	7	160	6	202 ^a	16	769	10	501
Secondary education (stds. VI-XII)	-	-	-	19	1	42	6	571
PRIVATE UNASSISTED								
Primary education (stds. I-VI)	3	161	n/a	n/a	6	188	10	318
Secondary education (stds. VI-XII)	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	41

n/a not available

Note: a There were no secondary schools for European children in Tanzania but in 1946 children studied up to standard IX at two schools and up to standard VII at one school. In all 159 boys and girls attended secondary education in Kenya subsidised by the British administration. Others were assisted in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

b Part-time and full-time classes in commercial subjects were held in Dar es Salaam. Technical courses up to professional standard could be attended at the Royal Technical College of East Africa, Nairobi.

c Including enrolment in evening classes.

Sources: Department of Education, Annual Report 1931:67-68, 1946:30, 1956:x-xii.
Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education 1961:viii.

Table 4.3 Indian Education in Tanganyika by Category 1931-1961. Schools and Enrolment

Category	1931		1946		1956		1961	
	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment
GOVERNMENT								
Primary education (stds. I-VI)	2	289	2	1,180	3	2,501	6	3,438
Secondary education (stds. VI-XII)	1	190	1	500	4	2,201	8	4,378
Technical, vocational, post-secondary and teacher training	-	-	-	-	c	c	2	473 ^d
PRIVATE ASSISTED								
Primary education (stds. I-VI)	11	1,220 ^a	6	6,097	114	11,860	105	12,638
Secondary education (stds. VI-XII)	-	-	-	1,047	31	3,385	28	5,127
PRIVATE UNASSISTED								
Primary education (stds. I-VI)	34 ^b	855 ^b	n/a	n/a	1	100	1	81
Secondary education	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

n/a not available

Note: a 1932 figures as 1931 figures were not available.

b 31 of the schools were assisted from the education tax fund.

c Indian students were admitted to part-time classes in commercial subjects and tailoring in Dar es Salaam, to the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education for trade training, to the Royal Technical College of East Africa, Nairobi for technical studies up to professional level and to teacher training colleges in Kenya.

d Including enrolment in evening classes.

Sources: Department of Education, Annual Report 1931:62-71, 1932:72-73, 1946:31, 1956:xiv-xvi. Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education 1961:xii.

Education for adaptation was, therefore, a concept to be applied solely to Africans, whereas education for modernisation involved Africans as well as Europeans and Indians. For Africans, education for modernisation was restricted to the selected few. Although the size of the African system was immense compared to the European and Indian systems, more Indians than Africans received secondary education in government and government-assisted institutions after the Second World War. Eighty and 95 percent, respectively, of the European and Indian age groups were enrolled in primary and secondary education in 1956, whereas African enrolment in primary and middle schools represented 8.5 percent only. If attrition is taken into consideration, African participation in particular would have been even lower. (Egerö & Henin 1973:Table 134; Census of Non-African Population 1957:App. VI)

Tables 4.1-4.3 do not, however, clarify the extent to which the differential patterns for African, European and Indian education was due to directed efforts by the British administration or to financial and other inputs from the respective communities. Both education for adaptation and education for modernisation implied elements of self-finance which were affected by the British administration's holistic view on educational development before and after the Second World War. Restricted funding always influenced the actual level of provision by the British administration and the relative responsibility granted to the respective communities for self-finance of educational activities. An analysis of the sources of expenditure on the tripartite educational system can, therefore, highlight the relative preference of the British administration in educational development.

The financing of formal African, European and Indian education

Territorial revenue for educational and other expenditure by the British administration was generated from various sources. Before the Second World War, the principle of a self-generating

economy led to financial policies which aimed at balanced budgets. During this period, the predominant part of territorial revenue derived from customs duties and the native hut-and-poll tax. During 1926-27 to 1930-31, these two items constituted in all about 73 percent of the total revenue, whereas the native hut-and-poll tax alone amounted to about 35 percent. From 1932 and concurrent with the repeal of the non-African education cess, a tax representing one percent on the taxable income of the non-African (male) population was introduced. It has been estimated at £19,000 or around 4 percent of the native hut-and-poll tax. (Report by Sir Sydney Armitage-Smith 1932:16-34)

After the Second World War, modernisation or development policies led to substantial contributions to the finance of the territory in the form of grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts as well as the growth of export earnings. (Cf. Chapter 3) Import duties continued to be the principal source of income, and income tax began to constitute a new major component of revenue. The relative importance of the native hut-and-poll tax fell steadily from 15 percent in 1946 to about 9 percent in the early 1950s. It has, however, been estimated that well over half of the import duties were raised on consumer necessities and, therefore, paid mostly by the African population (Ehrlich 1964:268). In addition, the African peasant farmers contributed to the administration's taxable incomes through the direct and indirect regulation of their production and producer prices. (Report for the Year 1947:58, 1957:111; Bowles 1980)

Income tax, which was introduced in 1940, fell on companies and the small group of individuals that enjoyed high incomes, i.e. almost exclusively non-Africans whose number in 1958 has been estimated at about 124,000, according to the Minister of Finance. In 1946 and during the 1950s, income tax accounted for 10 percent of the total revenue which corresponded to the relative contribution of the native hut-and-poll tax in the

1950s. The non-African poll tax remained insignificant, in 1946 constituting about one percent of the total revenue and keeping the same low proportionate level of the native hut-and-poll tax in the early 1950s as before the Second World War. White settler and plantation production was not taxed, except for export taxes which were only significant during the sisal boom in 1950-52. Compared to the non-African communities, the African population, therefore, undoubtedly contributed by far the larger proportion of the current territorial revenue through taxation. (Report for the Year 1947:58, 1957:111; Ehrlich 1964:268-270; Bowles 1980)

Public expenditure was concentrated in what was considered to be directly productive activities, such as infrastructural and agricultural development schemes. Despite the emphasis on education as a capital investment, the relative allocation to education from the current revenue was low, though increasing from about 5 percent of the total expenditure in 1931 to about 11 percent in 1961. (Report for the Year 1922-38, 1947-60:public finance) Part of this expenditure derived from the special contributions to education from the African, European and Indian communities. Educational activities were also financed by private contributions which were not controlled by the British administration, especially from the international missionary organisations. These funds lost significance over time as missionary societies became increasingly dependent on the grants-in-aid scheme from the British administration.

Table 4.4 displays the sources of expenditure on African, European and Indian education from the education department and the relative contributions from the native authorities and missionary societies. Of the allocations from the education department, education tax as well as school fees and staff boarding charges (related to, for instance, the payment of meals) constituted the direct contribution by the European and Indian populations. The spending of this amount (together with the balance in the educational fund) was controlled by the

Table 4.4 Source of Expenditure on African, European and Indian Education in Tanganyika 1931-1961. (£'000)

Source	1931		1946		1956		1961	
	African Euro.	Indian	African Euro.	Indian	African Euro.	Indian	African Euro.	Indian
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT								
Territorial revenue	105	7	236	35	44	171	2,988	281
Agricultural Development Reserve Fund	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Development Plan Reserve Fund	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	-
Custodian of Enemy Property Fund	-	-	-	-	-	162	-	-
Colonial Development and Welfare Fund	-	-	-	-	-	-	548	-
Loan funds	-	-	-	-	-	97	40	2
Education tax	-	3	-	-	-	104	-	179
School fees and staff boarding charges	-	-	-	-	-	26	-	63
Balance in educational fund	-	-	-	-	-	28	-	68
Special loan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
TOTAL	105	10	236	35	44	589	3,620	425
LOCAL AUTHORITIES	6	-	50 ^a	-	-	-	917	-
VOLUNTARY AGENCIES	n/a	-	n/a	-	-	-	413	-

Note: a estimate. n/a not available.

Sources: Tanganyika Report for the Year 1932:67. Department of Education, Annual Report 1945:2, 1956:ix, lix, xvii. 101
Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education 1961:vii, xi, xv.

respective communities through their advisory committees. The allocation from the native authorities corresponded to the proportion spent on education of the total amount of local taxation retained by the native administrations. The missionary contribution represented private finance.

As can be seen from the table, the overwhelming part of total expenditure from the education department was spent on African education. The relative proportion of total expenditure was, however, identical in 1931 and 1961, amounting to 85 percent. It was around 10 percent lower in the interim period. European and Indian education also received equal proportions in 1931 and 1961, 7 and 9 percent, respectively. In the interim period funding for these communities was 40-50 percent higher. Financing of European education by the community itself amounted to 30 percent of the total expenditure in 1931, increasing to 35 percent in 1961. The trend for Indian education was downward, representing 48 percent in 1931 and 41 percent in 1961, with a low around 22 percent in 1956. The native authorities increased their spending from around 5 percent in 1931 to 20 percent in 1961.

It can, therefore, be established from the table that the British administration did finance European and Indian education at the expense of African education. Territorial revenue, which was the predominant source, consisted of tax income from Africans rather than non-Africans. The allocation to African education did not increase proportionately over time and had an upward trend only from the mid-1950s. By contrast, the allocation to European and Indian education increased during most of the period, the trend being slightly downward only from the mid-1950s. After the Second World War, expanded Indian education was clearly not financed from the reintroduced education tax (and school fees) as the proportionate share from the Indian community dropped over time. The relative contribution from Europeans, though slightly increasing, was lower than that of the Indians.

Table 4.5 supports this conclusion for post-elementary education in particular. The funding of African education by the British administration was concentrated at the primary and middle levels increasing from around 56 percent of the total expenditure in 1946 to 64 percent in 1961. In the European system, the emphasis changed from an almost exclusive support of primary education in 1946 to a respective share of 56 percent primary and 43 percent secondary education from the mid-1950s. The trend was identical in the Indian system where primary education dropped proportionately, leaving 34 percent for secondary and post-secondary education in 1946 compared with 53 percent in 1961.

It seems clear, therefore, that the formulated and implemented educational policies of the British administration limited the participation of the African community in the modernisation process and favoured the establishment and/or maintenance of a non-African elite.

Education for Economic Development and Social Control

Inherent in the view on education during the British period in Tanganyika were two contrasting beliefs concerning the contribution of education to societal development. Education for adaptation advocated social improvement from the bottom of the educational pyramid, aiming at the development of the traditional rural sector in cooperation with the rurally based African leadership in order to blend the existing culture with new western elements. Education for modernisation supported economic development at the top of the educational pyramid, aiming at an expansion of the modern urban and capitalist sector and accompanied by the introduction of western democratic political institutions in order to establish a western national politico-economic unit.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the 'liberal' tradition accepted the formulated objectives of British educational policy and

Table 4.5 Allocation of Expenditure by the Department of Education to African, European and Indian Education in Tanganyika by Level 1931-1961. (£'000)

Level	1931		1946		1956		1961	
	African Euro.	Indian	African Euro.	Indian	African Euro.	Indian	African Euro.	Indian
Recurrent:								
Primary education	105 ^a	10	128 ^b	33 ^b	895	226	227	262
Middle education	-	-	94 ^b	17 ^{b/c}	374	-	-	-
Secondary education	-	-	-	-	171	173	324	180
Teacher training	-	-	-	-	114	-	151	8
Technical and vocational	-	-	-	-	113	-	163	-
Post-secondary	-	-	70	-	230	-	269	-
Administration	-	-	-	-	240	5	174	9
Subtotal	105	10	229	50	2,138	404	2,988	416
Non-Recurrent:								
Capital and special	-	-	25 ^b	-	388	164	632	9
TOTAL	-	-	254	50	2,526	568	3,620	425
				55		589		591
								1,907
								n/a

n/a not available

Notes: a Including education in village and central schools plus other secondary education for Africans.
Primary and secondary education for Indians.

b 1947 figures as 1946 figures were unavailable.

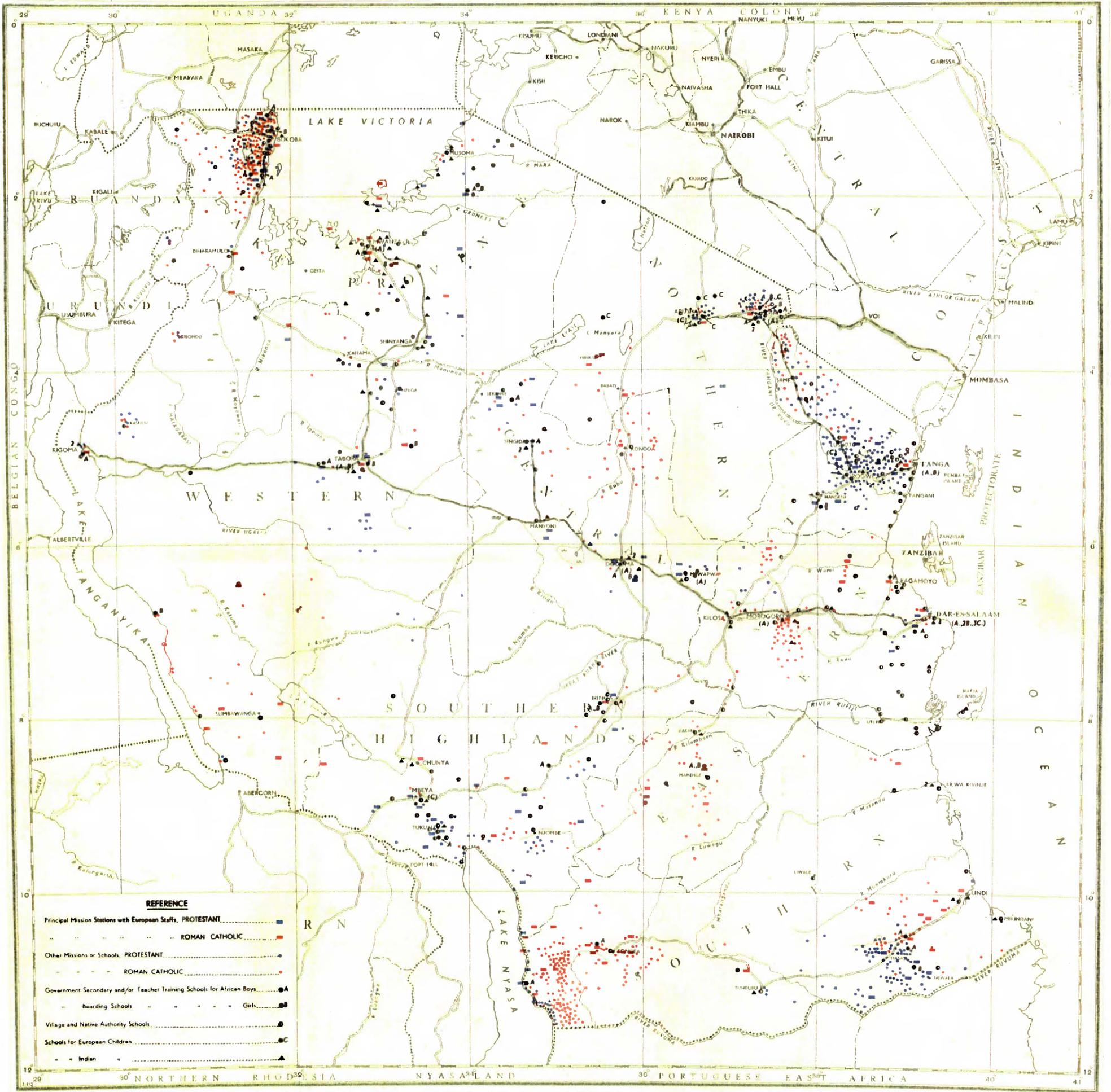
c Including government bursaries for secondary education in Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and S. Africa.

Sources: Tanganyika Report for the Year 1932:67, 1947:269-70. Department of Education, Annual Report 1947:91, 1956:ix, iix, xvii. Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education 1961:vii, xi, xv.

argued that any failure of implementation mostly had to do with African preference for education for modernisation before education for adaptation. The 'critical' tradition instead saw a hidden purpose behind the stated policies and considered both elementary and post-elementary education for Africans as fulfilling the economic and political needs of the colonial power rather than those of the Africans. Based on the findings of this chapter and on the understanding of the socio-economic conditions presented in Chapter 3, both interpretations seem to need modification. British policy failed to adequately promote African participation in education, but all African participation did not exclusively serve the interests of the 'colonial state'.

As can be seen from Map 2, the distribution of educational facilities in Tanganyika largely coincided with the geographical areas which became incorporated into the international exchange economy and which experienced a relatively high degree of political control. The areas covered the location of the European and Indian populations. Whereas Europeans were distributed half and half between urban Dar es Salaam and Tanga and rural Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Kilimanjaro and Mbeya, two-thirds of the Indian population was located in the same urban areas as the Europeans and the remaining one third slightly more widespread in the same and other rural areas. (Egerö & Henin 1973:Table 10.12, Table 10.13) However, only two-thirds of the African population lived in the indicated areas, being concentrated along the periphery on the coast, in the rainy highlands of the south, around Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru and along the shores of Lake Victoria. The remaining one third lived scattered in the remote rural areas outside of formal control. (Rweyemamu 1973:2) Whereas there was a concentration of all categories of educational institutions in the centres of African cash-crop production, plantation or white settler production and the centres for trade, administration and service industries, unassisted and village or native authority schools

MAP 2: EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN TANGANYIKA



SOURCE: Report by His Majesty's Government on the administration of Tanganyika for the year 1947, London 1948

also existed in the more remote areas.

This location of the different categories of schools determined what part of the populations had access to the different kinds of education offered during the British period. The access to and contents of education, in turn, influenced both the nature of the envisaged society and the relative position of the individual communities. The wide areas which continued to operate outside government control, maintained traditional forms of organisation and were exposed to traditional education and/or a minimal instruction in the three R's in the vernacular, mainly for proselytization purposes. These areas were likely to have stayed relatively socially cohesive, since functional and institutional specialisation and differentiation was low and as there were no competing value systems. The areas incorporated into the exchange economy, on the other hand, witnessed conflicting forces and contrasting purposes over time. They combined several different economic forms of organisation, witnessed a higher degree of political control and were exposed to competing value systems through educational institutions which focused on different norms and skills for different purposes.

Two-thirds of the African population, in theory, had a choice between the different categories of educational institutions which implied a varying exposure to western norms in the form of the teaching of the Christian religion and related western civic values. Their choice of skills was, however, limited as the number of students receiving 'modern' knowledge was minuscule compared to the number of students exposed to 'adapted' knowledge.

As a concept, education for adaptation has strong political implications. The British administration relied for its implementation on the native authorities and the missionary societies, and, thereby, preserved the traditional political structure and a local community-oriented education that disregarded the socio-economic dynamics of the African peasant

sector described in Chapter 3. Except in some innovative and short-lived cases, the education of traditional rulers never implied attempts at integrating the local political institutions and structure into the central political system or of readjusting the colonial structure to fit more properly with the traditional African political system. Instead the two systems were understood as separate or complementary parts of the machinery of administration whose duties "should never conflict or overlap as little as possible" (Lugard 1922:203). Similarly, the knowledge and skills provided were meant to improve only the basic agricultural techniques, not to reach higher technological levels. (Cf. Chapter 3 and Chapter 7)

Education for modernisation was provided for Europeans and Indians in competition with the selected few Africans. The importance of this relative provision related to the fact that the modern sector was small and that fluency in English was a precondition for African participation in the central political system. When translated into actual figures, the total number of employees at the two highest employment ranks at independence was 17,142, of whom Africans constituted 4,468, Europeans 4,309 and Indians 8,365 (see p. 87). Whereas it may well be questioned whether this high and middle level manpower was partly or totally produced by the educational system in Tanganyika during the British period as far as Europeans and Indians were concerned, it can certainly be ascertained that educational development during the period allowed the two communities to reproduce themselves in the economic system and thereby maintain their social status. African entrance into the sector was consequently limited.

The outcome was to be measured at the political level. It was the selected few Africans who became the spokesmen for African self-government nationally and internationally when, in 1955, the lack of economic opportunities combined with the lack of political opportunities, as 'unofficial' seats in the central political councils were distributed according to racial parity

instead of relative representation of population in the territory. (Temu 1969; Pratt 1976:1-63) The demand was a national one as the select few joined interests with the many who had restricted access to education and who reacted against the cooperation of the native authorities with the British administration in the implementation of agricultural and community development schemes. (Cf. Chapter 3 and Chapter 7)

The political reaction and outcome may well have taken the British administration by surprise since, until the 1950s, it operated with a time-scale of political independence to be measured in centuries rather than decades. It indicated, however, a strong African self-interest which was channelled into the local situation and a level of political awareness which was developed despite, rather than because of, the education provided by the British administration. For the select few who became part of the governing elite after independence, a major issue was how to design an educational system which could become a leading integrating force in a national development process whose declared purpose was equality. Another question was how to redesign and implement an educational concept which stressed the 'relevance' idea contained in education for adaptation, but did not neglect its liberation aspect or create advantaged and disadvantaged social groups through a divided educational system.

CHAPTER 5 NATION-BUILDING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN POST-INDEPENDENT TANZANIA

The attainment of political independence for Tanganyika in 1961 brought forward a process of 'self-identification' among the new national leaders. In 1967, alternative intentions for the political and economic development of the country were stipulated in light of its colonial past and of its position in the international politico-economic system. In this chapter, these new national goals are analysed based on a range of policy papers and the development plans during the period. The formulated goals are contrasted with their implemented reality as it can be interpreted from compiled statistics and secondary expositions.

As will appear from the analysis, the new intentions were presented in 1967 in reaction to the 'capitalist' development path during the German and British periods. This process had been strengthened in the years immediately after independence until 1966. As will also be shown, the formulated goals were significantly transmuted in the implementation process during identified sub-periods of the time from 1967 to 1986 under the partial influence of external agencies and factors on the policy formulation and implementation process.

The analysis is concentrated on the implications for the agricultural sector and the different economic modes of production of the redefined national development strategy. It will be shown that social development goals were given priority over economic ones and that social values and incentives replaced economic measures as the mechanism to construct the redefined society and achieve the formulated intentions.

The emphasis on social goals and socio-cultural variables underscores the continued importance of this dimension in the development process in Tanzania. It will be argued that their priority did lead to positive performance on a range of social indicators of development, whereas the achievement of some of

the economic goals, most particularly the transformation of the economic mode of production, did not occur. Both internal and external influences will be identified in the explanation of this course of events, including the persistence of the pre-colonial peasant rationale and social logic.

National Policy-Making in an International Interdependent Context

The primary concern of the newly independent state was to establish political institutions and a political-administrative system which would reflect the country's independent status and adequately promote political stability and national cohesion. Changes at the political level encompassed both the inherited Westminster-style pluralist democratic system, the relative power of government institutions and the local government system set up during the British period.

The crucial change was introduced in 1965 with the formation of the one-party state which established the pre-independence party in opposition, The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), as the sole party in power. The ruling of the country by TANU was seen as a continuation of its function as a national movement during the 1950s. The party was considered by a majority of the leadership to be a mass party which could incorporate the whole nation and, thereby, preserve national cohesion and avoid social divisions. (Nyerere 1961b; Nyerere 1963. See also Pratt 1976:72-77, 201-215; Cliffe 1972b)

The establishment of the one-party state increased the prestige and authority of the national TANU institutions, in particular the national executive committee (NEC). The one-party constitution established a formal division of labour between the NEC as a policy formulator and the national assembly as a policy implementor. By 1967, the NEC had assumed the key role as both policy formulator and policy implementor. The president was, however, as head of both government and party, highly instrumental as an independent policy-maker and as a

mediator between party and government. (Pratt 1972; Hartmann 1983:75-88, *passim*; Hartmann 1986) Most of the important policy documents during the period, which are incorporated in the analysis below, were drafted by the, then, President Nyerere and discussed with the NEC.

A TANU authority structure was also gradually established at the local level. It was to control economic activities and to ensure a wide popular participation in party affairs. The native authority system was abandoned in 1962 and the official powers and responsibilities of the chiefs were passed on to elected district councils. The district councils functioned under the final supervision of regional TANU commissioners and the Minister of Local Government. From 1964, the central government was linked through party officials to all administrative levels: the region, district, division, ward, one hundred-cell and down to the ten-cell unit. Village and ward development committees, which incorporated the ten-cell leaders, and district development committees, which incorporated elected candidates, coordinated the development activities of the central government departments. (Pratt 1976:194-201; von Freyhold 1979:37. See also Levine 1972)

Two basic principles were formulated in the years immediately after independence as a guide to foreign and national policy-making. In the international context, Tanzania decided to follow a strategy of 'positive non-alignment' which was presented before the United Nations general assembly immediately after independence. As a policy, non-alignment insists on the freedom of individual states to align themselves with any country of their choice without primary consideration of wider bloc policies. As a principle, it advocates the liberation of any state under foreign domination. (Nyerere 1961a; Nyerere 1970. See also Pratt 1976:86-89, 152-156, 248-251)

Practical manifestations of the principle have occurred throughout the post-independence era. They have related to issues springing from the regional, the wider African and the

international context. (Gordon 1984:297-335) However, the principle has not eliminated external influence on the national policy formulation and implementation process, as will be shown in the following analysis.

In the context of national policy, the non-alignment principle is reflected in the strategy of socialism and self-reliance, which was formulated in the Arusha declaration in 1967 and has remained the stipulated strategy for the development process in Tanzania until now. It was designed to preserve political independence by diversifying the interaction with the international community across political blocs and political ideologies. It was also planned to promote the maximum use of local, as opposed to foreign, ideas and resources as a means to sustain economic independence. (Nyerere 1967a)

The following presentation examines how the originally formulated ideology and goals of the strategy of socialism and self-reliance were gradually transmuted during particular sub-periods of the post-independence era and identifies the consequences for the various economic forms of organisation. It points to a similarity before and after independence between the lack of transformation of the social logic of the peasant household and to a still ongoing struggle between externally and internally defined goals for the development process.

Socio-economic and rural-urban differentiation 1961-1966

The strategy of socialism and self-reliance was formulated in 1967 in reaction to the economic development process during the early years after independence which intensified the socio-economic and geographical differentiation prevalent at independence. It involved a stronger African class formation process as the rise of Africans to political power led to the gradual replacement of Europeans and Asians in the modern sector of the economy. The fundamental purpose of the economic development process during 1961-1966, namely to develop rational market-oriented behaviour by means of economic incentives, was carried

over unchanged from before independence and was directed at a strengthening of the capitalist mode of production by incorporating more peasants as 'progressive' farmers.

During 1961-1966, economic activities were laid out in two separate plans: 'The Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64' (DPT) and 'The Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1964-1969' (FYP). The DPT was left over from before independence, whereas the FYP was designed by an appointed expatriate (mostly French) planning team overseen by a Directorate of Planning in the President's Office. Its recommendations were influenced by two expatriate reports on the development of Tanganyika.¹ (Coulson 1982:141-142; Kahama et al. 1986:27)

The objective of both plans was to develop a self-sustained national economy through increased economic growth rates. The selected means were to be continued modernisation of primary agricultural production. Two different approaches were recommended: namely the improvement approach which aimed at promoting better practices among individual peasant households by way of agricultural extension and community development; and the transformation approach which proposed to create new large-scale villages which practised modern techniques and organisation by way of settlement schemes. Widespread cooperative societies were to enhance the effect of both approaches. The industrial sector was to be expanded as a means to reduce the country's reliance on fluctuating world market prices and to substitute imports by locally produced products. The FYP, moreover, expressed a long-term perspective on manpower self-sufficiency. (DPT 1962: Table XII; FYP 1967, Vol. I: viii-ix, Diagram 3 facing pp. 90-91. See also IBRD 1961:101-141; Little 1966:269-285)

¹ The two reports were: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Economic Development of Tanganyika, Baltimore 1961. Arthur D. Little Inc., Tanganyika. Industrial Development. A Preliminary Study of Bases for the Expansion of Industrial Processing Activities, Dar es Salaam 1961.

The implementation of the two approaches was largely unsuccessful as far as the individual peasant households were concerned. As during the 1950s, agricultural extension and community development officers did not manage to reach the peasantry or alter traditional agricultural practices based on hoe cultivation. Peasants who were already acknowledged as 'progressive', on the other hand, benefited from the interaction. The transformation approach, far from realising what was planned, initiated and maintained successfully only 19 government-managed or supervised cash-crop schemes involving about 2,600 settlers in former settlement areas, a limited number of schemes (less than 10 with less than 1,500 families) in new settlement areas and about 15 cooperative settlements based on local initiative. The government-managed schemes promoted intensive 'modern' agriculture on relatively small holdings which were to gradually expand into 30-50 acre farms. The farms were owned on leasehold, relied on hired labour and machinery, and were concentrated on the production of high-priced cash-crops, such as groundnuts, tobacco and cotton. Mechanisation was considered to be the critical means of increasing the productivity of peasant farming. The schemes were also to facilitate innovations, such as the introduction of new crops and irrigation. They were to enhance the efficiency of land and labour by cultivating new land and by applying unemployed labour from the towns or overcrowded rural areas. The locally initiated cooperative schemes, which relied on some advice from government-appointed agricultural extension staff, on the other hand, concentrated on increasing food crop production and improving the general living conditions of the peasants. (Cliffe & Cunningham 1972; Hyden 1980:71-86; Coulson 1982:147-161)

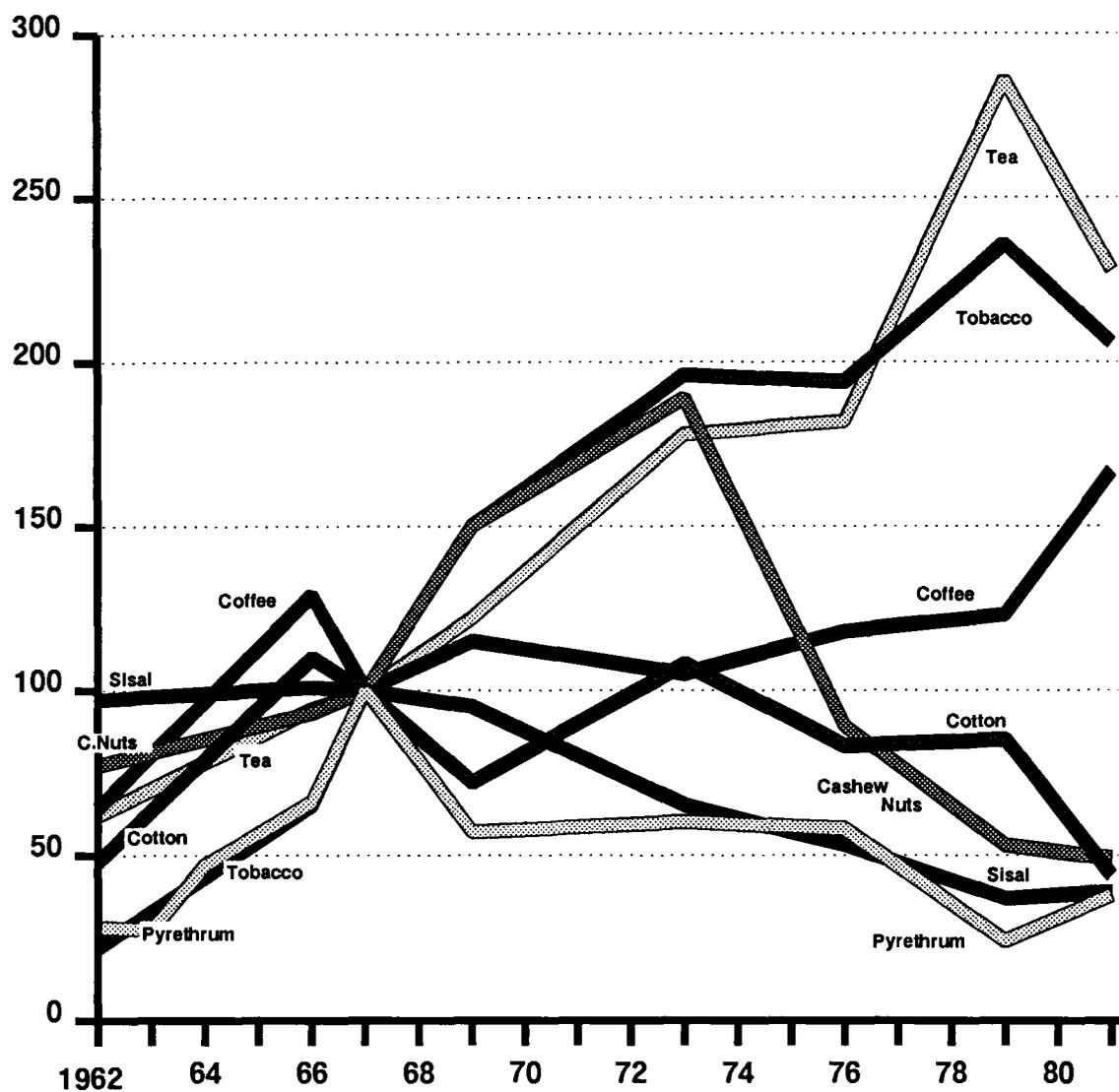
The adoption of the improvement and transformation approaches did, however, together with the increased importance of public institutions in economic life, intensify a social differentiation or class stratification process within the

African population rather than between the African and non-African populations as at independence. The socio-economic differences increased both within the rural sector and between the rural and urban sectors.

The agricultural sector as a whole only maintained its relative contribution to the gross domestic output (around 40 percent, as at independence). The industrial sector doubled its contribution as planned in the FYP. The relative importance of the plantation sector (notably sisal) declined during the period, whereas that of the traditional subsistence sector and the peasant sector increased. The relative contribution of subsistence production to total agricultural production has been estimated to have increased from around 40 percent at independence to around 60 percent in 1966 (Hyden 1980:Table 3.1). Together with diamonds, agricultural export crops accounted for approximately 75 percent of the value of export receipts. (Crouch 1987:24-26) The relative performance of the major export crops is displayed in Figure 5.1.

Within the agricultural sector, the number of African 'progressive' farmers, who applied machinery and hired labour in large-scale farming, expanded particularly in the export crop producing areas of the northern highlands (Kilimanjaro and Arusha), the north-western highlands (Lake Victoria region) and among wheat-producing farmers in Ismani (Iringa region). In all, their number has been estimated at 14,000 (or 0.3 percent of gainfully employed in agriculture) with around 140,000 employees (or 2.5 percent of gainfully employed in agriculture). Some 1,000 African estate farmers alone accounted for approximately 124,000 of the total number of employees. Although the increased application of machinery and hired labour indicated a strengthening of the capitalist mode of production, it has been argued that high cash incomes (shs. 1,500 and over per year) primarily derived from the application of family labour to outside farming operations, such as craft industry or salaried and wage employment in the parastatals and the urban sector.

**Figure 5.1 Production Indices for Selected Export Crops
1962 - 1981. Volume (1967 = 100)**



Source: C. G. Kahama, T. L. Maliyamkono & S. Wells, The Challenge for Tanzania's Economy, London 1986: Table 6.3.

This was a profitable investment of family labour because the wage rises of agricultural employees amounted to only half of that for employment as a whole, at a time when urban opportunities and wages were rapidly increasing. The strengthening of the capitalist features did not, however, involve landlord operations in the form of leases of land or loans, both of which were limited. In all, rural household and monetary incomes dropped from 53 to 49 percent of total national income during 1961-1966. (Gottlieb 1973:246-257; Rweyemamu 1973:52-53; Coulson 1982:162-167)

In the urban sector, Africans were rapidly replacing Europeans in the middle and senior ranks of the civil service. By 1966, they constituted about three quarters of the total compared to roughly one quarter at independence. Both government and TANU officials pressed successfully for salaries equivalent to those of the former British administrative officers which compared favourably with the incomes of the more successful farmers. There were also substantial increases in the salaries of subordinate staff. In the industry and service sectors, trade unions exerted a pressure for nationalisation, Africanisation and higher pay. The wage levels of urban wage earners, who constituted about one tenth of the total labour force, continued to rise. By 1966, they were 80 percent higher than at independence, leaving the wage earner better off than the average farmer. (Rweyemamu 1973:52-53; Pratt 1976:215-226; ILO 1978:4; Coulson 1982:137-140. On the manpower policies, see further in Chapter 6.)

Trade during the period reflected the pre-independence pattern. As displayed in Table 5.1, the larger share of both exports and imports was undertaken with the Western industrialised nations (63-74 percent of exports; 72-76 percent of imports), and the United Kingdom in particular (30-35 percent of exports; 32-38 percent of imports). External assistance for development, however, altered in several different ways due to the non-arrival of aid, which, in effect, reinforced the

Table 5.1 Tanzania's Trade with Principal Partners 1961-1981.
(Percentages of total exports and imports)

Principal Partners	1961	1963	1965	1967	1969	1971	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Exports															
Western ind. countries	74	67	63	59	53	44	41	43	44	58	68	68	58	58	52
United Kingdom	35	31	30	30	25	21	10	14	12	13	15	20	16	15	13
West Germany	8	7	8	5	4	4	6	5	8	14	18	15	17	14	15
Other EEC	13	13	11	11	8	7	11	13	13	14	14	13	14	13	14
United States and Canada	11	10	9	7	9	8	9	8	7	11	14	13	6	5	4
Japan	5	3	3	4	5	2	4	3	2	2	2	3	4	3	3
Socialist countries	-	-	8	6	7	6	7	5	6	5	4	4	2	4	4
China	-	-	7	4	5	4	4	3	4	3	3	3	1	1	2
Africa															
Kenya	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	5	8	7	6	6	6	1	-	-	-	-
Uganda	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	3	3	2
Value of total exports*	141	184	180	221	239	278	341	420	388	492	501	454	539	511	578
Imports															
Western ind. countries	72	73	76	73	67	50	50	49	55	56	69	75	69	67	66
United Kingdom	38	36	32	29	26	18	14	10	13	13	15	18	20	16	14
West Germany	5	6	8	6	8	7	8	8	7	9	11	11	13	10	10
Other EEC	12	12	17	20	14	12	14	10	11	13	19	23	18	20	17
United States and Canada	6	4	6	10	6	5	3	9	15	8	6	5	3	7	6
Japan	10	13	9	5	9	6	8	9	6	8	11	11	8	9	12
Socialist countries	.5	-	5	6	8	24	22	12	11	7	3	4	5	3	3
China	-	-	4	5	5	22	20	11	9	6	3	4	4	1	2
Africa															
Kenya	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	18	11	10	7	7	12	3	-	1	1	1
Oil producing countries	7	7	2	7	3	7	10	18	17	15	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Value of total imports*	88	85	140	182	201	382	489	813	843	656	723	1,118	1,080	1,227	1,197
Balance of Trade*	+53	+99	+40	+39	+38	-104	-148	-393	-55	-164	-222	-664	-541	-716	-619
Exports as % of imports	160	216	128	121	199	73	70	52	46	75	69	41	50	42	48

*Total trade in millions of US dollars. Note: n/a indicates data not available; dash indicates less than 5 percent.

Source: International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Annual, Washington D.C. 1961-70, 1977, 1983. Here based on D.F. Gordon 'Foreign Relations Dilemmas of Independence and Development' in J.D. Barkan (Ed.), Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania, New York 1984:303.

principle of non-alignment. Firstly, the capital budget was constituted of internal rather than external sources of funds, internal funds increasing from 2.6 percent of the total in 1961/62 to 57 percent of the total in 1966/67. Secondly, external capital funds changed from grants to loans, loans increasing from 55 percent of the total in 1961/62 to 94 percent of the total in 1966/67. Thirdly, there was a more widespread diversification in the sources of overseas development funds, mainly due to foreign policy disputes with previous major donors.¹ The British contribution alone dropped from 96 percent at independence to 6 percent in 1966/67. The largest individual donor in 1966/67 was China which contributed 40 percent of total development funds. The IDA contributed another 23 percent. The list, moreover, included the first contributions from the Scandinavian countries, Canada and the USSR. In all, only about 40 percent of expected overseas finance was realised during the two planning periods. (Pratt 1976:Table 8, Table 9, Table 10; Resnick 1981:54; Crouch 1987:28)

The philosophy and practice of ujamaa 1967-1976

The redefinition in 1967 of the central purposes of development centred on equality and participation as the key to an inward-looking social development process. The two concepts were considered to be the modern equivalents to the patterns of reciprocity and redistribution which were practised among the pre-colonial societies and which survived as social characteristics of the peasant household during the German and British periods, as discussed in Chapter 3. Their centrality underlined the importance to the Tanzania leadership of its African heritage which was to be the foundation for the socialist and self-reliant society of the future. As formulated in the ujamaa

¹ International aid was either withdrawn, frozen or restricted because of the 1964 dispute with West Germany over East German relations with Zanzibar; during the 1964/65 clash with the United States over two alleged plots to overthrow the Tanzanian government; and in the 1965 severance of diplomatic relations with Britain over the British stance concerning Rhodesia. (Pratt 1976:134-152)

(literally: familyhood) philosophy, they replaced the former belief in and attempt to create rational market-oriented behaviour based on economic incentives by a moral obligation to work hard for the common good of all.

Socialism was understood both as a development of material resources and of socialist institutions, socialist attitudes and a socialist way of life. Although claiming in 1962 that "the basic difference between a socialist society and a capitalist society does not lie in their methods of producing wealth, but in the way wealth is distributed" (Nyerere 1962:162-163), the Arusha declaration announced the nationalisation of the 'commanding heights of the economy', including the principal financial, manufacturing and trading institutions. Large-scale capitalist farms were to be turned into state farms, and the accumulation of private wealth by leaders in party and government was no longer permitted. While these planned nationalisations could affect, even further, the relative position of the formerly influential non-African communities, particularly in the plantation industry, among white settlers and in the Asian-dominated financial and trading sector, the accumulation and distribution of wealth by the state was to promote social equality among the African population (both socio-economic, rural-urban and rural-rural). Social amenities (dispensaries, water facilities, schools) were to be advanced in the rural areas as a means to promote development among the mass of the population. Wage and salary levels were to be regulated vis-a-vis the rural incomes of the peasantry, implying a readjustment of the high and middle level earnings in the modern sector. (Nyerere 1967a:231-250)

Socialism was considered to be an 'attitude of mind' which was present in the traditional ujamaa household units and which could be recreated and elevated to a national characteristic through proper mobilisation of the peasants and the workers and by developing a responsive leadership. Education was the crucial means to obtain both. As will be discussed in detail in

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, mass education was given priority in the educational system as the most important way to incorporate the present and future generations in the development process by raising their level of political awareness and by improving their agricultural skills. Through education, leaders were to internalise the new political philosophy in order to act as an additional channel of 'conscientisation' of the peasantry. The leaders were to encourage the increased involvement of the peasantry in the development process by means of hard work and political participation through the TANU institutions. (Nyerere 1967b:272-290)

The mobilisation of the rural masses was also the key to the establishment of a self-reliant nation where maximum utilisation was being made of the rich local resources, namely land and labour, and where the need for foreign assistance and investment would subsequently diminish. The basis of the strategy was the creation of communal village production units consisting of communities of people who were living and working together. The communities would be interlocked so that all communities also worked for the common good of the nation as a whole. (Nyerere 1962:161-171; Nyerere 1967c:337-366)

The formulated ujamaa strategy affected the principles and characteristics of both the capitalist and the peasant mode of production. The central idea was to extend the system of mutual obligations and rights of the individual peasant household to the village level and, subsequently, through the individual administrative layers to the level of the nation-state. This implied, on the one hand, the elimination of the 'capitalist' features of labour exploitation and capitalisation which, together with the planned nationalisations of large-scale capitalist agricultural enterprises, would eliminate the predominant characteristics of the capitalist mode of production. (Nyerere 1967d:385-409)

In addition, the extension of the principles of reciprocity and redistribution to the larger village unit implied the

replacement of the traditional peasant household autonomy by democratic communal decision-making in village councils. Traditional individual ownership of land was to be replaced by communal ownership of land by the communal village production unit. Communal activities, which were traditionally limited to specific tasks (e.g. housebuilding) at specific times during the agricultural season, were now to be the central focus and to include agricultural cultivation as the major activity. The peasant mode of production was to change gradually from individual to cooperative to communal farming. The village institutions were to take over the responsibility for the planning of production and for the redistribution of the economic returns. This included the planning of communal projects, such as poultry farms or village shops. The application of intermediate technology and some labour specialisation were the only envisaged means to improve production and productivity among the peasant farmers. The hiring of labour was specifically prohibited. (Nyerere 1962:162-171; Nyerere 1965:104-106; Nyerere 1967c:337-366)

Even though the ultimate aim of the philosophy of ujamaa was a social transformation process from the basic village unit to the level of the nation-state, the specific focus of the philosophy was localised and narrow. It did not include, for instance, more far-reaching changes of the gender division of labour which traditionally allocated the responsibility of food production to women and that of cash-crop production to men. Neither did the qualitative improvement of the production factors of land and labour specify, for instance, environmental control, the development of storage and transport facilities or the careful management of the production process, including the development and transfer of improved production skills. There was no specific indication of how the communal production units could become the basis of an expanded local-regional-national specialisation and exchange, or how they could develop other sectors of the economy and, thereby, contribute to national

economic integration of the heterogeneous Tanzanian economy and society. (Cf. von Freyhold 1979:22-31)

'The Second Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1969-1974' (SFYDP) related explicitly to the five major principles announced in the Arusha declaration: social equality; ujamaa; self-reliance; economic and social transformation; and African economic integration. Top priority was given to the extension of the principle of ujamaa in the rural programme to meet with the short-term goal of spreading development to the mass of the people. The long-term goal of an economic transformation process was, on the other hand, to be ensured by public investment in and management of industry and large-scale agriculture. Sixty percent of planned investment was to be financed locally. (SFYDP 1969:1-9, 26-58, 59-63. See also Ngotyana 1972)

The implementation of ujamaa took place during 1969-1976. Whereas it involved the successful concentration of the major part of the population from scattered homesteads into villages, the basic principles had to be abandoned or were distorted during the process. As early as 1970-1971, the principle of the voluntary participation of the peasantry in the establishment of ujamaa villages had to be replaced for lack of peasant response. Already then, government and party officials organised 'operations' to persuade the peasantry to move into ujamaa villages and produce communally. During 1973-1976, the 'operations' were replaced by direct coercive measures which increased the number of villages and registered members significantly. The emphasis on communal farming was, however, given up and replaced by block-farming, i.e. individual 'shoulder-to-shoulder' farming, of a limited number of cash-crops on the communal farm. In all about 8,000 villages with approximately 13,140,229 members, which represented about 85 percent of the population, were registered in 1976. (Boesen et al. 1977:164-166, 170-172; Hyden 1980:100-105; Ministry of Agriculture 1983:16; Kahama et al. 1986:53. See also Hill 1979; DeVries & Fortmann 1979)

The villages which were established by 1976 were concentrated in the poorer central and southern regions (e.g. Lindi, Mtwara, Dodoma and Singida) with empty cultivable land suitable for village resettlement. They were much fewer in the richer northern and north-western regions (e.g. Kilimanjaro, West Lake) with population density, land pressure and a stronger peasant differentiation. The villages represented a wide variety of overall purposes which corresponded only partially with the ujamaa philosophy. Due to the applied coercive measures, many of them were the arbitrary creation of state officials rather than the spontaneous response by the peasants to the ujamaa philosophy. (Boesen et al. 1977:167-169; von Freyhold 1979:42-43; Hyden 1980:100-123)

The lack of peasant response can be explained, partly, by the usurpation of the possible monetary benefits of ujamaa by state officials. During 1968-1972, authority concerning development activities were delegated to development and planning committees at the regional, ward and district levels. The regional administrations were in 1972 made in charge of their own annual budgets. While this decentralisation policy, in theory, allowed for increased popular participation in the local planning and implementation of development policies, it, in reality, enhanced socialist leadership through TANU. Thus, the power of the NEC to discuss and approve of all major policies was extended to the district and regional executive committees of TANU. The TANU committees were to supervise the actions of government officials in their areas and to ensure that government policies were implemented to bring maximum benefits to the people as a whole. The committees were, therefore, in a central position to reinterpret or transmute government policy in the implementation process and to control its actual outcomes. The replacement in 1969 of village by ward development committees incorporated only the most influential and wealthy ten-cell leaders in the planning process and, already then, eliminated participation in formulation and

decision-making at the village level. From 1975, the villages were governed by official village governments. Production targets were often set at the regional level with little or no consultation with the village assemblies and often out of proportion with what was realistically attainable. (Nyerere 1972; Pratt 1972; Pratt 1976:200-201; von Freyhold 1979:38; Okumu & Holmquist 1984:54-59)

The introduction of state socialism and ujamaa undoubtedly affected the capitalist and peasant modes of production. According to Hyden, in the early-mid 1970s more than half of the country's sisal plantations were nationalised, many of the large-scale grain farms were turned into state farms or given to ujamaa farmers to farm, and coffee estates in Kilimanjaro were handed over to local cooperative societies. (Hyden 1980:104) There was an outflux of the non-African communities in reaction against the policy, which included expropriations, and which took place at a time when the world market conditions for both sisal and coffee were highly competitive.

At the local level and in individual villages, 'progressive' farmers, nevertheless, survived. As head of the villages, they acted as a link between state officials and the villagers. They were, therefore, in a position to benefit both as allies of state officials, who reaped personal benefits from a transmutation of official government policy, and from peasant resistance to communal activities. The 'progressive' farmers often had a vested interest in not starting communal ujamaa villages or specific communal projects, such as cash-crop schemes, cooperative bars or shops, as these would often be established in competition with their private economic enterprises. They, moreover, often applied government-provided fertilisers, insecticides and machinery on their private farms instead of attempting to improve the production methods and output of the communal farm. Successful communal farms were, on the other hand, often cultivated by labour hired by the 'progressive' farmers who also controlled the returns. (von Freyhold 1979:42-

43, 62-63, 78-79, 151-155; Hyden 1980:113-119)

From the peasant point of view, cultivating a communal farm in addition to their traditional individual plot for food crops merely intensified the demands on their labour power and reorganised their labour time. Having little or no influence on decision-making concerning production targets and redistribution of economic outcomes, the peasants continued to give highest priority to their individual plots, particularly during the peak agricultural season. The productivity of the individual farms is generally considered to have been higher than that of the communal farms during the period. (Hyden 1980:114-121) The distribution of government seeds, fertilisers and insecticides was often too late or irrelevant for the local production or was abused as inputs on the private farms belonging to the 'progressive' farmers, as discussed above. Similarly, there was often no proper coordination between the use of advanced technology (such as tractors) in clearing the communal farm and a subsequent raising of the level of technology when cultivating the farm. (Boesen et al. 1977:112-113, 120-124, 147-151) The basic levels of technology, the cultivation methods and the division of labour, therefore, generally remained the same as before independence. Peasants were, however, more willing to contribute labour at a reasonably high level of productivity to the provision of public services (e.g. schools, water facilities, dispensaries) than to the communal farm. (ILO 1982:157. See also Chapter 7)

Peasant reaction to the implementation of ujamaa illustrates their preference for tangible social and economic benefits as incentives to go beyond their traditional labour activities. Their reaction also illustrates their preference for individual social autonomy before communal work. Seen in connection with the absorption of monetary benefits from ujamaa by the state officials and 'progressive' farmers, which can be partly understood as a reaction against their falling income levels due to the implementation of salary cuts for public servants,

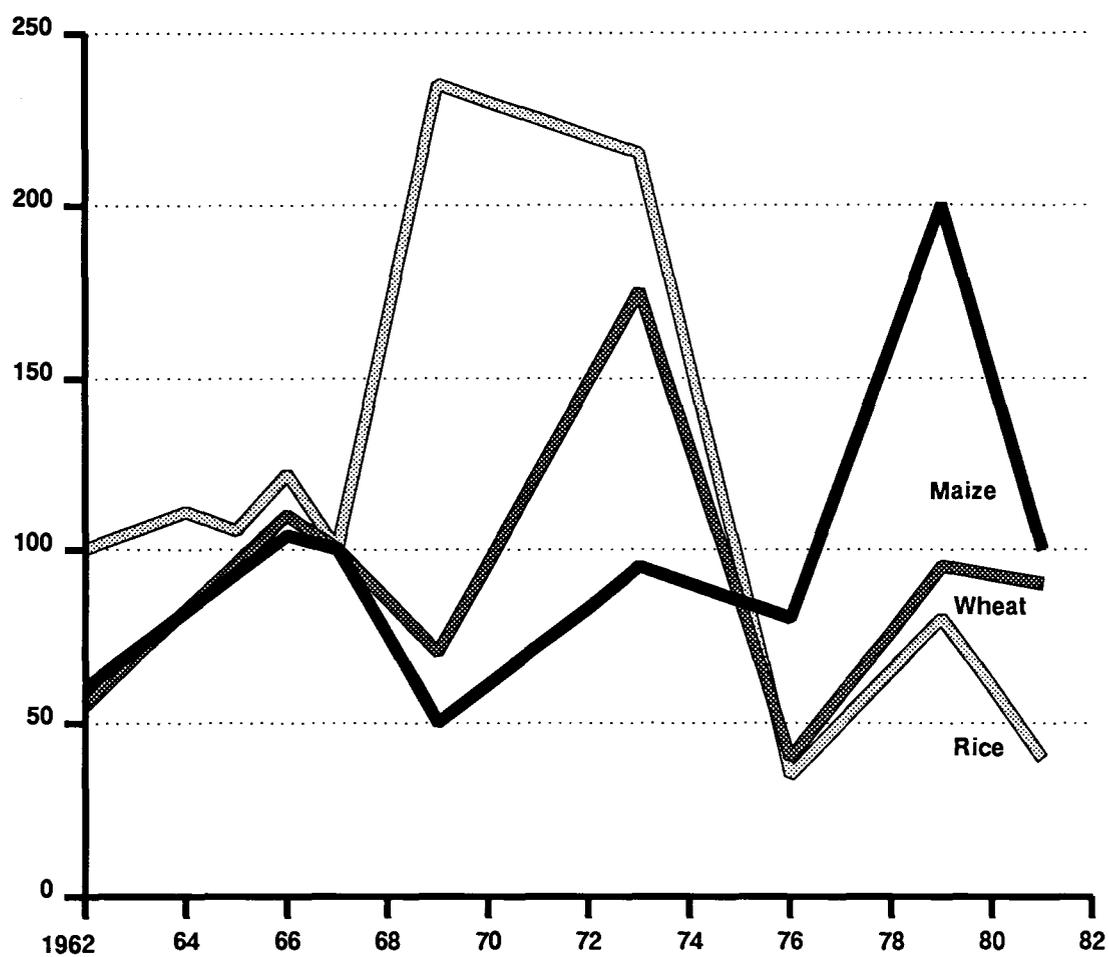
deteriorating international market conditions and expropriations, ujamaa did not successfully develop reciprocity and redistribution as the predominant social characteristic even at the village level. Neither did ujamaa transform the basic mode of production. At the most it replaced private, particularly foreign-owned, capitalist agricultural enterprises by state-owned capitalist farms. (See also Chapter 7)

The trends during 1967-1976 for the major agricultural export crops are displayed in Figure 5.1 and those of the major marketed food crops in Figure 5.2. As can be seen from Figure 5.1, the output of sisal, cashew nuts, coffee, cotton and pyrethrum either declined or stabilised. Tea and tobacco, though increasing in volume, carried no heavy weight in total agricultural production. Figure 5.2, on the other hand, illustrates that marketed food crop production (of wheat, rice and maize) was increasing from 1967 until the drought in 1973-1974 contributed to a serious decline which continued until the implementation of ujamaa was considered complete in 1976.

While monetary agriculture (mostly cash-crops for export) has been estimated to have increased by only 1.9 percent in 1975 compared to the figures of the previous year, subsistence production has been estimated to have increased by 10.5 percent during the same period. (The Economic Survey 1975-76:3; cf. Hyden 1980:146) This estimated increase of subsistence production underlines the continued priority given to food production by the individual peasant households in times of general food declines. It also supports the contention that parallel market and smuggling activities were flourishing during a period of generally falling producer prices and difficult market conditions. (Collier et al. 1986:134-135; Raikes 1986:116-120, 122-123)

The consequences of the low marketed agricultural production outputs can be seen in Table 5.1. During 1969-1975, the balance of trade moved into a deficit caused by an escalation of food imports to support the non-agricultural population, the doubling

Figure 5.2 Production Indices For Selected Food Crops
1962 - 1981. Volume (1967 = 100)



Source: C. G. Kahama, T. L. Maliyamkono & S. Wells, The Challenge for Tanzania's Economy, London 1986: Table 6.3.

of the price on oil and a significant increase in the imports of machinery to support the long-term industrialisation programme laid out in the SFYDP. The foreign exchange holdings were, similarly, in serious deficit by 1976. (Bryceson 1986:Table II, Figure I, Figure II)

From social transformation to social redistribution 1976-1981

The interpretation of socialism and self-reliance as a radical strategy to transform the Tanzanian society has not been pursued since 1976. Despite the final establishment of villages, which could theoretically act as centres for communal production and social activities, the emphasis during 1976-1981 shifted from social transformation to social redistribution.

The Third Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1976-1981' (TFYDP) laid emphasis on the directly productive sectors. While the provision of social services was considered to be the government's cardinal responsibility, food production and the production of goods essential to the people's needs were given priority. The production of consumer goods was framed within a long-term basic industry strategy for 1975-1995 which appointed industry rather than agriculture as the key economic sector of society. The self-reliant aspect of the development efforts was also downplayed compared to the earlier period as expected local financing of planned investment dropped from 60 percent in the SFYDP to 38 percent in the TFYDP. (TFYDP 1976:i-iv, 5-13)

The expressed emphasis on people's needs was formulated at a time when the strategy for international development was undergoing a redefinition. Already in the early 1970s, development with maximum GDP growth and modernisation through maximum investment was considered by the international aid community as having largely failed to bring about broad-scale development in developing countries. The president of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, instead advocated a direct attack on world poverty by setting minimum consumption levels in relation to five broad

targets: basic consumer goods (i.e. food, clothing, housing); basic services (i.e. education, water, health); productive employment (including self-employment); infrastructure; and mass participation in decision-making and implementation of projects. This 'basic human needs' approach, as it was termed at the ILO's world employment conference in 1976, was generally adopted by western bilateral and multilateral donor agencies. (Green 1978; ILO 1978; ILO 1982) Tanzania, as a living 'basic human needs' experiment, subsequently attracted increasing bilateral and multilateral assistance which may have reinforced the emphasis on redistribution of wealth rather than the transformation of the mode of production.

The Tanzania leadership expressed no reservation about receiving foreign aid, which was primarily considered to be a repatriation of formerly extracted profits from the country, as long as it was provided without political strings and, preferably, in accordance with the non-alignment principle. (See e.g. Nyerere 1974) The compiled Table 5.2 which displays the gross overseas development assistance to Tanzania during 1969-1981, however, clearly establishes the significant influence of 'liberal' or social-democratic western democracies (e.g. the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands and Canada) during 1976-1981. There was a drastic increase in total gross foreign assistance from US\$ 44.6 millions in 1969 to US\$ 288.7 millions in 1976 to US\$ 648.8 millions in 1981. Net figures were only slightly lower and, by 1981, equalled exports as a source of revenue and foreign exchange (Gordon 1984:305). Development assistance in 1980/81 represented about 60 percent of the development budget. Grants increased from 54 percent of total gross assistance in 1969 to 74 percent of total assistance in 1981, the grant element of loans also increasing over the period (Crouch 1987:86-87). Multilateral grants and loans, particularly from the World Bank agencies and the EEC increased in relative importance during the mid-1970s to 1981.

Table 5.2 Gross Overseas Development Assistance to Tanzania
1969-1981. (US\$ millions)

	1969	1971	1973	1975	1976	1978	1979	1981
TOTAL LOANS	20.4	48.1	102.4	236.0	92.9	133.4	161.7	176.2
Bilateral	11.7	32.8	90.6	162.2	54.2	78.6	83.1	51.7
Canada	0.4	1.6	7.6	17.2	13.0	-	-	-
China	n.a	6.2	53.7	74.5	4.5	3.6	3.6	n/a
Denmark	1.2	1.5	1.9	17.6	10.2	18.5	20.9	0.3
Finland	-	-	0.7	7.5	6.1	1.8	-	3.2
Germany, W.	0.1	2.7	1.7	15.4	4.3	33.9	39.7	-
Netherlands	0.1	0.6	3.8	10.9	4.2	3.4	5.3	5.4
Soviet Union	n/a	0.3	0.5	0.5	-	-	-	n/a
Sweden	5.3	7.5	14.6	1.1	0.6	-	-	-
United King.	0.1	1.7	0.3	0.5	-	-	-	-
United St.	3.0	6.0	4.0	17.0	10.0	6.0	-	8.0
Other ¹	1.5	4.7	1.8	-	1.3	11.4	13.6	34.8
Multilateral	8.7	15.3	11.8	73.8	38.7	54.8	78.6	124.5
IBRD	1.7*	7.2*	8.8*	39.5*	9.8*	10.5	11.1	2.8
IDA	7.0	8.1	3.0	20.1	28.9	24.4	39.0	78.2
IMF	-	-	-	-	-	16.2	16.4	0.1
OPEC	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	3.6	16.1
Other ²	-	-	-	14.2	-	2.7	8.5	27.3
TOTAL GRANTS	24.2	30.6	72.9	187.9	195.8	456.7	487.0	508.6
Bilateral	19.8	26.2	66.2	151.9	169.4	420.4	438.6	442.2
Canada	1.5	3.5	3.5	14.8	7.4	92.1	28.6	27.2
Denmark	1.3	2.7	5.5	6.5	9.7	19.7	50.1	32.5
Finland	-	1.0	3.1	4.5	6.3	8.0	33.8	12.8
Germany, W.	3.5	3.6	7.8	13.8	16.9	22.4	40.8	54.5
Netherlands	-	0.9	3.4	8.1	23.4	91.5	76.2	68.9
Norway	0.8	2.9	6.9	17.2	14.5	30.7	35.1	40.1
Sweden	3.0	3.2	17.5	54.0	51.2	114.4	93.4	76.5
United King.	4.1	3.4	3.4	8.5	10.4	19.8	46.5	56.0
United St.	5.0	4.0	5.0	17.0	24.0	11.0	11.0	25.0
Other ¹	0.6	1.0	10.1	7.5	5.6	10.8	23.1	48.7
Multilateral	4.4	4.4	6.7	36.0	26.4	36.3	48.4	66.4
EEC	-	-	-	15.0	5.7	19.9	29.2	40.6
Other ²	4.4	4.4	6.7	21.0	20.7	16.4	19.2	25.8
GRAND TOTAL	44.6	78.7	175.3	423.9	228.7	590.1	648.7	684.8

* Representing net flows. n/a not available

1 Including Australia, Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Switzerland.

2 Including the African Development Bank, UN, various UN agencies, OPEC and other OPEC financed agencies.

Source: OECD, Geographical Distribution of Financial Flows to Developing Countries 1969/1975-1971/1977, Paris 1977:226-227; 1978/1981-1979/1982, Paris 1983:178-179; 1980/1983-1981/1984, Paris 1984:204-205. Figures on China and the Soviet Union are from S.C. Crouch, Western Responses to Tanzanian Socialism 1967-1983, Aldershot 1983:88.

Socialism and self-reliance as reinterpreted in the TFYDP was, therefore, implemented under the influence of the international community. Fifteen different donors were invited to prepare plans for the different regions under the Regional Development Programmes (RIDEPs) and also came under pressure to finance them. The RIDEPs, although attempting to spread aid to the countryside, including the traditionally poorer and neglected regions, represented no coordinated national effort and showed significant variations in terms of goals, size and sector emphasis. (Crouch 1987:91) They may, therefore, well have further strengthened the heterogeneity of the Tanzanian economy and society.

There was an overall imbalance in resource allocation in favour of industry and infrastructure and away from agriculture. During 1975/76 - 1981/82, aid to agriculture decreased from 40 to 10 percent, whereas aid to industry increased from 9 to 20 percent of total assistance (Svendsen 1986:67). During the same period, the Tanzanian government's recurrent and development expenditure on agriculture, similarly, declined from 14.2 to 7.4 percent, whereas that of industry increased from 1.9 to 8.3 percent (Bryceson 1986:note 11). In addition, the Tanzanian state enhanced its direct control over agricultural output. In 1976, cooperative societies were abolished and replaced by state marketing agencies and, in 1978, government officials were posted permanently in about half of the 8,000 villages in the country to manage and control the villages from within. (Hyden 1980:107; Hedlund & Lundahl 1989:42)

The effect on agricultural production was severe. Of the export cash-crops only tea, tobacco and coffee expanded during 1976-1981. (Figure 5.1) The output of marketed maize, wheat and rice increased slightly seen in relation to the 1967 output figures (Figure 5.2) and to the average 1969-71 production figures (ILO 1982:Table 16.1). Total marketed food production far from met the local needs, particularly during 1979-1980 when serious weather conditions (both drought and flooding) disrupted

production. Food imports tripled during 1976-1981 (Bryceson 1986:Figure I) which, again, contributed to a tripling of the balance of trade deficit (Table 5.1). Falling prices of the major export crops, which caused a 12 percent decline in export earnings, together with another jump in the world prices of oil in 1979-80 and the war against Amin in 1978-79, worsened the foreign exchange deficit and placed the country in a state of bankruptcy. There was a five-fold increase in external public debt during 1970-1981. (Barkan 1984:19; IBRD 1983:Table 16)

The emphasis on social equality during 1967-1976 and on social redistribution during 1967-1981 did, however, improve all social indicators of development and diminish socio-economic and rural-urban divisions. By 1981, life expectancy had reached 52 years; water supplies were provided for 90 percent of the urban and 42 percent of the rural population; the literacy rate had increased to 79 percent; and the enrolment rate in primary schools covered 70 percent of the age group. (Barkan 1984:Table 1.3. See also Chapter 6)

The diminished socio-economic and rural-urban divisions were achieved partly by influencing the higher income levels in both the urban and the agricultural sector. In the public sector, the salaries for civil servants were cut drastically. During 1967-1981, the differentials between the highest and lowest paid government employees were reduced from 30:1 to 6:1, whereas middle grade civil servants experienced a 54 percent drop in real wages during 1970-1980. Similarly, real non-agricultural wages have been estimated to have fallen by almost 50 percent. In the agricultural sector, small-holder incomes have been estimated to have increased by 8 percent during 1970-1980. Peasant income from cotton and subsistence production has been estimated as higher than the minimum wage during 1976-1982. Commercial farmers, on the other hand, have been estimated to have experienced a 46 percent decline in income during 1970-1980. According to Collier et al., the total number of 'progressive' farmers who cultivated land by hired labour was

negligible at the end of the 1970s. (ILO 1982:270; Leonard 1984:Table 6.1, Table 6.4; Bryceson 1986:Figure IV; Collier et al. 1986:132; Svendsen 1986:69)

There was a continued diversification of the import/export trade during 1976-81. (See Table 5.1) Western industrialised countries remained, with some fluctuation in individual years, the main partners for both exports and imports. The relative importance of the United Kingdom declined, whereas West Germany gained in significance as an export country and together with other EEC countries as an import country. The impact of China declined after the railway from Dar es Salaam to Zambia was completed in 1975. Imports from oil producing countries were of some significance as from the early 1970s.

The reemphasis on economic development goals 1982-1986

In the early 1980s, Tanzania was caught in an international economic depression which affected the whole of the African continent as well as other continents, Latin America in particular. The macro-economic difficulties of the country enforced a further liberalisation of the economy which brought back some of the socio-economic features of the years immediately after independence. These characteristics are even more apparent now (in the early 1990s) as a partial consequence of the acceptance in 1986 by the Tanzanian government of IMF lending terms which affected the relative priority of social goals in the development process.

In the context of the world-wide recession, the macro-economic difficulties called for ever increasing flows of international capital to restore the economy and maintain political stability. In respect of the most-indebted and least developed countries, the World Bank assumed the major role as a lending institution to assist them in adjusting to the international crisis. It also heightened the role of the IMF in solving their balance of payments problems. (See e.g. Svendsen 1987) A country which had received the Fund's approval for its

recovery programme would also be more likely to attract assistance from other donors, since the IMF and the World Bank coordinated the aid policies of Western donors. (Crouch 1987:102-103)

Since the 1980s, the 'Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1981-1986', as well as the long-term perspective plan from 1981 to 2000 and other more specific plans, have been suspended in favour of short-term emergency packages, including the 1981 National Economic Survival Programme, the 1982 Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the reform package announced in the 1984/85 budget. The economic adjustment policies were formulated in consideration of a further downhill movement of the economy during the 1980s which put additional pressure on the country to adapt to the World Bank's overall strategy for sub-Saharan Africa in order to become eligible for IMF and other international funding. (Svendsen 1986:73; Crouch 1987:91. See also IBRD 1981)

In the initial negotiations between the Tanzanian government and the IMF in 1980-81, a strong disagreement was expressed concerning the causes of and, consequently, the needed adjustments to the macro-economic difficulties. While the IMF identified primarily domestic policy errors as the main cause of Tanzania's problems, the Tanzanian government laid emphasis on other primarily external factors as being more important to its economic decline. (Gordon 1984:328-329; Singh 1986) The government's emergency packages, nevertheless, applied some of the IMF suggested policy measures. They included: a 70 percent devaluation of the shilling to the US\$ during 1982-1984; specific efforts to stimulate agricultural production, such as increased producer prices and credit schemes; and adjustments of the wages and salaries level, particularly for the non-agricultural population which had suffered from the declining food production and the drastically cut income levels. (Svendsen 1986:71-77)

The renewed emphasis on investment in the directly productive sectors had a positive effect on agricultural output which increased by 2.5 percent during 1983-1984. There was some increase of both export crop and food crop production and some decline in food imports. Investment in public administration, which included the social services, on the other hand, dropped from 10.5 to 6.5 percent during 1983-1984. Industrial output, similarly, dropped by 13 percent which contributed to further increases in overall imports. (Raikes 1986:Table 5.1, Table 5.2, Table 5.3, Table 5.4; Svendsen 1986:75-76) Whereas the failure to collectivise agricultural production reappeared on the political agenda in 1980, it was the right of the individual peasant households to occupy land which became relegitimised in 1983. Cooperative societies, which flourished in the 1960s and early 1970s, were reestablished although initially only as an adjunct to the state marketing agencies. (SAP 1982; cf. Migot-Adholla 1984:225-226)

The economic policy measures were accompanied by political changes which addressed the balance between party and government. In 1982, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the national political party which was formed in 1977 by merging TANU with the Zanzibari Afro-Shirazi party, separated party and government responsibilities at the local level by reintroducing district councils. The elected district councils limited the influence of the regional and party secretaries who would no longer serve as regional and area commissioners. In the 1984/85 budget, the councils were given charge of a number of public services (for instance education, health and small roads) on the basis of a reduced subvention from the central government and the introduction of a new development tax, as a renewed attempt at increased cost-sharing through local participation and self-help in the development process. (Migot-Adholla 1984:225-226; Svendsen 1986:75)

The 1980s and, presumably, the 1990s have therefore become a time of considerable economic and political adjustment in

light of the country's position internationally and in reaction to the consequences of the formerly implemented policies. Even though the right to self-determination and the strategy of socialism and self-reliance was defended by the Tanzanian government in the 1980-1981 negotiations with the IMF, the economic measures introduced during the 1980s have aimed at reviving private enterprise and achieving economic rather than social development goals. Whereas both the strategy of socialism and self-reliance and the emphasis on social goals are still stressed in important policy statements as the ultimate objectives for the development process, the immediate attention of the Tanzanian government is the weak economy and how the formerly set ambitious social goals have to be readjusted to the present economic difficulties.¹ Whether the adopted short and medium term economic measures will become the predominant long term characteristics may, therefore, still remain to be seen.

Progress or Transformation: the Logic of the Peasant Household

The IMF/Tanzania controversy illustrates the dilemmas of Tanzanian development at the macro-level: the relative influence of the market and free enterprise versus the control of the state and public enterprise as well as the relative balance between different economic sectors in development efforts. It also illustrates the vulnerability of a poor small state in the global politico-economic system. To these macro-economic and international policy factors should be added the effect of internal natural forces on an essentially rainfed agricultural society and the response at the micro-level of the primary producers in Tanzania, the peasants, to the stipulated and implemented development efforts.

Tanzanian development since independence has been neither unidirectional nor homogeneous. The principle of non-alignment

¹ As stated, for instance, by President Mwinyi at the University Convocation on the Crisis in the Social Services in Tanzania, University of Dar es Salaam, April 3-4, 1991.

in international relations and the strategy of socialism and self-reliance in national development aimed at shaping an independent identity for post-independent Tanzania. The non-alignment principle did not, however, prevent foreign influence on policy formulation and implementation. Similarly, the strategy of socialism and self-reliance underwent substantial change, as a result of the changing national and international context in which it was implemented and because of the direct response to and outcomes of the policy.

The strategy aimed at a long-term transformation of Tanzania into a self-reliant nation demonstrating 'African' socialism. The inspiration to and model for the transformed society was largely local, namely the pre-colonial African communities and the existing individual peasant households from which the four crucial pillars to support the new nation were extracted: mass participation, socialist attitudes, communal production and social equality. The political institutions and the administrative system were reorganised to match the interpreted traditional participation in decision-making; the social ethic of the individual peasant household was to become a national characteristic through mobilisation and education; economic development was to be achieved through communal efforts from below; village councils at the local level and the state at the national level were to create and maintain social equality through redistribution of wealth.

The analysis has demonstrated that the strategy of socialism and self-reliance was not implemented in accordance with the basic philosophy. Firstly, the political institutions and the political-administrative system became the means of state control rather than mass participation since state bureaucrats implemented the official ideology from above, and as public institutions took over the vital marketing and other economic functions in society. Secondly, neither state bureaucrats nor 'progressive' farmers nor individual peasant households displayed the communal obligations and rights of the traditional

peasant household in a wider social context. While state bureaucrats and 'progressive' farmers joined interests and reaped private benefits from the national development strategy through their positions in the public institutions, peasant households did not extend their social patterns to a higher social level. Thirdly, communal production activities did not become the predominant mode of agricultural production either on the state farms, which were few and heavily mechanised, or in the villages. The communal farms were split up and cultivated as individual plots already in 1973. Fourthly, village councils did not adopt democratic decision-making and participation in the redistribution of locally created economic surpluses. National redistribution policies, on the other hand, did narrow the gaps between different socio-economic groups and between rural-urban areas. While the implemented policies maintained or improved the living standards of the mass of the population, particularly in the countryside, they drastically affected the income levels and the living circumstances of the higher and middle level social groups. Fifthly, the post-colonial state became more, rather than less, dependent on foreign assistance with consequences for the national policy formulation and implementation.

State, market and global forces all had an impact on the development process. The state set the goals and designed the policy measures by which to reach them. It did not, however, exist isolated from the external environment which continuously interfered in the process. Nor could it achieve its goals without the cooperation of the mass of the producers. Although agriculture was the mainstay of the economy, it was not always considered to be the key sector to promote economic development. Both in the early 1960s and in the mid-1970s, industry was given stronger emphasis in the development efforts in accordance with the thinking and influence of the international community. Market incentives, such as consumer goods, higher producer prices, and the (re)establishment of cooperative societies, were

promoted both in the early 1960s and again in the early 1980s in order to increase agricultural production. In the interim period, the moral obligation to work hard for the nation as a whole and other non-economic incentives (social services) were to propel the nation towards socialism and self-reliance. For the nation-state, the investment in social services represented an investment in labour as a scarce production factor. Education, in particular, was to support a value transformation towards 'socialist man'.

Peasant farmers did not participate in the development efforts in the way it was intended in the strategy. While this may well be explained by the adopted top-down approach in the implementation process and by the intervention of unforeseen internal and external factors in the development process, it also related to the lack of transformation of social attitudes. Peasants did not respond to the moral obligation to work hard for the common good of all as they were expected to do. They did, however, contribute with self-help activities to obtain social services, and they were, by and large, able to maintain their living standards due to their individual enterprises and choices. While agricultural food production was too low to feed the non-agricultural (urban) population, and while cash-crop production was too low to prevent macro-economic difficulties, subsistence production has been estimated to have increased over time since independence, unofficial food markets were considered to have grown in importance and smuggling activities of food and cash-crops to have flourished.

For Hyden, and other anthropologically-oriented researchers, the peasant household represents an independent social institution which still operates largely unaffected by the influence of state and market forces. It continues to invest surpluses in the social rather than the economic sphere, and it resists trading off its social autonomy for increased dependence either on the market or the state. (Hyden 1980; Hyden 1983; Hyden 1986; Hyden 1987; Bryceson 1986) This thesis has been slightly

modified, though not dismissed, based on a study of Kagera district in the West Lake region before independence. (Smith 1989) It has caused a lively and critical debate related to Africa in general. (Kasfir 1986; Cliffe 1987; Williams 1987) The major point of contention is the extent to which African peasants do display a capitalist behaviour or are dependent on the market.

In the context of the self-reliant socialist strategy, development depended on people. Social services were promoted for their development and education was given high priority as a tool to mould the common socialist attitudes. While the analysis has discredited the achievement of widespread socialist attitudes through the socio-economic measures adopted by the Tanzania leadership during the investigated period, the following two chapters, in different ways, pursue the efforts at building socialism and self-reliance through educational measures. The chapters will attempt to suggest whether socialist attitudes were being constructed through education, and whether peasant traditional values are likely to continue to hold sway against either self-reliant socialism or the externally induced capitalist policy measures which became apparent again in the 1980s.

CHAPTER 6 DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN POST-INDEPENDENT TANZANIA

This analysis examines the stated educational objectives of the post-independent government and their relative outcomes during the period reviewed in Chapter 5, 1962-1986. It is based on an examination of a wide array of primary and secondary materials, including policy papers, development plans and educational statistics.

Special attention is paid to the attempted use of the national educational system to achieve two of the cornerstones of the self-reliant socialist strategy, namely mass participation and social equality. As discussed in Chapter 5, participation in education was considered to be a crucial tool to create political awareness and mass involvement in the development process by shaping the attitudes and forming the skills needed for the self-reliant socialist state. The widening of educational opportunities was also to support those economic policies which aimed at reducing social inequality based on income and geographical location. The realisation of both of these goals, it will be shown, led to a radical change of the access and equity criteria underlying educational policy before independence.

The two additional cornerstones of the self-reliant socialist strategy, namely the development of socialist attitudes and communal production, are investigated on a preliminary basis by identifying possible changes of the contents of formal education which aimed at creating 'African socialist man' as well as knowledge and skills in support of rural transformation. A more detailed examination of these dimensions is undertaken in Chapter 7 in relation to the selected educational institutions and programmes.

As will appear from the analysis, there was a congruence between the changing development strategies (as analysed in Chapter 5) and the use of education to either follow or lead

social development in sub-periods of the post-independence era. This congruence, it will be shown, reinforced a relative emphasis on either skills or attitudinal development in the particular sub-periods and involved a subtle transformation over time of the core concept of education for self-reliance, a transformation which is overlooked in existing published research. It will, moreover, be proposed, contrary to the argument of the traditions discussed in Chapter 2, that there were crucial differences in the use of education to achieve national development goals before and after independence.

It will be suggested, however, that the implemented educational reforms did not fully realise the wider social goals of mass participation and social equality as measured by the relative provision and contents of education for different social groups. A possible key explanatory factor, it will be argued, was the transformation of educational policy during the period which was influenced by both internal and external factors.

The Stated Objectives of Education in Post-Independent Tanzania

Educational policy was reformulated in a context where the achievement of independence had released widespread popular expectation of social equality and improved welfare. As long as the interrelationship between formal education - modern sector occupation - and higher income levels was maintained, education could be rightly considered by the wide population to be the most important means of social mobility and an access card to wider social opportunities. The maintenance of political stability, therefore, partly depended on the government's will to provide educational opportunities which satisfied this expressed popular demand. (See e.g. Court & Kinyanjui 1980:327-333; Court 1984:265-272) Educational policy was, moreover, formulated under the influence of international thinking on educational development. As was the case with the economic policies, the direct outside influence on educational policy-

making was strongest during the years of severe economic difficulties.

The educational policy documents were formulated either in the name of President Nyerere, the political party or the Ministry of Education, the latter being the determining educational agency during the period.¹ The underlying views were also expressed in a great number of speeches, papers and other statements by President Nyerere and formed the basis of educational planning in the various development plans during the period. An analysis of these documents reveals two competing concepts of education, namely education for manpower development and education for self-reliance. Like the two competing concepts before independence, the post-independence concepts related to the changing wider purposes of the socio-economic and political development process. Thus, education for manpower development was to propel the capitalist economic development strategy relying on increased economic growth rates in the early years after independence, 1961-1966, whereas education for self-reliance was announced in support of the self-reliant socialist strategy in 1967. In reality, however, education for self-reliance never fully replaced education for manpower development. The two concepts instead coexisted as possible alternatives for educational development from 1967, education for manpower development reappearing as the dominating influence after 1982.

Education for manpower development versus education for self-reliance

The post-independent government followed a manpower planning approach to educational development in the years immediately after independence which conveniently combined two different priorities. One was the continued emphasis on increased

¹ The formal name of the present Ministry of Education was, during 1968-1982, the Ministry of National Education. For simplicity, the term Ministry of Education has been used throughout in this chapter.

economic growth rates which necessitated increased production and productivity. The other was the strong political pressure for an Africanisation of the middle and high level posts as a manifestation of politico-economic independence. The approach was designed under the influence of prevailing international thinking at the time, particularly that of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). In 1963, a UNESCO educational planning mission was appointed to review educational needs in Tanganyika. It made recommendations in relation to the 'Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62-1963/64' (DPT) in consideration of planned educational goals for the African continent as a whole, as originally formulated at a UNESCO-arranged conference for African states in Addis Ababa in 1961. Moreover, a number of detailed studies of the manpower requirements of the country were initiated which influenced the educational priorities of the 'Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1964-1969' (FYP).¹

As a concept, education for manpower development represented an articulation of education for modernisation which prevailed before independence. Its wider framework was human capital theory which was developed particularly by American economists in the late 1950s and the early 1960s and which influenced educational thinking and development all over the world at the time. Like education for modernisation, education for manpower development rested on the assumption that formal education was crucial to improve the productive capacity of a country's population and, therefore, to speed up an economic development process aiming at rapid industrialisation and an increased economic growth rate. More specifically, the concept stressed the link between the output of the educational system and the projected high and middle level manpower requirements in a given

¹ Of these studies the following three were particularly influential: G. Hunter, High-Level Manpower in East Africa. Preliminary Assessment, London 1962. G. Tobias, High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources 1962-1967, Dar es Salaam 1963. R.L. Thomas, Survey of the High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources for the Five-Year Development Plan, 1964-65 to 1968-69, Dar es Salaam 1965. For a detailed study of the three, see Skorov 1966.

society. Education was considered to be an economic investment destined for consumption by other economic sectors, in particular the modern sector of society. It reinforced the development of skills related to science and technical subjects rather than arts. In contrast to education for modernisation, as formulated in the Colonial Office memoranda, education for manpower development expressed little or no concern with the wider social and political purposes of education, implying both a disregard for the value of non-economic education and for alternative private demands for education. (Cf. Chapter 2; Skorov 1966; Thomas 1968; Resnick 1968)

The emphasis on educational development in relation to economic rather than either socio-cultural or cultural factors determined the recommendations, priorities and plans concerning education in post-independent Tanzania until 1967. In 1961, the UNESCO declaration of priorities in the plan for African educational development over the next two decades rested on the expressed view that human resource development was as important as the development of natural resources and that the development of education could be regarded as a highly profitable long-term investment. It stressed the need to adapt educational procedures to economic circumstances with emphasis on scientific knowledge and its application to the African environment. Highest priority must, it was stated, be given to secondary and post-secondary education, although all African states should also aim at achieving universal primary education within a maximum of 20 years while continuing the work of adult education and vocational training on massive scales. (UNESCO 1961, Outline:10, 16-18)

The recommendations of the UNESCO educational planning mission in Tanganyika in 1963 reiterated these fundamental views. The recommendations were "founded on the economic premise that education has such a part to play in developing and administering the country that its other powers, for example, to widen the general level of culture, must be ignored" (UNESCO

1963:18). While it was considered to be impossible to use formal education as a means of training for particular occupations, it was important that formal education should prepare young people for work in that field of vocational interest and skill which was likely to be their environment. (UNESCO 1963:7) Top priority in the field of educational policy was given to secondary and post-secondary education which, it was argued, must be planned both quantitatively and qualitatively in accordance with the country's future occupational needs. (UNESCO 1963:8, 18-19)

The implication for the planning of education in the DPT and the FYP was that the highest priority was placed on secondary (including technical and teacher training) and higher education at the expense of primary or elementary education. Primary education was regarded as largely non-productive except as a base for recruitment of students to higher levels of education, whereas secondary and higher education were considered to have obvious economic benefits. The expansion of secondary and higher education was seen in relation to one of the main objectives of the FYP, namely to become fully self-sufficient in trained manpower by 1980. The UNESCO recommendation of the Addis Ababa conference that universal primary education should be reached by 1980 received, on the other hand, little attention. Primary education was instead designed to expand only to the extent that the cost of expanding secondary and higher education would allow. (DPT 1962:78-85; FYP 1964, Vol. I:xi-xii, 63-67, 82-86; Vol. II:102-117)

A radical shift occurred in 1967 with the announcement of the strategy of socialism and self-reliance, when the overall purpose of education was reformulated and associated with self-reliance. In contrast to education for manpower development, education for self-reliance related strongly to socio-cultural and political factors rather than to economic needs. It, therefore, bore more immediate resemblance to education for adaptation prevalent before independence than to either educa-

tion for modernisation or education for manpower development. Like education for adaptation, as it was formulated in the Colonial Office memoranda, education for self-reliance was to promote mass education in order to improve production and productivity of the rural sector and to incorporate the broad population in policy-making processes. However, in contrast to education for adaptation, both as formulated at the metropolitan level and as adopted and implemented by the British administration in Tanganyika, education for self-reliance introduced as an overriding purpose the need to restore social commitment and cooperative endeavour at every level of the educational system in order to construct a state which was rooted in the interpreted principles of the country's past, instead of being modelled on the experience of Britain. (Cf. Chapter 4)

Education was at the time considered to be the primary road to achieving freedom and development in the newly defined society. The object of this development was man as opposed to the creation of wealth. A free man was considered to be capable of both understanding and of meeting his personal needs and would feel free to make strategic decisions concerning his personal life and well-being and to carry them into effect. All men were to live in human dignity and equality. This implied, on the one hand, the elimination of domination and exploitation by one man over another and, on the other, each man's equal responsibility to work and contribute to society to the limit of his ability. Amassing wealth was regarded as secondary to these moral principles of human dignity and equality and was only acceptable as a service to society in general. It was, then, essential to develop the minds and understanding of the people, or to create the wider social consciousness needed, for man to become the master of his own development. (Nyerere 1967e; Nyerere 1968a)

Educational institutions, together with the home environment, were considered to be the crucial channel to form the attitude of mind which would bring service to the many instead

of privilege to the few. Imparting knowledge or learning for its own sake was therefore no longer justified. Knowledge had to be relevant to the society which was being constructed and had, above all, to be accompanied by the social attitudes which would be conducive to the development of all people. The more education a person received, the higher was his expected responsibility to society. (Nyerere 1966a; Nyerere 1966b; Nyerere 1968b)

Education for self-reliance was closely related to the understanding of Tanzania as a "poor, undeveloped, and agricultural economy" (Nyerere 1967b:272). In order to justify the relatively high spending of government revenues on education, its vocational and social aspects must, therefore, become relevant to the predominantly rural economy, i.e. to the improvement of the lives of the people in the rural areas, and no longer be thought of "as a training for the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of the economy" (Nyerere 1967b:267). The crucial purpose of education was to prepare the young for work in a rural society and all citizens for participation in a free and democratic society. This aim was to be achieved by the inculcation of a strong sense of commitment to the total community through the promotion of cooperative endeavour and the creation of an acceptance of the values appropriate for the future. Education was to develop certain important characteristics in the individual, such as an enquiring mind, an ability to learn from others in a critical fashion, and a basic confidence as a free and equal member of society. (Nyerere 1967b:267-275)

The emphasis of the 'Second Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1969-1974' (SFYDP) consequently shifted to mass education. At the primary level, education was to be made terminal in itself and no longer to be considered as the stepping stone to secondary education. The plan introduced an expansion of standards V, VI and VII to ensure that every child would get a full seven years of education. Primary school fees

were to be abolished by 1973 in order to boost the number of children enrolling in standard I, and the standard IV examination was to be terminated by 1974 in order to ensure a seven years education for all. The year 1989 was set as the target to achieve the goal of universal primary education. Changes were, moreover, to be introduced in the primary school curriculum to implement the principles of education for self-reliance and provide the basic training required for life primarily in a rural economy. Kiswahili was to be advanced as a national language by being introduced as the medium of instruction at the primary level, and in the longer run to replace English at the secondary and higher levels. (TFYDP 1969, Vol. I:xi-xii, 5-9, 148-153)

Education was, moreover, to be made available on a mass basis to the adult population in order to promote a clearer understanding of the obligations of a self-reliant society and of the possibilities for contributing to the nation's development. The main emphasis would be on rural development, including simple training in agricultural techniques and craftsmanship, health education, housecraft, simple economics and accounting, and education in politics and the responsibilities of the citizen. Literacy (in Kiswahili) would be included in response to popular demand, as people became aware of its functional importance. All work would be conducted in Kiswahili and would be undertaken by various organisations, government departments, the cooperative movement and the churches. It would be linked to the development of primary schools into community education centres. At the post-primary level, the training of teachers would have to be accelerated to ensure an early localisation of the teaching force. Ameliorative measures had to be taken to ensure self-sufficiency in high-level, particularly technical, manpower by 1980. (SFYDP 1969, Vol. I:xii-xiii, 5-9, 34-36, 153-158)

The villagisation process during 1969-1976 facilitated the build-up of the physical infrastructure needed to implement mass

education and allowed for the incorporation of otherwise scattered populations in the experiment. The ujamaa villages were, moreover, the strongest basis for the implementation of the aspect of education for self-reliance which stressed the need to integrate schools with the surrounding community. Such integration aimed at converting all schools into economic as well as educational institutions in order to achieve a higher degree of self-finance and to raise awareness of the skills and attitudes needed for the village economy. It was based on the active participation of students in village life and of village members in school life and was interpreted as a reconstruction for the modern context of the pre-colonial African way of transmitting both mental and manual skills in an integrated fashion. (Nyerere 1967b:272ff; Nyerere 1967f; Malekela 1989) Similar experiments were undertaken in other parts of the world at the time (e.g. China and Cuba) which may well have acted as an additional source of inspiration. The general views expressed on education during this particular period were also much in line with radical critics of the effect of colonial education and the colonial experience on the colonised mind, and the need for 'conscientisation' to gain true liberation from such conditions (see e.g. Fanon 1963; Memmi 1974; Freire 1970; Freire 1972).

Thus, the principles of freedom, human dignity and equality were interpreted in relation to the human potential as a revolutionary force in the development process, rather than as the foundation for the realisation of the more liberal humanitarian ideals which were advocated in the immediately preceding period. While injustice and peace were considered to be incompatible in the long run, man had, it was believed, the power to decide and act against any oppressive conditions and restrictions of his freedom at any given and decisive point of history. (Nyerere 1969; Nyerere 1970b; Nyerere 1974) Education had to

liberate the African from the mentality of slavery and colonialism by making him aware of himself as an equal member of the human

race, with the rights and duties of his humanity. It [had] to liberate him from the habit of submitting to circumstances which reduce[d] his dignity as if they were immutable. And it ha[d] to liberate him from the shackles of technical ignorance so that he [could] make and use the tools of organisation and creation for the development of himself and his fellow men. (Nyerere 1974a:48)

The year 1970 was proclaimed as 'Adult Education Year' launching widespread national campaigns to improve crucial aspects of the life of the mass of the population. The year 1975 was targeted for the eradication of adult illiteracy. With the Musoma resolution in 1974, TANU, moreover, decided to speed up the process of universal primary education, bringing the date forward to November 1977 and, thus, ahead of the 1980 UNESCO goal set at the Addis Ababa conference. The inculcation of a scientific enquiring mind and of social attitudes reflecting service to the many were reiterated as the cornerstones for educational efforts at all levels. (Nyerere 1969; Nyerere 1970a; TANU 1974)

The central focus of the 'Third Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1976-1981' (TFYDP) was the need to implement universal primary education satisfactorily both in content and orientation. Following TANU's decision in 1974, the plan also specified several of the reform areas originally pointed out in the policy document on 'Education for Self-Reliance' in 1967. They related to new assessment procedures at different levels of the educational system based on an integration of mental and manual work in order to promote the relevance of education to society. Thus, written examinations based on facts were to be replaced by continuous assessment of classroom work which stressed the power to reason in combination with the performance in other functions, particularly those related to practical work and community activities as a measure of 'character' and willingness to work. In higher education, the criterion for admission had to be changed from the purely academic to that which combined academic with work performance and the display of social commitment. At the secondary level, the plan introduced a diversification of secondary schools into one or

more of the following biases: technical education, agriculture, commerce and home economics, in order to ensure a higher level of integration between the secondary school population and their surrounding communities and to instill proper work-related attitudes and skills. (TFYDP 1976:82-85)

Education was to be introduced as a subject to increase rapidly the number of teachers needed both in primary schools and in adult literacy and other adult training programmes. A two-year course in technical education was planned for those standard VII leavers who did not obtain places in secondary schools or other training institutions to meet with an identified need for more technicians. Self-sufficiency in high-level manpower was maintained as a goal for higher education, and Kiswahili was to be strengthened as a national language together with various traditional cultures and customs which conformed to the national policy. (TFYDP 1976:82,84-88)

In the early-mid 1980s, educational policy was reinterpreted as a partial consequence of the structural adjustment programme and World Bank/IMF terms. The emphasis on investment in the directly productive sectors of the economy reduced spending on social services, and the envisaged need for privatisation and cost-sharing limited public responsibility for educational provision. The renewed orientation to a market economy reinforced, as immediately after independence, the need for skilled manpower and stressed academic quality rather than social equity as the important outcome of the educational process.

The Ministry of Education, nevertheless, reaffirmed education for self-reliance as the "cornerstone of educational plans and practices [towards] the twenty first century" in the approved recommendations of a 1982 presidential commission (Ministry of Education 1984a:1). The specification of the concept, however, noticeably excluded the radical strain of educational thinking of the early-mid 1970s and pronounced a dual approach to educational planning. While education was to

develop within people self-confidence, an enquiring mind, knowledge, understanding and respect for the Tanzanian social system, its customs, traditions and ethics as well as cooperative work - science, technology and vocational training were to be explicitly introduced at all educational levels as the key to understand, analyse and make the best use of the environment and the country's natural resources. (Ministry of Education 1984a:(ii)-(iii), 1-6) The need for trained manpower was considered to be the overriding priority and led to a readoption of the manpower planning approach for secondary and higher education, while primary education was reaffirmed as a basic human right. While secondary and higher education were to be expanded together with teacher training, primary education was to be consolidated to facilitate an improvement in educational quality. Adult education was, however, still to be expanded. There was, in addition, an important shift in language policy as Kiswahili was to be the medium of instruction at the nursery and primary level and English at the post-primary level. (Ministry of Education 1984a:(ii)-(iii), 1-17, 21. See also Nyerere 1985)

In essence, then, education for manpower development and education for self-reliance contrasted an education for the few with an education for the many in accordance with the stipulated wider alternative development strategies. A manifest difference in the underlying thinking of these strategies was that whereas modernisation and capitalist-oriented economic development was believed to require a refinement and application of still more advanced levels of technology, the focal point for African socialism and self-reliance was the individual's moral obligation to work hard in the interest of the many. Education for manpower development, consequently, focused particularly on the development of science, technology and vocational skills for a limited administrative and technocratic elite, whereas education for self-reliance stressed the promotion of social commitment and social consciousness among the mass of the population.

This distinction could be seen as an apparent parallel to the pre-independence situation which, similarly, contrasted an education for the few at the top of the educational pyramid (education for modernisation) with an education for the many at the base of the educational pyramid (education for adaptation) in order to achieve wider desired societal goals. An important difference was that educational policies after independence were intended to support those economic policies which aimed at reducing and preventing further social and economic divisions, the presence of which was partly caused by the educational policies implemented before independence. In this respect, government control of the relative provision of education for manpower development and education for self-reliance was a key factor.

Educational Practice in Relation to 'Participation' and 'Equality' in Post-Independent Tanzania

The Tanzanian government extended its control of the provision of education both through legal and administrative measures. The racially divided educational systems were unified already in the new Education Ordinance of 1961, following the recommendations of a specially appointed committee and the acceptance by the Legislative Council in 1960. The unified national educational system was to operate according to one national curriculum and to permit access to education in all educational institutions irrespective of race and religion. (Report of the Committee on the Integration of Education 1960; Legislative Council 1960; Education Ordinance 1961)

The government, moreover, extended its influence on voluntary agency schools by supervision of primary schools, by control of the selection of students and maintenance of discipline in secondary schools and teachers' colleges, and by control of the salaries, working conditions, recruitment and posting of teachers to all voluntary agency institutions. By 1969, following in the wake of the post-Arusha nationalisations,

the ownership and management of all publicly supported voluntary agency schools was to be transferred to the central government. Private schools could still be registered provided they fulfilled government conditions for the provision of education which was always centrally planned. The decentralised responsibility between the provision of primary (and adult) education by the local authorities and post-primary education by the central government was, similarly, maintained. (Education Act 1969; Morrison 1976:95-96; National Education Act 1978)

The local education authorities operated in consultation with local education committees. Until the decentralisation reform in 1972, their responsibility mostly concerned the formulation of annual educational plans which had to be approved both at the local level by the regional commissioner and at the central level by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing (in the case of primary education) and the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture (in the case of adult education). After the decentralisation reform, regional and district education officers were appointed as the functional managers of all primary and adult education at both the regional, district, ward and village levels. They were given more freedom to make decisions regarding the initiation, administration and implementation of programmes and projects as the annual development and recurrent budget was placed under their direct control. With respect to education for self-reliance, the decentralised responsibility involved both an increased measure of self-help and self-finance by the local communities and an expected participation by the village councils in the initiation of educational plans for primary and adult education. The Ministry of Education, which since 1969 was also directly responsible for adult education, acted primarily as an advisor and national coordinator of proposals for regional primary and adult educational activities. In 1982, it transferred additional authority to the regional education officers for them to consolidate the policy of decentralisation and improve the status of primary

education in cooperation with the reintroduced district and town authorities. (Education Ordinance 1961; Skorov 1966:57-58; Mwingira & Pratt 1967:15-18; Education Act 1969; Kinunda 1975:5-9, 12; National Education Act 1978; Mapuri 1983:153-159; Ministry of Education 1984a:41-42)

The Ministry of Education, on the other hand, planned post-primary education in interaction with the Ministry of Development Planning (later transformed into the Directorate of Planning, the Ministry of Planning and now the Ministry of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning). The Minister of Education and the Chief Education Officer (who succeeded the former Director of Education) acted on the advice of the local education authorities, the Advisory Council for Education (which replaced the racially based advisory committees) as well as more specialised education committees. A standing manpower advisory committee was established within the Ministry of Planning. Secondary schools were entrusted to boards of governors. The heads of secondary schools were in 1982, together with heads of teachers' and technical colleges, given additional authority over the administrative affairs of their institutions. The principal agency responsible for university education on behalf of the government was until 1970 the University of East Africa, and subsequently the University of Dar es Salaam (from 1970) and the Sokoine University of Agriculture (from 1985). (Education Ordinance 1961; Mwingira & Pratt 1967:11-20; Education Act 1969; National Education Act 1978; Ministry of Education 1984a:41-42)

By unifying the racially divided educational systems, by opening the national educational system to all irrespective of race and religion, and by preserving the control of the contents of the curriculum, the government overcame some of the more immediate barriers to equal opportunity through education in the early years after independence. An important indicator of government will to further enhance this effect would be its financial support of the educational sector in general and its relative preference for education for manpower development

versus education for self-reliance.

The financing of education

The educational sector was financed mostly by the central government with respect to both recurrent and development expenditures. Until the early 1970s, the central government's budgetary policy was prudent, leaving a surplus of up to 10 percent on the recurrent budget. By the 1980s, this surplus had turned into a deficit of approximately the same size (being actually 20 percent in 1980). When development expenditures are added, there was an overall budgetary deficit from the early 1970s which had doubled by the 1980s. (Svendsen 1986:64-65)

By far the larger share of government recurrent revenues was generated from direct taxation (income taxes) and indirect taxation (import, export and excise taxes) which, together, accounted for between 82 and 88 percent of the total revenues during 1961-1980. Import and excise duties represented the largest single item, although it dropped from roughly 50 percent of the total revenues during the 1960s to an average of 36 percent during the 1970s. (Budget Survey 1964-65:88; Economic Survey, various years; Kahama et al. 1986:Table 11.2) Development expenditures were partly financed by foreign assistance, of which the relative proportion declined from approximately 90 to 25 percent during the 1960s, followed by a continuous increase to about 65 percent of the total in 1978. The loan share alone peaked in 1971 close to 100 percent of the total foreign component, dropping to around 50 percent in 1978. (Goranson 1981:Diagram 4, Diagram 5)

Public expenditures were primarily invested in economic, social and public services. Whereas the relative importance of each category of services, and of the sub-heads of the categories concerned (e.g. agriculture, education, defence), fluctuated during the period in view of the general performance of the economy and the changing emphases of the development plans, education always constituted the major item of the social

services. In addition to the expenditure provided by the central government, funding for education was raised locally by the local authorities and the regional administrations. Parents, churches and various non-government organisations, moreover, contributed on a voluntary basis to additional private education. The central government funds were (until 1983/84) channelled through the Ministry of Education and the Prime Minister's Office, the latter being responsible for the subvention of the regional administration (including the districts and towns). Other ministries, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labour, were responsible for vocational training and educational programmes within their specific fields.

The relative proportion of total government expenditures allocated to education during 1962-1985 appears in Table 6.1. The years selected in the table (and in Table 6.2) represent the sub-periods identified in Chapter 5 in relation to the overall socio-economic and political development process. The table has been compiled from information presented by the Ministry of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning in the annual estimates of the revenue and expenditure of Tanzania or in the annual plans and economic surveys. Secondary sources which have used the indicated primary sources have also been consulted. The figures on recurrent expenditures are generally regarded as fairly reliable. Development expenditures, on the other hand, must be interpreted with care as all foreign aid is not always recorded in the budget. Figures on the contributions at the local level, from other ministries (and from private sources) are difficult to obtain in a systematic and reliable manner (Goranson 1981:1-2; Andersson & Rosengart 1987:1, Appendix 2).

The table suggests that there was a high accord between the stated and planned emphases on education's role in the development process and the relative priority of the educational sector as reflected in government spending. Thus, although falling as a percentage of government recurrent expenditure, education's

Table 6.1 Expenditures on Education in Relation to Total Recurrent and Development Expenditures in Tanzania 1962/63-1985/86 by Source. (Current prices)

Source	1962/63 £'000	1966/67 Mshs	1976/76 Mshs	1980/81 Mshs	1985/86 Mshs
RECURRENT					
1. Total govt. exp.	23,935	740	3,716	9,986 ^b	26,381
2. Total exp. on educ.	5,037 ^a	173	776	1,811	4,288
Min. of Educ.	5,037	173	357	1,811	4,288
Regional exp.	-	-	324	n/a	n/a
Other ministries	n/a	n/a	95	n/a	n/a
Item 2 as % of 1	21.0	23.3	20.8	18.1	16.2
DEVELOPMENT					
3. Total govt. exp.	5,674	259	2,253	5,184 ^b	6,828
4. Total exp. on educ.	754	27	201	337	635 ^c
Min. of Educ.	754	20	93	245	635 ^c
Regional exp.	-	-	54	92	n/a
Other ministries	n/a	7	53	n/a	n/a
Foreign comp. of 4	n/a	16	n/a	175	n/a
Local comp. of 4	n/a	11	n/a	71	n/a
Item 4 as % of 3	13.2	10.5	8.9	6.5	9.2
5. Total govt. exp. (1+3)	29,609	999	5,969	15,170	33,209
6. Total exp. on educ. (2+4)	5,791	200	977	2,148	4,923
Item 6 as % of 5	19.5	19.9	16.3	14.1	14.8
7. GDP (factor cost)	211,386	6,514	16,988	39,822	108,091 ^d
Item 6 as % of 7	2.7	3.0	5.7	5.3	4.5

n/a not available

Note: a Approved estimate. Including f455 for information services.

b Estimate.

c Approved estimate.

d GDP current prices.

Sources: Estimates of the Revenue and Expenditure of Tanganyika 1st July-30th June 1964, Dar es Salaam 1965:xiii. The United Republic of Tanzania, The Appropriation Accounts. Revenue Statements. Accounts of the Funds and Other Public Accounts of Tanzania for the Year 1975/76, Dar es Salaam 1977:159-165. Background to the Budget. An Economic Survey 1966/67, Dar es Salaam 1968:70-72; 1968-69, Dar es Salaam 1970:79-92. The Economic Survey 1977-78, Dar es Salaam 1979:9, 34-36. The Annual Plan for 1977/78, Dar es Salaam 1978:5. The United Republic of Tanzania, National Accounts of Tanzania 1960-62, Dar es Salaam 1964:9; 1964-1972, Dar es Salaam 1974:11; 1970-82, Dar es Salaam 1983:Table I. United Nations, National Accounts Statistics: main aggregates and detailed tables 1985, New York 1987: 1383. U. Goranson, Development Assistance to the Education Sector in Tanzania Since Independence, Dar es Salaam 1981:6. The United Republic of Tanzania, Speech by the Minister of State for Planning and Economic Affairs in the Vice-President's Office, Prof. K.A. Malima, MP, Presenting the Economic Survey for 1980/81 and the Annual Plan for 1981/82 on June 17, 1981, Dar es Salaam 1981:9. The Ministry of Education, Recent Educational Developments in the United Republic of Tanzania (1981-1983), Dar es Salaam 1984:9. G. Andersson & G. Rosengart, Education in Tanzania - Government Expenditure 1983-1987, Stockholm 1987:Table 1, Table 2, Table 4.

share of the monetary GDP was increasing during 1966/67-1975/76 (from 3.0 to 5.7 percent) and largely retained its relative share until 1980/81 (5.3 percent) when education was considered to be a leading force in the social change process. This trend was reversed during the years of financial constraint (dropping to 4.5 percent in 1985/86) when education was redefined to follow rather than lead economic development. By far the larger share of educational expenditures derived from the recurrent rather than the development budget. As a percentage of total expenditures, recurrent expenditures on education peaked in 1966/67 (with 23 percent) followed by a falling trend to 16 percent in 1985/86. Of the development budget, education was allocated its largest proportion in 1962/63 (13 percent) and its lowest in 1980/81 (6.5 percent). Of the total development expenditures on education, the foreign component has been estimated to average about 42 percent during the 1960s and 67 percent during the 1970s. (Goranson 1981:Appendix 3) However, as the total development expenditures averaged only about 19 percent of the total recurrent expenditures on education in the years indicated in the table, foreign influence on education was rather more limited than in other economic sectors. Its relative effect was, nevertheless, vital as it was often concentrated in sub-sectors and projects of the donor agency's preference and choice rather than that of the Tanzanian government's.¹

The relative distribution of recurrent and development expenditures on the sub-sectors of education appears in Table 6.2. The figures for the individual years are less reliable than those of Table 6.1, being estimates or approved estimates rather than actual spending figures for most of the years. The sub-sector of vocational training is not included as the detailed spending from other ministries has not been available. The relative trends of primary, secondary and technical and

¹ Cf. e.g. World Bank support of diversified secondary education.

Table 6.2 Recurrent and Development Expenditures on Education in Tanzania 1962/63-1985/86 by Level. (Current prices)

Level	1962/63		1966/67		1975/76		1980/81		1985/86	
	£'000	%	Mshs	%	Mshs	%	Mshs	%	Mshs	%
RECURRENT										
Primary	2,225 ^a	47	61 ^e	41	309	45	872 ^e	48	}2,683	63
Adult	-		-		41	6	106 ^e	6		
Sec. & Techn.	1,120 ^a	24	45 ^e	31	142	21	194 ^e	11	605	14
Teacher train.	331 ^a	7	12 ^e	8	43	6	65 ^e	3	240	6
Higher	906 ^{ab}	19	17 ^e	12	107	16	219 ^e	12	574	13
Other	135 ^{ac}	3	12 ^{ef}	8	39 ^b	6	373 ^{eh}	20	186 ⁱ	4
TOTAL	4,717^d	100	147^d	100	681^g	100	1,829^{dj}	100	4,228	100
DEVELOPMENT										
Primary	68 ^e	10	-		56	38	73 ^e	23	} 150 ^a	24
Adult	-		-		23	16	44 ^e	14		
Sec. & Techn.	372 ^e	53	11 ^e	39	43	29	64 ^e	20	219 ^a	34
Teacher train.	5 ^e	1	-		11	8	42 ^e	13	48 ^a	8
Higher	200 ^e	28	17 ^e	61	12	8	60 ^e	19	128 ^a	20
Other	55 ^e	8	-		-		35 ^e	11	90 ^a	14
TOTAL	700^d	100	28^d	100	147^g	99	318^{dj}	100	635	100

Note:

- a Approved estimate.
- b Including administration and general services.
- c Information services.
- d Note that actual spending differed somewhat (see Table 6.1).
- e Estimate.
- f General services.
- g Excluding spending from other ministries.
- h General education.
- i All remaining subvotes of the Ministry of Education.
- j Note that the actual distribution of the total recurrent and development budget was: primary 44%, secondary 12%, teacher training 5.5%, adult education 6.6%, higher and technical 1.6%, university 11.4%, general education 6.8%. (Ministry of Education 1984b:Table III)

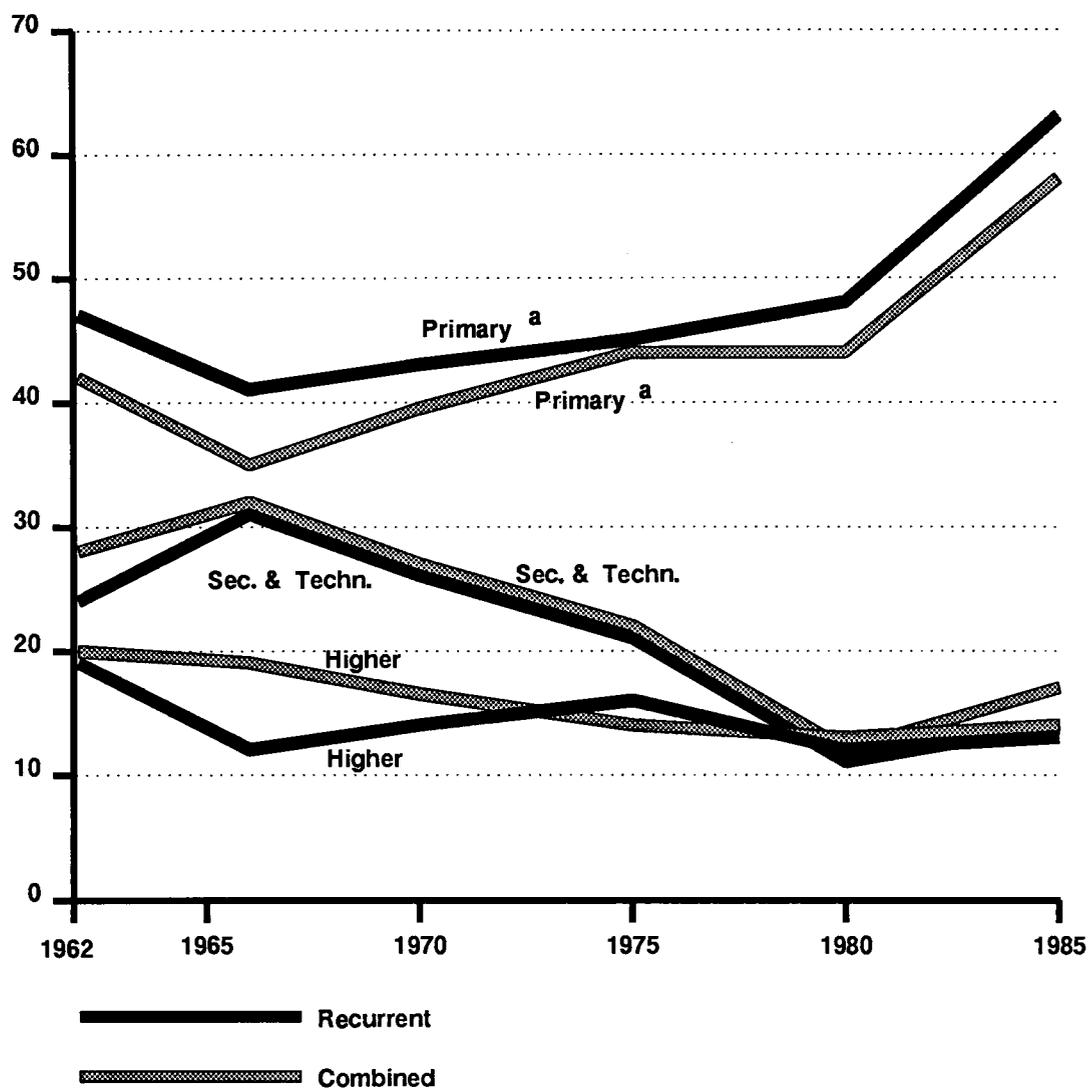
Sources: Estimates of the Revenue and Expenditure of Tanganyika 1st July-30th June 1963, Dar es Salaam 1964:230-231; 1st July-30th June 1964, Dar es Salaam 1965:45-47; 1st July-30th June 1967, Dar es Salaam 1968:48-50, D.3. The United Republic of Tanzania, The Appropriation Accounts. Revenue Statements. Accounts of the Funds and Other Public Accounts of Tanzania for the Year 1975/76, Dar es Salaam 1977:159-165. U. Goranson, Development Assistance to the Education Sector in Tanzania Since Independence, Dar es Salaam 1981:Table 5. Ministry of Education, Recent Educational Developments in the United Republic of Tanzania (1981-1983), Dar es Salaam 1984:Table III. G. Andersson & G. Rosengart, Education in Tanzania - Government Expenditure 1983-1987, Stockholm 1987:Table 5, Table 7.

higher education on the recurrent budget as well as on the combined recurrent and development budget are displayed for ease of comparison in Figure 6.1.

Both the table and the figure reflect the stated emphasis on education for manpower development versus education for self-reliance during the period. Thus, while secondary education expanded on the recurrent budget (from 24 to 31 percent) during 1962/63-1966/67 and together with higher education constituted the total development budget in 1966/67, primary education dropped from 47 to 41 percent of the total during the same period. Between 1966/67 and 1980/81, on the other hand, the relative proportion of primary (and adult) education was substantially increased (by 13 percent on the recurrent budget and by 37 percent on the development budget), whereas secondary education dropped by 20 percent on the recurrent budget and by 19 percent on the development budget. Between 1980/81 and 1985/86, total spending on primary (and adult) education decreased by 4 percent whereas that of post-primary education increased by 17 percent. Teacher training and higher education had fairly constant proportions of the recurrent budget during the whole period (around 6 and 13 percent respectively), their relative proportions of the development budget fluctuating at a higher level (around 8 and 35 percent respectively).

Thus, government spending on education increased dramatically during the post-independence period and, particularly, during the period of mass education for self-reliance. The promotion of the wider social purposes of mass participation in development efforts and of social equality, moreover, depended on the additional resources raised locally for mass education and on the policy implementation process itself. As was the case with the wider economic policies, the politically stated educational goals relied on the interpretation and acceptance by both government officials responsible for policy implementation and by the communities for whom policies were designed. This was clearly a situation which provided ample opportunity for a

Figure 6.1 Percentage Distribution of Recurrent and Combined (Recurrent and Development) Expenditures on Education in Tanzania 1962/63 - 1985/86 by level. (Current prices)



a 1985/86 figures include adult education.

Source: Based on figures in Table 6.2.

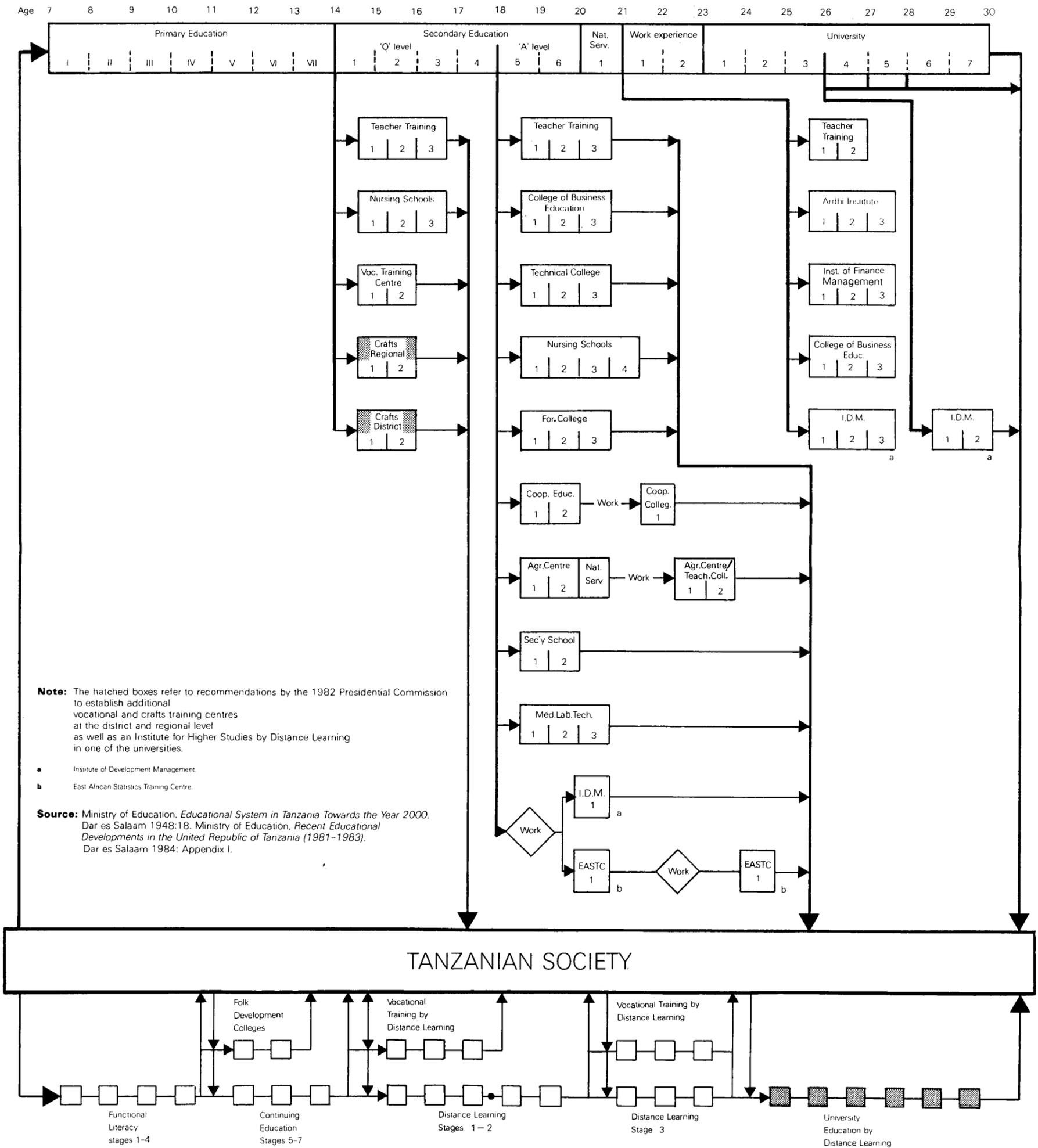
transmutation or redirection of stated goals. As proxy measures to test the relative success in achieving 'participation' and 'equality', the following analysis has been concentrated on reforms concerning access to and contents of education.

The provision of education

The unification of the educational system at independence was followed by other structural reforms and specific government policies which aimed at broadening the access to education at the base of the system and widening the opportunities at the upper levels of the system. The government's particular concern was to provide relevant education for social groups, including women, and geographical areas that were deprived of such access at independence.

A diagram of the structure of the available (and planned) educational opportunities towards the year 2000 appears in Figure 6.2. The figure represents an adaptation of two diagrams in the mentioned sources. It shows that formal education (since 1968) comprised seven years of primary, four years of 'ordinary' secondary and two years of 'advanced' secondary education. The pre-independence examination and certification points have been maintained after standard VII (the Primary School Leaving Certificate), form IV (the Certificate of Secondary Education) and form VI (the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education) with additional examination points for quality control at standard II and form II. One year of national service and, during 1974-1984, two years of work experience were required before proceeding to further education. The figure, moreover, displays the vastly expanded options for training and professional education at different levels after standard VII, form IV, form VI and after various undergraduate degrees. There is no attempt here, however, at examining the actual functioning of the different institutions. Adult education (for persons over the age of 13) has been formalised as a channel for both literacy and vocational training. Further and higher adult

FIGURE 6.2 THE STRUCTURE OF FORMAL AND ADULT EDUCATION IN TANZANIA TOWARDS THE YEAR 2000



Note: The hatched boxes refer to recommendations by the 1982 Presidential Commission to establish additional vocational and crafts training centres at the district and regional level as well as an Institute for Higher Studies by Distance Learning in one of the universities.

- a Institute of Development Management.
- b East African Statistics Training Centre.

Source: Ministry of Education, *Educational System in Tanzania Towards the Year 2000*, Dar es Salaam 1948:18. Ministry of Education, *Recent Educational Developments in the United Republic of Tanzania (1981-1983)*, Dar es Salaam 1984: Appendix I.

education has been planned even at the university level.

The size of the post-independence educational system is displayed in Table 6.3. The table has been compiled from Ministry of Education statistics which are not always complete or consistent. It excludes figures on vocational training under the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (now the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Development). Formal education in the public sector includes registered private institutions which receive government grant-in-aid. The number of students represents gross enrolment.

The table confirms the very significant expansion of participation in education by the African population during the period under review. As far as mass education was concerned, there was a six-fold increase in the primary school population, tripling between 1966 and 1976 and again between 1976 and 1981 in accordance with the goal of universal primary education by 1977. The 1981 enrolment figure corresponded to roughly 97 percent gross enrolment, but represented only 70 percent net enrolment of the child population between 7 and 13 years (Ministry of National Education 1981. Cf. Carr-Hill 1984:9). Following the recommendations of the 1982 presidential commission, the primary school population was not further expanded between 1981 and 1985. There was instead an actual decline in gross enrolment by about 10 percent, net enrolment in 1985 representing only 57.5 percent of the age group (Ministry of Education 1986:5). The provision of adult education reduced the number of illiterates from 90 to 10 percent of the population during 1962-1985. Relatively more adults were enrolled for post-literacy courses (continuing education) in 1985 than 1981 which may signify an advancement in the level of education of the adult population.

The contents of the primary school curriculum was gradually adapted to Tanzania's status as an independent state and to its expressed political ideology. During 1961-1966, the curriculum

Table 6.3 Formal and Adult Education in Tanzania 1962-1985 by Category.
Schools and Enrolment

Category	1962		1966		1976		1981		1985	
	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment	Schools	Enrolment
FORMAL (Govt.)										
Primary (std. I-IV)	3,342	443,799	3,853	561,755	n/a	5,804 ^h	9,947	3,530,622	10,147	3,160,145
Primary (std. V-VIII ^a)		74,864		179,236		n/a		34,748		37,733
Secondary (form I-IV)	51	13,690	70	22,241	n/a	36,218	83	3,544	86	4,589
Secondary (form V-VI)	10	485		1,595		3,729				
Vocational & Technical	3 ^c	1,516	3 ^c	1,444 ^c	n/a	n/a	2 ^j	1,360 ^j	3 ^m	1,449 ^m
Teacher training	21	1,851 ^d	179	5,011 ^g	n/a	9,471 ^h	37	13,138 ^h	39	12,311 ^k
Higher (E Afr. ^b)	-	193 ^e	-	997 ^e	-	2,828	11	2,952	2 ⁿ	3,414
Higher (Overseas)	-	1,327 ^f	-	2,325 ^f	-	1,070	-	1,497	-	1,066
FORMAL (Private)										
Primary (std. I-IV)	n/a	n/a		49,025	n/a	n/a				
Primary (std. V-VIII ^a)		n/a	631	4,703	n/a	n/a	33	7,561	26	9,614
Secondary (form I-IV)	1	n/a	26	3,786	n/a	17,039	75	29,078	104	39,647
Secondary (form V-VI)		n/a		6	n/a	157	n/a	232	n/a	1,108
Teacher training	1	n/a	2	72	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
ADULT										
Functional literacy	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a		3,526,565		2,493,234
Post-Literacy	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a		1,386,069		1,586,297
Folk Dev. Colleges	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a		13,654		16,419
Illiteracy rate (%)	90.5		71.9		27 ⁱ			20		10 ^o

Table 6.3 continued

n/a	not available
Note:	
a	Standard VIII was abolished in 1968.
b	The University of East Africa was split into three autonomous universities in 1970. In Tanzania the University College became the University of Dar es Salaam.
c	Including Dar es Salaam Technical College, secondary technical schools (Ifunda and Moshi), craft courses (at Moshi secondary schools only. These courses were phased out by the four-year secondary technical course). There were also 1,580 part-time students at Dar es Salaam Technical College in 1966.
d	Including grade A, B and C in both government (in all 439 students) and voluntary agency colleges as at November 1962.
e	Including enrolment in all courses 1966/67.
f	Including universities overseas, other post-secondary institutions and other courses.
g	Including 1st year intake and 2nd year output (2 year courses only) in teachers' colleges, education officers grade III, grade A, B and C.
h	1975 figure.
i	1977 figure.
j	Dar es Salaam and Arusha Technical Colleges. Excluding students in vocational training centres and post-primary vocational centres under the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare/Manpower Development.
k	Including diploma, grade A, grade C, inservice.
l	University of Dar es Salaam.
m	Including Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Mbeya Technical Colleges. Excluding students in vocational training centres and post-primary vocational centres under the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare/Manpower Development.
n	The University of Dar es Salaam and the Sokoine University of Agriculture.
o	1986 figure.

Sources: Republic of Tanganyika, Annual Report of the Ministry of Education 1962, Dar es Salaam 1964:10-16. The United Republic of Tanzania, Statistical Abstract 1964, Dar es Salaam 1965:154-158. The United Republic of Tanzania, Annual Report of the Ministry of Education 1966, Dar es Salaam n.d.:54-86. The United Republic of Tanzania, The Economic Survey 1977-78, Dar es Salaam 1979:111-112. The Ministry of Education, Basic Education Statistics on Tanzania (BEST) 1981-1985, Dar es Salaam 1986:1, 5, 8-10, 12-13, 15-20, 22. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Statistical Yearbook 1976, Paris 1977:1.3; 1987, Paris 1987:1.3, 3.4, 3.7.

was 'Africanised', 'politicised' and directed to developing needed manpower skills in accordance with the manpower development strategy which was partially designed as a political reaction to western politico-economic dominance. The teaching of vocational (agricultural) education was abandoned, turning the curriculum into a purely academic one in order to consolidate the needed middle and high level manpower skills. The outlook of students, and the population in general, was to be directed towards a nation-state promoting national integration and nationhood instead of ethnic or tribal affiliation. Subjects, such as history, geography and general science, were to become relevant to Tanzanian society, i.e. reflect a proper African and Tanzanian perspective and to include material on local conditions and problems. Kiswahili was designated in 1964 as the national language. It was introduced in 1967 as the medium of instruction in all primary schools, thereby eliminating the immediate barrier to integrated education. Finally, specific subjects, such as civics and current affairs, as well as extra-curricula activities, such as the participation in local development projects and in TANU Youth League Branches which were to be established in all schools, were used to promote understanding and support for the national political process, the national party and its ideology. (Morrison 1976:215-230)

After the Arusha declaration, vocational activities were reintroduced in the form of education for self-reliance. They mostly materialised as work on the school farm (shamba) in the afternoon, as was the case before independence. The underlying rationale after independence was both economic and political. Self-reliance activities were to meet 25 percent of the recurrent costs of each school and to sustain positive attitudes and skills needed for work in the rural sector and the village economy. Until the present time, school income has hardly met 10 percent of the running costs, primary schools generally performing worse than post-primary institutions. While some

research evidence has suggested that the attitudes of primary school students and parents towards wage employment have been altered, i.e. expectations have been lowered and the teaching of vocational skills has become more desirable, primary school leavers have also been found to add significantly to the influx into urban areas and, thereby, to the unemployment problem. Except during the years from the Arusha declaration in 1967 to the Musoma resolution in 1974, the introduction of self-reliance activities did not affect the relative distribution of periods devoted to individual subjects. The teaching of core academic subjects, such as Kiswahili, arithmetic and English, always retained their relative balance, English however being deferred to standard III in 1980. Even though attitudes to work formed part of the continuous assessment of performance in standard V, VI and VII, they seemed to have played virtually no part in the selection for secondary schools, i.e. very few students have failed due to a low 'character' assessment. (ILO 1978:206; Court & Kinyanjui 1980:386; ILO 1982:112-113; Carr-Hill 1984:41-45, 92; Ishumi 1984:46-51; Temu & Komba 1987:95. A more detailed analysis of the education for self-reliance experiment at the primary school level follows in Chapter 7.)

Public provision for post-primary education, similarly, reflected the stated policy, as indicated by Table 6.3. In secondary schools gross enrolment expanded in support of the manpower planning policy until the mid-1970s (roughly tripling between 1962 and 1976). In the remaining period access was somewhat restricted, declining between 1976 and 1981 but expanding until 1985 in response to the presidential commission's recommendations. The private secondary sector, on the other hand, expanded significantly from 1966, by 1985 outnumbering gross enrolment in the public system. The capacity for technical and vocational training seems to have been fairly

constant (around 1,400 students).¹ The number of students enrolled for teacher training increased until 1985 when there was a slight reduction contrary to the indications of the 1982 presidential commission.² The actual enrolment in higher education increased fairly constantly, the number of students in the local universities rising at the expense of the number of the students studying abroad. The total number, however, represented a declining percentage of the secondary school leavers.

At the post-primary level, the curriculum was equally 'Africanised' and changed to break the barrier between mental and manual work. Swahili became a compulsory subject for all secondary schools in 1964 but, despite the stated emphasis of the SFYDP, never replaced English as the medium of instruction for secondary and higher education. Political education and/or development studies were introduced as subjects at the different post-primary levels to familiarise students with the history and principles of socialism and the Tanzanian interpretation of socialism and self-reliance. In accordance with the TFYDP, one third of the curriculum of forms I-IV was in the early 1980s taken up by different vocational biases, either agricultural (in 33 public secondary schools), commercial (29), technical (16) or domestic science (7). In 1985, 90 percent of the public secondary school students were enrolled in biases, agriculture accounting for 45.7 percent, commerce 33.2 percent, domestic science 15.4 percent and technical 5.7 percent (Ministry of Education 1987:14). The value of the income producing activities at the post-primary level was considerably higher than in primary schools. During 1981-1985, the profits realised in secondary schools increased by 21 percent and the unit profit

¹ To this figure should be added the number of trainees under the national vocational training programme which during 1973/74-1982/83 was 8,932 apprentices within 25 different trades and 23,625 trainees in evening skill upgrading courses. (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare 1983:1)

² Note that the output from the distance teacher training programme is not included in the figures of Table 6.3. Total output during 1979-1984 was 37,998 of whom 35,028 had passed their examinations by 1981. (Mählick & Temu 1989:27)

per student by 20 percent. There was, moreover, an improvement of the ratio of surplus generated to the total cost of production which indicates enhanced efficiency. In teacher education, the unit profit per student increased by 41 percent during the same period. (Ministry of Education 1986:11, 14; Komba & Temu 1987:46. See also Komba & Temu 1987:47-54, 73-49)

A World Bank evaluation study of the diversified secondary schools has, however, questioned whether the measurable monetary benefits of diversification were greater than those of conventional education. It also pointed to an important time lag between the possible changes of occupational aspirations and the expectations of students on the one hand, and their future effect on the productivity level of society on the other. (Psacharopoulos & Loxley 1984:226-227) Similarly, even though 'attitudes to work' formed part of the internal assessment of secondary school students, their relative weight in the final grading for the 'O' and 'A' level examination rarely influenced the result of the academic tests, exercises and examinations which secured entry into higher education. In 1976, a mere 0.1 percent of all form IV candidates failed due to low 'character' assessment, but low 'character' assessment generally correlated with poor academic performance. (Court & Kinyanjui 1980:386-387) In 1986, out of the 21 government schools which ranked highest in the form IV academic examinations, only 38 percent also performed best in self-reliance activities. (Temu & Komba 1987:106)

Work attitudes and social commitment were promoted also by the introduction of one year's national service at the end of form VI which included para-military training and community development work. (See Figure 6.1) Between 1974 and 1984, attitudes to work based on two years of work experience formed part of the admission criteria to university (except for women and professions in short supply). (See e.g. Mmari 1976) Their effect on students' attitudes have, however, been hard to isolate and evaluate. Some research evidence during the 1970s

has pointed to indications of an egalitarian outlook among the primary school population and an orientation towards what was considered to be African and Tanzanian cultural norms and attitudes as expressed in the official ideology. Similarly, studies in the 1980s of samples of agricultural secondary school students indicated positive attitudes and aspirations towards farming and rural life. However, visible differences in life style and behaviour between the few well-educated, who have been influenced by and adopted a western orientation, and the many, who have not, still persist. (See e.g. Foster 1969:83-90; Prewitt 1971; Court 1973; Court 1984:278-279; Komba & Temu 1987:109)

The post-independence educational reforms, then, allowed for a much wider participation in education compared to the pre-independence situation. In contrast to the pre-independence curriculum, work-related activities were introduced as part of the student's experience at both the primary and post-primary level. Besides, 'attitudes to work', as an expression of social commitment, became a (limited) part of the assessment procedure. In a situation of scarce resources, the post-independence mass educational reforms led, however, to an even stronger quantitative division between mass and elite education than was the case before independence. Equity in education implied access for all to basic education, not increased opportunities beyond the primary level. Thus in 1985, 96.9 percent of the total student population (enrolled in both public and private education) received primary education. The 3.1 percent post-primary student population was divided between 2.5 percent in secondary education, 0.37 percent in teacher training, 0.04 percent in technical and vocational education and 0.13 percent in higher education. This sharp division was further reflected in the relative drop in the transition rate from standard VII(I) to form I (public schools). While constituting 35 percent in 1962, it dropped to 15.5 percent in 1966 and to 2.5 percent only in 1985 (Ministry of Education 1987:7). The low transition rate

could, on the other hand, be seen as a successful implementation of a reform which aimed at primary education as a terminal stage and on very limited access to post-primary education. Seen in relation to the wider goal of social equality it was, however, important that the few who did proceed to post-primary education represented well the interest of the mass of the population.

Educational opportunity and social equality

While the racial and religious dimensions of social inequality was the particular concern of the post-independent government at independence, regional (rural-rural and rural-urban) as well as socio-economic inequality came in focus with the Arusha declaration in 1967. In education, this concern was reflected in policies which aimed at, firstly, incorporating deprived social groups, including women, and deprived geographical areas into the educational system and, secondly, at discriminating positively for their access to post-primary education.

As far as general inequality in education was concerned, the adopted policies of eradication of adult illiteracy, universal primary education and direct access to higher education for women in all promoted female participation. Certain patterns of inequality, nevertheless, remained. Thus, female illiteracy was higher than male illiteracy, though decreasing from 95 percent in 1962 to 12 percent in 1985 (UNESCO 1976:1.3; UNESCO 1987:1.3; Ministry of Education 1987:33). In formal education, female participation was highest at the bottom of the system (primary education) but never attained its percentwise share of the population at the post-primary levels, particularly beyond form IV. While in 1961 constituting 40 percent of standard I and 23 percent of standard VII, girls in 1985 accounted for 49.9 percent of the total enrolment in standards I-VII (49.5 percent of standard I and 48.5 percent of standard VII). At the secondary level, female enrolment in 1961 equalled 29 percent of form I but only 9 percent of form VI. By 1985, it had increased to 36.9 percent of total enrolment in forms I-VI, constituting

38.6 percent of form I (in public schools) and 21.2 percent of form VI (in public schools). Female enrolment in private secondary education was comparatively higher, being 42.8 percent in form I and 22.2 percent in form VI respectively. The female student population was concentrated in traditional 'female' subject areas. In the diversified biases, well over half of the girls attended domestic science and commerce but only very few the technical bias. The number of female undergraduates doubled from 8 percent of the total in 1961 to 16 percent in 1985, their relative rate having dropped steadily from 24 percent in 1981. (Malekela 1983:211. Cf. Cooksey 1985:49; Ministry of Education 1986:21-23; 1987:34)

Regional and socio-economic disparities in education were, like gender inequality, positively affected by the comprehensive mass educational efforts which were successfully implemented partly due to the establishment of ujamaa villages. In 1985, the illiteracy rate of the well-provisioned Kilimanjaro and the remote Mtwara was identical (6 percent), Mtwara having the highest number of ujamaa villages and registered members in 1974. (Hyden 1980:Table 4.1; Ministry of Education 1987:33) At the secondary level, 'free' secondary education and the introduction of a quota system which allocated form I places in relation to the total number of primary school leavers in each region and district evened out the regional and socio-economic percentwise enrolment for form I.¹ By 1976, it was close to the national average of 6.2 percent in all regions except for Dar es Salaam (where the figure was as high as 17 percent) (Court & Kinyanjui 1980:Table 13). In 1982, more than half of form IV and form V students in a representative sample of public secondary schools came from families where the father's occupation was 'farming' and where the father had received at most four years of education, the mother no schooling at all. Between one third and two-fifths of the students came from a

¹ Fees amounting to Tshs 1,500 were introduced in 1984. (Cooksey 1985:9)

smallholder peasant background. (Malekela 1983:3-20. Cf. Cooksey 1985:19-21)

The expansion of the private secondary sector, however, had an important neutralising effect on the tendency towards equalisation. While it widened the supply of students for needed manpower development, it also reinforced existent social and regional differentiation. It was concentrated in the cash-crop producing areas, particularly Kilimanjaro and the West Lake region, as well as in the urban locations of the political-administrative and intellectual elite. In 1985, about one quarter (28) of all private secondary schools (104) were located in Kilimanjaro, and another quarter in Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Tanga (Ministry of Education 1985. Cf. Masudi 1986:Table 11). The location of the schools, in combination with the fact that they concentrated on academic education and that fees were charged, influenced the composition of the total student population in secondary education both with regard to geographical and socio-economic origin.¹ In 1982, Kilimanjaro region alone accounted for over a quarter of form V students enrolled in government schools, while five regions alone (Kilimanjaro, Iringa, Kagera, Mara and Mbeya) accounted for nearly 60 percent of all form V students but for less than 30 percent of the relevant cohort. (Malekela 1983:154. Cf. Cooksey 1985:16-17) In 1982, a representative sample of form I students in private schools in four regions showed that children of parents with no educational background constituted less than half of their representation in public secondary schools, whereas children of parents with an upper secondary school background constituted more than double their representation in public secondary schools. (Carr-Hill 1984:Table 28B)

The identified strong interest in private education, in effect, represented a continuation of the relative influence of the social groups who became incorporated in the modernisation

¹ Fees amounted to Tshs 2,070 per year for day schools and Tshs 4,140 per year for boarding schools plus various other fees in 1984. (Samoff 1987:344)

efforts during the pre-independence period and who were already relatively well-provisioned with educational facilities at independence. For the Chagga in Kilimanjaro and the Haya in the West Lake region, education represented the most important channel for investment in their children's future in a situation of land pressure and restricted alternative opportunities for private economic investment after the Arusha declaration. (See e.g. Samoff 1974:35-58; Samoff 1979; Samoff 1987) Despite significantly reduced salaries at the higher income levels, public sector jobs continued to provide comparatively more political influence as well as access to scarce resources (e.g. food) and fringe benefits for the bureaucratic and intellectual elite. (See e.g. Court 1984; Bryceson 1990)

The use of private secondary education to maintain the relative position of well-established social groups can be interpreted as an alteration of the collectivist concept of education for self-reliance into an individualised concept of education for self-reliance. While this may not represent an expressed undermining of the declared goals of socialism and self-reliance, it does represent an alternative interpretation of how education can best promote such goals. This realisation may well together with recommendations, if not demands, by the international community have influenced the basic concern of the 1982 presidential commission which focused on the academic quality of education, its costs and training role (as during 1961-1966) rather than on educational redistribution and social commitment (as during 1967-1981).

Education for Economic Development and Social Participation

Education was clearly intended to play a leading integrating role in the development of independent Tanzania. On the assumption that an educated population was crucial to promote political stability and economic development, the Tanzanian government initiated educational reforms to readdress the situation inherited at independence. In conformity with the

thinking behind the general development strategies and their transformation during the implementation process, the prevailing educational concepts underwent an identical transmutation. The crucial distinction was the change of emphasis from skills development at the post-primary level during 1961-1966 in order to support a market-oriented modernisation process, to an expressed concern with the formation of social attitudes and skills relevant to a socialist and self-reliant state during 1967-1981. From 1982, the accommodation to IMF demands for a stronger interaction between the private and the public sector in economic life reverted the predominant emphasis in education to one of post-primary skills development. While curricular changes were introduced in the years immediately after independence to strengthen nation-building efforts, it was not until 1967 that these efforts were directed at the mass of the people. Mass provision of education relied on the participation of the local communities and was seen as a channel to further national cohesion by creating mass support for the national politico-economic goals and a common socio-cultural outlook. During 1967-1981, similar efforts were undertaken at the post-primary level in an attempt to direct the education of the few to service for the many.

While it was established in Chapter 5 that one of the core ingredients of the self-reliant socialist strategy, namely the development of a collectivist mode of production, had to be abandoned at an early stage for lack of peasant support and that individualised peasant production was re-legitimised in 1983, the analysis in this chapter has questioned the successful use of education for self-reliance to promote the wider social objectives for which it was designed. Education for self-reliance was in its original formulation equally collectivist. It was to be implemented by way of local finance and self-help schemes, to break the barrier between mental and manual work, and to integrate education with the surrounding society by emphasising the relevance of education, particularly to the rural sector.

It also was to support the development of a socialist outlook.

Education for self-reliance activities never replaced the academic subjects as the primary focus of formal education. The maintenance of the British 7-4-2 educational structure with examination points to select the few who could proceed to further education, largely assessed on their academic achievement, reinforced a concern and interest for the ensuing level of education, rather than a primary orientation towards the quality and outcome of the educational process at each terminal stage. The basic notion that the incorporation of work-related activities in the curriculum would direct the choice of future occupation and improve the quality of basic skills has not been unequivocally demonstrated. Instead, research evidence has pointed to an increased rural-urban migration process by primary school leavers, and to job opportunities for secondary school leavers as having been determined by the job market, not created by the school system. In both cases there was an obvious connection to declining investments in the agricultural sector and infrastructure from the mid-1970s to 1981 (cf. Chapter 5) which prevented the expansion of opportunities and incentives to become employed or self-employed in the village economy.

The incorporation of the mass of the population in educational efforts has been largely successful measured in a quantitative sense. The establishment of ujamaa villages undoubtedly furthered this purpose by removing any physical barrier to access to education. The decentralisation reform, however, never incorporated the villages, or other local levels of administration, in decision-making concerning curricula. This may have affected the relative success of education for self-reliance as the skills taught may not have been the most relevant for the particular circumstances of the local economy. In a situation of general shortages, decentralisation may have affected the quality of primary and adult education as the sheer lack of infrastructure could prevent the availability of sufficient and satisfactory inputs into the educational process,

such as teachers and school materials. The strengthened emphasis, from 1982, on the local government's responsibilities for primary (and adult) education may, in a situation of reduced government expenditure on the educational sector as a whole, enhance the division between relatively advanced and well-provisioned regions and ethnic groups which have always been able to respond favourably to the national need for self-finance, and the less well-provisioned regions and social groups which probably benefited most from government support of mass education during the 1970s.

The mushrooming of private secondary education has indicated that it has been possible to transform the collectivist concept of education for self-reliance in order to promote private unfulfilled demands for education. As discussed before, there was a high concentration of private secondary schools in the very geographical areas and among ethnic groups which refused to establish collectivist ujamaa villages. They were the very areas which were surplus-producing societies during the pre-colonial period, later became integrated in the international exchange economy, and whose ethnic groups display a stronger western orientation than the mass of the population. While this apparent socio-cultural behaviour may not indicate resistance to the announced socialist goals per se, the effect of the expressed orientation towards western education as an additional and alternative road to status and power has been to neutralise the official measures which aimed at ensuring a more widespread access to post-primary education for formerly deprived social groups and geographical areas.

The expressed conflict of interest does, however, question the core assumption of the self-reliant socialist strategy, namely whether Tanzanian peasants were collectivist and whether collectivist goals could be successfully enacted by way of the educational system. While measures of a national civic psychology are hard to define and substantiate, and while the present analysis has only established an apparent will on behalf of the

government to politicise parts of the curriculum in order to strengthen national cohesion and identity, more explicit experiments of education for self-reliance were undertaken during the post-independence era. As will appear from the following chapter, the prototype for these experiments at the primary level was the community school. Together with the widespread adult functional literacy campaigns, the community school also constituted the most powerful channel to attempt to establish the behaviour patterns which were considered to be appropriate for a self-reliant socialist state. These post-independence experiments stand in contrast to educational programmes for social innovation before independence, as will further appear from the analysis.

**CHAPTER 7 EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN PRE- AND POST-
INDEPENDENT TANZANIA: AN ANALYSIS THROUGH CASES**

It has been argued in this study that there was a distinction in educational practice before and after independence in Tanzania. Before independence, education was used to promote economic development goals and Africans were restricted in their participation in modernisation efforts, partly due to the limited transfer of modern skills by way of the educational system. Whereas the missionary organisations actively intervened in the traditional value system through their teaching of Christianity and civilisation, the educational officials of the British administration formed the values of their students more implicitly through the orientation towards models of western economic and political development. After independence, on the other hand, the Tanzanian government gave a higher priority to the use of education for political purposes in the construction of an independent state. The contents and emphasis of these political purposes were, however, changing and always competing with the use of education for economic aims in particular sub-periods of the post-independence era, when the wider goals for the national development process were redefined.

This important distinction between the use of education for the formation of different kinds of skills and attitudes is further explored in the following analysis of selected educational institutions and programmes, which were set up before and after independence. The cases can all be regarded as innovative experiments designed to achieve wider social goals for the national development process, including the development of new agricultural skills and particular social attitudes. The cases include formal (primary) education and adult education. The pre-independence institutions and programmes, i.e. the Nyakato agricultural training centre in Bukoba district and the mass education programme in Singida district, represent examples of the use of education in modernisation efforts. The post-

independence institutions and programmes, i.e. Kwamsisi and Kwalukonge community schools in Korogwe district and the adult functional literacy programme in Dodoma rural district, constitute attempts at promoting socialism and self-reliance.¹ (See Map 3)

The focus of the analysis concerns how the individual cases contributed to the formation of skills and/or attitudes which were stipulated at the national level as necessary to further the societal development process. As will be shown, these two dimensions cannot easily be isolated for investigation. Their relative impact on individual students and the wider society are equally difficult to determine firmly. It is nevertheless possible to point to important differences in the relative emphasis and outcomes of the individual institutions and programmes, which underscore some of the conclusions of the analyses of the national educational systems in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 and which supplement prevailing thinking about the function of education in social change.

Some Methodological Considerations Related to the Selected Cases

The analysis of the selected cases is based on written and oral sources. The pre-independence cases were analysed using official, semi-official and unofficial primary historical evidence collected in the National Archives in Dar es Salaam supplemented by secondary evidence concerning the mass education programme in Singida. This literature was produced by a former senior development officer involved in the project. The nature of the materials sets some limits to the interpretation of the opinions, interests, and participation of the local social actors in the two different schemes and of their relative impact on societal development.

¹ The research on adult functional literacy was to have been undertaken in Singida district for comparative purposes with the selected mass education programme initiated before independence. It had to be given up as Singida was temporarily inaccessible because of heavy rains. Dodoma rural district was selected due to its similarity in socio-economic and general climatic conditions, and to the fact that Singida and Dodoma regions formed the Central Province before 1963. The mass education efforts in Singida before independence also spread to Dodoma.

MAP 3: LOCATION OF CASE INSTITUTIONS AND PROGRAMMES



Note: This map is a representation only. Some of the indicated regional boundaries were established after independence.

The post-independence cases were, except for Kwamsisi, analysed solely by using oral data supplemented by statistical materials, which were collected at the source, related to the general socio-economic and educational situation in all of the different sites. In the case of Kwamsisi, the analysis also incorporates comprehensive reports on the experiment which were produced by former officials involved in the project. The reports naturally reflect the views of the officials. A major purpose of the incorporation of oral evidence has, therefore, been to explore the expectations and opinions of the local actors concerning the educational scheme.

The collection of oral information was guided by a semi-structured interview schedule, designed for different groups of social actors involved in the formulation and/or implementation of the selected educational schemes. (See Appendix I and Appendix II) In the case of the community school experiment, interviews were undertaken in Kwamsisi and Kwalukonge with groups of village officials, teachers, parents, and former and present students. The former students were students when Kwamsisi was most successful, i.e. during 1971-1975. Interviews, moreover, took place in Korogwe and Dar es Salaam with former officials involved in the Kwamsisi experiment, who were also familiar with Kwalukonge. In Dodoma rural district, interviews were conducted in three villages (Mwumi Makulu, Bahi and Dabalo) of three different divisions with groups of basic literacy learners, post-literacy learners, basic literacy teachers and post-literacy teachers. Discussions were, moreover, held with district and regional educational officials in Dodoma. With a few exceptions, all interviews were conducted through two different interpreters who were selected because of their relative familiarity with the sites, their understanding of the subject matter and their language abilities. Most of the interviewed groups had both female and male participants.

The semi-structured interview schedule allowed for an elaboration of some of the planned items and for improvisation

in the interview situation, particularly when contradictions and discrepancies in information provided by the different groups and/or in the different sites were apparent. While this technique does not solve the basic problem of the reliability and accuracy of information provided through oral evidence, which has been an issue of contention since the more widespread inclusion of oral historiography in historical studies (cf. e.g. Henige 1982; Vansina 1985; Koponen 1986), it does alert the researcher to particular sensitive areas which can then be scrutinised through the traditional technique of 'source criticism' applied to written evidence.

The combined analysis of the case institutions and programmes concentrates on their intentional use as vehicles for the development of particular skills and attitudes in students, and on their relative impact on the wider social development process. In order to clarify the relative similarities and differences before and after independence, the analysis seeks to identify common denominators which promoted or hindered the attainment of the set national goals.

The Use of Education to Promote Modernisation Before Independence

Seen in the context of the overall educational efforts of the British administration in Tanganyika (cf. Chapter 4), neither Nyakato nor the mass education programme in Singida district represented the typical institution or programme. The establishment of Nyakato as an agricultural training centre during 1933-1939 can be interpreted as an early experiment in education for modernisation, aiming at the consolidation and improvement of the peasant sector and the predominant cash crop in the area, i.e. coffee. The scheme involved teaching to produce an alteration of production methods and skills and, therefore, indirectly a change in attitudes to traditional production methods.

The mass education programme in Singida was a late-comer to the mass educational schemes which were promoted after the Second World War. The scheme was initiated in 1958 and can be interpreted as a late implementation of the philosophy of education for adaptation in the context of the modernisation efforts in the 1950s. It aimed at the relative improvement of the social conditions of the mass of the population based on its acceptance of self-help schemes. The mass education efforts, therefore, attempted to introduce new ideas and ways into the local communities but involved no application of new production skills. Both educational experiments were shortlived and their impact can be examined only in the short term.

Nyakato: agricultural training and national economic needs

Nyakato was converted from a government central school under the Department of Education to an agricultural training centre under the Department of Agriculture in 1932. It functioned as an agricultural training centre during 1933-1939 when it was planned, in principle, that it should revert to the Department of Education as a government secondary school. Under the impact of the Second World War, it became a junior secondary school under the native administration. (Quarterly Report on the Government Schools in Bukoba Province for the Quarter Ended September 30th, 1930, TNA Acc. 215/26/Part II; TNA SMP 23271/Vol. I/Vol. II)

The rationale to establish Nyakato as an agricultural centre was an economic one influenced by the depression. Sir Sydney Armitage-Smith in his 1932 report to the Secretary of State on the economic situation in Tanganyika pointed to a reduction of the number of government central schools as one of the mechanisms to reduce expenditure on the social services. The Bukoba central school was among those selected for termination. (Report by Sir Sydney Armitage-Smith 1932:62-67) In response to his recommendations, the Director of Education in 1932 informed the headmaster of Nyakato that "owing to the financial position

it was necessary to close [the school] as [a] central school [...] and suggesting that [it] should become [a] farm school" (Conversation at Mwanza 1 September 1932 between the Provincial Commissioner, the Senior Agricultural Officer and the Secretary for Native Affairs, TNA SMP 19972).

While provincial officials welcomed the idea of establishing a school which could help improve the predominant agricultural industry, namely coffee, and thereby the general prosperity of the area, they pointed to the support of the chiefs as a crucial factor if such an experiment was to be successful. (Conversation at Mwanza 1 September 1932, TNA SMP 19972) The senior agricultural lecturer at Nyakato, however, questioned whether "any pupil of a desirable type with the ability to read and write Swahili could be persuaded to enter the institution without the promise of continued academic teaching" (Letter 13 February 1933 from the Agricultural Lecturer, Nyakato to the Senior Agricultural Officer, Mwanza, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I). This concern was shared by the district officer and the acting provincial officer who both argued in favour of the inclusion of general subjects in the curriculum for Nyakato. (Letter 27 November 1935 from the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province to the Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, TNA Acc. 215/827A/Vol. I; Letter 6 January 1936 from the District Office, Bukoba to the Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, TNA Acc. 215/827A/Vol. I)

Nyakato was located in the heart of the coffee growing area on deficient soils in a district which had a long tradition of organised educational activities. The Haya population had readily accepted the opportunities for western education offered by the missionary organisations since before the establishment of the British administration and had, in 1933, a variety of missionary and native authority schools. The conversion of Nyakato into an agricultural centre implied, however, that the Department of Education withdrew, except for inspection, from educational activities in the area, leaving the more advanced

type of education to be provided by the missionary organisations or to be achieved in the government school in Tabora. These consequences were not discussed with the local population, who were instead informed by the chief secretary of the new purpose of Nyakato as a matter of fact which the population would soon realise was in its best interest. Neither chiefs nor parents initially gave the training centre their strong support and only a few sons of chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen were included as students. (Primitive Native Educational System (Muteko). Bukoba District, TNA Acc. 215/26/Part I; Letter 6 September 1928 from the Provincial Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 10514/Vol. I; Conversation at Mwanza 1 September 1932, TNA SMP 19972; Letter 1 November 1932 from the Chief Secretary to the Native Administration Office, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I; Letter 18 February 1933 from the District Officer, Bukoba to the Provincial Commissioner, Mwanza, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I)

The agricultural course at Nyakato was originally designed as a two-year course for boys either from native administration or mission schools who had completed the two sub-standards and standard I and standard II. According to demand and for a limited number of students, further standards were added in specific years, namely during 1933-1934 standard III and standard IV, in 1935 standard V, in 1935 and 1937 standard VI, and in 1938 standard VII. The higher standards were established according to the wishes of the chiefs at a time when more of their sons attended the school. The total number of students increased from 19 in 1933 to 68 in 1939, the average being 40 in the interim period. According to British officials, the students were not the best students in the area who preferred the higher level academic teaching in missionary central schools or in the government school in Tabora. The agricultural lecturer at Nyakato did, however, point to exceptional students being enrolled in the course, and the number who failed each year was limited. As the applications for entry into the school were increasing, a more substantial selection procedure was

established which involved the agricultural lecturer in charge of Nyakato and the schools from which the students applied. (Quarterly Report on the Government Schools in Bukoba Province for the Quarter Ended September 30th, 1930, TNA Acc. 215/26/Part II; Minute to the Chief Secretary 2.4.36, TNA SMP 10514/Vol. I; Native Administration Schools in the Bukoba Province 1937, TNA Acc. 215/827A/Vol. I; Monthly Reports Nyakato 1933-1939, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I/Vol. II/Vol. III)

The overall purpose of the school was to contribute to improved coffee cultivation methods by teaching the theory and practice of coffee cultivation to youth and adults in the area. The emphasis was on the effective transfer of skills to students who, it was believed, could act as agents of change in their communities, either by being employed as agricultural instructors or by setting positive examples when applying the new production methods on their own plots. (Letter 27 November 1935 from the Acting Provincial Commissioner to the Provincial Commissioner, TNA Acc. 215/827A/Vol. I; Minute 1936 to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23765; Letter 13 January 1937 from the Provincial Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23765)

The syllabus combined academic subjects with practical work. The relative emphasis between the two was roughly ten hours per week of academic subjects unrelated to agriculture, 2½ hours per week of class-room teaching of agriculture and 10½ hours per week of practical agricultural work. The pure academic subjects included arithmetic, Swahili, geography, and general knowledge. English was only taught as an out-of-school activity in the later years of the centre's existence. The agriculture-oriented academic teaching was concentrated on the theory of agricultural practices, botany and soils with specific reference to coffee cultivation. Practical agricultural activities were undertaken, for instance, on demonstration plots and on self-contained plots reserved for the students. Industrial activities, especially carpentry, were similarly related to the production of tools needed for coffee production. The school also functioned as an

adult education centre, providing a six months' course in improved coffee farming for a rather limited number of nearby adult male farmers. (Monthly Reports Nyakato 1933-1939, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I/Vol. II/Vol. III)

A central element in the teaching of improved coffee cultivation to the students and the adult farmers was soil fertilisation experiments. Coffee was traditionally grown in and among the banana groves where the soil was mulched, aerated and fertilised and where the heavy rainfall enabled coffee to grow vigorously. According to the agricultural officer at Nyakato, the local population had not increased its mulch or its manure since the interplanting of the vast number of coffee trees, and both the banana and the coffee crop suffered accordingly. Since there was pressure on the good land in the coffee belt and as it was necessary to plant bananas two to three years in advance of planting coffee, the experiments at Nyakato attempted to show how coffee farming on already existing and on new plots could be improved by applying a compost made of local grass and cow dung. Fertilisation experiments at Nyakato yielded positive results after two years of work. (Report on the General Situation at Nyakato 17 January 1927, TNA Acc. 215/26/Part I; Monthly Report Nyakato November 1933, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I; Letter 25 March 1935 from the Director of Agriculture to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23271/Vol. I; Minute 1936 to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23765)

During 1933-1935, there was a continuous expansion of the different kinds of activities which were to constitute the school as an agricultural centre. Besides the development of demonstration plots for coffee growing, they included, for instance, the construction of cattle kraals (cattle being provided by the native authorities and the British administration for breeding purposes and to obtain cow dung for the soil fertilisation experiments); the establishment of coffee nurseries (where experiments with different kinds of coffee plants were undertaken); the planting of trees and elephant

grass (as an anti-soil erosion measure and to provide grass for the soil fertilisation experiments); the inclusion of the Bukoba native authority agricultural sub-station on the school's premises (for teaching and experimental purposes); and the construction of a hydram (to provide water for irrigation). This work was undertaken as an interdepartmental effort of the British administration involving the agricultural, the veterinary and the forestry departments in cooperation with the local native authorities. (Monthly Reports Nyakato 1933-1935, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I/Vol. II)

During 1936-1939, the teaching of coffee growing in theory and practice was consolidated and some less promising experimental work was given up (such as the use of the hydram and the planting of different kinds of grasses). The centre continued to attract many visits from government officials, chiefs, sultans and other interested parties from within and outside the province. Annual rallies at the school were used as occasions to promote the Nyakato cultivation methods in the wider community and, specifically, to convince parents to allow their sons to apply their knowledge on parental plots upon their return from school. The practical teaching began to include field trips to plots outside the school where innovative methods were practised (among others by ex-Nyakato students). Negotiations were, moreover, undertaken with the British administration and the native authorities concerning a settlement scheme for Nyakato students on new land after the completion of their course. (Monthly Reports Nyakato 1936-1939, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. III)

As measured by the increasing number of students, the added higher grades, the many visits from outside, and the level of activities undertaken in active cooperation between national and local authorities, Nyakato seems to have been a rewarding experience. The enthusiasm for the place was recorded by the acting provincial commissioner who, in 1935, informed the chief secretary that Nyakato "had been extremely popular with the

chiefs and the local people" (Confidential letter 14 February 1935 from the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 10514/Vol. I) and that a request for a similar centre had been made by the Chagga (Letter 16 December 1935 from the Director of Agriculture to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23437/Vol. I). The district officer in 1933 viewed the progress of the centre as being excellent, it "has the beginnings of a real agricultural centre" (Letter 22 September 1933 from the District Officer, Bukoba to the Provincial Commissioner, Lake Province, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I) and the provincial commissioner saw the future prosperity of the province in an extensive agricultural training (Letter 2.3.1936 from the Provincial Commissioner, Mwanza, TNA SMP 24523).

In 1937, however, the government inspector of schools in the Lake Province claimed that Nyakato was fulfilling "no useful purpose" (Native Administration Schools in the Bukoba District, 1937, TNA Acc. 215/827A/Vol. II) and discussions were ongoing within the British administration concerning the failure of the experiment. It was argued that Nyakato had failed in its purpose since the majority of the students did not settle as peasant farmers applying the new labour-intensive methods, after they had completed their course. The students reflected, it was implied, the attitudes of the wider environment that had grown rich too easily using the traditional coffee cultivation methods and, in general, expressed a distaste for manual labour. The school was subsequently to revert to the Department of Education in accordance with the "wishes of the Bukoba people" (Education in the Lake Province, TNA Acc. 215/827A/Vol. III). (Memorandum 6.5.36 from the Director of Education to the Provincial Commissioner, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. II; Memorandum 10/5/36 on Nyakato Ex-Pupils, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. III; Annual Report Nyakato 1936, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. II; Minute 24.8.38 to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23271/Vol. I)

The evaluation of Nyakato as a failed experiment was apparently made as a cause-effect relationship between the

training and the employment of students. It seemed not to have involved any detailed assessment of the many different experiments, the reasons for their failures and successes, or whether more sustained inputs could have resulted in the improvement of their viability. Similarly, the lack of rain in some years and the fact that the soils were naturally deficient were used as arguments to close down the experiment rather than to evaluate the achievements in consideration of the less than favourable circumstances.

The African Association of Bukoba and individual chiefs did in 1935 and again in 1938 plead for the reestablishment of a government central school in Bukoba. They indicated that knowledge of English was needed for the teaching of agriculture. (Letter 27 January 1935 from the African Association of Bukoba to the Government Inspector of Schools, TNA SMP 10514/Vol. I; Letter 17 September 1935 from the Native Administration Office to the Government Inspector of Schools, TNA SMP 10514/Vol. I; Address Presented to the Governor from the Bakama of Bukoba, June 1938, TNA SMP 23271/Vol. I) This argument, in fact, supported the view of the agricultural officer at Nyakato that with regard to elementary botany and plant physiology, it was impossible to expect the local students to reach the standards of students in England because of their imperfect knowledge of Kiswahili and unfamiliarity with the concepts in English. (Monthly Report Nyakato May 1933, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. I)

The fact that students of Nyakato in 1935 voiced a protest against the agricultural lecturer in charge of Nyakato because, it was claimed, he had made them do manual labour only and had provided no academic teaching, could be interpreted as an expression of their possible innate attitude against manual labour. It is, however, noteworthy that their protest was supported by the district and the provincial office which discharged the lecturer in question. (Letter 15 May 1935 from Nyakato Pupils to the District Office, TNA SMP 23271/Vol. I; Confidential letter 19 April 1935 from the Acting Provincial

Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23271/Vol. I; Letter 6 June 1935 from the Acting Provincial Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23271/Vol. I) The wider employment prospects of the students were, more likely, determined by the creation of new opportunities to which the British administration contributed little. The negotiations concerning the settlement scheme, which the chiefs were ready to establish and support with capital and land and which the Department of Agriculture also favoured, were still ongoing when it was decided to close down Nyakato as an agricultural centre, as a result of issues raised by the central administration concerning various aspects of the scheme. The administration provided few, if any, opportunities for the students as agricultural instructors. (Memorandum on Nyakato Ex-Pupils 16/5/36, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. III; Letter 13 January 1937 from the Provincial Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23765; Letter 24 February 1937 from the Chief Secretary to the Provincial Commissioner, TNA SMP 23765; Other correspondence during 1937 between the Provincial Commissioner and the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23765)

The request from the chiefs for a government central school was not made in preference to Nyakato, but was discussed as a possible addition to already existing educational facilities in 1935. Parents were strongly concerned that their children had to leave their home district to receive education in English in Tabora, and the African Association expressed willingness to contribute more to total educational expenditures by means of the hut-and-poll tax. While the government inspector was of the opinion that parents in Bukoba were no more willing to pay for their children's education than any other African, the actual total educational expenditures in Bukoba were lower than the national average despite the relative prosperity of the area and the substantial interest in education. (Letter 27 January 1935 from the African Association to the Government Inspector of Schools, TNA SMP 10514/Vol. I; Confidential letter 14 February

1935 from the Acting Provincial Commissioner to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 10514/Vol. I; Letter 7 October 1935 from the Director of Education to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 10514/Vol. I; Native Administration Schools in Bukoba District, TNA Acc. 215/827A/Vol. II)

The decision by the British administration to alter the status of Nyakato was made in the context of the revival of the economy after the depression and the riots of the Bukoba chiefs over the intrusion of the agricultural department in their coffee cultivation methods. In 1938, the government inspector of schools in the Lake Province argued for the establishment of an English-teaching school in the province as an urgent necessity in view of the recommendations of the commission on 'Higher Education in East Africa' in 1937. In this report, a need was also identified to extend the junior secondary scheme (beyond vernacular standard VI) in order to create candidates for higher training in agriculture, veterinary science, forestry and mechanics. The Department of Agriculture in 1937 planned to establish a 'new Nyakato' on better soils at Kingolwira for the eastern part of the country. The conversion of Nyakato into a government central school could, thus, be made at a negligible cost compared to the construction of new buildings, at a time when some of its functions could be taken over by Kingolwira and when it would possibly be interpreted by the chiefs as a positive gesture in a tense political situation. (Letter 28 June 1937 from the Director of Education to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 25083/Vol. I; Letter 17 August 1937 from the Director of Agriculture to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 25083/Vol. I; Letter 9 February 1938 from the Director of Agriculture to the Secretariat, TNA SMP 25083/Vol. I; Annual Report of the Government Inspector of Schools 1938, TNA Acc. 215/827A/Vol. III; Minute 21/4/38, TNA Acc. 215/617/Vol. III; Minute 13.2.40 to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23271/Vol. II; Minute 2.9.41 from the Director of Agriculture to the Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 23271/Vol. II; Various correspondence during 1941 and 1942 to the

Chief Secretary, TNA SMP 22337/Vol. II; Cf. also Chapter 3)

Nyakato was, thus, like the national educational system influenced by the changing priorities of the British administration in view of the wider politico-economic context. While decisions to change the status of Nyakato were made with reference to the apparent wishes of the local population, there seems to have been no profound assessment of Nyakato either as an initial site for agricultural experiments or of its actual achievements as an agricultural centre. As was the case in the development of the national educational system, short-term needs and pressures took precedence over long-term measures and strategies. As an innovative experiment, Nyakato was shortlived and its effect on the outside environment was likely to have been small, mostly because no sustained policy brought continuity to the institution and because follow-up programmes, in the form of employment and higher level courses, were not established. The training centre might have contributed new skills which could have made a difference to individual farmers. Their widespread application was, however, influenced by the peasant farmers' social universe and were likely to be adopted only if the economic benefits outweighed the increased labour inputs. While this attitude tended to be interpreted by the British administration as a form of laziness, it was probably rather an indication of the fact that the peasants were not dominated by concerns related to the national and international market to which the British administration responded.

Singida: mass education and traditional social organisation

The British administration left the teaching of adult education, by and large, to the missionary and other voluntary organisations until after the Second World War, when social welfare schemes were established by the Social Welfare Department as assistance to individuals in social welfare centres in urban areas. Such schemes incorporated, for instance, the teaching of reading (in Kiswahili and English), arithmetic, sewing and

knitting, and carpentry.¹ (E.g. Report on Social Welfare 1946, 1947, 1948)

In 1947, however, on the recommendations of Professor C.H. Philips to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the British administration initiated the first pilot scheme in adult education in North Pare. It aimed at the integration of adult literacy with mass education for community development. The scheme was a forerunner of other programmes, which were implemented during the 1950s as a part of the directed development efforts in most of the geographical areas listed in Table 3.2. (Report by Professor C.H. Philips to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on Mass Education in East Africa, TNA SMP 36164; Reports on Social Welfare 1947-1948:passim; Annual Reports of the Social Development Department 1949-1960:passim)

In the late 1950s, such a programme was initiated in Singida district. It was launched in 1958 as a district-wide literacy campaign in Kiswahili under the aegis of the local native authority with the assistance of the central government. In 1959 and 1960, follow-up programmes in the areas of health and nutrition and general self-help schemes were sponsored by the Social Development Department and UNICEF. These mass education efforts spread to the other areas of the Central Province which, at the end of 1961, had more registered adult literacy learners than all the other nine provinces of Tanganyika combined. (Annual Report of the Social Development Department 1958:8; Annual Report of the Community Development Division 1961:5, 13; TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5:passim; TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5/II:passim)

Singida district is located in an area with harsh climatic conditions and relatively poor soils. Unreliable rain has created a regular pattern of famine and the general living conditions have remained at the subsistence level. According to the 1957 population census, there were 161,531 people, of whom approximately 90,000 were adults (over 16 years of age), 38,810

¹ The Social Welfare Department was during 1949-1960 called the Social Development Department, as an indication of the British administration's changing emphasis from assistance of the individual to development of the whole community.

being men and 51,551 women. The literacy rate was estimated at 5 percent in 1958. The predominant ethnic group, the Turu, numbered approximately 150,000. The Turu combined agricultural and pastoral activities and supplemented their income with migrant labour in the coffee plantations in Arusha and in the sisal plantations in Tanga. The important agricultural crops before independence were millet, sorghum and different kinds of vegetables (for instance cowpeas, pumpkins, groundnuts and sweet potatoes) which mostly served as food crops. Later on, maize, beans, bananas and sugarcane were introduced. (Annual Report of the Social Development Department 1958:8; Community Development in Singida District, 30.10.1960, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5; TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5/II: passim; Jellicoe 1978:3-19)

The Turu lived in scattered residential groups of 6-30 homesteads which were organised over a large area of land in about 300 'villages' of about 300-1,000 adults each. The 'villages' were subdivided into several thousand 'hamlets' of about 100 adults each. The prime loyalty of the Turu was to the immediate residential unit. The principle of social organisation was strongly related to lineage with age and gender being applied as additional criteria. Male members of the 'villages' would, thus, claim descent from one common ancestor, whereas male members of the 'hamlets' would claim common descent from one man who was himself a descendant of the common ancestor of the 'village' and a brother of the ancestors of every other 'hamlet'. The male members of all 'hamlets' were therefore considered to be equal to each other as their ancestors were brothers. Formal status was graded according to age, the groups of elders being advisory in disputes and taking the lead in formal sanctions. The adult women formed a separate group among themselves. Their status was largely measured by the number of their children, particularly sons, as fertility was seen as the final approval of the ancestor. The whole group of women in a 'village' was united through their children to their husbands' families and to each other, while maintaining important roles

within their lineage as daughters, mothers and sisters. Influential older women settled disputes among the women. (Jellicoe 1961:1-11; Jellicoe 1962:1-2; Jellicoe 1978:48-107)

The 'village' was the largest unit to cooperate in activities such as weeding, harvesting, herding and well-digging. There was, however, considerable tension and competition between the different 'hamlets' which was related to the Turu inheritance law that introduced status differentials between otherwise 'equal' brothers. Thus, inheritance of land, which was scarce and individually owned, and cattle, which was the primary wealth and means to obtain wives, depended on whether brothers were the senior, middle or junior son of one wife, or the son of senior or junior wives of one man. (Jellicoe 1961:4; Jellicoe 1962:1)

Central political institutions had been superimposed upon this decentralised system of traditional social organisation by the external political powers. While jumbes had been appointed by the German administration as local administrators responsible to the district officers, the British administration selected the jumbes as chiefs and sub-chiefs when the system of indirect rule was introduced during the 1920s. It tried to involve the chiefs more closely with the district administration after the Second World War in order to enhance the modernisation effort among the local people. The post of chief and sub-chief gradually became hereditary within a large lineage group and brought opportunities for posts to the lineage members but the chief never succeeded in obtaining real power outside of his immediate clan area. Like his German predecessor, he encountered extreme difficulty in implementing externally designed social change which largely had to be enforced through rules, and of which the effect was highly localised. The lack of legitimacy of the chiefs among the mass of the population led to their easy replacement by local councils in 1962. (Jellicoe 1962:2; Jellicoe 1978:98-113)

The literacy campaign was organised through a semi-permanent decentralised structure and aimed at the voluntary establishment

of literacy groups from below. The campaign was coordinated by an advisory district literacy committee consisting of local chiefs, prominent citizens, representatives of the missionary organisations and, later, TANU under the chairmanship of the district commissioner. The organisation was built up in all of the six chiefdoms of Singida district (Ikungi, Ihanja, Mgori, Ilongero, Mungaa and Singida). Each chiefdom had its own chiefdom committee which included the members of the chiefdom council as well as other representatives, for instance the teachers and elected representatives from each literacy group in the chiefdom. 'Village' committees were responsible for organising self-governing local literacy groups within the traditional 'village' centres. (Annual Report of the Social Development Department 1958:8; Memorandum on Rural and Urban Development, Singida District, 7 July 1958, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/1; Review of the Singida Literacy Campaign, Singida District 1959, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5; Monthly Reports Singida District 1961-1963, TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/1)

The campaign in Kiswahili supplemented the adult literacy efforts in the vernacular undertaken by the missionary organisations in the area. The most prominent one, the Augustana Lutheran Mission, initially refused to join the district-wide campaign arguing in favour of literacy in the vernacular as a necessary first step towards literacy in Kiswahili. It applied a permanent organisational structure with efficient supervision and, in contrast to the district-wide campaign, used professional teachers who also acted as external examiners of the tests in Kiswahili. In 1959, it started literacy efforts in Kiswahili, the independent impact of which is, however, unstated in the available evidence. (Correspondence during 1956 between the District Commissioner, Singida and the Augustana Lutheran Mission, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/1, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5; Annual Report Singida District 1957, TNA Acc. 68/R.3/1; Memorandum on Rural and Urban Development, Singida District, 7 July 1958, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/1; District Office Singida, Monthly Report for the Month

of December 1958, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/1; Letter 5 August 1959 from the Social Development Office, Singida to the Principal Social Development Officer, Tengeru, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/1)

The literacy campaign started as a pilot project in one chiefdom (Ihanja) but spread rapidly, according to local demand, to the other chiefdoms of the district. It relied on the joint inputs of both the native authority and the Social Development Department as well as the efforts of the learners. The native authority employed field staff, who were locally-born men with, generally, six to eight years of formal education, to supervise the widespread literacy groups and to act as a link between the groups and the senior staff of the Social Development Department. The authority supplied the groups with blackboards and chalk bought with a grant from the Social Development Department. The learners contributed shs. 2 in payment for a literacy kit (consisting of a reading primer, 'Twende Tusome' (Let's go and read), its accompanying writing book and a pencil) and 50 cents per month (in cash or kind) for the employment of a voluntary local teacher who was usually an ex-standard IV leaver. In many places, the learners constructed special buildings as the meeting place of the group. The teachers were trained locally by the staff from the Social Development Department. All staff was organised under a senior social development officer. (Annual Report of the Social Development Department 1959:4; Literacy Campaign Report for the Month of January 1959, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/1; Brief Notes on Social Development and Literacy Campaign, Singida District, July 1959, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5)

The quantitative development of the literacy campaign during 1959-1963 appears in Table 7.1. The 1962 and 1963 figures have been included for comparative purposes because the period of implementation before independence was very short. The table has been compiled from figures submitted by the teachers of the literacy groups to the district office in Singida. The figures are undoubtedly questionable as it was difficult to reach the

many widespread groups. They serve only as a basis to evaluate the general interest in and achievement of literacy groups among the Turu population.

Table 7.1 Adult Literacy in Singida District 1959-1963

	Sept. 1959	Dec. 1960	Dec. 1961	Dec. 1962	Dec. 1963
Total of people enrolled	14,750	27,353	39,250	40,851	41,001
Males	6,967	10,188	12,381	13,356	13,389 ^b
Females	7,783	17,165	26,869	27,495	27,612 ^b
Total of average attendance	n/a	14,444	6,360	7,204	4,592 ^b
Males	n/a	5,220	n/a	n/a	n/a
Females	n/a	9,224	n/a	n/a	n/a
Total no. of classes	244	537	761	323	206 ^b
Total no. of certificates awarded during the year	320	1,080	3,313	3,480 ^a	n/a

n/a not available

a September 1962 figure.

b January 1964 figure.

Sources: Brief Notes on Social Development and Literacy Campaign, Singida District, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5. Literacy Campaign Report for the Month of December 1960, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5. Literacy Campaign Singida District, December 1961, TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/1. Adult Literacy Groups and Adult Education Classes, Singida District, December 1962, TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/7. Literacy Campaign Singida District, September 1962, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5/II. Literacy Statistics Singida Region 1963, TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/7. Letter 3 January 1964 from the Community Development Assistant, Singida District to the Area Commissioner, Singida, TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/7. Adult Literacy Groups and Adult Education Classes, Singida District, January 1964, TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/7.

As displayed in the table, the number of people registered in literacy groups increased from 14,750 in 1959 to 39,250 in 1961. The 1961 figure corresponded to 44 percent of the adult population (based on the 1957 census). Fifty-two percent of the female adult population and 32 percent of the male adult population were enrolled in 1961. The number of attending

people (on a monthly basis) was, however, much lower, dropping from 14,444 in 1960 to 6,360 in 1961. These patterns were reflected in the 1962 and 1963 figures which also reveal a decline in the general enthusiasm for the campaign. Even though the 1961 attendance rate was affected by a heavy drought, the scrutiny of the average monthly attendance in the other years (including 1962 and 1963) confirmed that there were great fluctuations during the year and between the individual years. These fluctuations were generally related to the seasonally determined agricultural and herding activities, migrant labour and to particular social events, such as the women's secret rites (imaa).¹ (TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5:passim; TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5/II:passim)

The number of certificates awarded based on a test in reading, comprehension and letter-writing was relatively small compared to the number of people enrolled (3,313 in 1961 corresponded to eight percent of the registered learners). It provides no reliable basis upon which to evaluate the actual literacy rate of the population. The results of the tests were affected both by the efficiency of the literacy groups which related to factors, such as the competence of the instructor and the availability of the literacy kits, and by the patterns of social life among the Turu. The economic and social activities of the Turu determined when testing could conveniently be held, and status differentials, moreover, influenced who would sit when. Generally speaking, women and junior men would not sit for the test until their husbands or seniors had passed. Others, both women and men, refused to sit for fear of losing face if they did not pass, or because of the writing test which many found particularly difficult due to the unfamiliarity with holding a pencil. (Review of the Literacy Campaign Singida

¹ There were two complementary kinds of imaa (literally: strength or fortitude) rites: 'house' imaa and 'lion' imaa. Both were performed each year at the time of the new moon and, together, they expressed the need to preserve balance in human affairs. While 'house' imaa stressed the virtues of fertility, 'lion' imaa represented a purification of the area from the danger of strife and famine. (Jellicoe 1978:16-19, passim)

District 1959, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5; TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5:passim; Literacy Campaign Report for the Month of January, 1959, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/1; Jellicoe 1978:219-228)

The discrepancy between enrolment, attendance and awarded certificates, however, also related to the use of the literacy groups for purposes beyond their immediate one. While some individuals used the achievement of literacy as an alternative road to status based on non-traditional criteria, the high female participation rate (and low pass rate) has been explained by their joining the groups for social rather than literacy reasons as the groups became a forum to meet other women. Similarly, many groups were established not as a voluntary effort, but by the chiefs in rivalry with other lineage groups. The chiefdom councils even began to introduce rules for the groups of their own area and, in accordance with the recognised indigenous disciplinary institution, to exact fines (njughuda) from members and teachers for non-attendance and other misbehaviour.¹ (Literacy Campaign Report for the Month of January 1961, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5; Jellicoe 1962:8-12)

In 1959 and 1960, the literacy groups and their organisation became the medium through which the follow-up mass educational programmes were conducted. The initial work in 1959, which was organised by an interdepartmental team from the agricultural, veterinary and health departments led by a social development assistant, concentrated on the introduction of basic ideas for village improvement schemes in the Ikungi chiefdom. The schemes included measures related to agriculture (such as the planting of elephant grass for cattle fodder and as an anti-erosion measure); housebuilding (for instance the making of windows and the plastering of walls to avoid ticks, bugs and other insects); health (including the construction of latrines and the benefits of a health clinic); and nutrition (for example the advantages

¹ Njughuda represented the sanction of public opinion. Offences were reported to the elders who, if agreeing upon the guilt of the offender, would demand an animal (e.g. a cow or a chicken) for a ritual feast as well as a fine for the injured person. (Jellicoe 1978:37-39, passim)

of drinking milk and the growing of vegetables). The team supplied some materials and their skilled assistance whereas the villagers provided voluntary labour. (Community Development in Singida District, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5; The "Combined Operations" and UNICEF Teams Ihanja & Ikungi, Report for August 1960, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5)

The UNICEF women's mass education programme started in 1960 as a pilot scheme among three successful literacy groups in Ihanja chiefdom and expanded into two other chiefdoms in 1961. The scheme was based on a preliminary survey of the life of the Turu people and the needs of the women in particular. The elements of the programme, which were selected for teaching, were identified by the women and were concentrated on improved cookery, child care and health. Influential leaders among the women were used to exert pressure on other women to adopt the new practices which reinforced the work of the men's team in the area of community development. (Memorandum on The Community Development and UNICEF Teams, Singida, TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5; UNICEF Team Mass Education Campaign, Monthly Reports 1960, TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/1; Monthly Reports - Work among Women in Singida district 1963, TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/7; See also Jellicoe 1961)

All of the mass education efforts were implemented to some extent in all of the six chiefdoms in Singida district during the investigated period. Their results were reflected, for instance, in the increasing number of established community development groups, wells, latrines, and the growing of new kinds of vegetables. (TNA Acc. 68/S.1/5/II; TNA Acc. 302/LGS 1/1) This achievement, like the impressive adult literacy enrolment figures, underscored the readiness of the Turu population to accept new ideas and their initiative in implementing them when due attention was paid to their decentralised social organisation. While the improvements undoubtedly made life relatively more attractive and less cumbersome, had some effect on the general health situation, brought more variety and created new social roles, they were so elementary that strong

environmental factors, such as the periodic famines, made them fragile even in the short term. Whether education could have been used to achieve more far-reaching changes in the pattern of social life, such as in the high fertility rate and the accumulation of cattle as social wealth, can be questioned. Any such attempt would have affected the strongly held social belief and value systems of the people and might, as in the case of the externally introduced political institutions, have met with opposition whether actively or passively expressed. Besides, a different level of interaction and conviction would have been needed as the measurable effect would have been less immediate than that of the implemented schemes.

The Use of Education to Promote Socialism and Self-Reliance After Independence

Like Nyakato and the mass education programme in Singida, the selected community schools, Kwamsisi and Kwalukonge, and the adult functional literacy programme in Dodoma district were innovative experiments to promote the wider goals of the national development process. In contrast to the pre-independence schemes, there was a strong emphasis on the integration of the community in educational efforts to promote political aims. The adult functional literacy campaign, like the mass education programme in Singida, aimed at improving the basic social conditions of the mass of the population and, like the community schools, at developing the national economy through measures to improve the village economy. In contrast to the mass education programme before independence, the adult functional literacy campaign aimed at providing new 'modern' farming skills and at developing a 'socialist' outlook. In the community school experiment, the emphasis was on cooperative efforts in the development of both new skills and attitudes which contrast with the individualist and technical orientation of Nyakato.

Kwamsisi and Kwalukonge: community participation and national politico-economic needs

Kwamsisi was selected in 1970 by the Tanzanian government in cooperation with UNICEF and UNESCO as the prototype for the implementation of the community school idea, spelled out in the 'Education for Self-Reliance' document in 1967 in support of the strategy of socialism and self-reliance. It was announced in 1976 as the model for replication in 35 other primary schools, each in a different village across the country, including in Kwalukonge. As pointed out in Chapter 5, the strategy of socialism and self-reliance was modified in the mid-1970s into a 'basic human needs' strategy. This transmutation influenced the implementation of the concept in Kwalukonge compared to Kwamsisi.

Kwamsisi - participation designed from above

The pilot project in Kwamsisi was a part of the wider Tanzania/UNICEF/UNESCO Primary Education Reform Project (Mpango wa Tanzania/UNICEF/UNESCO (MTUU)) which was launched in 1970 in order to reform primary education in accordance with the newly stipulated national policies. The reform project was executed by the Tanzania government and combined the expertise of UNESCO with the financial, technical, professional and other assistance of UNICEF. MTUU operated within the teacher education directorate of the Ministry of Education, the Director of Teacher Education also being the Director of MTUU. The Director of Teacher Education formulated the policies concerning MTUU and liaised with the Commissioner for National Education in all matters related to the project. Under the director was a MTUU administrator who was the chief executive officer of the project. MTUU activities were centred in the Colleges of National Education. The college principals were the head of MTUU and the link between the Ministry of Education and the villages. The principals implemented the educational reform at

the village level assisted by itinerant teacher educators who helped organise courses at the college and supervised the implementation in the schools. All curriculum changes had to be approved by the regional and district officials of the party and the government. (Ministry of Education 1978:v, 5-11; Mwajombe 1978:81-83; Kayuza 1979:100-101; Meena 1983:127)

Kwamsisi was selected by MTUU officials at a meeting in Bagamoyo in 1970 because the principal of Korogwe teachers' college, as the patron of the primary schools in his area, expressed a keen interest in and willingness to implement the community school idea in one of his schools. He selected Kwamsisi because of its proximity to Korogwe (about 15 km), its accessibility all year, and the fact that Kwamsisi was considered to be an already well-functioning village in accordance with the ujamaa philosophy. No reasons or factors were indicated which related specifically to the functioning of the Kwamsisi primary school. There is, however, some evidence that, in the early 1970s, parents in Kwamsisi had expressed concern about the kind of education provided for their children. (Interviews with Former MTUU Officials, Kwamsisi Village Officials; Ministry of Education 1978:v; UNESCO 1978:83; Meena 1983:124)

Kwamsisi is located in one of the key sisal plantation regions on relatively fertile soils with relatively reliable rain. It was founded in 1925 and was from 1935 the homestead of Mzee Mlisi who migrated from the nearby poorer Handeni district. Mlisi was the village chairman when the Kwamsisi community school experiment was started in 1971 and until 1982 when he died. The present village chairman was the vice-chairman when the scheme was started. Kwamsisi is almost solely inhabited by Zigua farmers, and at the beginning of the experiment constituted about 60 families, mostly belonging to Mlisi's extended family. Attracted by the relatively fertile soils, an even larger number of outside Zigua families, who were then living in scattered homesteads, settled in the village under the impact of

the ujamaa policy during 1975-1976. The total population increased from 1,359 in 1976 to 2,352 in 1991. The villagers subsist on mixed farming activities, the main crops being maize, rice and cassava. The village has (in 1991) a dispensary and water facilities but no mechanised equipment, except for a privately owned grinding machine. The literacy rate is estimated at 68 percent in 1991. (Kwamsisi Village Statistics; Interviews with Kwamsisi Village Officials)

Kwamsisi had a village council and village committees before the initiation of the Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act in 1975. The villagers, moreover, practised communal farming activities before it was demanded by the ujamaa policy. This administrative structure and established practice of cooperation was by MTUU officials considered likely to facilitate the introduction of the community school idea. In particular, the inclusion of village members in the school committees (for instance the self-help and finance committees) and of school members in the village committees (for instance the executive committee) was seen to possibly enhance the envisaged joint cooperation between the school and the village. (Interviews with Kwamsisi Village Officials, Former MTUU Officials. See also Rajabu & Shayo 1978:174-176)

According to MTUU, a community school was one in which the form and pattern of life in the community, the main features of the environment, the social practice of work, and politics would figure prominently in the curriculum. (See e.g. Mitande 1978:54) A particular Kwamsisi community school curriculum was therefore designed for standards V-VII which attempted to integrate the traditional primary school subjects into four main areas: literacy and numeracy; political education; community studies; and cultural studies and skills related to village life. Literacy and numeracy comprised the normal school programme in Kiswahili, English and mathematics although with a clear vocational bent. It included, for instance, the study of better methods of farming, craftwork, building techniques and

commercial methods as well as general science related to the local physical and human environment, health education and hygiene. Political education did not deviate in contents from the ordinary primary school curriculum, whereas both community studies and cultural studies aimed at maintaining the integration of the pupils in the local culture and environment, and at heightening their capability to solve local problems and further the ujamaa philosophy. The emphasis on the integration of the school with the community implied both the active participation of the community in school affairs and the active participation of the school in village affairs. (See e.g. Rajabu & Shayo 1978:180-187; Meena 1983:125-126)

The implementation of the experiment was overseen by the principal of Korogwe teachers' college supported by MTUU officials. It involved the reorientation of the teachers of Kwamsisi in courses arranged at the college, and visits by the itinerant teacher educator in the village to supervise the teaching practice. Exchange visits were also arranged with other schools in other villages, including Kwalukonge. For the teachers, the implementation of the scheme was, however, primarily a learning-by-doing experience which, although supported by the material and human assistance of MTUU, demanded knowledge, skills, and attitudes which had not been part of their formal teacher training programme. The former MTUU officials and the village officials and villagers of Kwamsisi agreed that a successful level of cooperation between the school and the village was achieved during 1971-1975, after which it gradually declined and now has, more or less, died out. (Interviews with Former MTUU Officials, Kwamsisi Village Officials, Parents; Ministry of Education, Progress Reports 1973-1975; Meena 1978:128-131; Mwajombe 1978:80-91)

Even at its height, Kwamsisi did not become the kind of community school defined by MTUU and did not succeed in achieving the far-reaching goals of the Kwamsisi community school curriculum. The 'integration of school and community' and the

'participation' in common affairs were restricted to particular ad hoc activities which were, like the curriculum itself, designed by MTUU officials in consultation with the village, rather than by the school and the villagers themselves. Whereas former students (in contrast to the present students) indicated that each standard had a representative on a committee which decided when and how to undertake the designed common projects, the parents gave no indication of any widespread involvement in the decision-making and planning process. To them, and the village officials and the students, the concept of a community school covered only the more practical aspects of both the MTUU definition and the stipulated purposes of the MTUU curriculum. It implied that the school belonged to them and that the school and village cooperated in certain common areas which could help the village to develop and would keep the children in the village after they had finished school. Neither the village officials nor the parents nor the students referred to the particular role the students were envisaged to play in the village development process or to the importance of the community school for politicisation purposes. (Interviews with Kwamsisi Village Officials, Parents, Former Students, Present Students. See also Meena 1983:127)

The common areas of interest included certain economic projects, the use of villagers as teachers in the school and the use of students as teachers in the village. The conversion of Kwamsisi into a community school necessitated an extension from standard IV to standards V-VII, for which the community school curriculum was specifically designed. New class rooms were, therefore, constructed by villagers, students and teachers in cooperation. Various economic projects to diversify the crop production pattern, generate additional income, or alleviate shortages were successfully established, such as the cultivation of tobacco and cotton, the production of desks for the school, and the serving of midday meals for the students based on the output from the newly established school farm. The students

taught the villagers 'modern' farming techniques on the communal farm, for instance row-planting and spacing of maize, the use of manure and the selection of proper seeds, which helped to increase the output. The students were also assistants in the adult literacy classes. Villagers, on the other hand, taught some of the subjects in the curriculum in which they had a special expertise, such as basket-weaving, local dancing and local history. (Interviews with Former MTUU Officials, Kwamsisi Village Officials, Parents, Former Students, Former Teachers. See also Kilimhana 1975:113-114; Rajabu & Shayo 1978:178-180)

The establishment of Kwamsisi as a community school, thus, seems to have furthered the application of new farming skills which the former students indicated they had continued to practise after they left school. Parents and village officials also stressed that the more widespread interaction between the students and the villagers at the time led to a generally more cooperative and respectful attitude among the students than was the case today. The present students expressed a dislike for agricultural activities and, in contrast to the former students, would like to leave the village. (Interviews with Kwamsisi Village Officials, Parents, Former Students, Present Students)

The school could not, however, build the cohesion in the community which might have sustained the cooperative efforts. The community school curriculum was never successfully implemented as an integrated curriculum which primarily aimed at the understanding and promotion of the village society and at the use of the students as agents of change with a heightened problem-solving capacity. Not only were the teachers inadequately trained for such a sophisticated approach, but their primary responsibility for the teaching outcome remained, in the final instance, with the Ministry of Education, not with the village. Even though standards V-VII were established for the community school experiment, the students of Kwamsisi were tested along with other primary school students in the ordinary subject areas. Their progress to secondary school, which was

then the measure for successful achievement, was based on good grades in the academic subjects, not on an evaluation of the skills and attitudes which the experiment was trying to promote. According to the villagers, MTUU never kept a promise to reserve a number of places in a secondary school for bright Kwamsisi students who might have been disadvantaged by the experiment in their attempts for further education. A former top MTUU official, however, maintained that no Kwamsisi students were that able. (Interviews with Kwamsisi Village Officials, Parents, Former MTUU Officials, Former Teachers)

In 1975, Kwamsisi was considered by MTUU to be successful enough to act as a model for replication in other schools. For Kwamsisi, however, this decision led to the transfer of some of its most valuable resources, particularly the headteacher and other teachers, to Kwalukonge. Other resources promised by MTUU in support of village development were withdrawn and, according to the village officials, distributed probably to some of the new selected schools and villages. The village officials also maintained that their new teachers were unfamiliar with the community school concept and neither trained in nor supportive of its implementation. Whereas the former MTUU officials claimed that this was not the case, the fact remains that Kwamsisi experienced a continuous and rapid transfer of its teachers to other schools and has had in all seven different headteachers from the beginning of the experiment in 1971 until 1991. None of the headteachers was appointed from within the Kwamsisi school and there was, thus, a continuous break of continuity in the implementation of the scheme. (Interviews with Kwamsisi Village Officials, Former MTUU Officials, Former Teachers. See also Meena 1983:135)

Kwamsisi, moreover, lost its strong cohesion when the outside families settled in the village during 1975-1976. According to the village officials, these families were unsupportive of any level of cooperative activities, whether farming or educational, as they preferred to see the immediate benefits

of their own labour. Tools, which were provided by MTUU in support of the community school, began to disappear within the village at this time which acted as a discouragement for MTUU to provide further support. (Interviews with Kwamsisi Village Officials, Former MTUU Officials)

Despite the fact that the only qualitative reason given for the selection of Kwamsisi as the site for the community school experiment was its well-established ujamaa activities, the former MTUU officials in 1991 pointed to the lack of a cooperative spirit as the main reason for the failure of the experiment. According to these officials, this related to poor village leadership, inadequate support of the community school idea by the village chairman, and to the fact that "Zigua people are reluctant to change". It was always expected that the experiment would be able to stand on its own after initial comprehensive support. (Interviews with Former MTUU Officials)

While some of the indicated factors were undoubtedly crucial in the decline of the experiment after 1975, the nature of the leadership, of Zigua people and of the need for broadscale support of a particular innovative idea or policy were well-established factors when Kwamsisi was selected as a site and ought, if anything, to have been considered by MTUU before the experiment was started and during the innovative process itself. The role of Msimi as village and party chairman was definitely central. According to the villagers, he alone discussed the introduction of the community school idea with the officials. While the villagers liked and supported the idea once they had been informed, they were apparently not integrated in a process which made the idea become theirs. After 1975, according to a former itinerant teacher educator, Msimi did not cooperate in the implementation of the project, except in the presence of outside officials. The village officials indicated that Msimi was probably hesitant to extend the cooperative activities to and share proceeds with the new families who did not belong to his extended family. (Interviews with Kwamsisi Village Offi-

cial, Parents)

It is, however, questionable whether an adequate evaluation of the need for continuous support of the experiment was undertaken by MTUU, whether MTUU was aware of the new circumstances and conflict of interest in Kwamsisi, or whether MTUU considered the effect of the transfer of teachers which was decided at the regional level. As an innovative educational scheme, Kwamsisi primarily rose and fell with the tide of wider policy-making. Once it was decided to replicate the experiment in other sites, it was apparently also implicitly decided to limit or eliminate resources spent on Kwamsisi, independently of the actual working of the project.

The community school experiment, nevertheless, seems to have made its mark in Kwamsisi. The villagers confirmed that they still applied the modern farming methods (such as the use of manure and row-planting and spacing of maize) which they had been taught by the community school students and which the ex-students themselves also indicated that they had continued to apply. No corroborative evidence was, however, gathered which could support such statements or serve as a basis to evaluate whether the part of the community that was uncooperative of the community school adopted the new agricultural skills. While parents and village officials pointed to an apparent difference in attitudes to cooperative endeavour between the former students of the community school and the present students, and while the discussions with the ex-students and the present students revealed a difference in attitude to the teaching of agriculture, to agricultural activities, and to a future life in the village, much more detailed observation and inquiry over a longer period would be needed to make any affirmative conclusion concerning the isolated effect of the community school to expressed attitudes of cooperative behaviour as a crucial ingredient of the self-reliance policy.

The village officials, the parents and the ex-students speak in favour of the community school idea even today (1991) when

community schools are no longer emphasised at the national level as vehicles for social innovation and when there is a strong political pressure to improve the quality of academic subjects in primary schools. They consider the teaching of vocational, in particular agricultural, skills as essential because these are the skills which most children will need in their future lives. They would also like to reestablish integrated school and village activities and are hopeful that further discussions with village members, who may still be unsupportive of the idea, might lead to their support of such efforts. While they see a new possibility in the principles of the reintroduced cooperative societies, which allow for voluntary participation and loan-taking, they are also aware that only renewed outside support from the Ministry of Education and/or agencies, such as UNICEF, could change the present nature of their school.

Kwalukonge - cooperation developed from below

When Kwamsisi was replicated as a model in 1976, this was done in a modified form. The Kwamsisi community school curriculum designed by MTUU was replaced by a new curriculum planned by the Institute of Education. Instead of the four integrated curriculum areas, the new curriculum had ten individual subjects which overlapped greatly with the traditional primary school subjects. Today, all community schools teach according to the primary school syllabus of 1982 which comprises thirteen different subjects and has no direct emphasis on integrated activities between the school and the village. (Interview with Kwalukonge Headteacher; Katunzi 1988:169-173)

In 1976, the established community schools were to support the 'basic services approach' instead of ujamaa. The schools were to promote the introduction of basic services in the villages by widening the understanding among the local populations of their importance in areas, such as health and nutrition. The 'basic services approach', therefore, reinforced integrated school and village activities but disregarded the

former stronger emphasis on attitudinal and problem-solving skills in support of a socialist development process. In the 1980s, the integrated activities essentially became an expression of the need for local self-help to alleviate the pressure on national financial resources. (Haule 1979:24-31; Ministry of Education 1975-1989:passim. Cf. also Katunzi 1988:173-197)

The establishment of Kwalukonge community school was initially supported by MTUU in the form of human and material resources. It was, however, indicated by both the former MTUU officials and the village officials and teachers of Kwalukonge, that outside support was limited to the very early years of the community school and that the achievements of the school, since then, have rested on self-help efforts and resources from within the village. (Interviews with Former MTUU Officials, Kwalukonge Village Officials, Teachers)

Kwalukonge is located in the Usambara mountains (about 60 km from Korogwe) on soils which are less fertile than those of Kwamsisi and exposed to less reliable rain. Like Kwamsisi, it is surrounded by sisal plantations. Kwalukonge was officially registered as an ujamaa village in 1970. During 1970-1980, it experienced a large increase in its population when plantation workers saw the implementation of ujamaa as an opportunity for them to become reestablished as peasant farmers. Many of the workers had migrated from other areas of Tanzania and the population of Kwalukonge today incorporates fourteen different ethnic groups. The Bena, the Sambaa and the Zigua, however, together constitute 95 percent of the total population amounting to 2,663 people (in 1991). (Kwalukonge Village Statistics; Chama Cha Mapinduzi-Ofisi Ya Tavi Magamba Kwalukonge 1990)

The total acreage under cultivation in Kwalukonge is higher than in Kwamsisi (5,183 acres compared to 1,672), the average acreage per person being as high as eight (compared to three in Kwamsisi). Agricultural production encompasses both food and cash crops, including maize, millet, peas, beans, cotton, groundnuts and sunflower, and there is a sizeable number of

livestock (although less than in Kwamsisi). The village is, unlike Kwamsisi, highly modernised. Agricultural production activities are partially mechanised, the village owning tractors, ploughs, planters and grinding machines. It has its own transport facilities, in the forms of a pick-up truck and a lorry, and it runs a daily bus service to Tanga. There is hydro-electric power, tapped water, a dispensary with a medical assistant and two nurses, cooperative shops, a bar and a hotel, and an increasing number of permanent houses. The literacy rate is estimated at 81 percent (in 1991). (Kwalukonge Village Statistics)

The wealth of the village was initially created through the voluntary transfer of private resources to communal ownership when Kwalukonge was established as an ujamaa village in 1970. More comprehensive village projects have been financed through loans, for instance from the Tanzania Rural Development Bank. All village facilities are communally owned by the registered village members (about five percent of the population are not officially registered). (Interviews with Kwalukonge Village Officials; Chama Cha Mapinduzi-Ofisi Ya Tavi Magamba Kwalukonge 1990)

Kwalukonge has for more than ten years won the number one prize as the most successful ujamaa village in Tanzania (it was number two in 1990). It is one of only five ujamaa villages which have a party appointed 'village institutional secretary' (katibu wa chama (CCM) wa taasis ya kijiji) to head the village administrative structure. His function is to undertake a continuous evaluation of the ongoing village activities and to design strategies for amelioration and further development of the village as a whole. His work is undertaken in active cooperation within the village with the village chairman, the village secretary, the village council and the village committees and outside the village with government experts. The top leadership of both the village and the school have secured a strong continuity of efforts within the village. The village

chairman and the village secretary have been in office since 1971, whereas the school has had only four headteachers since it was established as a community school. The first headteacher, who was transferred from Kwamsisi, functioned for as long as ten years and still teaches in the school. Two of the other three headteachers were teachers in the school before being appointed headteachers. (Interviews with Kwalukonge Village Officials, Teachers; Chama Cha Mapinduzi-Ofisi Ya Tavi Magamba Kwalukonge 1990)

The village leadership and the villagers of Kwalukonge expect that the village can continue to develop by applying still more advanced production methods and by creating industrial activities. There are also continuing efforts to solve problems related to the community school. One area of concern is the limited opportunities for the students to proceed to secondary education as a result of the quota-directed access to secondary schools. The village had therefore applied for permission to establish its own day secondary school with an agricultural bias. The village was also in the process of producing seventy school desks to cover the present shortage in the school. Unlike Kwamsisi, the school is not short of basic inputs, such as exercise books and chalk, but lacks textbooks. The village may, therefore, consider establishing its own printing services. The general attitude of village officials, teachers and parents was that the school functions well as a community school and that standards are high. (Interviews with Kwalukonge Village Officials, Teachers, Parents)

The concept of a community school was understood in a similar way as in Kwamsisi. For village officials, teachers and parents, the concept implied that the school belonged to them and that there was a cooperation between the school and the village in common areas. The headteacher expressed that it was possible to incorporate school and village activities by using the time-table flexibly. Despite the high level of enterprise in the village, neither the headteacher nor the village offi-

cials felt a need to participate in curriculum planning or to design the teaching, for instance of agriculture, in relation to their peculiar local conditions. The present students were, however, unfamiliar with the concept and both the present and the former students had difficulty exemplifying how integrated school and village activities had been undertaken. While the concrete examples corresponded with those in Kwamsisi (i.e. students teaching villagers literacy and improved farming methods, such as row-planting and spacing of maize, the selection of good seeds and the use of fertilisers, and villagers teaching students local crafts), the former students indicated that they probably did not think of these activities when asked, because they were not important in the context of their examinations. (Interviews with Kwalukonge Village Officials, Teachers, Parents, Former Students, Present Students)

As in Kwamsisi, the village officials and the parents spoke in favour of the teaching of agriculture in school which, they believed, was a way for further development. Former students confirmed that they still applied the modern methods they had been taught in school, and the present students, while favouring academic subjects, expressed no dislike for agricultural science and agricultural activities. A concern was, however, expressed by teachers, parents and village officials related to the very limited training of the agricultural science teacher (three months) and the need for technical support of the subject in the form of textbooks and tools. Nevertheless, the school runs a highly successful school farm, half the income from which covered the total school expenditures in 1990. This achievement, which stands in stark contrast to the average performance of the national educational system (cf. Chapter 6), is probably a reflection of the successful agricultural activities in the village in general. The village runs experimental farms which are cultivated under advice from an agricultural research centre in Tanga. This continuously improved knowledge is disseminated to the school and is applied on the school farm. (Interviews

with Kwalukonge Village Officials, Teachers, Parents, Former Students, Present Students)

In contrast to Kwamsisi, Kwalukonge community school has existed within a village organisation which has apparently managed to implement some of the aspects of the ujamaa philosophy in a highly successful manner. The village seems to have relied on an exceptional combination of human and material resources which have been critical to its long-term self-sustained development efforts. According to the village officials, the mixed ethnic groups together form a pool of varied knowledge and skills that compete in a healthy manner stimulated by the economic accomplishments of the more advanced elements and members. The production methods within the village appear to be continuously transformed with outside technical assistance and in cooperation with village officials and government experts. The presence of the 'village institutional secretary' probably provides a direct and workable link between the village and the highest political level of the party. This presumably also paves the way for government attention to important village matters and smoothes the operation of bureaucratic procedures.

The settled and enterprising atmosphere of the village has undoubtedly furthered the performance of the community school. Like the village in general, the school has experienced a strong continuity in the educational process in terms of stability of staff. Although the objectives of the curriculum were considerably narrowed compared to the originally designed purposes for Kwamsisi community school and although there is a strong orientation towards traditional academic achievement among the teachers, the village officials and the students, the school seems to be able to contribute to the development of agricultural skills in the same way as Kwamsisi probably did in its early phase. The village officials and the parents confirmed that, in contrast to visiting students, the students of Kwalukonge express a general willingness to cooperate in

communal activities and demonstrate a pronounced respect for public property, despite the fact that neither the curriculum nor the organisation of the teaching-learning process are set up to enhance such attitudes. While the school undoubtedly influences the attitude to agricultural activities and the transfer of agricultural skills, the expressed social attitudes may, however, be a reproduction of the apparently strongly held social values and behaviour of the community in general rather than the result of an independent impact of the school.

Dodoma: adult functional literacy and national political demands

The kind of combined literacy and mass education programmes which were implemented in Singida district before independence continued after independence with TANU playing an increasingly important role. In 1971, after the announcement of 1970 as 'Adult Education Year', the two kinds of activities became the combined focus for the nation-wide literacy campaign which aimed at the eradication of illiteracy by 1975. The campaign adopted the concept of functional literacy which was first introduced in the UNDP/UNESCO work-oriented adult literacy pilot project in the Lake Regions during 1968-1972. The concept combined the teaching of literacy (in Kiswahili) with the teaching of vocational skills in the economic areas which were predominant in a particular local context and, furthermore, aimed at heightening the understanding and participation of the mass of the population in the national development efforts. The teaching was based on twelve different primers which included subjects, such as the production of maize, wheat, rice, cotton, cattle and fishing, and political education. The implementation of the campaign was supported by heavy inputs of government and donor resources and by the appointment of adult education coordinators at each layer of the decentralised administrative structure. (See e.g. Mpogolo 1980:42-54; Mpogolo 1983:170-175)

In the context of the national literacy campaign, functional literacy classes were taught in the classroom during the dry

season (May-November) and in practice during the rainy season (December-April). Teaching in practice involved demonstrations of what had been taught in theory, for instance the application of particular 'modern' production methods on a demonstration plot by an agricultural extension officer. The theoretical teaching involved the meeting of classes three times per week for two hours, but no strict schedule was established for the practical lessons. The teachers came from a range of different backgrounds, such as professional teachers, students trained on-the-job, volunteers and TANU and religious officials. (See e.g. Mpogolo 1980:45-47; Mpogolo 1983:183-184)

A combination of definitions was adopted to identify a literate person. These incorporated the achieved reading and writing skills with the ability to engage in activities for which literacy was required to function effectively at the personal level and in the context of the wider community. The learners were tested nationally in six different years during 1975-1989 according to different levels of achievement. A person was considered to be a literacy graduate if he or she passed levels III or IV in reading, writing and arithmetic combined, and as functionally literate when having achieved level IV. Functional literates could proceed to the post-literacy levels V and VI. (Ministry of Education 1985:7-10)

Dodoma rural district is exposed to the same socio-economic and climatic conditions as Singida and the economy also combines agricultural and pastoral activities. The district is partially incorporated in the maize belt of Tanzania and also has sizeable vineyards and other economic activities, such as fishing. According to the 1988 population census, the district is the most highly populated of the five districts in Dodoma region, the total being 353,478 people (of whom 164,181 are males and 189,297 females). The predominant ethnic group is the Gogo. Around 13.5 percent of the population is estimated to be illiterate in 1991. (Dodoma Regional Statistics)

The three case villages represent the variety of the socio-economic conditions within the district. Mwumi Makulu, which is located in the proximity of Dodoma city, is the most 'urbanised' with electricity, water facilities, a dispensary, two schools, privately and communally owned lorries, tractors, milling machines, a cooperative shop, a rural library and an impressive assembly hall. The total population, which is mostly constituted of the Gogo, numbered 6,680 in 1988. The economic activities used to include livestock, but are now limited to farming and concentrated on the production of maize, millet, groundnuts, castor seeds and sunflower. (Mwumi Makulu Village Statistics)

Bahi and Dabalo, on the other hand, are both rural. Bahi is located on the border of Manyoni district in Singida region and near the main road to Singida town. The mixed farming activities, which are concentrated on millet, rice and groundnuts, are supplemented by a sizeable fishing industry. The location of the village and the fishing activities have furthered widespread trading activities and the population of 11,595 people (in 1991) is of a mixed ethnic origin. The village has a public and a private (missionary) dispensary, a primary school, water facilities, a rural library, but no mechanisation or transport facilities (except for a public bus service). (Bahi Village Statistics)

Dabalo is located several hours drive from Dodoma city in a remote part of the district with no private or public transport facilities. It has a dispensary, a school, water facilities, a rural library, but no equipment for mechanised agriculture. The agricultural activities are concentrated on maize, millet and groundnuts and are, in some of the households, supplemented by fishing and bee-keeping. Market activities are only conducted within the village. The total population amounted to 2,637 people in 1990 and included the Nguu as a major ethnic group besides the Gogo. (Dabalo Village Statistics)

During 1975-1986, the enrolment of learners in functional literacy classes in Dodoma rural district was fairly constant seen as a proportion of the total number of learners in Dodoma region (between 31 and 36 percent of the total). The female proportion was higher than the male at all levels and the learners were concentrated in the age group 15-50. Since 1986, new learners have appeared in the age group 10-14 of whom females constitute the major part (73 percent in 1986). (Dodoma Regional Statistics; Wizara ya Elimu 1981; Wizara ya Elimu 1983; Wizara ya Elimu 1986)

Table 7.2 and Table 7.3 show the relative performance of Mwumi Makulu, Bahi and Dabalo in adult functional literacy during 1977-1989. The tables have been compiled from statistics in the ward education offices or in the district office in Dodoma. Like the figures for Singida, they cannot be used as a basis for a qualitative evaluation of the relative literacy achievements and they are likely to be questionable. The total number of learners (age 15-50) in Dabalo was, for instance, listed as 1,367 in 1989 whereas the total adult population (age 15 and above) was indicated as only 1,090 (in 1990).

There seems to have been no strikingly similar pattern of development in adult literacy in the three villages during 1977-1989, as displayed in Table 7.2. However, there probably was more similarity in the relative development in Bahi and Dabalo, whereas Mwumi Makulu followed a somewhat different pattern. The total number of learners in Bahi and Dabalo, like the total number of enrolled and evaluated learners in Mwumi Makulu, had not changed significantly in 1989 compared to 1977. Both Mwumi Makulu and Dabalo had, however, a big variation in the number of (evaluated) learners in 1981 and 1983. The proportion of evaluated learners was somewhat higher in Dabalo (between 64 and 100 percent) than in Bahi (between 59 and 86 percent) and Mwumi Makulu (between 61 and 79 percent). The number of passed learners did not total the number of evaluated learners in any of the villages, the highest percentage being 85 in Mwumi Makulu

in 1989. The female pass rate was, with some exceptions, higher than the overall pass rate in Bahi and Dabalo. In Mwumi Makulu, it was significantly lower during 1977-1983.

Table 7.2 Measures of Basic Literacy in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi and Dabalo 1977-1989

Measures by Village	1977	1981	1983	1986	1989
MWUMI MAKULU					
Total no. of learners	n/a	n/a	n/a	1,408	770
Females	n/a	n/a	n/a	706	536
Evaluated	956	1,505	1,178	866	608
% of eval. who passed	16	19	14	70	85
% of eval. females who passed	11	14	11	69	84
BAHI					
Total no. of learners	2,727	3,072	2,351	2,284	2,201
Females	1,660	2,000	1,140	1,456	1,295
Evaluated	1,559	2,369	2,015	1,853	1,872
% of eval. who passed	55	82	71	71	80
% of eval. females who passed	30	90	74	74	84
DABALO					
Total no. of learners	1,563	852	722	1,143	1,367
Females	870	317	363	594	724
Evaluated	1,006	800	665	1,143	988
% of eval. who passed	64	76	72	65	80
% of eval. females who passed	100	75	62	71	85

n/a not available

Sources: Bahi, Dabalo and Mwumi Makulu, Adult Education Statistics.

There was also an apparent discrepancy between the relative concentration of learners at the different levels in Bahi and Dabalo compared to Mwumi Makulu, as appears in Table 7.3. In Bahi and Dabalo, whose patterns corresponded to those of Dodoma rural district and Dodoma region during 1981-1986, the high concentration of learners moved from the lower levels (Below level I, Level I and Level II) to the higher levels (Level III and Level IV) during 1977-1989. In Mwumi Makulu, on the other

Table 7.3 Relative Levels of Basic Literacy Learners in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi, Dabalo, Dodoma Rural District and Dodoma Region 1977-1989

Levels by Village	1977		1981		1983		1986		1989	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
MWUMI MAKULU										
Below level I	79	8	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Level I	701	73	802	53	846	72	609	70	454	75
Level II	102	11	213	14	169	14	116	13	56	9
Level III	42	4	202	13	106	9	76	8	62	10
Level IV	32	3	288	19	57	5	65	8	36	6
	956		1,505		1,178		866		608	
BAHI										
Below level I	157	10	0	-	149	7	177	10	170	9
Level I	358	22	143	6	192	10	114	6	198	11
Level II	364	23	275	12	245	12	243	13	198	11
Level III	240	15	811	34	641	32	596	32	974	52
Level IV	480	30	1,140	48	788	39	723	39	530	28
	1,599		2,369		2,015		1,853		1,872	
DABALO										
Below level I	128	13	189	23	143	21	116	10	0	-
Level I	614	61	206	26	250	37	136	12	94	9
Level II	95	9	173	22	140	21	149	13	98	10
Level III	86	9	155	19	87	13	212	18	542	55
Level IV	83	8	77	9	45	7	530	46	254	26
	1,006		800		665		1,143		988	
DODOMA RURAL DIST.										
Below level I	n/a		28,699	39	22,371	38	3,932	8	n/a	
Level I	n/a		21,400	29	18,855	32	5,443	11	n/a	
Level II	n/a		10,021	14	9,248	15	8,077	16	n/a	
Level III	n/a		7,650	10	5,804	10	12,153	24	n/a	
Level IV	n/a		5,514	7	3,170	5	20,720	41	n/a	
			73,284		59,448		50,325			
DODOMA REGION										
Below level I	n/a		58,706	29	48,215	30	16,154	11	n/a	
Level I	n/a		58,722	29	48,402	30	18,091	13	n/a	
Level II	n/a		35,374	17	27,353	17	26,114	18	n/a	
Level III	n/a		27,334	13	21,115	13	37,097	26	n/a	
Level IV	n/a		22,688	11	14,873	9	42,969	30	n/a	
			202,824		159,958		140,424			

n/a not available

Sources: Bahi, Dabalo and Mwumi Makulu, Adult Education Statistics. Wizara ya Elimu, Matokeo ya Upimaji wa Tatu wa Maendeleo ya Kisomo Kitafifa, 1981; Matokeo ya Upimaji wa Maendeleo ya Kisomo Chenye Manufaa, 1983; Matokeo ya Upimaji wa Tano wa Maendeleo ya Kisomo Chenye Manufaa Kitafifa, 1986.

hand, the proportion of evaluated learners at the lower levels remained large and fairly constant during the period. In Dabalo, as at the district and the regional levels, there was a significant drop in the proportion of enrolled learners at the lower levels after 1983, a trend which is not reflected in the relative proportions either for Mwumi Makulu or Bahi.

The number of evaluated learners gives no indication of the actual achievement in the literacy tests and cannot, therefore, serve as a basis for an estimate of the relative literacy rates in the three sites. When compared to the total number of the adult population (above the age of 15), they may, however, indicate the relative need for further literacy efforts. The number of evaluated learners in 1989 represented 13 percent of the adult population (as enumerated in 1988) in Mwumi Makulu, 28 percent (as per 1991 figures) in Bahi, and 90 percent (based on 1990 figures) in Dabalo. It is, therefore, highly likely that Dabalo has the lowest literacy rate and the highest need for sustained adult literacy efforts as virtually the total adult population is still registered as learners at some level. Mwumi Makulu, on the other hand, apparently cannot achieve literacy for the final (roughly 10 percent) of the adult population. Bahi seems, since the early 1980s, not to have been able to sustain its more successful earlier literacy efforts, having an enrolment number which may indicate an illiteracy rate well beyond the national average.

This conclusion is supported by the qualitative evidence collected through the interviews in the three villages. These results point to some of the factors which either stimulated or hindered the literacy efforts and give some indication of the impact on the individual and the community in terms of production skills and political behaviour.

The most obvious evidence of learning difficulties and the need for further literacy efforts is the fact that the adult population is not yet conversant in Kiswahili. Interviews in Dabalo had to be conducted in Kigogo instead of Kiswahili and

learners in Mwumi Makulu indicated that they did not listen to the radio because the programmes were not in their local vernacular. Another striking fact is that the group of basic learners in all three sites included people who had first attended classes two decades earlier when the national literacy campaign was launched. (Interviews with Basic Literacy Learners in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi, Dabalo)

According to the interviewed learners and teachers who had experienced the functional literacy classes in the 1970s, there was a significant difference between the enthusiasm for literacy in the 1970s and now. The present lack of involvement was explained by learners and teachers as a result of low motivation by either teachers or learners. It, undoubtedly, also relates to the need for implementation of crucial aspects of the campaign, such as teaching in practice, and to a considerably reduced input of financial resources from the government and donor agencies.

In Bahi and Mwumi Makulu, the basic literacy learners indicated that their teachers did not attend classes regularly and that they were not interested in teaching "because they had become money-minded". This assertion was partially confirmed by the teachers, although with clear variety depending on the personal situation of the teacher and on certain contextual factors. Thus, while all teachers generally spoke in favour of the teaching profession, volunteer teachers expressed a higher interest in teaching adults than did primary school teachers. Some primary school teachers felt overburdened by the workload and most expressed that they should be paid a reasonable amount for their efforts and be provided with basic support materials (such as note books).¹ The primary school teachers, in general, found it easier to teach children who had no difficulty with Kiswahili, were fast learners compared to adults, and were receptive to disciplinary measures which could not be used in

¹ Teachers are paid a honorarium of shs. 300 per month by the Ministry of Education which also supplies equipment for skills development (e.g. sewing machines) particularly to post-literacy classes.

the case of adults. Very few of the teachers had received any kind of training in teaching adults and, generally, did not know how to modify their normal teaching practice for an adult audience. The teachers did not supplement the basic primers with other reading materials, even when available, (such as further specialised readings on agriculture or newspapers) or incorporate the use of radio programmes or visits by village officials (for instance the agricultural extension officer) as further resources in the teaching process. They also, generally, did not encourage the use of the rural libraries or the radio as sources of information for the learners outside of the class. (Interviews with Basic Literacy Learners, Basic Literacy Teachers, Post-Literacy Learners, Post-Literacy Teachers in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi, Dabalo)

Teachers in Bahi, Mwumi Makulu and Dabalo (as well as learners in Dabalo), on the other hand, indicated that the basic literacy learners, in contrast to the post-literacy learners, were not motivated for the classes. At all sites, the learners had been encouraged (if not demanded) by village officials to attend the literacy classes, and in Mwumi Makulu and Dabalo the learners claimed that they were fined for non-attendance. While a number of learners pointed to poor eyesight and age as reasons why they had difficulty learning and would like to drop out, the majority of learners would undoubtedly attend whether or not the nationally stipulated goal of eradication of illiteracy and participation in the national development process was enforced through by-laws at the village level. (Interviews with Basic Literacy Learners, Basic Literacy Teachers, Post-Literacy Learners, Post-Literacy Teachers in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi, Dabalo)

The purpose of the literacy classes was clearly understood as a narrow one, "to teach and learn how to read and write and count". The broader concept of functional literacy was rarely mentioned and the connection between literacy and self-reliance or development was not immediately evident. When asked specifically, the teachers and learners did confirm that classes

included the teaching of improved agricultural production methods. It was, however, pointed out that this teaching was undertaken only in theory as neither of the three sites had a demonstration plot attached to the school. Only Bahi village had demonstration plots to which the literacy learners had been taken for demonstrations by the agricultural extension officer, but where they had not been allowed to practise. In reality, the division of teaching in theory and practice to fit the dry and wet seasons, respectively, means that no teaching in practice takes place. (Interviews with Basic Literacy Learners, Basic Literacy Teachers, Post-Literacy Learners, Post-Literacy Teachers in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi, Dabalo)

Moreover, it was clear that whereas teachers in general practised in their own shambas the modern agricultural methods they taught, the basic literacy learners did not despite the fact that they were instructed to do so on the communal farm. They argued that some of the methods, such as row-planting and spacing of maize, were so time-consuming that they were only worthwhile if additional inputs in the form of fertilisers and insecticides were also provided. As one learner put it: "we, Gogo, are too lazy". (Interviews with Basic Literacy Learners, Basic Literacy Teachers, Post-Literacy Learners, Post-Literacy Teachers in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi, Dabalo)

The question, however, also remains whether the kind of skills that are actually being taught are the most relevant for the local environment. None of the primers has been updated since they were produced in the 1970s, some which seem to be relevant have not been handed out (for example fishing in Bahi and Dabalo), and, according to the learners, the primers do not touch their basic problem which is the lack of rain. Despite the fact that Bahi and Dabalo are located near huge lakes, irrigation had never been discussed in class. The learners generally favoured the primer on millet, which was produced at the regional level in Dodoma in 1986, but pointed to other possible topics, such as the cultivation of their cash crops

(groundnuts, castor seeds) as being of high interest to them. Post-literacy learners also indicated a strong need for more general materials, such as story books. (Interviews with Basic Literacy Learners, Basic Literacy Teachers, Post-Literacy Learners, Post-Literacy Learners in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi, Dabalo)

The purpose of political education was for most teachers and learners the provision of knowledge about the party and the political system of their country. It was not related to the creation of political 'awareness' or to participation in political processes and decision-making. At none of the sites were the learners involved in the planning of the teaching-learning activities. Learners, who held an official position in the village or who participated in organised village activities, clearly indicated that they did so out of their own interest, and not as a result of the literacy classes or because they had been encouraged by their teachers. Some of the teachers maintained that they tried to promote the participation of their learners in particular village organisations (such as the women's organisation, UWT) or to take up important village matters in class. The latter was expressed in Dabalo, where literacy classes had not functioned for the last three years, and where the primary school teachers pointed to the village leadership as the crucial factor to improve the performance of the literacy classes and the village. The relative autonomy of the individual administrative levels and the fact that, for lack of transport and resources, the higher administrative levels are often unaware of or unable to improve the situation at the village level leaves Dabalo as a not atypical case in the district as a whole. (Interviews with Basic Literacy Learners, Basic Literacy Teachers, Post-Literacy Learners, Post-Literacy Teachers in Mwumi Makulu, Bahi, Dabalo; Interviews with the Regional Education Officer, the Regional Adult Education Officer, the District Education Officer in Dodoma)

The adult functional literacy programme in Dodoma rural district, thus, points to a low level of efficiency compared to

the 1970s, and to a rather widespread discrepancy between the declared goals as set in the 1970s and their realisation today. While adult literacy classes, like the specialised agricultural training centre, Nyakato, and the community schools, Kwamsisi and Kwalukonge, could serve as a medium to transfer new agricultural skills, this has not secured their widespread application. As before independence, the labour efforts were carefully measured by the villagers against the likely output which was considered to be satisfactory only if either the village or the government stepped in with supportive inputs (or if adequate rain would promote the work). It is doubtful whether the literacy classes have mobilised the learners for increased participation in political decision-making and political activities either at the local or the national level, or - as measured by their general response to the purpose of the literacy classes - have promoted the kind of critical thinking and awareness which was central to the philosophy of education for self-reliance.

Social Innovation through Education in Pre- and Post-Independent Tanzania

There has been a long-standing argument in the literature concerning whether and how education can contribute to social change. As discussed in Chapter 3, the 'liberal' and 'critical' traditions agreed that innovation in education had to be supported by innovation in the wider society in order to act as a catalyst for development efforts. It was, moreover, argued that the nature of the skills and attitudes provided through education could lead to either liberating or exploitative situations for individuals and communities.

The analysis of the selected examples of educational institutions and programmes in this chapter has supplemented the analysis of the national educational systems in the context of socio-economic and political development before and after independence as discussed in Chapters 3-6. It has clarified in

more concrete terms the implementation of stipulated national goals by way of education and has identified some of the factors which acted as either barriers or stimulators to achieving the desired objectives. Some of these factors were unique for the particular institution and the specific context whereas others appeared as more generic in nature.

While the research on the post-independence schemes would have benefited from the inclusion of additional corroborative evidence and a more substantial time-frame for in-depth analysis of the expressed social attitudes and the nature of skills, some tentative conclusions can, nevertheless, be reached. These conclusions, together with the identified outcomes of the pre-independence educational institutions and programmes, can provide a perspective for further needed research and form the basis for some of the recommendations in the concluding Chapter 8.

The educational policy of the British administration was designed to support the wider purposes of the social development process as reflected in the philosophies of adaptation and modernisation. The educational schemes examined for the pre-independence period reflected this thinking. They aimed either at the transfer of skills to influence predominant agricultural methods (in the case of Nyakato), or at skills which could alleviate predominant basic problems in the general living conditions (in the case of Singida). Implicitly, therefore, the schemes required the acceptance by the students and the wider communities both of the new skills and of the ideas and values they represented. The teaching in Nyakato was established in consideration of the possible economic advantages that would accrue to individual farmers and the wider community, including the British administration, if the taught skills were successfully applied. There was little or no consideration of the possible non-economic consequences of the application of the skills. In Singida, on the other hand, careful investigations were made of social attitudes and the local social organisation

before the programmes were implemented. The analysis of the two schemes indicated that education could result in some social innovation, but that its impact was restricted both by the disregard of the link between the transfer of skills and the presence of opportunities to apply those skills, and by the stronger social forces of the particular communities, such as the underlying value structure and the nature of the environment.

The educational policy of the Tanzanian government was, after 1967, designed in support of the strategy of socialism and self-reliance which, as discussed in Chapter 5, underwent a significant transmutation over time. In contrast to the British administration, the Tanzanian government laid strong emphasis on the creation of particular ('socialist') attitudes as expressed in a voluntary cooperation between individuals in the local communities in development efforts which could contribute both economically and politically to nation-building from below. The educational schemes examined for this period had both the transfer of skills and the formation of attitudes in support of the political philosophy and the national development process as their declared objectives. It was suggested that while education was a valuable means to transfer skills which could help in improving the village economy, their more widespread application depended, as in the case of Nyakato, on additional inputs which could only be provided from within the community in the significant exception of Kwalukonge. It was, moreover, indicated that while the community school could possibly support the formation of desired values, the independent effect of the school cannot easily be isolated from the social value pattern of the wider community that may have been more strongly influential, for instance, in the case of Kwalukonge. The adult functional literacy programme in Dodoma seems to have had little or no impact on socio-political behaviour patterns.

All educational schemes, undoubtedly, had a 'liberating' effect on some individuals within the social group who partici-

pated in or were affected by the schemes. Both before and after independence, literacy was used by some as a means to adopt new social roles and by many more to improve the basic living standards. A majority of the community school students seemed to have applied and transferred the skills they had been taught in school. It is, however, doubtful whether the 'liberating' effect included the politicisation purposes which were a strong element of both the original community school idea and of the thinking behind adult functional literacy.

None of the educational institutions and programmes can be interpreted as having had a deliberate 'exploitative' function. When seen in the context of the wider educational system and the rather arbitrary decision-making concerning the existence of some of the schemes, their rise and fall may, however, have disregarded local preferences and, in some cases, have decreased immediate and future educational opportunities. If Nyakato was a successful innovative agricultural centre which transferred technical skills and knowledge that could have developed the general level of technology in the local community, then its closure in effect prevented the local community from access to such knowledge. Similarly, when the community school was implemented partially within the educational system, but was evaluated according to criteria set for the system as a whole, community school students were made less competitive in the access to further education and to likely opportunities outside of the village economy.

As innovative educational experiments, the selected examples performed differently. The most successful in achieving their declared objectives were Singida and Kwalukonge. Whereas the aims and time perspective of the Singida programme were relatively narrow, Kwalukonge community school has functioned successfully over a considerable period although it could be argued that its immediate purpose is no longer particularly innovative compared to that of other primary schools. Both schemes paid due attention to the wishes and needs of the local

communities. In the case of Singida, local resources and organisational patterns were supplemented by external expertise, critical resources and ways of organisation. Kwalukonge, on the other hand, was highly self-reliant, possessing an exceptional constellation of talent, resources and knowledge that has been continuously developed with outside assistance only in order to reach still higher levels of achievement.

Both Kwamsisi and Dodoma probably suffered from the fact that the educational innovations were implemented at a time when the Tanzanian society was being restructured and when they, therefore, became part of new 'packages' for widespread social innovation. The political pressure to innovate diverted crucial attention from the innovation process itself. This led to a disregard of a number of factors, such as the significance of voluntary participation of the communities in the planning and implementation of the educational schemes, the need for effective qualitative criteria in the selection of the sites, and a proper evaluation of medium and long term sustainability.

Seen in combination, the analyses of the cases have pointed to the importance of the interaction between educational and non-educational variables in the use of education for social innovation. The existence of most of the schemes was determined by decision-making at the national level and, therefore, national economic and political considerations, together with specific educational factors, influenced their performance over time. As innovative schemes, their impact on society was limited by inadequate support from the wider environment as expressed, for instance, in the lack of jobs and inputs to promote the application of acquired agricultural skills (as in the cases of Nyakato and Dodoma).

The interdependence of educational and non-educational variables, however, varied across the selected examples in accordance with the rich diversity of the local socio-economic conditions. This heterogeneity, which has persisted since before the arrival of the outside political powers as analysed

in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5, calls for a careful and differential application of the kind of resources which can form a critical mass and which only Kwalukonge seems to have developed. It, moreover, stresses the need to apply such resources in active cooperation with and with adequate participation of the local communities in order to disclose the peculiar needs for and the boundaries to innovative efforts. A precondition is the positive acceptance in advance by the local communities of the underlying objectives of the particular innovative idea in order to maximise its likely undistorted implementation.

A more fundamental result of the analysis may be that in an environment such as Tanzania's, education can be more easily and successfully used to develop and transfer new skills than to achieve a widespread value transformation. Across the selected examples, there was an expressed concern with existing value patterns by educational and other officials. Different approaches to understanding and changing them through education were applied in order for new societal goals to be achieved. This chapter, however, seems to support the outcomes of the previous chapters. It points to the persistence of the value orientation of the pre-colonial peasant farmers and seems to confirm that the fundamental life situation has changed relatively little under the impact of either capitalist or socialist goals for the development process.

The analysis may point to the significance of forming a complex view of the function of education in development. Such a view could integrate the objectives of education in Braudel's three-dimensional time scale (cf. Chapter 2) according to the level of change which is to be achieved through the educational process, of the educational institution or of the wider society. In the short term, additional inputs of scarce resources which hinder basic educational achievements (such as exercise books, chalk, primers and teacher training as in the cases of Kwamsisi and Dodoma) could improve the educational process. They would undoubtedly have to be supplemented by further educational

change to have any measurable impact on either institutional or social life. In the medium term, the performance of educational institutions could be improved by a careful investigation of their strengths and weaknesses and a consequent application of resources (such as textbooks, tools and specialised teacher training as in the case of Kwalukonge). The wider impact of the institution would, however, depend on the synchronism with societal reforms (such as the creation of further educational and job opportunities). Only in the long term, can education be expected to contribute to a change of the "conditions of material life, states of mind and the natural environment". Such changes are unlikely to occur unless fundamental considerations concerning the functions of both the educational and non-educational societal dimensions are made. Perhaps the non-achievement of some of the stipulated educational goals in Tanzania related to an ineffective partnership between educational and non-educational variables in the development process.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

In this study, the function of education in the national development process in Tanzania before and after independence was analysed. It was undertaken with two major purposes in mind. One was to design an alternative framework of analysis in the light of a discussion of the limitation of the predominant paradigms, namely modernisation and dependency theories. Another was to expand the existing body of knowledge concerning education and its role in economic and political development. In combination, the theoretical and empirical outcomes highlight the value of historical approaches for development studies and the significance of education as an influencing variable on societal processes in specific historical contexts.

Theoretical Implications of the Study

The designed framework of analysis incorporated three elements: the perspective of the modes of production theory; historical-materialism as a model to understand societal development; and a three dimensional time scale to analyse social change. The framework was considered to be a valuable alternative to the major paradigms since it neither relies on views exclusively related to western development models as in modernisation theory nor on the experiences of other continents as in the original formulation of the dependency paradigm. The modes of production theory is instead an outcome of analyses of a number of African countries, particularly in West Africa but also Tanzania. In contrast to dependency theory which relates crucial dynamic factors to the capitalist centre, it emphasises an examination of internal dynamics of the local societies by concentrating on the interaction between local and external modes of production. It may, therefore, underscore the importance of local experiences and be a foundation for the creation of endogenous knowledge.

Historical-materialism was originally based on analyses of

western European countries on the path towards capitalism and, is, therefore, identical in origin to modernisation theory. It was, nevertheless, considered to be useful for the historical investigation because of its organisation of the important societal dimensions in one analytic model. An attempt was made to overcome the principal criticism of the model as being economistic and mechanistic by focusing on the interactive relationship between the different dimensions. Its use in the study widened the perspective of the function of education in national development compared to previous analyses. In Thompson's studies (e.g. 1968a; 1968b), the educational sector tended to be isolated from the impact of the surrounding society. In Mbilinyi's works (1979a; 1980), education was primarily analysed with respect to the economic structure partly because of her adoption and interpretation of dependency theory.

The three dimensional time scale served to identify patterns of continuity alongside those of change. It, moreover, pointed to the need for analyses of education along all three time continua. In this study, a differential view on education was suggested which, when analysing the contribution of education to social change, attempts to measure the outcome of specific events, policies and inputs to the educational process in the short term, the importance of institutional innovation in the medium term and the contribution to social change in the long term. This stands in contrast to the unilinear time perspective of, for instance, Cameron & Dodd's study (1970).

The framework was used as a guide to the historical data which provided the basis for the suggested interpretations. The value of the framework, therefore, lies in the empirical results which, if confirmed and valuable, could possibly enlighten further conceptualisation and theory or model-building of relevance to Tanzania and other countries which share its experience and level of development. The use of the theoretical construct stands in contrast to the implicit and explicit application of the modernisation and dependency paradigms by,

for instance, Cameron & Dodd (1970) and Mbilinyi (1980) who interpreted the empirical reality by using explanatory factors from their theoretical frameworks.

One important outcome which is related to the particular approach is the understanding of the nature of the Tanzanian society. It was attempted to evaluate the significance of different modes of production based on an understanding of the concept as the way in which a society undertakes and organises its production. In the analysis, the peasant mode of production was identified as the dynamic one and the most significant for long-term agricultural output and value. As pointed out, the peasant mode adopted elements from both the traditional and the capitalist modes of production. These characteristics, in combination with its relative importance for the agricultural sector, led to a questioning in the study of the view that the traditional sector in Tanzania is static and a barrier to development (as argued in modernisation theory) or that the capitalist mode is the dominant one (as argued in dependency theory).

It was, moreover, argued in the study that there was a widespread and persistent economic heterogeneity and a long-term continuity in production patterns and socio-economic behaviour, despite the adoption of national policies which attempted to alter prevailing patterns. As originally suggested by Hyden (1980), this interpretation supported the view that fundamental principles and rationales survived the long-term impact of outside influence on local development. This outcome underscored the importance of the socio-cultural dimension in development and, implicitly, questioned the subordination of socio-cultural and socio-psychological factors in modernisation and dependency theories. It also pointed to the limitation of the politico-ideological structure as a determining influence on long-term socio-economic characteristics. As suggested in the historical investigation, the politico-ideological structure was given a leading role in sub-periods of the examined time scale.

Policies and politico-ideological events were seen to have had some impact on short and medium term development patterns. It seems, however, that the long-term outcome was one of continuity rather than change. While this may be interpreted as the base being determinant 'in the final instance' (cf. Chapter 1), it may also signify the inability of the political system to persist with designed policies long enough for them to have a transforming effect.

Education was identified in the study as a crucial variable which influences both the politico-ideological and the socio-economic structure. As far as the superstructure was concerned, the educational system and individual educational institutions were used to transmit new ideas, attitudes and cultural norms to promote a particular political system, whether western or African socialist, and to transform existing socio-cultural values. With respect to the base, the transfer of particular and new skills was the important objective. It was pointed out that education can be used to fulfil both purposes but that the medium and long-term impact depended on the interaction between the educational variable and variables related to the surrounding community and the wider society, as also stressed by Thompson (1968a), Mbilinyi (1979b) and Morrison (1976).

The nature of the interaction can, however, be difficult to determine. Both the heterogeneity of the economic situation and other factors, such as the variation in educational purposes among different agencies, the redirection of stated national goals in the policy implementation process and the fact that social groups reacted against restricted access to the kind of education they demanded, illustrated that particular goals may not be achieved as expected from the educational process.

Mainland Tanzania, as the unit of analysis, was in this study placed in its international context. It was indicated that there was a differential external impact on particular geographical areas and social groups in Tanzania partly depending on the local potential and forces. External factors may,

moreover, have contributed to a redirection of nationally formulated policies particularly in periods of economic strain. The varied response within the national politico-economic unit to external forces may suggest that the introduction of western models, including an anticipated modernisation process in unilinear stages from the traditional to the modern, is highly questionable. (Cf. Rostow 1971 (1960)) In addition, peripheral societies can hardly be positioned uniformly in a model of global capitalist development. (Cf. Amin 1974)

Empirical Outcomes of the Study

The holistic analysis of this study focused on the use of education to fulfil national goals for the political and economic development process. It centred on possible discrepancies between formulated and implemented policies and on identifying similarities and dissimilarities in the historical contexts before and after independence. The outcome of the investigation confirms some of the results of previous research and questions others.

Based on an analysis of a wide array of policy documents, contrasting goals for the educational process were identified before and after independence. These were reflected in the four analysed concepts: education for adaptation and education for modernisation before independence; and education for self-reliance and education for manpower development after independence. While the concepts were mutually related, they each put a different emphasis on the dimensions of education which were to have an impact on the socio-economic or the politico-ideological structures. Both education for adaptation and education for self-reliance gave high priority to the use of education for politico-ideological and socio-cultural purposes while also emphasising socio-economic aims. Within the two periods, they each competed with education for modernisation or education for manpower development which both related the use of education specifically to socio-economic purposes.

It was, moreover, discovered that the apparent similarity in the formulation of education for adaptation and education for self-reliance, on the one hand, and education for modernisation and education for manpower development, on the other, was transformed in the implementation process as a result of the different contexts. Before independence, the goals were implemented by policy-makers who endeavoured either to adapt or to specifically orientate the educational system to western models, institutions and behaviour in view of the racial composition in the area. After independence, policy-makers attempted to transform the inherited educational system to support interpreted local models, institutions and behaviour which were to mitigate racial and other social divisions. During both periods, educational policies were seen to shift with changes in the economic policies which were partly influenced by external factors. Based on an analysis of the provision of education, it was proposed that the emphasis on education for self-reliance, as an accompanying policy to the strategy of socialism and self-reliance, did lead to a differently designed educational system and to curriculum policies which, particularly until 1982, involved comprehensive changes in the contents of and access to education compared to the time before independence.

Before independence, the analysis of educational provision and, in particular, the compiled data on the financing of the educational sector led to the proposition that Africans were prevented from a widespread and differential access to education. This was primarily seen as a result of an increasing preference by the British administration for the education of the non-African communities. It was, moreover, suggested in the analysis that the educational process led to unplanned outcomes in a situation where social groups reacted against their unfulfilled expected economic and political opportunities and where the British administration only gradually gained control over the educational system.

Both the approach and the suggested interpretations complement those of former research. They discount the argument of Cameron & Dodd (1970) and Thompson (1968a; 1968b) that the education of the non-African communities during the British administration had an insignificant impact on African education because the Indian and European communities financed their own education and were educated in their own educational systems. While agreeing with Mbilinyi (1979a; 1980) that the tripartite educational system had an important function for the social division of labour and with Morrison (1976) that it enhanced the potential for political conflict, the analysis in this study was based on comprehensive primary historical data in contrast, in particular, to Mbilinyi who instead used explanatory factors from her adopted framework (dependency theory).

Based on an analysis of the financial allocation to education by the Tanzanian government after independence, it was proposed that education for self-reliance and education for manpower development received a differential attention from policy-makers in sub-periods of the post-independence era. The identified sub-periods coincided and conformed with changes in the overall development strategies. As far as the philosophy of education for self-reliance was concerned, it was proposed that an important transmutation of its goals and contents took place from 1967 to the present time. The implication of this result may be that contemporary researchers who see a need to analyse education for self-reliance in all its dimensions (the economic, the politico-ideological, the curricular-pedagogical, the assessment, the non-formal) (Komba & Temu 1987; Temu & Komba 1987), which was also attempted in this study, may have to reevaluate the contents and the expected accomplishments of the different dimensions in the light of this transmutation.

Both the analyses of the national educational systems in the context of socio-economic and political change before and after independence and the more specific analyses of the case institutions and programmes confirmed the arguments of, for instance,

Thompson (1968a), Mbilinyi (1979b) and Morrison (1976) that social innovation in education has to be supported by innovation of other societal sectors in order to contribute significantly to social change. In the study, the social change process before independence was identified as gradual modernisation aiming at the establishment of a modern sector in support of some capitalist agricultural development, market-oriented behaviour among the African peasantry, and western political institutions. After independence and particularly during 1967-1982, it was seen to involve a radical transformation of both the politico-ideological and socio-economic structures in order to establish a socialist and self-reliant society. While education was given a subordinate role by policy-makers before independence, it was to be a leading factor during 1967-1982. Before independence, it was suggested, the provided education set limits to African participation in the modernisation process. After independence, the nationally stipulated goals were seen to be partially fulfilled by way of the national educational system.

The focus of the analysis was the use of education to promote particular skills and social attitudes in support of the wider social change process. The skills dimension, which was linked to the relative improvement and development of the socio-economic structure, was found to be predominant before independence, whereas the formation of attitudes in support of the function of the politico-ideological structure was seen to be emphasised together with the development of skills for socio-economic development after independence. In the examination of the case institutions and programmes, it was suggested that the nature of the skills which were to be promoted through education before and after independence was very similar as a result of the long-term continuity of socio-economic patterns in many geographical areas. It was, moreover, proposed that the transfer of skills through education, while being possible, was likely to have a more significant impact on social change only

if accompanied by opportunities to apply the newly developed skills. Overall, the level of technology or the nature of the productive forces probably changed little as a result of the specifically applied educational measures. Similarly, neither the educational system nor specific educational experiments seem to have been able to change the basic production rationale from labour to market considerations. While the redesigned curricula, the new assessment procedures, and the innovative experiments undoubtedly had some affect on the general awareness and orientation of students and the wider communities vis-a-vis the nationally stipulated goals after independence, the actual achievements have been difficult to substantiate and to isolate from other influencing variables.

It was, finally, proposed in the study that the continuously changing political priority for different sectors in the economy may have affected the possible realisation of stated goals for individual sectors. In the case of education, this seems also to have led to an inadequate link between educational and wider social reform.

Research and Policy Recommendations for Education in Tanzania

This holistic analysis of the function of education in the national development process highlighted the interaction between education and the wider society and identified factors outside of education which influenced the outcomes of education. The historical approach underlined the importance of the spatial and temporal dimensions as well as of analyses of specific elements in the particular context. The outcomes of the study can be used to identify new areas for empirical and theoretical investigation and can also enlighten the arena of policy-making in contemporary Tanzania.

In the analyses of the national educational systems and the particular case institutions, it was proposed that the political system had an important influence on the relative achievement of education in the development process. National economic

considerations influenced the fate of what was a probably well-functioning innovative agricultural centre before independence. National politico-economic needs and political pressure to innovate, similarly, disrupted the continuity of the model for education for self-reliance after independence. These examples show the fragility of innovative schemes in situations where the political system is free to intervene in their direction. They also point to the need for further research to analyse how the contribution of education to social innovation can be maximised.

It was recommended in this study that a differential time perspective, namely the short, the medium or the long term, should be considered when attempting to influence the educational process or individual educational institutions or when attempting to make a lasting impact on social change. In Tanzania today, education at all levels of the system suffers from an inadequate availability of basic inputs, such as desks and chairs, chalk, exercise books, textbooks, and adequate teacher training, which influence the outcomes of the educational process in the short term. Similarly, while education for self-reliance in its different interpretations emphasised the need for self-help and self-finance, it was suggested, based on the analysis of the cases, that the same degree of self-help and self-finance cannot be expected from all communities across the country. Some areas and communities are much poorer than others and their specific needs for outside assistance, therefore, vary. It is questionable whether the decentralised administrative structure provides information as a two-way flow up and down the individual layers and whether the higher administrative levels are familiar with the actual local circumstances at any given time. Well-designed and wide-ranging descriptive research could map out the local situation which might act as a stimulus to differential financial inputs into the educational process in different economic areas.

The present constrained economic situation and the likelihood of reduced foreign assistance set strong limitations to an

expansion of educational activities and to continuous high-level support from the Tanzanian government for all kinds of education both in the short and the medium term. It also seems to be inevitable that the present emphasis on manpower development and academic quality will affect the former preference for basic and mass education and, therefore, have consequences for the relative priority of social equality as a national goal. As far as adult education is concerned, it was reported in this study that the level of efficiency is low in the 1990s compared to the 1970s and that functional literacy classes are dying out in one particular district. While short term basic inputs and specialised teacher training might advance this level of efficiency, a more fundamental issue for researchers and policy-makers is the future consequences of the government decision to leave the final eradication of adult illiteracy to the regional level. Poorer regions, such as Dodoma, are unable to increase taxation. The present malfunctioning of the adult literacy classes may reflect a regression into illiteracy of basic literacy learners partly as a result of the devolved responsibility. As an increasing number of still younger age groups have become enrolled in adult literacy classes because of a higher drop-out rate from the formal system, there is a danger that the significant gains of mass education in the 1970s will be lost. This may again have wider social consequences.

It was proposed in the study that educational institutions can contribute to social innovation in the medium term provided certain necessary considerations are made before experiments are launched. There has to be agreement between policy formulators and implementors concerning the interpretation of the innovative idea which, moreover, has to be launched in a voluntary cooperation with and participation of the local community affected by the scheme. A constant evaluation and support has to be given to the selected institution in order to build up the critical mass of human and material resources which can sustain the experiment in the medium and long run. Because of the present

constrained financial situation, care should probably be exerted with respect to the number of experiments which are being launched within the educational and other sectors. A higher preference should probably be given to experiments which pay attention to the integration of different economic sectors in one particular innovative scheme rather than to the spreading of experiments across different sectors. Detailed analyses of already undertaken experiments, such as Kwalukonge, could enlighten the understanding of the interaction between innovation in school and innovation in the wider community. They could, moreover, help to identify crucial factors which influence the innovation process and which could support the design of future innovative schemes. Overall considerations should be made concerning the position of such schemes within the total system in order to adjust both the individual scheme and the larger system in the longer run.

The contribution of education to social innovation in the long run remains a research and policy issue. Historical studies can enlighten the process by setting a perspective on current policy preferences and by helping to identify the need for further empirical and theoretical clarification. Integrated approaches and more refined conceptual tools can help reach higher levels of understanding of the society, including the interaction between different dimensions of development. Of such dimensions, the socio-cultural one was identified as a crucial, but often overlooked, determinant of Tanzanian development. In order to undertake more detailed analyses of this dimension, adequate measures have to be designed which could help to isolate cultural norms and social attitudes as variables and to evaluate the independent effect of education. Ethnographically-oriented and historical studies, which include oral history, could help to disclose further the body of endogenous knowledge which undoubtedly exists at the micro-level of analysis or lies hidden in historical documents. Such efforts, and many others, would be needed to innovate and change "the

fundamental conditions of material life, states of mind and the natural environment" which still strongly influence Tanzanian society.

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Appendix I Semi-Structured Interview Schedule for Village Officials, Teachers, Parents, Students, Ex-Students, Former MTUU Officials and Former Teachers Related to the Kwamsisi Community School Experiment and Kwalukonge Community School

KWAMSISI

Village Officials

1. What is your occupation?
2. What is your official function in the village?
3. What was your official function when the Kwamsisi community school experiment was started?
4. Who decided that Kwamsisi should become a community school?
5. What was the general reaction in the village to the idea?
6. What does the community school idea mean?
7. How would you describe the functioning of your school since it was started as a community school and until now?
8. Do you consider your school to be a community school today?
9. Did the village organisation change when the school became a community school?
10. Did the organisation of the school change when it became a community school?
11. What were the particular activities which made Kwamsisi a community school?
12. Who decided what those activities should be?
13. Were the villagers in general involved in deciding?
14. Were the pupils involved in deciding?
15. What were the major benefits from the school as a community school?
16. What were the major problems?
17. Do you see any difference in attitudes between the pupils who went to school when the experiment went well and now?
18. What kind of attitudes was the community school trying to promote?
19. Do you think schools should teach agriculture?
20. What kind of a school would you like to have today?

Teachers

1. How long have you been living in this village?
2. How long have you been teaching?
3. What is your educational background?
4. What do you think of the community school idea?

5. How would you describe your school today?
6. What are the differences between the school when it was established as a community school and now?
7. Why did the school stop functioning well as a community school?
8. What would be needed to revive the experiment?
9. Do you think a community school has a different effect on the behaviour of children than an ordinary primary school?
10. Do you think schools should teach agriculture?
11. Do you think teachers are well trained to teach agriculture?
12. What kind of a school would you like to have today?

Parents

1. How long have you been living in this village?
2. What is your occupation?
3. What kind of a school do you have?
4. What is a community school?
5. Who decided that your school should become a community school?
6. Were you involved in deciding what the school should be like as a community school?
7. How did you contribute to the community school activities?
8. Did any of you have children in school when it was started as a community school?
9. Would you rather that your children attend a community school than an ordinary primary school?
10. Did the community school influence the behaviour of the children differently from the school today?
11. Were the children taught agriculture in school?
12. Were the children taught improved agricultural methods in school?
13. Have you been taught by your own or other children?
14. How do you like being taught by children?
15. Do you practise the agricultural methods you were taught by the children?
16. Why did your school stop functioning well as a community school?
17. What kind of a school would you like to have today?

Students

1. How do you like going to school?
2. Which subjects do you like best?
3. Which subjects do you not like?

4. How do you like agricultural science?
5. What is a community school?
6. Is your school a community school?
7. What community school activities do you have?
8. Have your parents or other villagers taught you in class?
9. Have you ever taught your parents or other villagers?
10. Who decides how and when you should teach your parents or other villagers?
11. What would you like to do when you have finished standard VII?
12. Would you like to continue to live here or would you rather go somewhere else?
13. Where would your friends like to live?
14. If you would like to leave, what would make you change your mind and stay here instead?

Ex-Students

1. When did you go to school?
2. What kind of education do you have?
3. What have you been doing since you left school?
4. What would you have liked to do if you had been free to choose?
5. What subjects did you like in school?
6. What subjects did you not like?
7. How did you like agricultural science?
8. What is a community school?
9. What community school activities did you have?
10. Did you participate in the planning of these activities?
11. How did the village contribute to what went on in school?
12. How did the school contribute to what went on in the village?
13. Did you teach your parents or other villagers?
14. Did your parents or other villagers teach you?
15. Do you think schools should teach agriculture?
16. Are you still applying the agricultural methods you were taught in school?
17. Why did your school stop functioning well as a community school?
18. What kind of a school would you like to have today?
19. How do you like to live in this village?
20. Would you rather live somewhere else?
21. How many of your classmates remained in the village when you finished school?

Former MTUU Officials

1. What was your function in MTUU?
2. What was your function in the Kwamsisi community school experiment?
3. Why was Kwamsisi selected as the site for the community school experiment?
4. What is your view on the general development of the experiment?
5. What factors were the most important for its initial success?
6. What factors were the most important for its decline?
7. What are the characteristics of a community school?
8. Did Kwamsisi fulfil such characteristics?
9. How was the Kwamsisi community school curriculum implemented?
10. How were the teachers trained for the implementation of the new curriculum?
11. What kind of evaluation was undertaken when the experiment was replicated?
12. How was Kwamsisi followed-up when the new community schools started?
13. What were your considerations concerning the transfer of teachers from Kwamsisi?
14. What were your considerations concerning the reduced input of resources into Kwamsisi when the new schools started?
15. What was your interpretation of the situation in Kwamsisi in the years after the experiment was replicated?
16. How do you explain the development of Kwalukonge community school compared to Kwamsisi?
17. How did MTUU support Kwalukonge?
18. When did you last visit Kwamsisi?
19. Would you consider reviving the Kwamsisi experiment?

Former Kwamsisi Teachers

1. When did you teach in Kwamsisi?
2. What were the characteristics of the Kwamsisi community school experiment?
3. How would you describe its development?
4. How was the Kwamsisi community school curriculum implemented?
5. Did you feel adequately trained as a teacher to implement the new curriculum?
6. What were the most important integrated school/village activities?
7. Who decided what activities to establish and how to organise them?
8. How would you explain the relative success of Kwamsisi in its early phase compared to later?

9. What is your experience with Kwalukonge?
10. Why do you think Kwalukonge is operating successfully?

KWALUKONGE

Village Officials

1. What is your official function?
2. How long have you been living here?
3. How long has Kwalukonge existed as a village and how has it developed?
4. How is the village administered?
5. What kind of a school do you have?
6. What is a community school?
7. Who decided that your school should become a community school?
8. What kinds of community school activities were established?
9. Who decided and organised those activities?
10. What was the role of the students in those activities?
11. What was the role of the villagers?
12. How would you describe the functioning of your school today compared to when it was first established as a community school?
13. Do you see a need to strengthen the community school activities through the curriculum?
14. Do you see any difference in behaviour between the students who go to school today and those who went to school when it was first established as a community school?
15. Do you think a community school influences the behaviour of the students?
16. Do you think schools should teach agriculture?
17. Do you think your school can promote agricultural development?
18. Do you think that the teaching of agricultural science is adequate and adequately supported (in terms of textbooks, tools, teacher training)?
19. Do you see a need for more participation in curriculum planning at the local level?
20. Would you like the contents of the agricultural science teaching to be different and more related to your particular local environment?
21. What major problems do you have in your school?
22. What are the most important factors which have helped you develop?
23. Do you expect to be able to continue to develop successfully?

Teachers

1. How long have you been living in this village?
2. How long have you been teaching in this school?
3. What is your educational background?
4. What kind of a school do you have?
5. What is the difference between a community school and an ordinary primary school?
6. Have you had any experience with other community schools?
7. How does Kwalukonge perform compared to other schools you know whether community schools or ordinary primary schools?
8. Why does Kwalukonge do well?
9. What kinds of community school activities do you have?
10. Who decides and organises those activities?
11. How are the students involved?
12. How are the villagers involved?
13. Do you think the curriculum is well designed to promote such activities?
14. Would you like to be involved in planning the curriculum?
15. Do you think schools should teach agriculture?
16. Do you think schools can promote agricultural development?
17. Is the teaching of agricultural science in its present form adequate? Should the time-table include more teaching hours per week, is the teacher well trained, etc.?
18. Do you have a school farm? How is the work organised, what are the proceeds, etc.?
19. What teaching methods do you use?
20. What kinds of reward and punishment systems do you have?
21. How many of your students proceed to secondary education on a general basis?
22. How would you describe the behaviour of your present students compared to students who went to school when Kwalukonge was started as a community school or compared to students in other schools where you have taught?
23. Do you think that schools in Tanzania should be community schools rather than ordinary primary schools?

Parents

1. How long have you been living in this village?
2. What is your occupation?
3. What kind of a school do you have?
4. What is the difference between a community school and an ordinary school?
5. Which of the two do you prefer? Why?
6. Who decided that your school should become a community school?

7. What community school activities are undertaken in your school?
8. How have you participated in those activities?
9. What has been the role of the students?
10. Are integrated activities between the school and the village stressed enough in the present curriculum?
11. Would you like to see more of those activities?
12. Should schools teach agriculture?
13. Can the teaching of agriculture in school help you to develop?
14. Is the teaching of agricultural science adequate in terms of hours per week, should the teaching start in earlier grades, etc.?
15. Do students teach you improved agricultural methods?
16. Do you apply improved agricultural methods?
17. What kind of education would you like your children to have?

Students

1. How do you like going to school?
2. Have you gone to school in other schools but here?
3. Which subjects do you like best?
4. Which subjects do you not like?
5. Do you like agricultural science?
6. Do you like to work on the school farm?
7. What is a community school?
8. What kinds of community school activities do you have?
9. Have you ever taught your parents or other villagers?
10. Have your parents or other villagers taught you in school?
11. How do your teachers teach you in class, do you work with other students, do the teachers ask questions and you answer, etc.?
12. What happens if you do not do your homework or are late for class?
13. When you work on the school farm or the communal farm who decides what you are going to do?
14. What would you like to do when you have finished standard VII?
15. Would you like to live here or would you rather live somewhere else?
16. If you would like to leave what would make you stay?

Ex-Students

1. When did you leave school?
2. What educational background do you have?

3. What have you been doing since you left school?
4. Would you have liked to do something else if you had had a choice?
5. Which subjects did you like in school?
6. Which subjects did you not like?
7. How did you like the teaching of agriculture?
8. Did you learn anything from the teaching of agriculture which you could teach your parents and other villagers?
9. Has the teaching of agriculture in school influenced the way you farm today? Are you applying the same methods?
10. What is a community school?
11. How did your school function as a community school when you went to school?
12. What kinds of community school activities were undertaken?
13. Who decided what those activities should be like?
14. Does the school function in the same way today?
15. Do you think the teaching of agriculture in school today can make your children become better farmers than you are?

**Appendix II Semi-Structured Interview Schedule for Learners
and Teachers in the Adult Functional Literacy
Programme in Dodoma Rural District**

LEARNERS

General

1. What is the average age of the participants of this group?
2. What is your occupation?
3. What is your educational background?
4. Why did you attend a literacy class?
5. How long have you attended a literacy class?
6. Who suggested that you attend a literacy class?
7. What is the purpose of the teaching of literacy?
8. What did you expect to learn from the literacy class?
9. What has been the most important learning outcome?
10. What problems do you have in the teaching of literacy?
11. Do you find the materials adequate?
12. Are the teachers well trained?
13. Are the teachers well prepared?
14. Do you attend regularly?

Agriculture

1. Do you think it is possible to improve farming methods through adult literacy classes?
2. Have you been taught improved agricultural methods in adult literacy classes?
3. Do you apply the improved agricultural methods you have been taught?
4. What difference have the improved agricultural methods meant in your life?
5. What is the best way to teach improved agricultural methods?
6. What are the major problems in teaching improved agricultural methods in the literacy class?
7. Were the primers adequate to teach agriculture in your local area?
8. Do you read about agriculture outside of class or do you listen to agricultural programmes on the radio?
9. Have your teachers encouraged you to do so?

Political Education

1. What do you think is the purpose of teaching political education?
2. Have you learned anything about national politics from the teaching of political education which you did not know already?
3. Have you learned anything about regional and local politics which you did not know already?
4. Whom do you think decides the development of your village?
5. Do you listen to the party political programmes on the radio?
6. Do you discuss such programmes in class?
7. Did you vote at the last election?
8. Did you discuss the election in class?
9. Who is the present chairman of the political party?
10. Do you hold any official position in the village?
11. Do you participate in village organisations?
12. Have your teachers encouraged you to do so?

TEACHERS**General**

1. Are you all from this village or district?
2. What is your educational background?
3. How long a teaching experience do you have?
4. Have you been a teacher in any other places?
5. How long have you been teaching adult literacy?
6. Do you like teaching adults?
7. Have you received any special training in the teaching of adults?
8. Do you use different methods when teaching adults from teaching children?
9. What kinds of materials do you use?
10. Do you prepare for the lessons?
11. What problems do you face in the teaching of adult literacy?
12. What is the purpose of teaching adult literacy?

The Teaching of Agriculture

1. Have you been teaching improved agricultural methods?
2. Do you feel competent to teach such improved methods?

3. Do you practise improved agricultural methods yourselves?
4. Have you used the agricultural extension officer as a resource person?
5. Do you use the agricultural programmes on the radio as a basis for teaching agriculture?
6. Do you use specialised readings on agriculture as a basis for teaching?
7. Do you use the rural library or encourage your learners to do so?
8. Do you listen to the agricultural programmes on the radio or read about agriculture?
9. What are the major problems in teaching improved agriculture in adult literacy classes?
10. Are the primers relevant for your particular area?

The Teaching of Political Education

1. What do you think is the purpose of the teaching of political education?
2. Do you use other materials but the primer to teach political education?
3. Do you use the party political programmes on the radio as a basis to teach political education?
4. Did you discuss the last election with your learners?
5. Do you discuss current political matters in class?
6. Do you discuss village matters in class?
7. Do you encourage your learners to participate in organised village activities?