

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: AN ASSESSMENT OF REFORMS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN RESPONSE TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT NEEDS IN TANZANIA

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Introduction

1. For an ex-colonial state such as Tanzania, national development entails efforts at forging political and cultural unity on one hand and on the other, the building of a viable self-sustaining economic and social infrastructure. Unfortunately at Independence in 1961, Tanzania inherited a particularly weak socio-economic infrastructure which was mainly characterized by a large underdeveloped subsistence agricultural sector co-existing with a small enclave modern sector. All in all, the economy was, and to a large extent still is based on primary production of which up to 30% is produced by subsistence farmers. Given these circumstances, it has been realized since colonial times that the task of national development in Tanzania for a long period to come would in large measure be concerned with the modernization and improvement of agricultural production in the rural areas. This would entail the adoption of a rural development strategy for national development.

2. Development of the rural areas in Tanzania means primarily the transformation of the quality of subsistence living into levels of living more acceptable and more human than the previous ones. This entails an attempt to raise and improve the productivity of the subsistence sector. Rural development

Table 1 Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost by Industrial Origin (At 1966 Prices)

Industry	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973*
(Percentages)									
1. Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	44.6	45.3	43.6	43.2	42.6	41.7	39.5	40.3	39.2
2. Mining and Quarrying	2.8	2.9	2.8	1.9	1.9	1.3	1.7	1.1	1.0
3. Manufacturing and handicrafts	7.7	8.1	8.4	8.6	9.3	9.3	9.8	10.0	10.0
4. Electricity and water supply	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4
5. Construction	3.4	3.4	4.3	4.3	4.0	4.3	4.7	4.9	4.9
6. Wholesale and retail trade and restaurants and hotels	12.3	12.7	12.0	12.8	12.6	12.8	12.4	12.1	12.2
7. Transport, storage and communications	6.9	7.4	7.9	8.7	8.9	9.5	10.2	10.0	10.0
8. Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	10.8	9.5	10.4	9.9	10.3	9.9	10.0	9.8	9.7
9. Public administration and other services	11.4	10.5	10.9	10.7	10.5	11.3	11.9	11.9	13.0
10. Less imputed bank service charges	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4
11. G.D.P. at factor cost	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
12. Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	23.9	23.7	23.7	23.3	21.9	21.0	20.8	21.5	21.1
13. Construction	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.7
14. Owner-occupied dwellings	7.6	7.0	6.9	6.7	6.8	6.6	6.5	6.3	6.1
15. Total production in the monetary economy	67.6	68.5	68.6	69.2	70.5	71.6	72.0	71.5	72.1
16. Total Production	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: - Bureau of Statistics.

*Provisional Estimates.

means, therefore, an attack on rural poverty. In addition to changing the type of agricultural production the country's efforts would also need to be directed towards the improvement of health, education and the provision of other basic social services. This calls for an improvement in the people's power to discern their own development needs, their power to act and participate fully and freely in their own development. (Nyerere, 1968:3).

3. It would appear that for the successful implementation of rural development, measures would partly depend on satisfying certain conditions namely the people's awareness, their level of motivation, their willingness to apply effort, the quality of skills and productivity of the rural work force and the people's ability to utilize their natural resources and natural environment. There is also the need to change the attitudes and values inculcated in the population by the colonial regime in which the government was looked upon as the initiator of change. These conditions require a great amount of educational inputs particularly in education which is accessible and relevant to the needs of the masses of people in the rural areas. Primary education conducted in the village primary schools is such community-relevant education.

4. In this paper, we intend to examine briefly the historical development of the primary school role in rural development. An assessment of reforms in primary education as these reflect responses to the needs for the socio-development transformations at particular time will be attempted.

5. The significance of studying the role of education, particularly primary education, in rural development lies first in the theoretical assertion that there exists a direct relationship between the rate of involvement of external change agents in the community and the rate of popular participation for develop-

ment in the target communities (Murray and Lapin, 1967: pp. 203-231). With respect to Tanzania's strategy of rural development, the concept of popular participation would refer to the active involvement of the masses of people at different levels in (a) the decision-making process for the determination of societal goals and the allocation of resources to achieve them and (b) the voluntary execution of the resulting programs and projects. However, participation means different things for the various groups in society. For those in power and within the privileged system, popular participation may only be a tool of maintaining the privileged positions; a tool for manipulating, informing and placating the population. From the point of view of groups who are outside the system, participation represents a way to redistribute power and to influence decision-making and form a new power base. Participation of the Primary School (i.e., teachers and students, and curriculum organization) in rural development is likely to lead to this redistribution of power if it enhances the participation of those groups in the village society, which were previously unable or unwilling to be involved.

6. The vocational and adult education cum-community centre roles of the primary school are likely to identify teachers as positive contributors to the formulation and implementation of village development projects. Curriculum reform in primary education aimed at developing skills, values and attitudes commensurate to rural transformation are considered essential in creating a literate and technologically receptive work force. However, teacher participation in community leadership when induced from without may, in effect, inhibit the development of popular participation and self-reliance among the villagers. This may happen when teachers are considered by the villagers as outsiders representing class interests which seek to usurp the people's right to self-determination.

7. The strategy of using Primary Schools and their teachers as change agents in rural society assumes that teachers and their students aspire and anticipate to live better off in the villages than elsewhere. The strategy also assumes that the parents and adult community in the villages have the same expectations of the schooling phenomenon. Such assumptions are tenable only if the schooling and training phenomenon is considered part and parcel of a wider process of socialization involving several other agents. These different agents interact and influence each other. What is actually learned in the schools is largely influenced by what happens in the family, village, town and place of work. Experiences in these areas reinforce each other to form general orientations to life and the social system. (Dreeben, 1968).

8. It is the proposition of this paper that curriculum reform in the schools and colleges as a strategy for socio-economic transformation is a necessary but not sufficient condition to generate and reinforce the required attitudes and structural changes in society. Deliberate efforts are required to improve conditions of life in the villages vis-a-vis the towns. The deliberate restructuring of the reward and mobility system so as to reflect the emphasis on the new values evinced by the national ethic is also necessary in enhancing the development of the new orientation. Thus, the different states of the country's socio-economic development starting with traditional tribal society to present-day independent Tanzania have left their imprints on the aims, methods, organization and content of primary education.

A. Traditional Tribal Education: The Quest for Survival and Continuity

9. In their treatment of traditional education, both Kenyatta (1938) and Nyerere (ibid.) note the intricacy and yet small scale of organization of tribal

society and how this shaped the aims and structure of education. The clan or extended family (jamaa) was the focus of organizational activity in tribal society. The Chief of the tribe presided over a number of clan leaders. Sharing and cooperative endeavor permeated the society. Education was not formalized in the sense of purposely long period of training set aside from the normal daily life of the adult population, save for a comparatively very short period of initiation rites (rites de passage). Even this initiation was more ritualistic and mystical, intended to create the appropriate traumatic effect that would form the basis for further learning. Education in traditional society was a life long process of learning through experience and apprenticeship.

10. Traditional education was thus characterized by: —

- a) Societal aim and desire for survival and continuation of life in a stable and predictable way (deviance was risky and dangerous),
- b) Cultural transmission characterized by non-formal, diffuse life long education,
- c) Initiation into adulthood during a limited period of formal instruction, and
- d) Vocation education characterized by long periods of apprenticeship.

11. Teachers were drawn from adults and elders who excelled in their fields of competence. Society respected teachers of great skill and wisdom. The teacher's role was that of an instructor and purveyor of all knowledge. Acquisition of social knowledge, etiquette and attitudes took place through peers (age groups/age grades) and experience in life. Trial and error, imitation, role images and anticipatory socialization formed the basis of learning. Storytelling, recitation of poems and the singing of ballads helped in conserving and passing on the accumulated wisdom and philosophy of life from one generation to another.

B. Education During the Colonial Rule (186 – 1961)

12. Tanzania came into direct contact with foreign culture through traders, explorers, missionaries and colonial domination. The earliest contacts date back some one thousand years ago when merchants from Persia, China and the Far East touched upon Zanzibar Islands and the East African Coast.

13. European explorers and adventures came in touch with Tanzania coastline as early as the beginning of the 15th century. These were followed by the Oman Arabs who later settled as colonial masters of Zanzibar and the East African Coast. Direct European colonization of Tanzania came between 1865 and 1886. The conquest and domination of traditional tribal society by the colonizing powers came through wars alongside with proselytization of the indigenous population to the religions of Islam and Christianity. The motive of the colonial powers to acquire colonies was dictated by their need for markets, trade (slave trade, ivory trade and minerals) and raw materials. After imposing their rule, the colonial administration sought to create their own legitimacy through establishing their own education system, which inter alia sought to achieve the following: –

- a) To teach the skills of reading and writing so as to enable the converts to the new religions to read and understand the Koran and the Bible;
- b) Cultural transformation to replace the traditional tribal chiefs with the new colonial culture;
- c) Establishment of a literate native authority and local civil service that would secure the interests of the colonial state at the junior cadre's level;
- d) Training of artisans and craftsmen through apprenticeship and the vocational schools.

14. During the colonial period the administration encouraged missionaries and religious groups to engage in educational activities under its general guidelines. In effect, the administration subsidized these educational activities through subventions and grants-in-aid. At the beginning, denominational schools attempted to use the local languages (vernaculars) in their educational and conversion activities; luckily enough, however, one local language, the Kiswahili language was found to be common enough to be used throughout the country. By 1921, there were 700 Koranic Schools (madrasa) with an enrolment of 8,000 pupils compared to 1,600 Sunday and Trade Schools operated by Christian missionaries, with an estimated population of 50,000 pupils (Banda, 1975).

15. The local population received this new kind of education with less enthusiasm because of the perceived “patronizing and saving” attitudes of the missionaries. At first only marginal people in tribal society such as ex-slaves, fugitives and dispossessed nobility joined hands with the missionaries. But as missionary education and influence became more and more tied up with the colonial administration and led to opportunities of employment within the colonial system, the value of such education rose. School education came to be viewed as the key to understanding the ways of the white man. The book and the attendant culture of literacy were sought after by the local chiefs as means of unlocking the secret of the white man’s “magical” powers. The local teacher came to be identified as the intermediary and salesman of the new power; the power to unravel the white man’s domination. The selection and training of teachers in these denominational schools developed along the lines of initiation and apprenticeship in teaching religious knowledge and the three Rs. Religious faithfulness and knowledge alongside the understanding of the subject matter were the chief criteria for selection.

16. During the early German colonial rule (1886 - 1890) education was not the primary concern of the administration. Religious organization filled in for this function. However, after firmly establishing their colonial rule, the German administration seriously embarked on building its own education system in order to achieve the aims of a colonial state, as stated earlier. An education system of 3:2:1 was established. The first three years were for primary education, the following two years were for Central or Middle School education, while the last year was for higher education. Swahili language was used as the medium of instruction. Primary school education stressed the mastery of the 3Rs while central education was vocational in nature. By 1911, there was a total of 2,002 government and denominational schools. Among these, 953 were government primary schools, 918 missionary primary schools, 83 government central schools, 31 government higher education schools and 17 trade schools. Altogether by this time, there were 66,647 students served by a force of 287 European teachers and 1,256 African teachers. Recruitment to the teaching profession followed upon the recommendations made by the colonial and missionary education masters. Maturity in age, loyalty, mastery of subject matter and a high degree of cultural identification were among important factors considered in the recruitment of indigenous teachers. Apprenticeship and on-the-job training formed the basis of teacher training. Where formal teacher training was attempted, it was conducted alongside academic courses at the higher and central schools. The status of teachers in the community during this period appreciated considerably. Despite this rapid growth of formal education during this period, the education of women was totally ignored and schools as a whole concentrated mainly on the education of boys. Furthermore, school education had not gained ground beyond missionary outposts and the coastal belt.

After World War I, Tanzania Mainland was placed under British rule through a mandate system under the League of Nations Charter. Colonial education during this period naturally stressed British values and service to the Imperial Center. The British, in order to have a firm grip of their new colonial acquisition, sought to immediately review and revamp the educational system. In 1924, the British administration invited the Phelps-Stokes Commission to review the system of African education in the country. It must be borne in mind that in a colonial state the education system and other social services are segregated, on the basis of race (African, European, Indian, Asian, Arab) and religion. The British Administration introduced a 2:2:2 education system for Africans after studying the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report. The first two years were for elementary education, followed by two years of central education. The final two years were for higher and vocational education.

17. The Phelps-Stokes Commission found out that the War had greatly disrupted the education base laid down by the German colonial administration. The ability of the British colonial administration to re-open the government schools was greatly limited. By 1924 only 65 government schools out of 1,000 primary schools established by the previous administration had been re-opened. However, mission schools had risen to 2,200 operating with a student population of 70,000 boys and 45,000 girls.

18. Between 1924 and 1930, important central schools such as Tabora (1924), Mpwapwa and Minaki (1925), Malangali (1927) and Tanga (1929) were re-opened as Government Schools. The pressure for increased output of better trained graduates from the school system to serve the demands for fast economic development forced the administration to review the education system frequently during this period. Cross pressures resulted from the felt-need

and the costs involved. On one hand, primary education was easier and cheaper than central education; on the other hand, higher levels of education were being demanded. Between 1929 and 1932, the education system was changed to two years of primary education and four years of central education. However, by 1932, this decision was reversed in favour of four years of primary education followed by two years of central education.

19. For the first time in 1933, junior secondary education was introduced in mainland Tanzania. The education system was then reviewed to 4:2:4;

- a) Grades 1-4 Village Primary Schools
- b) Grades 5-6 District Schools/Central Schools
- c) Grades 7-10 Junior Secondary Schools

20. Each level of education was punctuated by competitive selection examinations. Access to education was limited through unequal geographical distribution of schools, cultural inhibitions to schooling, lack of funds to open and operate schools.

21. By the end of 1945, the situation was as follows: –

- a) There were over 200 district schools run by the Native Authorities (N.A.s).
- b) There were 8 secondary schools - government-owned.
- c) There were 8 government teacher - training centers.
- d) There were 300 aided mission primary schools; 500 approved but unaided mission primary schools.
- e) There were 20 secondary schools run by voluntary agencies.
- f) There were 16 teachers' colleges run by voluntary agencies.

22. Graduates from the district and junior secondary schools were re-

cruited for teacher training for two years. Academic courses were also offered at these Teacher Training Centers. Teachers were not allowed to engage in political activities even though they were required to be supportive of the colonial regime through membership of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements.

23. Between the World Wars the world was experiencing social and economic depression and upheavals. These events affected adversely the social and economic development of Tanganyika (Mainland Tanzania). Consequently, educational progress was constrained by the dismal economic growth. Political instability as regards the future status of the territory also contributed to the lukewarm and slow development efforts exerted by the British colonial administration at this time.

24. After World War II, Tanganyika (Mainland Tanzania) was placed under United Nations Trusteeship to be administered by Britain. The terms of the United Nations Trusteeship categorically stated that the aim of the trusteeship was to lead the African people of Tanganyika to self-rule. Thus, among other structures, the education system was structured to achieve this principal objective as it was conceptualized by the British colonial system administrators. The colonial state after the war moreover, urgently needed literate manpower to spearhead the plantation and cash crop economy. There was also the critical need for literate labour at the semi-skilled and middle-level technicians as well as the junior civil service cadre. The education system was accordingly restructured to meet these immediate demands and the long-term needs for self-rule. For coordinating effectively the reforms and programs in education and other sectors the colonial administration started preparing medium and long-term development plans. These plans incorporated as their central parts

in the Educational Plans.

25. The first such education plan was the Ten-Year Education Plan stretching from 1947 to 1956. This plan aimed at:—

- a) the expansion of primary education up to Grade 4
- b) the introduction of English as a subject in Grades 5 and 6 and as a medium of instruction from Grade 7 onwards
- c) introduction of crafts and technical education in the central schools
- d) stress on the development of African education

(Education of non-African children was entrusted to the parents and their communities, who received government grants and subsidies to manage it.)

26. The education system was once again reorganized as follows:—

- a) Primary/Village Schools — Grades 1-4
- b) District/Central Schools — Grades 5-6
- c) Preliminary Secondary Schools — Grades 7-8
- d) Provincial Secondary Schools — Grades 9-10
- e) Senior Secondary Schools — Grades 11 and 12

27. It is significant to note that education during the earlier periods of colonial rule up to and including this period was neither compulsory nor universal. Secondary education and higher education was very thinly spread. In effect, it was then only Makerere College in Uganda which catered for these training needs for the whole of East African Region. Until the end of colonial rule in Tanzania in 1961, there had not been established a university in Tanganyika.

28. According to the reorganized structure above, selection to Secondary

and Vocational Education was done after grade 6. The Government operated 5 vocational training centers and only 2 teacher training centers, while voluntary agencies (missionary) operated 4 vocational training centers and 14 teacher training centers according to this reorganized education system. It is interesting to note that the Government entrusted teacher education mainly into the hands of voluntary agencies.

29. Recruits for the teaching profession for primary schools were drawn from the sixth grade and subsequently given 2 to 3 years of training. The graduates of this training were certified as African Teachers Grade II. Grade I teachers were recruited after completion of Grade 10 and given two years of training. These specialized in teaching at the upper levels of primary education (grades 5 and 6). Grade I teachers could, after years of careful tutelage become head teachers at central schools or district schools.

30. In 1950, the educational ladder was once again re-organized and a system of 4:4:4 was adopted as follows: –

- a) Primary Education – Grades 1-4
- b) Middle School Education – Grades 5-8
- c) Secondary School Education – Grades 9-12

31. The new system of education converted the former district schools and the preliminary secondary school classes (which were given after grade 6) into Middle Schools. Middle Schools were largely financed through the local authorities known as native authorities. As early as 1926, indirect rule or rule through local agents was introduced by the British Administration under Governor Donald Cameron. Tanganyika was divided into 8 later 11 provinces each under a provincial commissioner. The post of provincial commissioner

was a senior colonial civil service-cum-political appointment. The provincial commissioner was the proper officer charged with the supervision and successful implementation of indirect rule through the native authorities. In his functions he was assisted by district commissioners. Each province was divided into several large scale administrative districts under the charge of district commissioners. There were about 60 districts in the whole country at independence in 1961. In turn each district comprised several tribal chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms. District native authorities were a kind of federation of chiefs and their helpers with a joint native treasury. These native authorities were empowered by the colonial administration to pass by laws and regulations regarding the conduct and financing of the business in their areas of competence and jurisdiction. Below the tribal chief the headmen (known as jumbe or mwanangwa) helped in the administration of justice and supervision of communal work as well as maintenance of public order as stipulated by customary and statute laws. The chief was the custodian of customary law and traditions. He served as the Primary Court Magistrate in settling disputes and restoring harmony in society. The district and provincial commissioners also acted as magistrates at their appropriate levels of territorial jurisdiction and legal competence. At the provincial level, the Provincial Commissioner (P.C.) was assisted by staff officers one of whom was the Provincial Education Officer who oversaw the implementation of education programs in the province. In this duty, he was assisted by the Education Secretaries (voluntary agencies) and the Government School Supervisors and School Inspectors. It was in this administrative and social environment that Middle Schools were introduced.

32. The end of World War II also ushered new aspirations and problems for the colonial state. Demobilized soldiers were expecting rewards from the colonial administration for having fought the war on their side. Jobs and free-

dom and eventually self-rule was now being demanded. The right to rule over others was being questioned openly. Land alienation, indentured labour and exploitation of the country's raw materials without investing in the development of the territory were increasingly being challenged. Active unionization into farmers' cooperatives, labour unions and even political parties surged with vigour during this period. Partly in consideration of these factors, we believe, that the Middle Schools experiment was ushered in.

33. The colonial administration in an attempt to improve the productivity and absorptive capacity of the subsistence sector adopted what has come to be known as the improvement approach. This strategy sought to transform the subsistence economy by progressively improving on the traditional methods of crop and animal husbandry so as to induce an increase in productivity without necessarily bringing about any radical changes in the traditional system. This meant the step by step introduction of technology and organization structure so as to allow for adjustment. Intermediate technology in the forms of ox-plough and other animal drawn implements was preferred against the direct introduction of mechanized implements such as tractors. This strategy was intended to prepare the ground for gradual mechanization without disrupting the production relations and the social structure then characteristic of the traditional society. While extension work in agriculture and community development supported this programme, Middle Schools were to prepare the children in the skills required for rural transformation.

34. From 1955, the school curriculum shifted from academic subjects to agriculture, carpentry, metal work and the rural crafts. In lower primary school grades a half-day double session system was introduced in order to expand enrolments by economizing the use of scarce resources such as teachers

and buildings. The Middle School concept assumed that graduates of this programme would be able to transform the quality of life in the rural areas. It was assumed that after graduation they would have acquired the skills and attitudes necessary for rural transformation. They were supposed to form themselves into a critical minimum force of kulak farmers and pacemakers of agrarian reforms.

35. An assessment of the Middle School experiment tends to indicate that the experiment failed to achieve its objectives mainly because it ignored principal factors in the target traditional structures. Stratification of role statuses, right and obligation in mainly based on age, lineage, sex and the social belief system. Juniors in traditional society had no rights to land or property. In effect, juniors had very little say in the conduct of the village activities and much less concerning the administration of the elaborate and intricate system of tribal land tenure. Moreover, the apparent sudden shift of emphasis from academic to vocational subjects in the Middle School Programme was considered by the African population as a sell-out, a deliberate attempt to water down education and keep the indigenous population perpetually subservient to other races. The main flaw of this experiment was that it did not emanate in the first place from the people's desire for this type of education. The colonial administration conceived this programme and decided it was good for the local people and thus imposed it upon them without the necessary consideration of structural and superstructural forces in the target community. In this regard, it is of significant interest to note that the colonial administration had earlier on before this experiment, developed a pyramidal elitist system of education which encouraged aspirations for white-collar jobs. The Middle School education experiment would have probably fared well with the proper installation of a supportive infrastructure and visible direct capital investment in the rural

economy to create jobs and new life chances.

36. The colonial Administration evaluated the performance of the Ten-Year Development Plan (1947-1956) and decided to launch another Development Plan which would stretch over five years (1957-1961). This Plan stressed the expansion of education for women and the consolidation of agricultural and vocational education. Teacher training and secondary education were expanded. Advanced level courses (grades 13 and 14, i.e., Forms V and VI) were introduced at select secondary schools by 1959. It was also during this plan period that it was recommended to unify the education system so as to cater for all the races. During this period, active political agitation for self-determination picked up steam. The first ever political elections were held all over the country between 1958 and 1959. Several political parties contested the Elections to the Legislative Council. Hitherto, the Legislative Council (LEGICO) was composed ex-officio and appointed members. The first LEGICO was inaugurated in 1926 by Governor Cameron. It was only after 1945 that the colonial administration saw it fit to appoint an African to the Council. Most of the members were appointees of the Governor. With the launching of the Five-year Development Plan (1957-1961) it was stated clearly that Tanganyika was to be prepared for self-rule within the foreseeable future (25 years!). In order to prepare the population for a multi-racial self-governing territory, a tripartite voting franchise system was instituted for 30 seats of elected members of LEGICO. Voters were supposed to vote for three candidates one from each of the principal races (African, Asian, European). The major African political party – the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) was opposed to this system and advocated for one-man-one-vote principle based on universal adult suffrage on a common roll. The Colonial Administration went ahead with the Tripartite scheme of voting notwithstand-

ing the strong opposition. TANU decided on a tactful retreat and agreed to actively participate in the elections whose results conclusively established the legitimacy and acceptance of TANU across the country and along all races. All 30 seats were won by TANU or TANU-supported candidates. A year later, general elections across the whole country were held on the basis of one man, one vote. TANU won all the seats and in 1961 formed the first Responsible Government. This was a period devoted to the institutionalization of the new political structures required by an independent state. In 1960, the Native Authorities were replaced by the Local Government (Authorities) law (cap 333) which established District Councils, Municipal and Town Councils. Elections of Councillors were also held; and once again, TANU demonstrated its ability to mobilize and win election campaigns.

37. The period between 1957 and 1961 was thus marked by important political changes. The Middle School experiment was quietly abandoned, alongside with the improvement approach to rural development advocated in the Ten-Year Development Plan. It was realized that far-reaching and radical transformation was required. Changes in the systems of financing and administration of loans to agriculture, land tenure and other supporting infrastructure were necessary. It was envisaged that the need for these changes would best be met during self-rule and independence. It was in this light that the World Bank Mission in 1960 recommended the Transformation Approach to rural development as the mainstay of the Three-Year Development Plan (1961-1964). The Plan envisaged a rapid transformation of the rural area by introducing agrarian reforms so as to prepare the ground for industrialization. The strategy of this transformation approach was to concentrate investment capital and technical manpower on groups of peasant farmers settled on more fertile land. It was thus aimed at correcting the errors of the previous plan

based on the Improvement Approach by taking advantage of the Economies of Scale and organization so as to overcome the problem of capital shortage and scattered settlement patterns. Mechanization in the form of tractor was recommended. To counteract the fragmentary holdings in the traditional sector as well as guarantee efficiency in the planning, as well as in the provision of services, it was proposed that the farmers should be removed from the traditional ties and grouped together into big settlement schemes. This proposal assumed that certain inhibiting practices and beliefs had contributed to the failure of the improvement approach and that isolation from them would guarantee to allow for the rational and economic allocation of administrative and managerial staff and provision of rations and loans.

38. This attempt at rural transformation like the improvement approach failed to realize its objectives. For it neither led to increased productivity nor did it guarantee the growth of a prosperous rural entrepreneurial class as had been anticipated by the planners. It became clear from these attempts that: -
- a) Rural development on an individual basis was unworkable.
 - b) Cooperative efforts alone without the full participation by the target population in planning and executing the development projects was not enough.
 - c) Too much spoonfeeding and reliance on external financing and inputs killed the spirit of self-reliance and initiative.
 - d) There was a need to build firm motivation and reward infrastructure to support the desired changes.
 - e) The introduction of mechanization required thorough preparation that would guarantee the people's adaptation to the new production techniques, new relations of production so as to minimize strain, wastages and indebtedness.

- f) The weak and distorted education base created by the colonial administration was unable to meet these pressing demands for socio-economic development of the emerging state.

C. Education Reforms After Independence (1961-1990)

a. The Early Independence Period (1961-1963)

39. Tanganyika won political independence in December, 1961, a year during which the Three-Year Development Plan sponsored by the World Bank was launched. National independence placed specific demands on the education system. Education was called upon providing the manpower requirements of the country and fostering national integration. The inherited education system and social structure were however taken for granted as basis for the development of an independent political and economic culture. No fundamental restructuring programmes were envisaged, apart from certain adjustments which were to be effected from time to time as and when need arised. At independence, in order to enable the educational system to perform its new functions, five main organizational changes were introduced, namely: –

- a) The expansion and re-structuring of primary education,
- b) The expansion of secondary and tertiary level of education,
- c) The abolition of school fees in secondary schools and institutes of higher learning (fees in primary schools continued until 1973),
- d) The abolition of racial and religious segregation in the educational system and the introduction of a single system in education, and the
- e) Introduction of a Unified Teaching Service.

Table 2 Gross Domestic Product by Kind of Economic Activity at Current Price

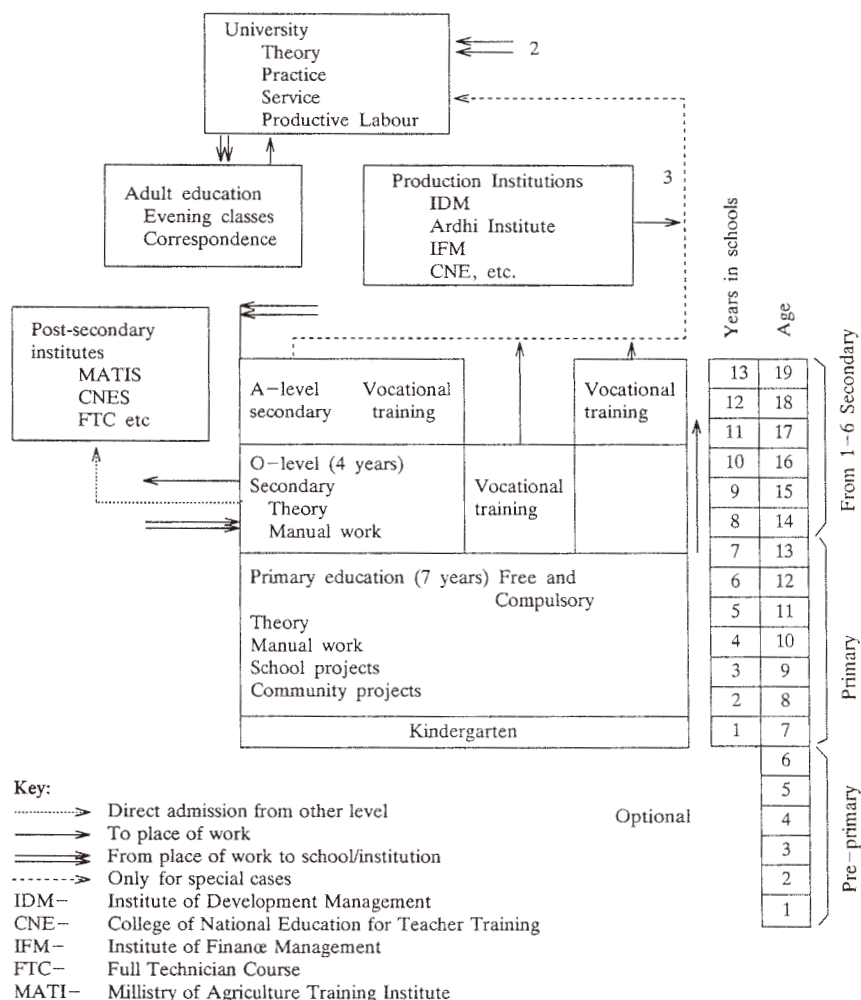
Economic activity	(Percentage)													
	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
1. Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting	41.8	43.3	43.8	45.6	44.4	46.3	50.3	53.7	54.1	56.6	58.9	61.1	58.9	62.1
2. Mining and quarrying	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3
3. Manufacturing	13.0	12.8	13.5	12.0	10.9	10.2	8.3	8.0	7.7	6.9	6.2	4.6	8.1	9.1
4. Electricity and water	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.1	1.6	1.1	1.4	1.4
5. Construction	4.0	4.3	3.7	3.8	4.0	3.7	3.5	2.1	2.2	2.0	1.7	1.9	1.6	1.8
6. Wholesale and retail trade and hotels and restaurants	13.1	13.3	13.6	13.4	12.6	12.5	13.0	13.4	13.7	13.7	13.8	13.9	14.4	16.1
7. Transport and communication	7.8	7.0	6.7	6.5	8.1	7.1	6.5	5.7	6.3	7.1	6.5	8.5	5.1	7.0
8. Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	9.4	9.4	9.4	9.2	10.0	10.3	9.3	8.6	8.1	6.8	6.2	5.6	4.7	6.2
9. Public administration and other services	10.8	10.1	10.0	10.3	10.6	10.8	10.4	9.5	8.7	7.3	6.3	6.5	5.7	6.7
10. Imputed bank service charge	-1.9	-2.1	-2.4	-2.6	-2.6	-2.6	-2.6	-2.2	-1.9	-1.8	-1.6	-3.3	-4.2	-5.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: National Accounts of Tanzania 1976-1989, Bureau of Statistics, Planning Commission, Dar es Salaam.

40. In order to improve quality and meet demands for better-qualified teachers in the primary schools, it was decided to phase out the grade C/B (Grades II and IB) courses at teacher training centers and instead introduce an enhanced Grade A teachers course which would recruit trainees from successful O'level (Grade 12) graduates from secondary education. The policy was to strengthen and rationalize the training being offered at the better-equipped Teacher-Training Centres. The aim was to establish one Teachers' College in each of the 20 regions of Mainland Tanzania with an enrolment capacity of not less than 300 pre-service students and about 100 places for in-service courses (upgrading and specialized training courses). The pre-service courses were to last for two years after which the graduates were qualified to teach at the upper levels of primary education (Grades 5-8) and the lower levels of secondary education (Grades 9-10). In order to attract better qualified candidates for teacher training, stipends and/or living allowances began to be paid to trainees. Bonding at this level and other levels of higher education began to be implemented. Candidates for teaching positions and higher education entered into contract with the Government at the beginning of their training, bonding them to serve on the completion of their courses/training for five years in the public sector. This was considered necessary in order to guard against wastages and also as a guarantee for employment of the new graduates according to the planned manpower needs.

41. Teacher training for secondary schools and Teachers' Colleges was done outside the country at Makerere University College in Uganda or in the United Kingdom. Fellowships and scholarships were sometimes available for study opportunities in the U.S.A., Commonwealth countries, the former U.S.S.R. and Europe. Diploma-level teacher training after advanced level secondary education was introduced during this period at Dar es Salaam

Figure 1 The Structure of Education in Mainland Tanzania



Notes:

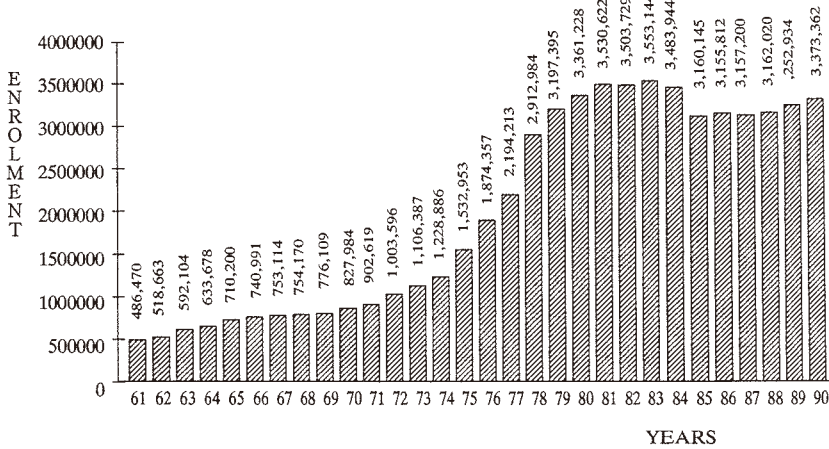
1. In some private schools only
2. Majority will follow this method, since July 1975
3. Last group was enrolled in July 1974 but women and special science/engineers will still enter by this route.

*(From G. Mmari, Directive on Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance: Work as Part of Study in all Schools, P. 20, 1975)

Chang'ombe Teachers' College. It was during this period (1961) that the University of Dar es Salaam was Opened at its temporary quarters along Lumumba Street with an enrolment of 14 law students. The Dar es Salaam Technical College which had opened in 1959 was strengthened to offer the City and Guild's Ordinary Technicians Diploma (OTD) courses. The Government's policy on higher and technical education was to establish as many institutions of higher learning in the country as quickly as practicable. Foreign friendly countries and organizations were encouraged to give a helping hand. Preference was given to training within the country. Whenever expatriates were recruited, they were required to train their counterparts with the view of manning these positions at the completion of the former's contracts. A vigorous Africanization programme was embarked upon whereby preference for high-level jobs recruitment was given to indigenous Africans. As the education base from which recruitment was to be carried out was weak problems of shortages and the quality of candidates arose forcing the Government to have a more comprehensive strategy.

42. At the primary school level there was a need to expand Primary enrolments for many more students beyond Grade 4. Because of financial constraints and the high costs of boarding middle schools, it was decided to phase them out gradually by extending facilities at new and old lower primary schools to the levels of Grade 6. This was the birth of the shortlived Extended Primary School (Grades 1 to 6). The Middle Schools, however, continued to recruit students for Grades 5-8 until 1972 when they were formally abolished. By this time, each primary school had reached a compliment of Grades 1 to 7. As mentioned earlier, the curriculum in the primary school had reverted to an academic curriculum stressing the need to pass selection examinations into secondary education whose premium had considerably appreciated through

Chart 1 Primary Education
Comparative Enrolment in Public Primary Schools 1961-1990



the manpower development policies, particularly the Africanization scheme.

43. More children enrolled in primary schools, and because of expansions at secondary education levels many more than before entered and graduated from secondary education. The status of the teacher particularly at the primary school level, because of this increased output of graduates from secondary and tertiary levels of education, gradually diminished. Several teachers left the teaching profession to take up administrative and political positions now available to Africans through the Africanization scheme. Some teachers sought higher academic and professional training to improve their upward mobility within and outside the teaching profession. Teaching came to be looked upon as a safe stepping stone from which one could leap into better and greener pastures. Teaching as an occupation was regarded as too demanding, offer-

ing very limited chances of self-advancement within the profession and worst of all, offering unattractive wages, poor working conditions with low or no fringe benefits. For this reason, the profession failed to attract high quality recruits, neither was it effective in retaining its best qualified teaching force in sufficient numbers.

b. Education for Self-Reliance as Fundamental Pillar of Tanzania's Educational Reforms (1967-1990)

44. Independence came with the burden for the leadership for the people of Tanzania to shoulder responsibility for their own development. Within the first six years (1961-1966) harsh lessons regarding harnessing development efforts were learned. It was sooner than later learned that political sovereignty was incomplete without economic independence. During the independence struggle, it was realized that a country could not guide its economic growth and reap economic benefits without controlling its own political destiny.

45. At independence, Tanzania inherited a very weak economic base. Indeed, Tanzania is still a very poor country in terms of per capita income, with over 90% of its population living at subsistence levels. Although increasing emphasis has been placed on industrialization, agriculture still forms the basis of the economy accounting for 50% of the national income and absorbing nearly 90% of the country's work force. Of the total 1967 G.D.P. of U.S. \$797 m, the agricultural sector alone contributed 52%.

46. The failure to take off in rural economy during the implementation of the Three-Year Development Plan (1961-1963) and the First Five Year Development Plan (1964-1969) signalled to the leadership of the new nation that re-

Tanzania Educational Pyramid Comparative Enrolment Data for Public Schools by Level, Grade and Sex 1961, 1971 & 1982

	1961			1971			1982			TOTAL 1961	TOTAL 1971	TOTAL 1982
	1961	1971	1982	1961	1971	1982	1961	1971	1982			
UNIVERSITY 1st YEAR	877	624	70				6	75	164	1071	811	16
SECONDARY FORMS	1375	1240	251				25	196		1788	914	23
6	1640	1354	211				413	254	481	2121	1116	23
5												
3	5758	5274	1121				482	1770	2594	8352	3025	31
2	5997	5375	1540				548	1947	2866	8763	2627	33
1	5909	5426	2514				1019	2197	2934	8643	2929	33
PRIMARY: STDs	6034	5554	2967				1229	2016	3062	9116	2927	34
VII	232791						186540			419331	23124	34
VI	257334									481561	24371	47
V	361213									694112	2538	48
IV	247543									487274	3249	40
III	227778									452841	35	40
II	235540									471029	50	50
I	248315									667481	40	50

ENROLMENT NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS

MALES

FEMALES

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
SECTORAL PLANNING DEPARTMENT

alistic planning and discipline in implementing plans was needed. Reliance on external aid programmes as well as “spoonfeeding” by government of target communities led to negative attitudes of dependency and lack of initiative and motivation. When aid was not forthcoming for one reason or another (often expression of political independence contrary to the expectations of donor countries) the whole development programme collapsed.

47. Thawing of relationships and consequent cancellations of aid did actually take place with countries such as West Germany, the U.S. and the U.K. It was under such circumstances that Tanzania was forced to opt for a strategy of Ujamaa Socialism and Self-Reliance in 1967. The policy of Ujamaa Socialism and Economic Self-Reliance is succinctly contained in the Arusha Declaration which was made in February 1967 in the northern town of Arusha, by the then ruling party — TANU. The Declaration enunciates a dual policy of social organization on one hand and economic strategy, on the other. Principle of egalitarianism, democracy, sharing and working together in cooperative endeavour are evoked and abstracted from an idealized state of traditional tribal society. The abstracted construct is generalized upon the ideal type modern state, free of class struggle and contradictions. Self-reliance is a tool or strategy to attain the desired states of social and economic growth.

48. Education for self-reliance is a subset of the megapolicy of socialism and self-reliance. It is assumed that education is a powerful instrument of radical change which could be refashioned to serve Tanzania’s socio-economic transformation. The basic tenet of education for self-reliance is that the country’s educational institutions cannot be isolated elitist enclaves for the dissemination of literary knowledge, but must become centres whereby teachers and pupils can learn to understand and experience the aspirations and problems of

the community (Nyerere: *ibid.*). Specifically, the aims of education were spelled out as the inculcation of the nation's socialistic ethic, development of an enquiring mind and self-reliant attitude and the relevance and integration of education into society. Furthermore, education for self-reliance stipulates that the education process should be a productive process which accrues real material and social benefits to the participants as it is being implemented. The underlying philosophy is that education is a life-long process whose experience and benefits cannot wait until one matures. Learning happens by actual experiencing life situations. Work and study should be amalgamated. Students and teachers should be able to provide for part of their upkeep while learning the attitudes, knowledge and skills required. (Nyerere: *ibid.*).

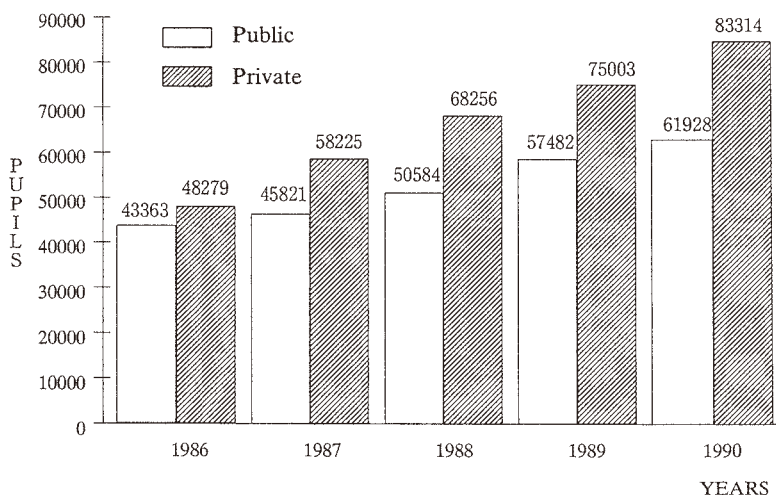
49. At the primary education level, national policy called for implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) much earlier than envisaged so as to meet the demands for equal access to basic education spelled out by the socialistic ethic. In November, 1977 (twelve years ahead of schedule) UPE was implemented. The changeover to seven-year primary school education was then completed. Enrolments of primary school aged children at standard (grade) one level rose from 48% in 1974 to 93% by 1978. Full attainment of universal primary education has been difficult. The poor quality facilities and low premium of primary education had led to increased drop-outs and low enrolments. Facilities for pre-school education (nursery and kindergarten) are lacking. Special education for the handicapped (deaf and blind) is limited. Significantly, the primary schools now lack desks, textbooks, teaching materials, classrooms, teachers' houses, school meals; and even teachers' salaries and fringe benefits are not paid in time. This has led to lower morale of both teachers and pupils. These and other factors compound together to make it difficult for full realization of UPE.

Table 3 Primary Education
Primary Education Leavers and Form One Selection 1963-1990

YEAR	STD VI/VII LEAVERS	PUBLIC	%	PRIVATE	%	TOTAL	%
1963	17042	4972	29.2	0	0.0	4972	29.2
1964	20348	5302	26.1	458	2.3	5760	28.3
1965	29367	5942	20.2	2329	7.9	8271	28.2
1966	41083	6377	15.5	2591	6.3	8968	21.8
1967	47981	6635	13.8	2610	5.4	9245	19.3
1968	58872	6989	11.9	2511	4.3	9500	16.1
1969	60545	7149	11.8	3021	5.0	10170	16.8
1970	64630	7350	11.4	3254	5.0	10604	16.4
1971	70922	7780	11.0	3667	5.2	11447	16.1
1972	87777	7956	9.1	4379	5.0	12335	14.1
1973	106203	8165	7.7	4964	4.7	13129	12.4
1974	119350	8472	7.1	5144	4.3	13616	11.4
1975	137559	8680	6.3	5786	4.2	14466	10.5
1976	156114	8659	5.5	6590	4.2	15249	9.8
1977	169106	8706	5.1	7165	4.2	15871	9.4
1978	185293	8720	4.7	8467	4.6	17187	9.3
1979	193612	8908	4.6	6677	3.4	15585	8.0
1980	212446	8913	4.2	7095	3.3	16008	7.5
1981	357816	9178	2.6	7988	2.2	17166	4.8
1982	419829	9241	2.2	8469	2.0	17710	4.2
1983	454604	9899	2.2	9606	2.1	19505	4.3
1984	649560	10077	1.6	11745	1.8	21822	3.4
1985	429194	10881	2.5	12625	2.9	23506	5.5
1986	380096	11721	3.1	15709	4.1	27430	7.2
1987	380758	14626	3.8	18007	4.7	32633	8.6
1988	347978	15675	4.5	20789	6.0	36464	10.5
1989	267744	18551	6.9	23585	8.8	42136	15.7
1990	306656	19673	6.4	—	—	19673	6.4

Source:Ministry of Education, B.E.S.T.

Chart 3 Secondary Education
Enrolment in Public and Private Schools 1986-1990



50. Expansion at the primary education level has not been matched with corresponding expansion at the secondary school level. This disparity has led to a steady drop in the rate of selection to secondary education, from an average of 13% in 1961 to an average of 4.1% of the primary school graduating class in 1980. On the average, therefore, 96% of the primary school graduates return to the villages and towns to try to find gainful employment.

51. The Policy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) is partly an answer to this perceived problem. The level of economic development obtaining in the society cannot absorb most of these primary school graduates in wage or salaried employment. According to ESR, therefore, Primary Education must be terminal and complete in itself. It must therefore be relevant to life in the villages. This education must, on one hand, prepare the child to fit in the realities of rural life and on the other hand, equip him with the skills, knowledge and attitude to transform life in the villages. Of necessity the other role of the

primary school was to provide candidates for entry into secondary education. The central assumption inherent in the policy was that the adult population particularly the parents would be mobilized through political education to involve themselves fully in the activities of the primary school. The school would eventually be truly community-based both in its curricula, and management. The policy advocated popular participation enhancing the primary school role to include extension services to the community. Consequently, the role of primary school teachers and teachers, in general, was redefined (Nyerere; 1968: 216) to include adult education, extension and cultural work in the local community.

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