

Participation, Planning and International  
Cooperation.

Reflections on the Tanzanian Experience

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

(Socialism and Rural Development)

### Introduction

1. The population, the entire population is seen as the heart of development in Tanzania. Tanzania in its attempts to create an egalitarian society bases its development strategy on the mobilization of people and not on objects. Egalitarian and self-reliant development is seen to be based on four resources: people, land, good leadership and ideas. Development is based consciously on the involvement of people in development decisions. "If development is to benefit the people, then the people have to participate in the discussion of development plans". (TANU Party Guidelines).

2. Education is seen as being central to the development process. Particular emphasis has been put on the provision of education for population groups who are not in schools. In 1974 nearly 4 million adults (three times the school population) were enrolled in learning groups and classes studying such things as political education, literacy, rural construction skills, agriculture and disease prevention.

The formal schools as well have introduced many structural changes designed to render them more directly contributory to an increase in the quality of rural living and such things as a decrease in migration of school leavers to towns.

3. Because of Tanzania's ideology and its apparent success in turning ideology in specific reforms and projects, Tanzania provides a relevant model for reflections, particularly by those concerned with questions of population, participation and education, on some central questions of educational planning and the role of international co-operation in the support of educational innovation.

### Primacy of the Political Decision

The fundamental consideration which must be borne in mind when

reflecting on the Tanzanian experience and its implications for planning and international cooperation, is that a political decision preceded all attempts at major educational reform in Tanzania. The political decision to stress socialist development with priority to people living in rural areas preceded the reforms as outlined in Education for Self-Reliance and seen in the development of the adult education network. The ideology of development as articulated in several key documents (The Arusha Declaration, Educational for Self-Reliance, Socialism and Rural Development, TANU party Guidelines (Mwongozo), Decentralisation) permeates projects and plans and is a yardstick by which new ideas are measured.

A second point that should be made is that the creation of a truly participatory society which puts ideas of equity and distribution fully into practice, is extremely difficult even with the full weight, support and financial strength of the government behind the reforms. The reasons for this are not the subject of this paper but can perhaps be most satisfactorily understood from a materialist perspective with its concern for class, as the fundamental division of population into groups.

#### Principle Means of the Transition to Socialism.

1. The establishment of Ujamaa (cooperative) villages  
By the end of 1974 there were at least 7,500 Ujamaa villages grouping about 3 million people (30% of the agricultural self-employment) (Green 1974)

This represents a significant change in a nation where rural population has been scattered in extended family dwellings traditionally.

2. Financial priority to Ujamaa villages and rural programmes generally.

There is a gradual shift since 1967 within Ministries and organisations towards rural oriented services where appropriate. The national libraries have put a great deal of money into rural library services for example and there has been a shift within the Ministry of National Health from urban oriented curative medical services to rural centered curative and preventative medicines (Gish 1975)

3. Altering of the formal school structure.

Education for Self-Reliance, which followed the Arusha Declaration in 1967 outlined radical changes in the concept of the school in order to adapt it more closely to Tanzanian objectives. For the purpose of this study one of the more important aspects was the call for village schools to become true community schools. Schools were to be integrated into the social and economic life of the community. Emphasis is to be placed on those rural activities which reflect the future of the majority of people who will remain within the village rather than the minority who will pass examinations and leave.

4. Decentralisation of government and structural encouragement of popular participation.

These are seen as integrally related by TANU and the Tanzanian Government if not necessarily by all of its civil servants and public sector managers. Decentralisation Ministries from national to regional levels has been an attempt to make government more responsive to local needs and small scale projects and policies and to provide access for more effective public participation. In principle decentralisation and participation are to be achieved through regional and district government units with wide powers and with district and regional development committees with non-civil service majorities as policy and planning formulation bodies and the Ujamaa villages with their member elected management committees. Strong workers' councils and workers' directors of parastatal productive units are also envisaged. (Green, 1974)

5. Establishment and support of widespread adult education programmes.

The provision of increased adult education services to the bulk of the population is an integral part of the strategy to increase participation in decision making and reduce rural/urban income inequalities. 1970 was named adult education year and brought with it the consolidation of adult education within the Ministry of National Education and the beginning of a network of adult education officers which has now grown to roughly 2,000 people (for

more complete information see Ministry of National Education, Adult Education and National Development in Tanzania).

Role of Education in Development.

Education is regarded as a tool for the development of the people and liberation of man; that is, it stresses the values, practices and attitudes which are pertinent in changing the living conditions of the majority of Tanzanians. Furthermore, education is geared towards imparting or making improvements in the skills, attitudes and knowledge of the recipient and of the community at large. It seeks to give emphasis to practical knowledge which is relevant and to respond to the needs of the community and of the society.

Therefore the strategy adopted is to provide some forms of education to all those who live and work in the rural areas - men, women, children and adults. This implies the widening of the range of educational services and programmes available to the rural communities and using newer forms of education as instruments for transforming production and improving living conditions.

Education is viewed as "learning about anything at all which can help to understand the environment we live in, and the manner in which we can change and use this environment in order to improve ourselves." (Nyerere: 1970) There is no limit on the kinds of things one should learn. This viewpoint does not specify who should learn and when one should stop learning. It is a message to every Tanzanian whether old or young, that learning is a lifelong process.

Living, learning and working cannot be separated. "In a country dedicated to change, we must accept that education and working are both parts of living and should continue from birth until we die. If we are to make real progress in 'adult education', it is essential that we should stop trying to divide up life into sections, one of which is for education and another, longer, one of which is for work - with occasional time off for 'courses'" (Nyerere: 1971)

The role of adult education in development

"I have said that adult education is of paramount importance to national development; it would be more true to say that the two are inseparable."

(R.Kawawa, Second Vice President)

President Nyerere declared in his December 1969 New Year's Eve Speech to the nation that 1970 would be dedicated to adult education. The objectives of adult education as outlined in that speech are threefold:

- "1. To shake ourselves out of a resignation to the the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past;
2. To learn how to improve our lives;
3. To understand our national policies of socialist and self-reliance." (Nyerere, 1971: 3)

In discussing the first objective Nyerere emphasised the fact that people must become aware of what they can do for themselves.

"Adult Education will make us recognise that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better tools and better health" (Nyerere; 1971:3)

It is significant that this objective has been put first for it points out the importance of consciousness in the development process.

The Directorate of Adult Education with the Ministry of National Education outlined the role it saw for adult education in the context of development as:

- "1. to mobilise the rural and urban masses into a better understanding of our national policies of socialism and self-reliance;
2. to provide leadership training in various aspects of life at all levels;
3. to eradicate illiteracy;
4. to give knowledge and skills in agriculture and rural construction, health and home economics that will raise people's productivity;
5. to provide follow-up education for primary and secondary school leavers with the view of settling them in Ujamaa villages;

6. to provide continuing education to professionals at various stages in the form of seminars, evening classes, in service training programmes, correspondence courses and vocational training."

(Ministry of National Education,  
1972: 15)

Tanzania is committed to development which stresses popular participation of the people in decision making. This kind of participation is a sharp break with colonial and post-Independence policies. It requires a level of consciousness and awareness that cannot come without a wide reaching education programme.

Case Study 1. The Adult Education Network.

The fundamental adult education structure is the adult education network which came into existence at the time of the President's New Year's Speech. The establishment of this network within the Ministry of National Education brought all matters pertaining to education under one administration. This re-organisation is designed to enable the ministry to initiate, supervise and evaluate a large part of the national educational effort with a higher degree of integration, than was possible with adult education located mainly within the Ministry of Community Development.

The basic unit of the network is the community school, which serves during part of the day as the primary school for children while operating in the afternoons as an adult education centre. As adult education classes have expanded many schools have become centres for from 5-20 sub-centres (adult education stations) which meet in specially built shelters, community centres, TANU leader's homes or just under a shady tree. The total number of adults enrolled in classes exceeded the number enrolled in primary school for the first time in 1971 (1.2 million). In September 1974 there were about 3.4 million persons registered for classes. Each class has a class committee, which is responsible for the maintenance of good attendance and provision of materials. In some parts of the country the local class committee select its own teacher, someone who they believe will be able to teach a particular subject

well and then has this choice approved by the ward coordinators. As Mhaiki, the first Assistant Director for Adult Education, has said "If members of the village or the class are given the responsibility to decide on what they want to learn, when and where they want to learn and how they want it done, then there are chances that such a scheme will be successful". (Mhaiki and Hall, 1972: section III)

The subjects that are taught at each community school and each adult education centre vary depending on the interests of the people in the area, the availability of teachers, and the development priorities in the district. Table I indicates the types of subjects offered and enrolments during 1970 and 1971.

Table I

Enrolment in Adult Education Classes by Subject.

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

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Source: Ministry of National Education, Idadi ya EWW

The 'army' of teachers to which the Ministry often refers is composed of a variety of people: TANU officials, extension agents in agriculture, rural development, health or cooperatives, church leaders and standard seven school leavers are all involved in the teaching of various subjects.

The sources for teachers vary with the subject being taught. TANU officials teach political education largely, while the specialists from individual ministries such as health or agriculture, teach the subjects falling within their areas of specialisation.

Primary school teachers, who most often teach literacy and arithmetic, are given two hours released time from their school room schedule to teach adults.

"Volunteer" teachers form the largest category. These are largely young people in the area who have completed seven years of primary school and are interested in teaching adults reading, writing and arithmetic. When sufficient funds are available these teachers receive honoraria of \$4.25 per month. In December 1974 there were roughly 100,000 adult education teachers.

#### Field Staff

In order to carry out the large tasks assigned to adult education a network of supervisory and coordinating personnel has been established. This network has grown from 62 District Adult Education Officers in 1970 to nearly 2,300 full and part-time people in 1974. The duties of the administrative and supervisory staff are as follows:

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

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

#### Four types of programmes

The existence of the network of adult education centres and organizers makes it possible for at least four types of adult education programmes to operate. The national literacy campaign which is the main activity of the network at this time. This campaign, which follows the pattern of functional literacy which was begun in the Work Oriented Adult Literacy Pilot Project in the Lake Victoria regions of Tanzania offers literacy through the medium of primers oriented to 12 economically functional activities such as wheat growing, rice cultivation, fishing, cattle raising, cotton growing, tobacco growing and curing and homecrafts. In addition there is one primer which deals more generally with national policies. In order to ensure that the agricultural knowledge has some chance of being integrated into the teaching, each class has a piece of land allocated to it for agricultural demonstration and practice.

The second type of education which goes on through this network on a national level is the discussion of national policies. Nearly all the adult education stations carry on some discussion of national policies. These discussions, based usually on the major policy documents such as The Arusha Declaration, Socialism and Rural Development or Mwongozo (TANU Party Guidelines) are lively and animated with the implications for local situations actively brought in. Widespread discussion of political ideas is seen by TANU and the government as one of the most important factors in the development of a socialist Tanzania.

A third use of the network is for short term mass education campaigns. In 1973 for example a nation-wide health education campaign called Man is Health was launched with the coordinated effort of the Ministry of National Education, the Institute of Adult Education, The Health Education Unit of the Ministry of Health, the Rural Development division of the Prime Minister's office, TANU and the Education section of the Ministry of Agriculture, Although this campaign was jointly sponsored, the day to day organization and supervision was provided by the network of adult education officers. The adult education centres provided many of the locations for the 75,000 study groups and the staged training system was based on the administrative units of the adult education network.

Another use of the network has been the large number of local adult education programmes that have sprung up as a result of having facilities and encouragement. In addition to the several national adult education efforts in Tanzania, the adult education committees at the lowest level constantly are developing ideas for classes or activities which are only of interest to one or another particular area. This is, of course, one of the main strengths of the network and one of the principal reasons for its existence. Local cultural activities such as history discussions or dance flourish at some centres, the discussion of specific agricultural problems at others.

#### Case Study 2 - 'Man is Health' Campaign.

The campaign had three objectives:

1. To increase participants' awareness of and to encourage group actions on measures which groups and individuals can take to make their lives healthier.
2. To provide information about the symptoms and prevention of specific disease.
3. For those who had participated in the national literacy campaign, to encourage the maintenance of newly acquired reading skills by providing suitable follow-up-materials.

Two elements were fundamental to the fulfilment of these

objectives. First, there were pre-existing structures available to implement the plans. Second, the planning was not rushed and it was thoroughly systematic.

Tanzania has built a widespread adult education network under the administration of the Ministry of National Education. It is composed of nearly 2000 national, regional, district and divisional adult education coordinators and supervisors. These personnel are responsible to the thousands of adult education centres which operate using primary schools as bases. They are paralleled by a network of health education officers. Both sets of personnel were largely responsible for the day to day operation of the campaign, from the training of group leaders to encouragement during the broadcasting. They were supplemented by the networks of TANU and the Rural Development Division.

The planning for the campaign began 18 months before the first radio broadcast went on the air and was carried out under the guidance of a national coordinating committee which met as often as weekly during the more intense planning periods. The importance of this committee is that from the beginning as many agencies as were necessary to the success of the campaign were involved. A mass campaign at a rural level cannot be carried out by the activities of only one sector or one agency. It requires the coordinated efforts of all agencies working in the rural areas. At village level in this campaign the adult education personnel worked with the rural development extension officers, the local TANU officials and the health education personnel in organizing groups before the campaign and in giving the groups support, once the radio programmes were under way.

#### The Staged Training System.

Experience from the earlier radio study group campaigns indicated that a trained study group leader was essential to successful group activity. One of the most important reasons for training group leaders is to convey the message that group leaders are not teachers. A leader does not tell the group what to do or how to do it. The group leader is

given training to guide group studies, to understand that he is only 'first among equals'. He must be trained in tact: to encourage the withdrawn, subdue the over-dominant and generally stimulate full participation. It is equally important to provide suggestions to leaders on how to move from discussion to action in the groups.

Logistically, the Tanzanian scheme required 75,000 study group leaders at divisional levels. There were seven regional seminars for 200 participants; (30 per seminar) 61 district level seminars for 1400 participants (25 per seminar) and 2000 divisional seminars for roughly 75000 study group leaders, (37 per seminar). All the seminars lasted from two to three days.

An important lesson from this experience at mass training is that it is possible to ensure that the central elements of the training message survive the diffusion process from the first through the the last stages. That is, no vital element need be damaged by dilution. This is one of the most crucial aspects in the development of a mass campaign. In the Tanzanian case, the key elements of the training message were maintained by several devices: centrally prepared hand-outs (duplicated locally): the use of prepared flip-over charts summarizing the most important points of training: pre-recorded cassettes of simulated radio programmes for role-playing experience; and copies of the actual materials to be used in the campaign.

#### The groups in action

The pattern which was most often followed by groups during the campaign was as follows:

1. Assemble during the gathering time - the radio plays music related to the campaign, political songs, poems and short announcements;
2. The group members listen to the 20-minute radio programme;
3. The group leader or someone in the group who can, reads aloud the appropriate section of the text;
4. Discussion begins first with the question of the relevance

of the material presented to the actual circumstances of the group's members;

5. Discussion takes place about various persons' experience with the disease, alternative causes of the disease and possible ways of preventing it;
6. Resolutions are made and agreed upon by the group for specific actions which could be implemented in the village;
7. During the ensuing week - before the next programme - the resolutions are carried out by the group members and, most likely, others in the village.

A major difference between this campaign and previous attempts was the importance placed on action following discussions. The types of activities which individual groups undertook varied according to the reality in various areas. In a survey of 213 groups, it was found that clearing vegetation from around the homes was carried out by 28 per cent of the groups, digging, repairing or rebuilding latrines by 20 per cent, destroying areas of stagnant water by 24 per cent., boiling water by 12 per cent and cleaning the area around water supplies by 11 per cent. In one district, (Dodoma) about 200,000 latrines were built during the campaign period. The result at the end of the campaign was that not a single house was without a latrine. This happened in an area where colonial officers had tried to enforce latrine construction nearly 50 years previously with dismal results and much rancour. In one division in Iringa the people decided that having a latrine for each home was not enough. What, for example, could travellers use, while waiting on the side of the road for buses. The solution was obviously more latrines. It was agreed accordingly that one latrine would be built at each major bus stop in the area.

#### Attendance.

The national average attendance figure for the campaign was 63 per cent. That is, at any given session anywhere during the campaign, some 64 per cent of those enrolled were probably in attendance. This figure can only be meaningful when compared with the average attendance of other forms of rural

adult education such as literacy or political education classes. The Ministry of National Education estimates that actual attendance at any given session for the nearly three million persons enrolled in adult education classes is about 33 per cent. The literacy project estimated between 25-40 per cent attendances per session. This means that the attendance figures for the short term campaign were quite satisfactory.

#### Evaluation of the Campaign.

Built into the campaign from the beginning were a series of measurements and sources of information designed to aid in an assessment of some aspects of the campaign. In addition to such routine interest as total enrolment, national distribution of groups and attendance rates, the evaluation design provided for the measurement of the amount of information gained through this method of study and a measurement of the change in observable household health practices as a result of the campaign.

As we start to examine the data from the control groups, we begin to run into some difficulties. Perhaps the foremost difficulty in selecting a control group during a campaign of this type is: how to find a group of people in an intensive campaign designed to mobilize everyone who has not taken part in the campaign in some way? In Mafia for example no control groups were chosen because it was said that in a national campaign of this sort all people had a right to participate in the health education. In Itwara the situation was similarly difficult as those in the control group were swept into the excitement of the campaign along with the other adult education students and began to study the material on their own. The result in this case was that the "control" group actually scored higher than the Mtu ni Afya groups.

Nevertheless the Mtu ni Afya groups showed a relative improvement of 47 per cent from the pre-test to the post-test, an increase from 43 per cent to 63 per cent. The control groups taken together scored a 35 per cent relative gain from 43 per cent to 58 per cent. The Mtu ni Afya groups scored higher than the control groups, but this difference was not

found to be statistically significant. Only when the scores from the energetic Mtwara "control" group are removed are the differences significant statistically. If the control group in Mtwara is excluded, the remaining control groups show an improvement of 21 per cent compared with the 47 per cent of all others. This difference is statistically significant as well.

Thus we can say that there is a difference between the scores of all control groups and all Mtu ni Afya groups, but that this difference, the better scores of the Mtui ni Afya groups, must be seen as a tendency only, not as a significant difference. However, if one excludes the group in Mtwara which actually participated in the campaign, the 47 per cent relative gain of the Mtu ni Afya groups is fully 26 per cent higher than the 21 per cent of the control groups. In this case the difference can be shown statistically not to be due to chance.

#### Changes in Health Practices.

Of particular importance to the campaign was the measurement of change in health practices. In a survey done of eight villages before and after the campaign a series of 11 observable health practices such as the presence of a latrine, the use of the latrine, absence of broken pots and pools of stagnant water combined as a health practices "index". Each household was surveyed and could score between 0 and 12 depending on the number of positive practices observed. Before the campaign the mean health practices index for all houses in the eight villages (2084) was 3.0 or three out of eleven positive observed health practices. After the campaign the mean index was 4.8, a relative increase of 60 per cent. In real terms this means that each house in the entire sample improved their health environment by changing nearly two negative habits into positive ones. The largest change in these scores come from the digging and construction of pit latrines and clearing vegetation from the immediate vicinity of the house.

The final evaluation of any health education campaign must lie in the reduction of the incidence of disease. Provision of the measurement of the reduction of disease level was not

provided in the evaluation of this campaign, as the isolation of the multiple factors associated with good health would have proved impossible given the nature of the campaign and the records available. There have been reports of a large increase in the number of people attending rural dispensaries in many areas. There is proof that large numbers of people participated in the campaign; that people learned from this method and that literally millions of hours were put into environmental changes as a result of the campaign.

#### Finance.

The campaign was supported by capital grant from the Swedish The c International Development Authority of 210,000 US dollars.<sup>2</sup> Of this capital training accounted for roughly 36 per cent, printing of study materials 50 per cent, distribution another six per cent and radio production and research the remaining eight per cent. The actual production of the radio programme cost less than 600 dollars additional capital. This is because production of the radio programmes made use of the already existing broadcast and radio facilities at Radio Tanzania and of the services of Health education and adult education broadcasters whose work was covered in salaries already being paid by their respective institutions.<sup>3</sup> What this means is that the campaign was able to reach participants at an additional cost of roughly US \$ 0.10 per enrollee.<sup>4</sup>

#### Case Study 3. Kwamsisi Project.\*

A project which provides a very interesting example and sets a stage for further study in designing a curriculum which responds to the needs of the local community, a curriculum which fosters the integration of the school with the village

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\* Source: Kinunda, M. "Experience in Tanzania in Identifying and Satisfying Local needs in Education" paper for IIED Seminar for UNESCO Experts on "Planning for local communities" December, 1974.

so as to prepare the pupils for active participation in the development, maintenance and service of the community is the Kwamsisi Primary School or better known as the Kwamsisi Community Education Centre in Kwamsisi Ujamaa Village, situated 15 km from the town of Korongwe.

The Kwamsisi project was conceived and designed with two major considerations in mind:

- That the new curriculum should further the national objectives for Primary Education, and
- That it should be built around centres of interests and needs which are not only relevant but form an integral part of the life of village community. For example, the development projects of the village should be the development projects of the school and the development projects of the village.

#### Objectives.

The following objectives were stated in 1971:

- The development of Literacy and Numeracy
- The development of a socialist citizenry with particular emphasis on
  - \* Self Reliance
  - \* Social and Human equality
  - \* The skills, values and attitudes necessary for good health, hard work and better life in the Ujamaa village.

These objectives not only re-define the basic education as conceived in Tanzania, but re-emphasizes the importance given to education viewed as part of a life-long process.

#### The Curriculum.

The school curriculum was defined in four major areas intended to provide maximum flexibility to meet local needs and priorities:

##### (1) Functional Literacy and Numeracy:

This area comprises the normal primary school programmes in literacy and numeracy found in other schools in Tanzania and which have been re-designed

in accordance with the policy of Education for Self-Reliance. To develop the ability to handle numbers easily and confidently and to use them in every day computations. The ability to read with comprehension and to write. These sub-areas are given a large proportion on the timetable since they are the key to the development of a child's abilities.

- (2) Political Education or Civic Education includes the child's relationship with, and obligations to, his family, village and society, from a socialist point of view. Thus it includes subject matters like the history, structure and function of TANU, the Ujamaa Philosophy, the working of the Government and National and International bodies, and other topics centred on Tanzanian Socialism. The environment to be studied insofar as it serves the purpose of the socialist ethic, and is related to national and international history, geography and current affairs. Through political education will be promoted the concepts of brotherhood, dignity and equality of men, respect for others, an obligation to work hard and intelligently, willingness to cooperate, tolerance and friendship among all nations, as defined in the aims of Education for Tanzanian Schools.
- (3) Self-Help and Cultural Activities embraces the maintenance of the school and its own "shambas", development projects (which are as much as possible integrated with the development, plan and economic activities of the village), physical education, national music and dancing, sports. Although the development of some skills will be an important part of this curriculum area, the promotion of a self-reliant attitude with regard to the basic essentials, the preservation and growth of national culture will receive greater emphasis.
- (4) Community Studies are selected specifically for the development of skills and attitudes necessary for the maintenance of good health, farming and life in an Ujamaa Village. To some extent, the studies are vocational-oriented such as the study of better farming methods, craftwork, building techniques and commercial methods, but studies include also health education and science related to local phenomena and problems (integrated science). Community studies are designed to inspire curiosity about ideas, urge or desire for deeper understanding and improvement.

### Strategy and Implementation

The school consists of 7 classes from Std. I to Std. VII with enrolment of about 280 pupils drawn from the Ujamaa village and from the neighbouring areas. It is a typical school in a typical rural village. In 1971 the Principal of Korongwe College of National Education located in Korongwe town together with some tutors organized a series of meetings with the village elders and the villagers to discuss the programme. Even school children were involved. Party and Government leaders such as the Area Commissioner, TANU leaders, Education and Agricultural Officers, teachers and parents were familiarized with the programme so as to seek their interest and support. This step was considered the most critical for the creation of a favourable climate for the acceptance of the programme. The new school curriculum was put into use in 1973.

The activities of both the village and the school are co-ordinated

- The village committee consists of 12 parents, 3 teachers, one agricultural instructor, and one nurse. Total membership is 17.
- The School Committee consisting of 17 members is composed of 10 parents, 4 teachers including the Headmaster and 5 members from the Village Committee
- Self-help Committee responsible for the short-term and long-term planning of school's activities has 18 members consisting of one member from the Village Committee, one member from the school committee, 3 teachers, 13 pupils.

### Financing.

The Government is meeting the cost of teachers' emoluments, school materials, equipment and travel costs of Government officials.

UNICEF's contribution so far has included farming implements worth Shs. 2,785/- for the school, building materials for the

poultry and carpentry unit, and the water pump estimated to cost Shs.35,000/- which is being installed. In the form of self-help the villagers or the community have contributed the following:

- They have built an extension of 2 classrooms to the school
- They have provided free labour in the construction of the poultry unit and the carpentry workshop for woodwork and tin-smithery. This workshop will be used by the primary school leavers as well as by the pupils and other villagers. Local craftsmen from the village will participate in running the classes. The workshop is intended also to go into production.
- A Day Care Centre is run by girls from the community as their contribution to the village. These girls were selected by the village to attend a training course at a nearby Social Training Centre located at Magila.
- They put up a storage building for the school and a shed for preparing mid-day meals.
- They provided uniforms to the school children.

Assessment.

Life of the community has undergone basic changes. Although there has not yet been an objective assessment, attitudes and values have already been established which auger well for future development. The school belongs to the village. The village is involved in what is taking place at the school, and therefore is always aware of what takes place at the school. The villagers participate in the administration and organization of the school. They are participating in teaching various crafts, dances, local history and so on. The villagers themselves attend courses at the school, they sometimes attend in-service courses with their teachers at the Korogwe College of National Education. They sometimes accompany the pupils on study visits. The villagers work side by side with the teachers, and pupils in the joint projects. They mix in many social and cultural activities such as football, dancing, singing.

The Principal of the Korogwe College of National Education has the following to say about this programme. Before initiating this programme "the school had a formal subject central curriculum which scantily reflected the life of the village surrounding the school. The villagers generally viewed the school as a centre for formal education for education sake. Thus there was minimal integration of the school and the society around. Administratively, the school and the villagers operated as separate entities co-existing as logical response to the norms of life only. But now ..... the emphasis has aimed at complete integration of the school life and the Kwamsisi villagers. This is reflected in the general feeling of belonging to one another and thus pull together all their resources and efforts towards the success of the community as a whole. To date, the school is part of the community. This is further confirmed by the fact that administratively, the village chairman is the overall leader of the village including the school".

The projects and activities are selected by the village (including the school) itself according to their own assessment of their needs and capabilities. "From without" mainly through the College of National Education, Morogwe, and from the Ministry flow into the village/school new techniques and new ideas. There is no imposition from outside on what ought to be done.

The Korogwe College staff and the students are participating in the development of the curriculum, drawing up lists of instructional objectives around topics included in the Community Studies syllabus thus involving themselves in research into topics such as bilharzia, diseases of poultry, etc., using appropriate extension officers as resource persons, compiling instructional materials in Kiswahili, printing and copying on an ordinary duplicating paper. These will be guides for teachers and pupils. These materials will reflect local conditions.

This represents a unique and exciting contribution from the students who are part of the nation's intellectual manpower to the reform of the system which they themselves are about

to enter. The pre-service involvement is no doubt an effective way of the preparation to spread the reform to other parts of the country.

Observations.

1. The enrolment of villagers' children of the school age is 100%.
2. The school and its environment is being transformed in appearance. It is now changing into a pleasant orderly location from a previous dusty and uninteresting site.
3. The villagers give the impression of confidence and capability; children have grown healthier, happier and self-confident.
4. The school timetable is no longer regarded restrictive or inviolate as in the traditional timetable. It is more and more accepted as a general overall guide.
5. The people's overall assessment of the project after visiting Kwamsisi is that the Kwamsisi type of education should be extended to other schools. Not only is it a promising strategy for the complete primary education reform sought after by Tanzania, but it is a source of inspiration for the way ahead.

This achievement may be attributed to a number of concurrent reforms of pedagogical importance:

- (1) The integration of the work of the school with the activities of the village especially through self-help activities is forcing a change in the school work from the traditional, irrelevant, academic study to a purposive and practical preparation for the village life. Since such activities emphasize cooperative effort, they reduce the individualist competitive spirit characteristic of the traditional school system.
- (2) The participation of pupils in the planning, implementation and management of their self-help activities is helping to destroy the traditional, authoritarian set-up. In its place there develops a learning process which is based on experience and trust.

experience and trust.

- (3) The integration of the school with the village has brought new insights for the villagers into the true nature and purpose of education and for the teachers into the true needs of the village life.

More primary schools all over the country are now set to move to the next stage provided by Kwamsisi as a pilot project.

### Constraints and Contradictions

Tanzania has by no means found an answer to the conflicts and difficulties which beset education. As Nyerere has said in May, 1974, "I am becoming increasingly convinced that we in Tanzania either have not yet found the right educational policy or have not yet succeeded in implementing it - or some combination of these two alternatives" (Nyerere; 1974) the contradictions in Tanzanian education are the contradictions within Tanzanian society. There is recognition by many analysts of progress since Education for Self Reliance, Nyerere included, that education does not have the strength in itself to change society. Education structures reflect the economic structures and cannot except in isolated instances move far in advance of these structures.

The single most influential force on the educational system at present is the wage and occupation pattern. This continuing skewed pattern of demand for white collar jobs together with the income and status accorded to them prevents the implementation of ESR (Hirji, 1973; Mbilinyii; 1973). Nyerere has described very accurately the process of dehumanization which occurs as the economic structures transform men into commodities. Thus the continued difficulties in integrating school into the rural community. It makes better economic sense for a boy to struggle to get to secondary school and subsequently to a wage job because he will nearly always be better off than if he stayed in the village.

Some of the ways in which the fundamental contradictions manifest themselves are:

- (1) Achievement exams are still used at the end of Primary and Secondary school. For university entrance however work and exams and community approval is now required.
- (2) Many of those in control of the educational structure are not themselves socialists and yet are required to lead a socialist transformation.

(3) Progressive VS authoritarian values.

The great strength of ESR is that it represents a strong set of progressive ideas. These ideas together with other elements in the ideology of Ujamaa come into conflict with reality of authoritarian civil service administration or teacher-student relationships.

(4) Academic VS Practical orientation.

There is a continued preference on the part of parents, students and most teachers to academic subjects of an "international standard" as this continues to be tested for. Those who do not do well in academic subjects and do not get into secondary schools are still regarded as failures.

Recent developments

Tanzania is aware of its shortcomings and continues to make changes in its approaches. At Musoma in November 1974 TANU announced two major changes in educational policy. The first is that beginning with the imput of students to the University in July 1975 entrance will be based on a minimum of two years work, Form IV exam results and the recommendation of the people where one works expressed through the party. Direct entry from Form Six will no longer be possible and good marks in Form Six will not by themselves be sufficient for entry. This is a fundamental change in the incentive system.

A second change is the announcement that U.P.E. is to be moved up to 1977. This will have massive implications for manpower and finance which are at this time still being worked out. There are at present places for roughly 50 per cent of school age youth in primary school.

The third change, perhaps emphasis would be a better word, is the need for stronger links between education and work. The theme of education and work is being given wide publicity in order to hopefully create a different set of attitudes.

Tanzania is a nation in transition to socialism. This transition process is by nature dialectical moving between the varied poles and hence the contradictions. Schooling will not have the influence which educators both within and without Tanzania thought it might, but it has an important role in doing what it can to shape values, even if these are later modified by reality. The gaps presumably will be smaller and smaller vis a vis present day contradictions. New ones will of course occur as in any dynamic process. There are then fundamental changes which can be made now and which need to be made in the future.

At the same time Tanzania does represent a nation which is attempting to deal with its educational system in a sophisticated and reasoned way. There are many impressive features of the system. The extensive adult education system, the use of mass campaigns, the major changes in university admission policies, and the continued attempts at integrating school and community are very real and important. The contradictions stand out in part because of the existence of the clear view of what the future might be.

#### A note on the concept of "efficiency"

Most of the concepts of educational planning owe their origins to the management techniques of larger scale capitalist industry, economic units which are quite obviously rooted in the need to expand the rate of surplus (profit). The application to education was made first through the 'education as human capital' approaches of the early 60s and later modified to cost-benefit approaches. One of the central concepts of traditional planning has been that of "efficiency". Efficiency has referred principally to the reduction of wastage in school systems and the manipulation of factors within the schooling system which might affect this efficiency. Mass media, classroom size, training of teachers and adaptation of curricula are all examined and manipulated with a view towards increasing

the number of people who get through any given school system per unit cost. Problems of distribution and unemployment are hoped to be solved by an increase in the amount of economic unit per person. The assumption is that educational systems with high "wastage" are inefficient and mismanaged; such educational systems and the people within them are behaving irrationally in an economic sense. What this view hides is the fact that both the people and system may in fact be highly rational if the goal of the respective economic systems are to maintain or increase the amount of national wealth in the hands of a small number of people. An over zealousness with concepts of internal educational efficiency cover over the possibility that the economic infrastructure is in fact responsible for the "illogical" performance of the educational system.

The question is of course, could not the concept of "efficiency" be expanded so as to include the elements of distributions? It is possible to construct such tools. Planning formulae could no doubt be designed so as to give weighted emphasis to provision for population groups in say the lower two quintiles of income distribution and this is something which should be attempted. It is much less likely that those in the upper quintiles will alter the nature of employment, wages, tax structures or rural credit schemes in such a way as to make possible the transfer of future economic growth to the present day poor. What is more likely is that the attempt will be to assure just enough redistribution so that the poor will be bought off, but that the "fabric of society" i.e. the economic structures will remain.

#### The Role of International Cooperation

How best then can Unesco make a meaningful contribution within the context of planning for "the development of innovative decision programmes" (Planning and Management for Educational Change). Is there a role for international cooperation in the spread of innovative useful programmes among poor countries?

"Third World Collective Self-Reliance"

The 1970's represent a period of awakening for international agencies; a time of reflection based on the fact that the hitherto accepted approaches to planning, exchange of ideas and ways of working generally seem to have fallen staggeringly far short of expectations. It is appropriate that UNESCO is seeking to redefine its role. What is proposed here is an approach to the planning innovatory educational which would place UNESCO in the role of coordinator of a network of study and exchange by which periphery countries could build on the experiences of one another. UNESCO would be contributing both technically and financially to the "Collective Self-Reliance" of the poor countries. One possible approach to this with respect to Tanzania might be as follows:

Step 1. Programme Inventory Identification.

The first step would be to identify a number of programmes or projects (in Tanzania perhaps 20 could be identified) which seem to be viable from several different points of view and which represent several different approaches. Criteria for selection would need to be worked out but might include questions of degree of integration, scale, impact, costs, population groups reached and some concepts of replicability. Programmes in Tanzania might include the adult education network (see case study), the mass campaigns (Mtu ni Afya, Chakula ni Uhai), the cooperative education centre's expanding programme of rural bookkeeping training, an example of an integrated community school; and the University of Dar es Salaam's alternative admissions policies based on experience and community/organizational approval in addition to academic qualifications.

Step 2. Study and Analysis.

In depth analytical studies should be carried out of these projects by teams including:

- a) a senior member of the responsible government unit (Tanzanian)
- b) another senior Tanzanian not personally connected with the project from another Ministry or Institution such

as the Economic Research Bureau, Institute of Adult Education, Institute of Finance Management or BRALUP (Geographical research institute).

- c) an expert from another potentially interested periphery country. This person could be in either an academic or an operational position.
- d) an expert from UNESCO selected on the basis of sounding out the competences of the team. This person could similarly be academic or operational and would not necessarily need to be from the third world.

Step 3. Three-way Discussions.

These studies can then become the means by which interested countries can develop programmes or projects based on their own specific needs and interests. Discussions would take place among persons from the interested country, the country in which the project originates (in this case Tanzania) and UNESCO. These discussions which would most likely take place in the learning/receiving country would always need to have someone from the country where the idea originated and it would be highly recommended to have someone from the original study and analysis teams present.

Step 4. Allocation of funds.

The biggest share of the UNESCO portion of the UNDP country programme funds for technical assistance would then go to projects originated on the basis of this process. Funds might be used:

- a) for the exchange of third world experts from countries of project origin.
- b) for general sector funding i.e. the support of a broad based rural adult education network with specific allocation left to the discussion of the receiving country.

- c) for support to thoroughly integrated problem-oriented programmes which would imply funding a much broader range of needs than merely those which are normally seen as formal or non-formal education.

Tanzanian needs

If such a planning procedure were to be undertaken, Tanzania would have several areas in which it could usefully be on the learning or receiving end of the process.

(1) Para-professionals for Ujamaa Villages

There is a need for part-time persons from Ujamaa villages to be trained in useful skills such as rural construction techniques, environmental sanitation, mother and child care or first aid. Such persons would not be full time low level professionals but would be villagers who earn their living as full time farmers (or possibly other rural occupations) and contribute needed skills according to the needs of the village. These programmes would need to take account of the follow-up requirements of some skills for example the need to provide tools to those trained in construction or carpentry. The courses need to be long enough to be useful but short enough to draw villagers. Candidates would be selected by the village or village committee. Existing R.T.C.s could be used for training locations.

(2) Training for small productive unit progressional/training personnel

The needs of small scale industry in both urban and rural areas call for special management skills. Running a small cooperative bicycle parts workshop is not the same as running a scaled down factory. In order to further achieve viability in the small scale sector people working in these areas need to have training (full time, longer term duration than paraprofessionals) in small productive

unit management including, basic accountancy-bookeeping, financial management, production planning and control and mechanical skills.

In urban areas the programme could be a combination of released time and evening classes while in rural areas it might be more useful to have full time residential training in centres outside the largest towns - perhaps R.T.C.s could be used as sites.

As in other educational programmes, success is entirely related to the provision of effective back-up and the degree of integration in this case into effective marketing, sub-contracting, transportation considerations. A possible way in which an adequate support/implementation system could be set up would be as follows:

- a) Supply (inputs) and sales of small scale units with the implications for transportation could be handled by the Board of Trade group of companies thereby limiting the number of new managers and information systems needed.
- b) Technical assistance related to special problems of production, new unit planning or expansion could be found through the pool of people in the National Institute of Productivity (NIP), Institute of Finance Management (IFM) and Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO).
- c) Contracting and sub-contracting arrangements which would make it possible for small scale units to provide component parts to larger industries i.e. bicycle components, various electronic sub-assemblies, agricultural implement components, could be carried out by SIDO.

The most difficult question is one of finding countries where experience exists, particularly for the second programme on integrated small-scale industrial training. China may well be

the only country with sufficient experience of this type. Chinese cooperation should certainly not be ruled out as a matter of course.

Ideas for para-professional training might be available from Inades in West Africa which makes use of combinations of study groups and correspondance for groups of mixed literates and non-literates with apparently some success and quite low unit costs.