29. Baran (1957, pp. 445-488) however, warns against an automatic option for labour-intensive techniques in underdeveloped countries. The choice must be made from case to case and not only be based on considerations of economic efficiency.

30. Source: Ministry of Water Development and Power, Plan Review, April 1972.

31. Mainly done by BRALUP (Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, University of Dar es Salaam), LIDEP (Lushoto Integrated Development Project), WHO, and a study team under the leadership of G. White and D. Bradley.

32. Meaning "disease-causing".

33. The Mtu ni Afya campaign contained a small section on water. From a preliminary appraisal it appears that people have benefited from the programme, and in some cases have undertaken improvement projects (see also Hall, 1973).

PEASANTS EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

Marjorie Mbilinyi*[1]

> The Arusha Declaration is a declaration of intent; no more than that. It states the goals toward which TANU will be leading the people of Tanzania, and it indicates the direction of development. Neither on the 5th February, nor on any day since, has Tanzania suddenly become a socialist state, a self-reliant state, or a developed state...The Declaration is the beginning, not the end, of a very long and probably extremely hard struggle.
>
> Nyerere (1967)[2]

1. Introduction

> ...there is unanimity that a basic education must prepare an individual for the world of work by imbuing him with positive attitudes and values towards work and at least the foundations upon which practical skills, relevant to his or her environment, may be built.[3]

The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation Seminar on Education held in Dar es Salaam in 1974 brought together several of the most internationally known "progressive" education reformers of African education. Confusing the objective basis for attitudes to work in relations of production and blaming them on the education system, the report of the Seminar expressed concern about the fact that the "people look down upon manual labour as being inferior to white-collar work".[4] It noted that the education system in underdeveloped countries had not

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fulfilled people's expectations and that "the methods of education have encouraged passivity and a dependent attitude, and discouraged creative thinking and initiative".[5] The jobless school leavers were perceived to be a threat to the present order an "unbearable burden and a source of social turmoil".[6] The seminar called for a "new deal" in education, a "democratization and universalization of the system" and pointed out that "the universalization of education depends on the universalization of work". Mass illiteracy was blamed for mass exploitation, rather than exploitative relations of production and distribution. The hierarchical pyramid structure of education system was accepted as appropriate, with a . . production component in each but different to fit each level of the pyramid. As a result, workers would develop "manual dexterity, persistence, patience, responsibility for manual work, endurance, co-operation, initiative, and self-confidence, responsibility, streaming for excellence, for quality, for precision".[7]

The education system was blamed for not providing relevant training and socialisation, as if the problem rested on the "supply side" of labour rather than in the inability of the present economic system to generate higher rates of employment.[8] The "new deal" in education and work can be interpreted to mean and become the penetration of the labour force by the worldwide capitalist system and their adaptation to their place in that system. "It means removing any sense of inferiority or shame for what you are."[9] That is, no change in the position and production relationships

of different classes, but let each class adapt to its place in production.

The conference also stressed the progressive nature of cognitive and affective objectives related to creativity and initiative. We must be careful here. As analysis of the progressive reform movement in American education has shown, the corporation form of capitalist enterprise characteristic of advanced capitalism requires such characteristics in its workers.[10] Given the size and complexity, the number of employees and the degree of specialisation, these qualities in addition to internalised self-discipline are all attributes that capitalists believe contribute to increased production. In Tanzania's economy based mainly on smallholder peasant production, continual direct supervision of work is impossible, therefore making creativity, initiative and self-discipline necessary for increased productivity of the producers. Creativity and initiative do not necessarily conflict with submissiveness and "co-operation" with fellow producers and the controllers of production required in capitalist relations of production.

As shown by the references given above, the education reformers did not anchor discussion of education reforms in an analysis of class struggle, the reproduction of the capitalist system, changes in the relations of production and distribution now taking place in Tanzania and other underdeveloped countries, and the process of underdevelopment itself. The objective meaning and consequence of

education reform can only be determined by setting it in the context of class struggle, the class in power, the nature of relations of production and distribution, and the historical material conditions of the particular historical situation being studied which limit the type of reform possible. The intention of this paper is to analyse Tanzanian education reform in relation to the specific historical and material conditions in Tanzania today. The paper will explore education policy and practice; the historical origins of reform; and attempt to explain the sources of contradictions in education practice and policy. We are most concerned about the implications of these reforms for peasants and have concentrated on reforms specifically oriented to Tanzanian peasants.

Underlying our analysis is a recognition of the distinction between revolutionary and reformist reforms. Revolutionary "basic structural reform", according to Gorz, involves.[11]

> ...a decentralization of the decision-making power, a restriction of the powers of State or Capital, an extension of popular power...what is involved here is indeed a strategy of progressive conquest of power by the workers (and peasants), a strategy which does not, however, exclude the possibility of or even the necessity for a revolutionary seizure of power at a later stage.

History has shown us, however, that for education to be revolutionary, it must be a part of total struggle through an organised mass movement led by a proletarian party based on a worker-peasant aliance.[12]

Bowles and Gintis have taken up the Gorz argument that the political struggle must begin in and through existing capitalist institutions, in order to[13]

> prepare people for taking power in every area of their lives. It has two aims: (1) to weaken progressively the power of those who control economic life and undermine the functioning of oppressive capitalist institutions and (2) to develop in people the faculty of making co-operative decisions and for exercising power, an experience normally denied us in a capitalist society.

We believe the distinction between revolutionary and reformist reforms requires some discussion in order to clarify our own stand. The argument of this paper is not that any education reform is necessarily co-optive and reformist. Instead, the paper argues (1) that the historical and material conditions of underdevelopment and class relationships in Tanzania today limit the meaning and consequences of any reform, education or otherwise; (2) Tanzania education reforms have partly developed in response to the objective demands of the reproduction of the international capitalist system, and more specifically of the Tanzanian social formation and should not be assumed to represent the product of conscious manipulation on the part of either the international bourgeoisie, their ideological agents or the local ruling class; (3) education reform in Tanzania has become in practice (or is becoming) a weapon of the local ruling class in the class struggle and a weapon of international capital against the interests of labour in the underdeveloped world; (4) education

reforms in a more immediate sense have mainly been a response to peasant demands for more education and better education (where "better" is defined by peasant interests and usually means the same education as that received by the petty bourgeoisie) or a result of the fact that the Tanzanian economy cannot "match" the material expectations of students and school leavers. It is objectively impossible for the system to provide for the growing and changing needs and wants of the people. This is true at whatever level we are dealing with, the international capitalist system, developed capitalist social formation or underdeveloped capitalist social formation.[14] Pauperisation of peasants, chronic underdevelopment and unemployment, unequal terms of trade between rural and urban areas; these and other phenomena are results of the underdevelopment of Tanzania and cannot be overcome through education reform, only through total class struggle under the control of peasants and workers. (5) Despite the significant ideological function of the education system in contributing towards bourgeois hegemony, contradictions arise <u>within</u> the education system rooted in contradictions within the production system, leading to outcomes neither expected nor desirable for the local ruling class and/or the international bourgeoisie.

In the remainder of this section we review very briefly certain aspects of the Tanzanian context. Section II is an analysis of the formal education system, including different responses to that system by individuals and groups in society. Section III

reviews the education reforms of most relevance to our discussion. Section IV tries to explain the basis of the contradictions found in the educational system and in education reform in Tanzania.

The Context of Education Reform

TANU, Tanzania's national party, is committed to socialism and self-reliance. Beginning in 1967, major steps have been taken to nationalise the major means of production, to shift investment from urban to rural areas, to promote the expansion of social services in the countryside, to narrow income gaps, to increase the participation of peasants and workers in decision-making about political, cultural and economic institutions, to control the "bossism" tendencies of leaders, and to make it illegal for government and Party leaders to engage in capitalist production, to earn more than one salary, etc. Fundamental education reforms have been implemented, to be discussed in detail in Section III, which have meant the inclusion of a production component in all primary, secondary and teacher-training institutions; the rapid eradication of illiteracy in many areas; the promotion of universal primary education for all seven year-olds by 1977.

The implementation of TANU policies has been constrained however by external and internal factors. Despite the goal of self-reliance, for example, external loans and grants accounted for 56 per cent of the total development budget expenditure in 1971/72, 63 per cent in 1972/73 and was predicted to account

for 54 per cent in 1974/75.[15] Agriculture is the basis of Tanzania's economy, and accounted for 80 per cent of export value in 1974. Reliance on primary goods export as well as a tendency towards high import value in many industrial projects are both related to rising trade deficits, which reached — 2,515 in 1974. Eighty-five per cent of Tanzania's economically active population engage in agricultural production, the majority as smallholder peasant producers. Urban-rural disparities in income have remained constant between 1967 and 1974, despite egalitarian income policies.[16] In addition, peasants, like manual workers, suffer from lack of the kinds of benefits, promotion procedures, security factors and relative autonomy characteristic of managerial employees and other cadres we will refer to as petty bourgeois (e.g. University lecturers, secondary and primary school teachers, technical experts, capitalist farmers, traders—characterised by their relationship to the means of production; i.e. either in control of the means of production or ideological or repressive agents of those in control).

The unequal terms of trade (rural-urban) and the extreme levels of poverty found in certain areas matched with medical and other social amenities in towns, have contributed to rural-urban migration in search of employment, particularly for those with greater probabilities of job attainment. The rate of rural-urban migration of male primary school leavers (ex-Standard VII) was declining by 1972 in response to lower probabilities of getting wage employment.[17] At the same time, an increasing number of Form IV (secondary school) leavers are not selected for further education or training nor for immediate wage employment. By 1974, 3,343 students out of 9,840 were not placed anywhere within one year of completion of studies.[18] Contrary to manpower planning experts' view that "high and middle level" jobs of Form IV leavers are being "invaded by people below secondary level",[19] what is more likely is that secondary school leavers must now compete for work they formerly would not have accepted. This will inevitably further the devaluation of the Standard VII Certificate which has already occured in the "job market".

Overall wage employment increased 2.5 per cent in 1974, barely keeping up with the rate of population increase and mainly found in the agricultural sectors (13.7 per cent increase). In non-agricultural sector there was a 0.9 per cent decline in wage employment in 1974. The rise in agricultural employment was attributed to the kufa na kupona campaign to increase food crop production around the country.[20] This can only mean the rise in food crop production was partly due to the surplus produced by hired labour.

From the information available, therefore, we find the economy still dependent on agricultural production, with relatively low rates of growth in the industrical sector. At the same time, relative incomes of peasants have remained much lower than that of the wage employed, and in addition peasants still do not have equal access to social facilities

like dispensaries, electricity and water. Wage employment is not rising at a pace fast enough to provide work for those who expect it as their 'right', given the past history of secondary school leavers. Secondary school if not higher school certificates are necessary to secure wage employment of any kind. Pressure on the secondary school level to expand will increase given such conditions. The rapid expansion of private schools (in 1974, 13.8 per cent increase in private secondary school enrolment compared to 2.9 per cent in public secondary school enrolment) is one of the clearest signs of that pressure. Already private school enrolment is 30 per cent of total secondary school enrolment based on 1974 figures, with no sign of governmental constraints on further expansion.[21] The disparity between secondary school leavers and places of wage employment will therefore increase.

These phenomena (i.e. high aid dependency, reliance on primary goods sector for exports, high import value of industrial enterprise, urban-rural disparities and the vast majority of the economically active population engaged in agriculture production) are typical of underdevelopment. Tanzania has clearly not "freed" itself from the underdevelopment cycle. The process of underdevelopment reproduces itself; i.e. in order to acquire the foreign exchange necessary to import machinery for industrial development, the country is compelled to increase exports of primary goods, and until now has relied heavily on traditional marketing infrastructures to

handle export-import trade which strengthen dependency ties in the worldwide capitalist system. Partly because of a persistent "belief"[22] that the country lacks adequate technological expertise, foreign management consultancy corporations co-operate to run many parastatal industries. Such industrial enterprises have developed in patterns unfavourable to Tanzania's economic development.[23]

The perpetuation of such links with worldwide capitalism can only partly be explained by reference to economic factors, however. In Tanzania as elsewhere in Africa, a class of petty bourgeois elements began to develop in the colonial period and continues to develop today. The position of power of bureaucrats depends upon the maintainance of the state apparatus as they are today, hierarchically organized in a bureaucratic fashion. Cultural and psychological dependence on foreign (Western) expertise has been perpetuated as one aspect of underdevelopment. Values and beliefs which are consistent with the capitalist system have been adopted and are consistent as well with actual practice in most situations of work and "leisure" activities of the ruling class. President Nyerere noted in a recent talk at the University of Dar es Salaam, the "bureaucrats" are the "agents of the big exploiters", the foreign capitalists,[24] and serve the interests of foreign capitalists as well as their own interests, and not the interests of Tanzanian peasantry and workers. However, it is essential to distinguish between objective and subjective. The bureaucrats as a class

act to perpetuate the present system...this does not mean they necessarily do so consciously. As will be shown later, acts to implement socialist policies, for example, often become in practice in contradiction to the same policies. In addition to the determinancy of economic and political factors tending to the reproduction of the system, ideological factors become very important here in explaining such apparent inconsistencies.

II. The Formal Education Structure

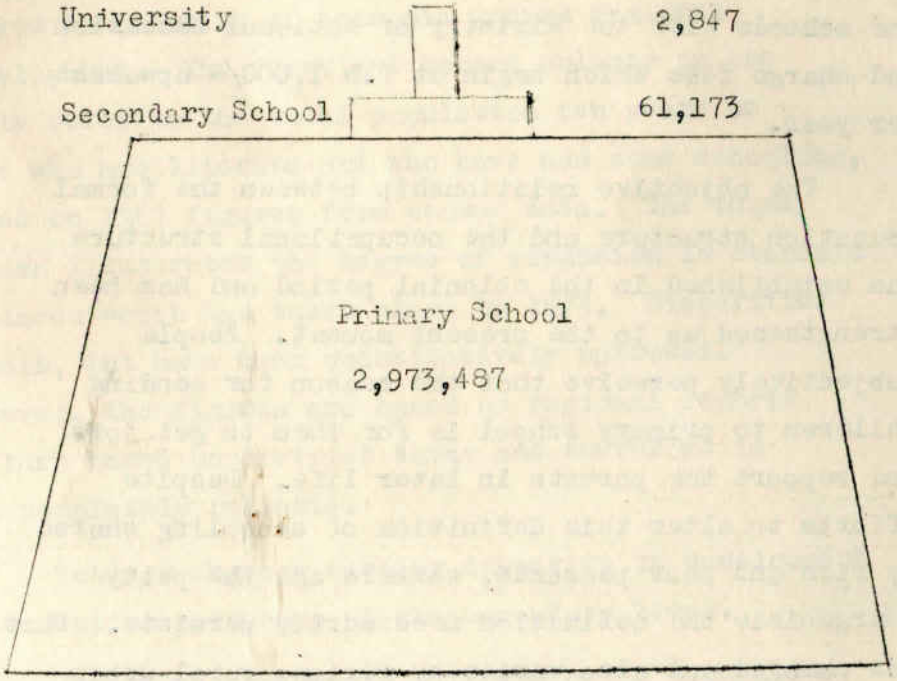
> In a peaceful transfer of power, the colonial instruments of government exist. They are passed to the nationalist leaders. No other instruments of government have been created during independence struggle. Colonial development objectives are also taken over. No alternative objectives have been sought out.
>
> —Nyerere (1975)[25]

The formal education pyramid is illustrated in Diagram I. Education qualifications determine entry to the top of the occupational hierarchy, i.e. the bureaucracy and other petty bourgeoisie,[26] and access to post-primary education is not essential. Expansion at post-primary levels is officially controlled by projections of manpower needs and is highly restricted. In 1973, eight per cent of the Standard Seven leavers entered secondary schools, and in 1974, six per cent. There has been a great deal of political pressure to expand secondary school enrolment, just as previously there was significant pressure to increase the "repeat"

Diagram I.

The Education Pyramid*

(1977/78)



*Source: Hotuba ya Waziri wa Elimu ya Taifa (1978/79), 1978, Jedwali la XV.

rate in Standard VI and VII in certain regions almost causing political crises.[27] So far pressure on the secondary level has been contained through education reforms such as the policy of having four post-primary technical streams in every region and the tacit acceptance of a system of private secondary schools. The former will be discussed in detail in Section III. The latter include TAPA (TAPA is the Teachers and Parents Association, an organ of TANU) as well as many run by religious bodies, all of which register the schools with the Ministry of National Education and charge fees which begin at T.Sh 1,000/= upwards per year.

The objective relationship between the formal education structure and the occupational structure was established in the colonial period and has been strengthened up to the present moment. People subjectively perceive that the reason for sending children to primary school is for them to get jobs and support the parents in later life. Despite efforts to alter this definition of schooling shared by rich and poor peasants, workers and the petty bourgeoisie the definition necessarily persists. What has changed and also varies by region, rural-urban location and class or stratum is the perception of probabilities for job acquisition and/or selection for further education or training.[28]

Access

Access to the schooling system has not been equal in Tanzania at any level. To investigate access,

one must examine the intake at each level as well as the differential quality and resources of different schools in different regional localities; "streaming" within and between streams must also be investigated. Here we address ourselves mainly to access with respect to class or family "socio-economic backgrounds", and not to sex.[29]

As Table 1 shows, there has been a history of regional differentiation in access to schooling which was first established in the colonial era and corresponded to patterns of economic uneven regional development. The first and second columns in the table refer to the total population ten years or over who are literate and who have had some schooling, based on 1967 figures from census data. The third column illustrates the degree of expansion in Standard I places which had taken place by 1974. Disparities remain, but have been quantitatively narrowed. However, the figures are based on regional reports in turn based on district data; and therefore is not completely reliable.

Table 2 shows a similar disparity in development of education resources at the secondary level.

Individual household differences in occupation, sources and amount of income, parental education attainment and/or peasant strata have been found to affect children's chances of being enrolled in primary school.[30] Children of poor peasants compared to rich peasants are frequently not enrolled in school due to financial and opportunity costs.

Table 1: Regional population 10 years and over by literacy and by school attendance, and percent of seven year old children with standard I places in 1975/76.

Region	Literate per cent [a]	Attending or have attended school (%) [a]	% 7-year olds with standard I place [b]
Dar es Salaam	60	58	42.9
Kilimanjaro	56	57	74.0
Ruvuma	41	42	75.4
Tanga	40	41	63.0
West Lake	40	42	77.0
Zanzibar	39	31	-
Morogoro	37	36	67.2
Mara	35	36	53.7
Iringa	31	31	46.8
Mbeya	29	31	48.7
Mtwara	28	26	66.6
Singida	27	30	87.3
Tabora	27	27	73.1
Arusha	26	26	50.7
Coast	26	25	66.5
Mwanza	25	26	46.2
Dodoma	24	24	65.1
Kigoma	19	19	39.5
Shinyanga	16	17	72.9

Source: [a] Egero, B. and Henin, R. (eds) Population of Tanzania 1973 BRALUP. Table 7, -. 120, based on 1967 census.

[b] Annual Manpower Report to the President 1974, Table 9, based on Ministry of National Education estimates in 1974.

Resources (1976)

Regions	No. of public Sec. Schools	No. of private sec. schools	Total No. of sec. schools	% sec. schools by region [a]	% of total mainland population by region (1967) [b]
Arusha	3	5	8	5.8	5.1
Dar es Salaam	8	4	12	8.6	2.3
Dodoma	5	2	7	5.0	6.0
Iringa	7	2	9	6.5	5.8
Kigoma	1	1	2	1.4	4.0
Kilimanjaro	9	19	28	20.1	5.5
Lindi	1	2	3	2.2	8.7 (wit Mtwar
Mara	3	3	6	4.3	4.6
Mbeya	4	1	5	3.6	8.1 (wit Rukwa
Morogoro	4	4	8	5.8	5.7
Mtwara	5	0	5	3.6	see Lin
Mwanza	6	2	8	5.8	8.8
Pwani	3	0	3	2.2	4.2
Rukwa	1	1	2	1.4	see Mbe
Ruvuma	3	2	5	3.6	3.3
Shinyanga	2	1	3	2.2	7.5
Singida	2	1	3	2.2	3.8
Tabora	4	2	6	4.3	4.7
Tanga	2	2	7	5.0	6.4
West Lake	5	4	9	6.5	5.5
Total	81	58	139	99.5	100.0

Source: Ministry of National Education Statistics, Dar es Salaam, 1977, Tables p. 20.

[a] Percentages may not add up to 100.0% because of rounding off.

[b] Egero and Henin 1973, p. 41, T.3.2 Percentages have been recalculated to exclude the population of Zanzibar. Since the 1967 census, three new regions have been formed, splitting Lindi and Mtwara, Mbeya and Rukwa, and Dar es Salaam and Pwani.

Although school fees have been abolished, parents must pay for school uniforms, school notebooks and contribute to a "building fund" which requires resources greater than the former school fees. More important, however, is the need for children's labour input into the household production system, all the more pressing for poor peasants who rely on household labour for production rather than capital inputs or hired labour. Rural children whose parents are traders, petty bourgeois or self-employed craftsmen are more likely to be enrolled in primary school.

In a recent survey of secondary school student family backgrounds in seven secondary schools in 1974 (four public, three private, situated in Moshi, Arusha, Morogoro and Dar es Salaam), we found only 38 per cent of the parents were peasants. As Table 3 shows, nearly all of the others were wage-earners. In further analysis of the 43 per cent who are wage-earners we found that 73 per cent were members of the bureaucracy and the petty bourgeois (including 29 per cent professions and managers; 44 per cent teachers, nurses, clerks, accountants, policemen or army) and only 27 per cent were workers and of these 20 per cent were semi-skilled labourers, i.e. mechanics and foremen, and only 7 per cent manual workers.[31] The data lacks breakdowns among those who were full-time peasants, however.

There are no major differences in general occupational breakdowns between public and private secondary school parents. In both systems peasants have much less access. However, we lacked data in this particular

survey on the source of final assistance for schooling and other expenditure. Many peasant households educating their children rely on assistance from salaried relatives to cover expenditure, particularly for private schools; such children are frequently 'housed' with relatives while in school.

Table 3: Occupations of Father (or Guardian) (given in percentages).

	Total public schools	Total private schools	Total per cent
Peasants only	42.6	35.2	38.2
Wage-earners	45.8	41.8	43.4
Trade	9.5	15.0	12.7
Self-employment	1.6	7.0	4.8
	0.5	1.1	0.9
Total per cent	100.0	100.1	100.0
N	190	273	463
No Response	7	10	17

In our study of secondary schools, we have also tried to document the extent to which public schools are being filled by students who have "hopped" from private secondary schools. In the last two or three years, urban day public schools have been inundated by large numbers of private school students. Mainly children of bureaucrats, teachers and other petty bourgeois elements fail to get places in public

secondary schools. They are sent for a year or two to private schools and then "one way or another" find their way into the public schools system. Up to one-third of the Form 3 classes in several public day schools have been found to consist of such ex-private school students. The problem of the private school system is therefore not a matter of unequal access, but rather its function as a stepping stone to enter the public school system.

Our figures indicate that peasant children do not have equal access to secondary schooling, be it public or private. The disparity between the proportion of the national population in each occupational group and that of the parents in our survey makes that clear. Beyond the issue of recruitment to schooling however is the function of education in reproducing relations of production, in the context of Tanzania capitalist relations of production. Of course, perpetuation of unequal access to higher levels of education for the children of the petty bourgeoisie contributes to the reproduction of the class structure. But let us imagine that a lottery system was used to choose secondary and tertiary students by random chance, and that the result was a percentage of peasants and workers and petty bourgeois children in each level of the school system proportionate to their numbers in the national population. The school system would still function to reproduce capitalist relations of production if some of the following aspects of the school system were retained: a hierarchical pyramid structure

through which access to different levels of the occupational structure is controlled; with different form and content of instruction at different levels; so that the lower levels of the educational pyramid continue to produce peasants and workers and the higher levels produce bureaucrats and other petty bourgeois elements. "Pyramid structure" refers not only to the relationship between each level of the education system, but to the patterns of social organisation within the schooling system and other non-school educational institutions, the teaching methods used, the content of instruction, the modes of evaluation and selection, etc. As will be shown below, certain aspects of the schooling system remain constant across different levels of the pyramid whereas other aspects change. The patterns of change are related to the different places which terminal students of different levels of the system take in the production system.

Social Relationship in the School and Classroom

We can think of the structure of the primary or secondary school as a pyramid, with the Ministry of National Education at the top and the students at the bottom. The primary school structure is much the same, with slight changes of name and less departmental specialisation among teachers. Authority passes in a hierarchical way from the Head down to teachers and from teachers through student "leaders" to the students. In most secondary schools student councils exist ostensibly to represent the interests of students, but in nearly all schools they are defined by

students as rubber-stamps of the teachers and/or the Head.

In the school and classroom, the teachers have relatively absolute power in relation to students to reward and punish, to evaluate, to expel a student, etc. This power ultimately resides in the hands of the Head who symbolizes the combined authority of the teachers overall and the Ministry. This authority is symbolised in rituals like School Assemblies and in public caning of student "offenders" of the school system.

At the same time, teachers and Heads complain of being "tools" of the Ministry. They lack control over what to teach (the syllabus), what books to use, which course specialisations to offer, which school to be posted to, and are subject to supervision (i.e. inspection) from the Ministry as well as continual external evaluation based on examination results and productivity of self-reliance production activities. These are aspects of alienation of work typical of capitalist organisation of production.[32]

The University is very different in certain respects from primary and secondary levels of education. The hierarchical structure remains, but students have far more responsibility for their work. There is less exposure to continual teacher supervision, more emphasis on independent study, and relatively more flexibility in role relationships. Teachers have more control over what they teach and how, but do not share this control with students. And ultimately, final authority is with the University Administration, which controls finance, hiring and promotion of teachers, and student/teacher discipline. The structure remains an authoritarian and hierachical one, but with more student and teacher relative autonomy. There are two basic considerations to help explain the difference. At the University level students have relatively high extrinsic motivation which is oriented to passing examinations and other external evaluation mechanisms like essays. So long as they pass such evaluations, their future as members of the petty bourgeoisie is thus far assured. The threat of corporal punishments and other negative reinforcements is incongruous in such a situation. The second consideration is that the nature of the students' future work as petty bourgeois elements requires they develop values and norms consistent with the capitalist system of work organisation and be capable of working without supervision, committed to the "firm" or the institution for which they work. Those whose work requires them to supervise and control the work of others below them must internalise appropriate values and a sense of individual responsibility, and not require constant supervision and immediate extrinsic reinforcement themselves. That is, ideally behaviour consonant with such values and norms is expected in the work-place and prepared in higher levels of education. The phenomena of "work indiscipline" now characteristic of teachers and other petty bourgeois as well as of workers is one indication that capitalist work "ethics" have broken down and alternatives have not taken their place.

The content of the instruction process, as noted already, changes as one proceeds up the pyramid, the change characterised by increasing subject specialisation, abstraction and differentiation among students. At primary level all subjects are taken by all students, and include Swahili, Political Education, General Science, English, History, Geography, Handicrafts, Maths and Domestic Science. Nevertheless, faced by very large and heterogeneous classes, teachers tend to concentrate on the "better" students, especially in Standard VI and VII. Schools and teachers are judged by inspectors, bureaucrats, students and parents according to the number of examination passes, which really means the number of students selected to go to Form I.[35]

The Secondary School Vocationalisation Bias programme will be discussed in the section on reform. Here we simply note that each secondary school has a special vocational bias (technical, agricultural, commercial or domestic science) which determines the subject combinations of students. At Form 1 and 2 levels, students in a given school take the same subjects including bias coursework. At the secondary level General Science is split into Chemistry, Physics, and Biology. At Form 3, they are streamed into sciences, literature and bias streams. Streaming procedure is controlled by the school and is based on subject teaching recommendations which depend on their perception of student ability using performance in classroom exercises, homework and school tests as the major criteria. Subject combinations are determined by stream, and they in turn determine future education

and occupational choices. For example, the commerce and domestic science streams would not provide the course requirements to enter science coursework at post-secondary level. A set of core subjects remain compulsory for all students—political education, English, Swahili, History, Maths, Biology and in some schools one of the bias subjects.

Courses at Form V and VI level are highly specialised, and schools are also specialised into all science or all arts streams. Increasing specialisation reaches its zenith at the University level, where the pattern is three-course specialisation at First Year, and two-course specialisation thereafter. The only compulsory and common coursework for all students is Development Studies, which is intended to be a political education programme at the University level, though even here each Faculty has its own specialised Development Studies programme.

Selection for each post-primary education level has depended on examination performance up until this year. The Standard VII examination consists of four papers: Swahili, English, Mathematics and General Knowledge. At Form IV and VI levels they are national examinations corresponding closely to the Cambridge Examinations ("O" and "A") established in the colonial period and only recently dropped. The examinations are intended to evaluate learning of the syllabus of each course and have an exceedingly powerful backwash effect. Teachers are controlled more by examination content than by syllabi outlines. A slight change

in an examination pattern one year may lead to radical change in coursework teaching the following year. Once again, school andteacher reputations depend on Form IV and VI examination results. Recent efforts to incorporate school assessment of student progress as well as examination into secondary school final assessments will be discussed in the third section of this paper.

University curricula is evaluated through examinations but coursework assessment has in practice represented up to fifty per cent or more of a student's final assessment. The type of coursework assessment ranges from weekly objective testing in the Medical Faculty to independent research dissertations which may contribute up to one-fourth one's final grade in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. The annual phenomenon of examination "fever" remains, but much less is at stake than at other levels.

At this point, we may conclude that the pattern of social relationships and the content of schooling alter in a consistent way according to each level of the formal education pyramid. Peasants and workers, whose formal education (if any) terminates at primary and soon secondary levels will have been exposed to much more authoritarian pattern of role relationships. As will be noted in Section III, their education will have had a high vocational content mainly focused on skills training plus basic skills of literacy and numeracy at primary level and exposure to a more specialised subject content of instruction at secondary level.

The Problem of Selection

An education system functions to promote the skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary for its citizens to productively "fit" into their respective places in the production system and in society over all. This is true of a capitalist system as it is of a socialist one. In the case of Tanzania, still a capitalist system, we have found that the school system is structured in a way consistent with a capitalist system and therefore contributes to the reproduction of capitalist relations of production and distribution.

Such a structure which is so integrally tied to occupational opportunities will have to find ways of allocating or selecting out groups or individuals for different education programmes and/or levels of training, and of making that allocation/selection procedure as 'objective' as possible, at least in appearance. In the Tanzanian case, there is increasing popular protest about alleged unfairness in selection to secondary school. In the countryside peasants complain that only teachers and their friends the local bureaucrats, traders and kulaks get children in Form I.[34] Stealing and selling of examination papers happens each year with nationally published criminal court cases resulting. In the press, especially Uhuru, the Party Swahili daily, it is frequently alleged that teachers switch examination numbers around, taking a "bright" child's number and

giving it to a relative so that the relative may get selected on the basis of another student's performance.[35] Part of the problem is the transparency of the examination process. Invigilators are school teachers from different schools than the one where they are invigilating, but they teach in the same area. Corrections take place at District locations and selection is done at the Regional level. The suspicion that bureaucrats and teachers conspire together to select certain pupils corruptly or dishonestly certainly propelled a recent Singida Region seminar on workers' education to demand that selection of Form 1 intake be public not secret, and that the examination in each region be marked in a region different from the one in which it was held.[36]

Repeating Standard VI or VII and even lower standards is another method used by "big" parents to get their children through the examination again and into public secondary school. The recent Tanga case involving more than 30 children repeating Standard VII without following official procedures is unusual not because of the behaviour itself, but because it received so much attention in the press and was originally revealed through TAPA investigation and action at the District level.[37] As one of several letters to reach the editorial page on the case pointed out, this illegal repeating is an ordinary thing which began a long time ago. The letter's author, who states he is a peasant, pointed out that TAPA has revealed the secrets of "big people" and that the organisation should also investigate

illegal entry into secondary schools. He also asked TAPA to investigate the class back-grounds of each of the illegal Standard VII repeaters, whom he claims to number 77 and not 30, to find out how many were peasants and how many bureaucrats (maofisa).[38]

These cases and the growing attention given to them, and the form that the analysis sometimes takes, including investigation of class interests involved, indicates that the education selection system lacks legitimacy.

Resistance to Schooling

Many peasant households choose not to enrol their children in school, leaving empty Standard I places. This, for example, forced the Regional Education Officer, Tabora, to urge parents of children selected for Standard I places to make sure their children attend regularly so that "UPE 1977" is achieved![39] By November 1975 there were 9,406 primary school vacancies in Tabora Region from Standards I to VII. Drop-outs after Standard I enrolment and generally poor attendance in rural areas are noted in reports from every region in a recent Regional Report prepared by the Ministry of National Education.[40] The following are explanations given for non-attendance: parents don't appreciate education; parents "use children badly" for their own purposes like minding children at home, cattle-keeping, bird watching (Mtwara); or for beer-brewing and attending dances (Iringa); or parents remove children from school to get married in the case of girls or to go to work outside of the

the Region in the case of boys (Kigoma); on market days children don't attend school to help parents go go to market (Kigoma).

The nature of the report's criticism of such parental behaviour is indicative of the class backgrounds of those involved in the committees which were formed to investigate problems of primary schools in 1973, and whose reports were incorporated into the Ministry document being cited. Peasant household production depends upon children's labour; dances and beer-brewing are essential aspects of the reproduction of peasant society.

In a survey (1968) of rural households which were a Standard IV girl, and others which had chosen not to enrol a daughter of the same age group in school, we found that those educating their daughter explained the cause of non-enrolment to be "ignorance of the value of education" or school costs. This group were mainly wage earners, traders or self-employed craftsmen. The majority of the group not educating a daughter, nearly all poor peasants, stated the need for children's help at home, misbehaviour of school-children and school costs. What one group calls "ignorance" the other explains by production needs and maintenance of the group's cultural values and norms (the opposite of "misbehaviour" in this case). The significance of the need for children's labour input was also established in the 1969 survey of rural households in other areas.[41]

Indiscipline of school children is mentioned as a severe problem in most regions in the same report,

(as well as teacher indiscipline), and blamed on parental "indiscipline" (drunkenness, swearing and obscene language, fighting) and "up-bringing". Parents are blamed for not co-operating with teachers in disciplining children, depending on the teachers to do everything. At the same time, several regions strongly condemned parental interference and complaints about teacher methods of punishing their children. The Mara Region report, for example, recommends that such parents should receive public reprimands through TANU meetings. From other sources cited above, there are frequent reports of local villagers stealing maize and other things from school gardens. Parents have refused to let children go to school on shamba days, saying they may as well stay home and contribute to the household economy than go to school and profit the teachers.

Student resistance to the bureaucratic structure of the school and to appropriation of their work in "education for self-reliance" productive activities has also been continually observed. "Go slow" techniques and poor quality work which is deliberate have been observed, as well as slack-offs when teachers are not supervising. Teachers are therefore correct sometimes in saying students are lazy in the school garden, but "laziness" may be the only feasible means of resisting what has become an exploitative situation. Further discussion of "self-reliance" will be found in the next section.

Student strikes in secondary schools were increasingly frequent after 1970 and Mwongozo.

Students would be provoked by issues like rotten food and school regulations about clothing, and end up denouncing the "colonialistic" (i.e. the student term usually used for capitalistic, hierarchial and bureaucratic) structure of relationships in the school. Such action is clearly not what is intended by the social organisation of the school, geared towards student norms of submissiveness and compliance. Teachers complain of another form of indiscipline among secondary school students today, which is related to the idea of "lack of motivation": students don't read, don't do their homework or classroom exercises; and show open disrespect for the teacher much more frequently than in the past. Norms of individual accountability no longer operate.

In order to understand such student behaviour, it is essential to examine the changing context of the secondary school. Secondary school students face a radical change in their expectations. "Indiscipline" is especially notable among arts and some bias streams and among those with poor performance in any stream. Students explain that they have no reason to do any work since they are going to fail the Form IV examinations. We therefore suspect that the ultimate explanation of student "unrest" is the material reality in which the school is placed: schooling no longer "pays off". If there were higher probabilities of attaining aspirations, students would be less likely to rebel and more likely to overtly comply with daily demands of school social relations.[42]

The resistance shown by students and parents to various aspects of the schooling system, whatever the underlying cause, may lead to increasing consciousness of the class nature of the education system and the society in which it is placed. That is indeed the potential contradiction of UPE 1977 and the national promotion of adult literacy and vocational training. Even as the educational system (formal and informal) functions to promote bourgeois hegemony and increase labour productivity, it also introduces ideas, knowledge and practice which may lead to heightened class struggle. As the next section will try to show, education reforms have developed partly as a response to forms of resistance as well as popular demands made upon the formal education system.

III. EDUCATION REFORM

> In Sri Lanka, school children are engaged in various pre-vocational work at the end of the primary cycle and branch off into agrarian, rural and industrial training skills at the secondary level.
>
> —Adiseshiah (1974)[43]

> We can't let them (primary school pupils) organize activities themselves since they simply hate any work outside classroom work. One has to tell them what has to be done and make sure it is done.
>
> —Headmaster of a Primary School[44]

> "Dodoma Tough on Lazy Farmers"
> "Cultivate or Go to Prison"
> "School Children Must Farm One Hectare Each"
>
> —headlines, Daily News, 1974.

"Education for Self-Reliance"[45] stated the following objectives: the promotion of co-operative behaviour, creativity and critical thinking, and self-confidence; relevant knowledge related to agriculture; loyalty to the State; egalitarian values; the unity of manual and mental work. Specific measures to achieve these objectives were (1) the entry age should be raised to seven years; (2) primary education should become terminal education, a complete education in itself oriented to rural agriculture; (3) examinations should be down-graded with teacher and pupil assessment for evaluation and selection; (4) schools should become productive farm units and both students and teachers should provide the labour force and make basic decisions together while at the same time guided learning about modern farm practices and co-operative social organisation takes place; (5) all schools in both urban and rural areas should engage in different types of production which will depend on geographical and ecological factors; (6) at the University and other tertiary institutions, students should take over manual work now done by paid workers and should spend part of their vacations engaged in manual productive work.

"Education for Self-Reliance" is a major education policy of reform. What has it become in practice?[46] Nearly all primary and secondary schools have farms, a few have poultry units, handicrafts and cooking programmes. Teachers <u>supervise</u> "self-reliance activities" "with stick in hand instead of a hoe". There

is no systematic learning component in productive activities and the most elementary farm practices are used. Students say they go to the farm to work in the interests of teachers and Heads, not to learn or to provide for their or the school's needs. Teacher appropriation of value based on student labour is a frequent allegation, plus the manipulation of school production to get promotions. The University is the sole education institution in the pyramid which does not engage students in any systematic form of manual productive activity, a logical expression of the petty bourgeois place such students are intended to fill. In their evaluation of "self-reliance" activities, Party and government officials emphasise labour input and increased production rather than learning and student participation (if not control).

These outcomes are an expression of fundamental contradictions in Tanzanian society. For example, teacher and bureaucratic behaviour is typical of "bosses" in any institution organised according to capitalist principles of work. Student responses correspond somewhat to worker responses in factories organised in a capitalist way.[47] Hence, even on its own terms "Education for Self-Reliance" is not being implemented as intended.

However, if we examine the policy itself, e.g. the call for an agriculture and production orientation, the raising of the school age, the redefinition of primary education to become terminal education, the de-emphasis of examinations—these all may contribute

(1) to the increased skills, knowledge and adaptive attitudes (i.e. ideology) required of a more productive and passive labour force and (2) to the reproduction of the capitalist system and in particular capitalist relations of production whereby peasants and workers are dominated and exploited by the petty bourgeoisie. The redefinition of primary education to mean terminal education ought to lower expectations of students and parents and make them more adaptable to their future place in the production system. Downgrading the examination system and increasing the importance of school assessments leads to a much earlier and more intense experience of student failure and possible recognition of low probabilities of upward mobility in the education system. Most important, the changes called for in the policy do not include structural change of the educational pyramid, nor of the integral relationship between formal education credentials and occupational opportunities. The Ministry bureaucrats and technical experts retain control of the curriculum; the selection process; the recruitment, training, hiring and firing of teachers; the selection of school Heads, etc.

Since the "Education for Self-Reliance" policy of 1967, several new education programmes and policy statements have followed. The Secondary Vocationalisation Diversification Bias programme[48] whose implementation began in 1971, has meant that each secondary school is to have a particular bias (technical, agriculture, commerce and domestic science). As noted in Section II, the programme is a tracking system which "streams" different students to different places in the production system. The bias programme is partly a response to growing unemployment among secondary school leavers and the problem of balancing student expectations with the limited and lower opportunities available. One stated objective is "to make students productive while in school and also immediately they leave school"; another that each school "be equipped with the special facilities required to enable the students to "learn their trade by experience".[49]

Again, the meaning of these objectives depends on their context. In a capitalist system they reflect the role of formal schooling in adapting the labour force to capitalist relations of production, scaling down expectations which cannot be objectively fulfilled, and making the labour force more productive. The fact that all secondary schools will eventually have an agricultural bias, as announced in the Development Plan for 1975/76,[50] is a reflection of the inability of the underdeveloped economy to generate growth in the industrial sector and the need, therefore, to adapt an increasing number of secondary school leavers to their future place as agriculture producers.

The highest probabilities for selection to further education are found in science streams, as well as the "additional" mathematics combination in technical and agriculture stream. Being streamed to the bias or arts combination is an early indication that one's probabilities of getting further education are very low. The bias streaming system, therefore,

"smooths" the adaptation process, "cools out" the secondary students selected out of the education system. One consequence of the tracking system underlying the bias programme is that not all secondary students are being trained to be immediately productive; some are selected for coursework leading to further academic studies and others are selected for coursework leading to employment or self-employment after Form IV.

The redefinition of primary schools to become "community education centres" is another significant education reform. First alluded to officially in the Second Five Year Plan (1969-1974), it has since developed along two different avenues of implementation, both heavily funded by UNESCO. One is the establishment of eight model centres (four in Dodoma, four in Kigoma), as pilot projects, involving a heavy capital input to construct several different buildings to house offices, a dispensary, workshops, a shop, classrooms, staffrooms and residential houses. Each centre was estimated to cost Tsh 900,000/= in 1973 using local materials representing an expense most rural villages could never afford.[51]

The community education centres are oriented to children and peasant adults and youth and are intended to promote vocational training in carpentry, masonry, agriculture, etc., as well literacy skills. The chief objective is penetration of the peasant production system: "...it also aimed at giving the village the planning and production facilities to develop from subsistence farming into modern agriculture".[52]

The proposal calls for a reorganisation of administration but does not hinge the structure of administration on the people's own analysis and action, in the process of creating their own "centres". Instead a hierarchial and overly bureaucratic structure is already designed by experts and bureaucrats to be used by all centres. Attitude change among peasants is called for by telling peasants about the new function of formal schooling. It is pointed out that peasants must accept the proposals "so that they help cut down construction costs and also in supporting the programme".[53]

The programme explicitly states that one aim is related to the adaptation of peasants in order to avoid "preventable troubles": "Unless something is done now, and done properly, the nation is going to be faced with great social upheavals."[54] What is the nature of these "social upheavals"? From other official statements which have been continually made regarding education reform, we may infer the authors are concerned first and foremost by the "school leavers problem" which is related to high expectations for wage employment and further education which the system cannot provide; and second, acceptance of a class structure whereby a small minority control the state and the system of production and distribution, living off the value produced by peasants; and where higher education credentials are an important rationale for the position of that minority.

The other community education centre programme also funded by UNESCO-UNICEF jointly with the

Tanzanian Government is the Kwamsisi Project model, a part of the MTUU programme. The Kwamsisi project concentrates on the involvement of local peasants in discussing if not deciding about the curriculum at the local primary school. The primary schools included in the project are attached to Grade A Colleges of National Education (teacher training colleges) and sited in ujamaa villages. Joint school-village production activities are established which involve students and local peasants in joint productive activities. Itinerant teacher educators attached to each college maintain close ties to the centres.

Kwamsisi represents a more replicable model of an integrated community education centre. Such school-village programmes could involve local peasant participation in curriculum change, more meaningful productive activity for students, and increase peasant knowledge about the nature of the school system. However, in a capitalist system, the programme also functions to facilitate the penetration of peasant production by the administration and possibly capital.

The Musoma Resolutions (1974) of the TANU National Executive Committee have had the most impact on education reform since "Education for Self-Reliance".[55] The resolutions called for Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 1977; the implementation of education and work at school; rapid secondary school expansion; and a change in the University (and other tertiary institutions) recruitment process such that Form VI leavers must work at least two years after their National Service training before they enter University.

Academic credentials, employer and TANU branch chairman recommendations are all considered in making the final selection.

One of the resolutions called for secondary school expansion using techniques similar to UPE 1977, i.e. self-help, use of local resources for teaching and building materials, etc. This resolution has been ignored completely whereas UPE 1977 is being promoted on a nationwide scale and given top priority in teacher training, regional allocation of resources, etc. How can we explain the tacit rejection of the resolution calling for secondary school expansion? First, pressure to expand at the secondary level is growing but so far has been successfully contained through private school expansion and the development of alternative vocational education programmes. Second, the potential "threat" of secondary school leavers is much greater than that of primary school leavers. In the past, a secondary school certificate was sufficient to get wage employment if not further education. Although the situation has rapidly changed, student and parental expectations have altered much more gradually. Students may now perceive lower probabilities of getting employment or higher education, but perceive that such goals ought to have been realised, and feel cheated of opportunities "rightfully" theirs. Such a situation of unrealised aspirations is potentially a great threat to the present system, since questions inevitably arise as to the small number of post-primary places; the basis of selection; the regional allocation of places; the nature of

an economy which cannot provide remunerative employment; etc.

"UPE 1977" is partly a response to peasant pressure to get access to primary schooling in the new planned villages.[56] As the resolutions state, it is impossible now that people are living close together, side by side, to have some households with children in school and others whose children are denied a place. Each region is implementing "UPE 1977" according to its own programme and resources.[57] In some regions, untrained Standard VII leavers lured by the expectation of future professional training have been teaching without pay. In other regions, brief two weeks to six months training programmes are being conducted after which UPE teachers become full-time teachers. For regions and districts with formerly low enrolments of primary school aged children, temporary buildings are being built and the sole teacher is often an untrained teacher. These regions and districts are also least likely to have the resources necessary to buy teaching materials, text books, and equipment normally called for in the primary school syllabus. The already well-endowed regions and districts where 80 to 90 per cent of the children were already enrolled in school in some areas have also got adequate resources to provide permanent school buildings, trained teachers and the teaching materials and books required. Unequal primary education is, therefore, a necessary reality for the near future.

The Ministry of National Education has taken

recent steps, however, to make the UPE programme more uniform with respect to teacher recruitment and training. All UPE teachers will have to be recruited according to a Ministry programme. They will receive some form of systematic training which will continue as a kind of part-work, part-study programme. A small monthly allowance will be paid. UPE teachers will only teach Standard III, and IV, leaving lower standards to more experienced teachers to establish the basic skills of literacy and numeracy.

"Education and work" is a continuation of the productive activity already being implemented under "Education for Self Reliance" policy. The "Secondary Vocationalisation/Diversification Bias Programme" is accepted as a "good" example of the policy of education and work. Thus far no special programme for implementing "education and work" at the University has been undertaken.

The new recruitment procedures for University and other Post-Form VI tertiary institutions was hailed as a policy of opening the doors of the University to "workers and peasants". In practice, however, the new intake in 1975, for example were not peasants and workers but rather petty bourgeois elements with at least Form IV or Form VI and other professional training. There was no specification of the type of work experience Form VI leavers should have, which means most go on to offices and schools as untrained teachers, not to factories and villages as workers and peasants. The employers write confidential recommendations, not the workers

at public meetings. The TANU party branch chairmen have the final control over selection at the Party level rather than a Party general meeting. Ultimately control over final selection and selection procedures rests in the hands of the University administration.

The new intake system is pedagogically progressive, in that "mature age" entrants can more easily relate theoretical knowledge to practical personal knowledge, based on work experience—but the basis of that practical knowledge is not the life and work of a peasant or worker but rather that of a petty bourgeois. The new programme has also relieved pressure at the post-Form VI level of the pyramid. As secondary and higher school expands, the Form IV "employment problem" is going to become a Form VI problem. The new programme forces Form VI leavers to accept work in occupations which do not meet their earlier expectations. The new selection procedure, therefore, eases the adaptation of Form VI leavers to occupations far below what they had ever imagined possible.

The reforms discussed briefly above all relate to change within the formal education structure. In addition, however, the state has directly sponsored and/or encouraged many non-formal educational reforms outside of the educational pyramid. It is impossible to discuss all of them—here we concentrate on adult education, folk development colleges and vocational training programmes.

As early as 1974, adult education's importance in contributing to increased productivity was noted

in official policy statements:

> First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adults, on the other hand, have an impact now.

As pointed out by Y. Kassam in the paper cited above, adult education programmes provide (1) an alternative route to education for those who do not have access to formal schooling., (2) additional vocational training in order to secure wage employment or become self-employed, and (3) way of upgrading the skills of the employed. In addition to these "economic functions", Budd Hall has also included "social functions", defined as increasing the capacity for change in a period of rapid change, and "political functions", education for "motivation" and "responsibility", and leadership training.[59]

During Adult Education Year in 1970, six districts were singled out for special attention with the aim of eradicating illiteracy by the end of the year. Since that time, adult education programmes geared to illiterates and semi-literates have been given a great deal of political support and attention. All primary schools run adult education classes all over the country, in rural and urban areas, and nearly all primary school teachers teach at least one class several times a week. Primary school leavers have become part-time "volunteer" adult education teachers in certain areas. Primary school teacher training includes a compulsory course in

adult education, and more specifically functional literacy.

"Functional literacy" was originally introduced to Tanzania by UNESCO in a joint project with the goernment administration in the Lake Regions where coffee and cotton are the two most important cash crops. The approach has now been adopted as national policy, and means that primers are developed which provide vocational training on modern farm practices with respect to the basic cash crops like cotton, coffee, maize, rice, tobacco, cashewnuts, as well as bananas, fishing, cattle husbandry, etc. Health and nutrition, marketing and co-operatives and political education are also included in the same primers. A practical component is included, such as demonstration farms, workshop activity, etc. Using this approach, the national literacy campaign was to have eradicated illiteracy nation-wide by 1975.

Mass study radio campaigns have been conducted more or less on a yearly basis, beginning in 1969, and involve study groups, a basic textbook reader and a regular radio programme for a period of some weeks duration. There have already been five programmes each funded externally, covering the following topics:

(1) basic economic ("Kupanga ni Kuchagua");
(2) preparation for the 1970 elections which entailed an understanding of the government machinery ("Uchaguzi ni Wako");

(3) an analysis of ten years of independence ("Wakati wa Furaha");
(4) a health programme ("Mtu ni Afya") and
(5) food, nutrition and increased food production ("Chakula ni Uhai").

During the health campaign, "Mtu ni Afya", 2 million adults participated as study group members (nearly one-fourth of the total adult population); 93 of them were peasants.

The designing, organisation and administration of the functional literacy project in the Lake area, the model for the national literacy campaign, followed a typical bureaucratic pattern. Primers were and are written by experts after investigating themselves the specific economic and social conditions of a locality. The relationship between the learner and the subject matter and the teacher remains one of imposition and lack of control over the whole education process. The main focus of the evaluation has been geared towards the measurement of increased productivity. The possibility that illiterate peasants know and can evaluate as well as learn is rejected.[60]

> The specialists working on the Tanzanian pilot project... have undertaken to develop the most difficult kind of teaching materials —those which cannot be based on any personal experience of the learning problems involved. They are unable to ask the learner to judge their work—to an illiterate, all primers are similar mazes of meaningless symbols...

Thus far the functional literacy campaign has not been implemented as planned in most places other

than the Lake Regions. Primers are misallocated to the wrong locality, the practical component is usually missing, teachers use traditional "sing-song" methods of teaching and relate to adult learners as if they were school pupils. High registration rates have been achieved all over the country, followed by drop-out rates nearly as high. For example, in a case study of adult education in Kahama District it was found that by 1972/73 about 50,413 people had registered in different classes (out of 137,454 illiterates), but only 1,857 were awarded certificates to certify literacy. By 1973/74, 53,123 people were attending lessons but only 4,992 received certificates.[61]

Statistical investigation by the Ministry of National Education indicated that in the same Kahama District only 33 per cent of the illiterate peasants achieved literacy by 1974 and 40 per cent in the Region overall (Shinyanga).[62] A glance at Table I indicates definite progress (1967 illiteracy rate in Shinyanga was 16 per cent) as measured by quantitative figures. In his budget speech to the National Assembly (1976), the Minister for National Education noted that the number of illiterates in the country as a whole was down to 39 per cent representing real progress in combating illiteracy. These are quantitative measures, of course, and more information is needed on the nature of literacy skills acquired and the degree to which they remain permanent acquisitions. There is also a problem of realibility of data. For example, Kweka's case study of a primary school in Moshi District found that both

headteacher and the Ward Coordinator had inaccurate information about numbers of students actually attending classes and the number of classes actually functioning in the Ward.[63] This is consistent with Mlekwa's findings cited above.

The largest mass radio study campaign to be evaluated so far is "Mtu ni Afya". Short-range effects were observable immediately after the "Mtu ni Afya" campaign; communities and individuals built latrines; cleared away unhealthy vegetation and tried to establish better sanitation conditions all around. Follow-ups a year later, however, indicated that latrines were made but often not used. Other practices were adopted for a short while and then dropped. The outcome of the "Mtu ni Afya" campaign is indicative of the short-comings of special "educational" campaigns which are divorced from full-scale mass mobilisation which involves cadre permanently placed in factories and rural villages, and is tied to a mass programme of local, regional and national development of preventative as well as curative health services, where the people themselves become involved in initiating, organising and evaluating their own programmes.[64]

Given the bureaucratic structure of adult education and the context in which its objectives are operating, the adult education programme functions like the formal education structure, to promote skills, attitudes and knowledge which increase productivity and at the same time ensure the adaptability of the labour force and to reproduce

capitalist relations of production. The meaning of concepts like "motivation" and "responsibility" used by Hall to describe the "political" functions of adult education, or increasing the "capacity to change", derive their real meaning from the context of underdevelopment and class exploitation. Although adult literacy training is an alternative education programme to achieve literacy and vocational skills, it does not provide access to the formal educational pyramid nor to the educational credentials needed to compete for wage employment at any level. It may, however, operate as a "cooling out" process for dissatisfied peasants and workers, especially youth with or without a Standard VII certificate, who lack control over the means of production necessary to be self-employed as well.[65]

A recent study has shown that workers initially enrol in adult literacy programmes with the expectation of getting promoted later, e.g. sweepers hope to become clerks, clerks to become typists, etc.[66] So long as one or two do receive promotions on the basis of such training, there will be a tendency for others to retain some belief and acceptance of the class relations underlying the occupational hierarchy. "We all have the opportunity to compete; some—the chosen ones—are lucky and/or worthy; the system is 'fair'. Vocational up-grading courses within factories and government bodies serve a similar function.

Peasants have also been the main target of training centres which run short-term courses geared

mainly to farm practices in crop and sometimes animal husbandry.[67] In the first Three Year Development Plan, the policy of Farmer Training Centres was set up. Peasants were brought to FTCs for one to three week courses. In addition to TFCs, District Training Centres were set up by the Ministry of Community Development. These two institutions were later integrated in 1969, placed under the Ministry of Agriculture and called Rural Training Centres. At that time there were only ten FTCs, involving about 5,000 peasants in courses each year. In 1970 RTC's were moved to the Ministry of Rural Development and Regional Administration. Peasant courses were discontinued, and the centres become stores, UWT buildings, etc.

In 1975 a new policy to incorporate the Rural Training Centres called Folk Development Colleges was started. Funded by Swedish aid, the objectives of the colleges include an "agriculture bias"; preparation of individuals for "nation-building activities" (i.e. production) through practical and theoretical education; political education; "to advance nationals to reach the highest stage of technical know-how of their job"; promote Tanzanian culture and "international awareness."[68]

The curriculum to achieve these objectives? General education, skills training ("crafts", "methods of agriculture", carpentry, masonry, domestic science, and mechanics) and cultural training (music and drama). Small scale industry centres are to be attached to

each college. There will be long courses of one year duration involving 40 to 60 people, and short courses involving 10 to 20 people--all of whom are to be Standard VI/VIII leavers. Tutors for the colleges are being trained at Kibaha and also in Sweden. The Ministry of National Education has announced that the colleges intend to recruit "local leaders", "outstanding farmers", carpenters, etc.[69] Swedish aid will be sought to cover the cost of creating 85 colleges one in every district.

The Folk Development Colleges are a more elaborate and expanded version of Farm Training Centres, oriented to increasing peasant productivity and the diversification of peasant economic activity. The skills training offered represents low-level technology befitting the underdeveloped social formation in which it takes place. Moreover, the participants are to be members of the upper and middle peasant strata, thus contributing to the process of peasant stratification.[70]

There are a very large number of other vocational training programmes operating under a variety of organisations. According to one list,[71] there are 370 vocational training centres run by Ministry of National Education (275 vocational wings); Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (1 national vocational centre). Small Industries Development Organisation (7 cottage industries training centres); TAPA (10 technical schools) churches and missions (45 trade schools or vocational training centres) and

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Prime Minister's Office (32 Rural Training Centres—now Folk Development Colleges). In addition, a new programme of "village polytechnics" is at the planning stage to be sponsored by ILO/UNDP. Kill calculated that the total capacity of all these centres was about 13, 703. In the report of a research investigation of such centres in Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Mwanza, West Lake, Mbeya, Rukwa, Mtwara and Lindi, Kill made the following generalizations: (1) most centres are situated in rural cash crop growing areas; usually at mission centres or former middle schools; (2) planning and management is done by bureaucrats at regional or district headquarters, by officials in diocese or synod headquarters, and by foreign experts; not by the peasants; (3) the expectations of participants and parents is to secure wage employment preferably in urban areas; to get access to the formal education pyramid; and to get non-agricultural sources of income; (4) recruitment is usually restricted to Standard VII/VIII or Form IV leavers, mainly boys; (5) children of rich or middle peasant, traders and petty bourgeois households are "over-represented" (6) 80 per cent of the financial inputs is external and 20 per cent is national but not from the local community; (7) "self-help" is mobilized for site clearing, and sometimes brick-making; (8) the tools and machine are imported from donor countries, and on the whole only 20 per cent of the equipment originates nationally but outside the local community; (9) the recruitment pool varies; church and the Ministry of Labour centres have a national intake; TAPA is

regional; Folk Development Colleges are district and Vocational Wings are local (10) the Vocational Wings are free, but TAPA schools require fees of Shs. 500/= to Shs. 1,200/= and Church Centres require fees ranging from shs 500/= to shs 1,500/=; (11) TAPA some church and the N.I.T.P. centres provide trade test certificates, whereas SIDO and vocational wings do not; (12) there is a heavy emphasis in the syllabi on practical skills without integration with theory; (13) whereas production activities (as distinct from practical skills training) is under-emphasized in government training centres, they are over-emphasized in some church and other training programmes and students become sources of cheap labour without control over production or distribution; (14) restricted opportunities are available for re-entry into the formal education pyramid, providing a "relief" or safety-valve for those who were force to drop at Standard VII/VIII; (15) a majority of "graduates" are looking for urban wage employment; and a third of the graduates expressed the desire for further studies. The course content of the centres cover basic manual skills—the vocational wings, for example, train in masonry, carpentry, plumbing, tailoring, electricity, mechanics and domestic science; the TAPA technical schools include carpentry, masonry, plumbing, tailoring, electricity, mechanics and domestic science; SIDO centres in addition train in leatherwork, pottery, weaving, bamboo craft, fruit preserving, etc.: low level skills for an underdeveloped economy !

A definite pattern emerges in the analysis of Folk Development Colleges and other Vocational Training Centres. (1) The programmes are oriented to agriculture and non-agriculture production; (2) the course content is focused on manual skills; (3) the programmes are "second-chance" institutions and some allow a certain amount of "re-entry" into the educational pyramid; the majority of students, however, will not achieve their expectations for further education; (4) attendance in such a training programme will help students adapt to their future place as producers; expectations will scale down, a certain element of competitive opportunity will enhance the legitimacy of the over-all educational system (formal and non-formal); (5) the programmes recruit mainly from local high and middle strata who tend to have higher expectations for employment and education than poor peasants or labourers, and,[72] therefore, are most likely to question the legitimacy of the educational system; (6) external "aid" operates in nearly all major vocational training programmes, furthering the dependency process through commodity importation, transfer of capitalist technology and ideology in the form of personnel; and increased foreign debt; (7) in cases like TAPA technical schools, and primary schools even prior to UPE, peasants have contributed heavily through "self-help" and financial donations, the latter frequently in the form of forced 'kodi' deductions from revenue at crop sales.[73] Hence, the labour of peasants is appropriated to build educational institutions which ultimately serve the interests

of capital; i.e. it is in the interests of capital to promote the adaptation of the producer to his place in the relations of production and at the same time provide him with more skills which may increase his productivity, thereby increasing the value to be appropriated.

IV. Contradictions in Education

> Expenditure in bringing new knowledge to peasant farmers is probably the most productive investment which can be made in any of the poorer developing countries.
>
> —W.A.Lewis[74]

> Those who take the meat from the table
> Teach contentment.
>
> Those for whom the taxes are destined
> Demand sacrifice.
>
> Those who eat their fill speak to the hungry
> Of wonderful times to come.
>
> Those who lead the country into the abyss
> Call ruling too difficult
> For ordinary folk. —Bertolt Brecht

The following problems in education policy and practice have been presented in earlier sections: (1) an education structure designed to promote a very tiny minority to higher levels of education and provide basic education as terminal education for the majority; (2) the structural relationship between the formal education system and the occupational system, such that formal educational credentials are

necessary to acquire wage employment and a University degree increasingly necessary to become a bureaucrat or an expert (though such credentials may be necessary they are not always sufficient; i.e. "who knows who" is then an important determinant of job placement); (3) peasants are systematically excluded from post-primary levels of the formal education pyramid; (4) the form and content of formal education alters as one moves up the pyramid, in a consistent pattern related to the future role in the work place of terminal students at any particular level; (5) a manual vocational component is found at primary and secondary level, as well as in post-primary alternative vocational education institutions and functional work-oriented education, and represents very low level technology and the learning of basic skills not integrated with scientific and technological knowledge of basic principles; (6) formal schooling and non-schooling education institutions are organised in a bureaucratic and hierarchical way, at the level of the education system as a whole, education institutions like schools and the classroom; bureaucrats and experts control hiring and firing of teachers; teacher training, the curriculum process of development and evaluation, student assessment and teacher inspection- teachers have little control over their work although within the boundary of the classroom they are in control in relation to the student/learners and the subject matter; peasants and workers have no control over the schooling system and very limited

participation at the level of some primary schools through membership on school committees whose influence is in turn limited; (7) the wage employment sector does not expand at a rate fast enough to absorb secondary school leavers; as a result, student and parental expectations are not being realised, leading to dissatisfaction in, if not fundamental questioning of, the system; (8) the restriction on secondary school expansion is increasingly difficult to maintain, and indeed, the fact that one-fourth to one-third of the secondary school enrolment is now in the private school system indicates that the government has chosen not to implement the policy of restricting secondary school expansion; private schools have become the stepping stone for children of bureaucrats and other petty bourgeoisie to get their children into t the government secondary school system "outside of" the normal selection procedure; (9) the legitimacy of the present selection procedure is being questioned by an increasing number of people especially by peasants and workers who claim only teachers and "big shots" get their children into secondary school; at the same time, such critics do not question the mechanism of having some kind of selection procedure which systematically excludes the majority of people from post-primary education; (10) parents have resisted enrolling their children in school, having them participate in productive activities, and they have objected to the form of teacher punishments used; (11) students, mainly at the secondary and higher school levels, have resisted certain aspects

of the school system, related to relations of dominance and submission in the school; their resistance may also be related however to their perception of diminishing rewards for secondary schooling; (12) attention by politicians and bureaucrats is increasingly drawn to production in relation to basic education at the primary and secondary levels of education and with respect to adult education; implementation of education reforms is evaluated in terms of material output rather than learning outcomes or increased peasant/workers and/or student/learners control over what they do and the institutions they must deal with and increased knowledge of the processes of class formation and underdevelopment; efforts by students to change the bureaucratic structure of the school are branded "indiscipline"; critics of the education system are labelled as unpatriotic and "unTanzanian".

How can we explain the phenomena observed and summarised above? First, any social system tends to reproduce itself. Institutions function to provide the skills, values and knowledge necessary for the production system and to reproduce the relations of production and distribution. As we have seen, education reforms have all been related to the skills and ideology (i.e. attitudes) necessary in primary commodity production typical of the level of productive forces in Tanzania today. Relations of dominance and submissiveness typical of the primary and secondary school correspond to the ideal pattern of role relationships between the factory manager and worker, the bureaucrat and peasant, in practice

today in Tanzania. Relationships of dominance and submission have persisted despite the objective clearly stated in "Education for Self-Reliance" that the school should be organised in a democratic way with students sharing in fundamental decision-making about production and other school activities. The contradiction between policy and practice indicates the power of forces opposed to socialism, both forces which relate to the fundamental objective requirements for the reproduction of the capitalist system and class struggle. The implementation of certain aspects of "Education for Self-Reliance" policy as well as its "offshoots" and including Mwongozo is opposed to the objective class interests of secondary and primary school teachers as members of the petty bourgeoisie, whatever their personal views and actions may be. Secondly, and related to the first, it is important to conceive of the education system as an ideological state apparatus. This will mean (1) that the interests of the ruling class will be served by the education system; (2) to a certain extent, the education system like any other state apparatus and the state overall, has a certain degree of relative autonomy; in the end, the interests not of any one group among the petty bourgeoisie will be served but rather all of them as a group defined in relations to the world-wide capitalist system as well as the local capitalist system.[75] In Tanzania the ruling class has an extremely weak base, lacking firm control over the economy and highly dependent for financial and

technological assistance from world-wide capitalist agencies. With respect to class self-recruitment, the Tanzanian petty bourgeoisie are much less capable of sustaining an "open" system of vertical mobility than in advanced capitalist systems where capitalists still provide self-recruitment through inheritance of wealth and power. The petty bourgeoisie lack that kind of base, and depend upon access to higher education; at the same time, the competition for higher education places is getting increasingly intense, with relatively decreasing proportions of applicants absorbed at each level beyond the primary school level.

The phenomena reported on in the paper also indicate that there are serious "cracks and inconsistencies"[76] in the national ideology. For example, norms of individual responsibility and accountability typical of capitalist organisation of work no longer function in the behaviour either of teachers or students, thus accounting for the frequent complaints by bureaucrats and politicians as well as research report findings about teacher and student "indiscipline". The selection procedures are openly violated by the petty bourgeoisie but are also under increasing attack from peasants and workers and TANU and its affiliate organs like TAPA. A more "objective" procedure of selection is in the interests of the petty bourgeois class as a whole, in order to ensure the reproduction of the class, but is against the short-range interests of individual members of the petty bourgeoisie who now benefit from being able to "crudely" manipulate

the system. Values and attitudes consistent with socialist objectives, such as co-operation, respect for manual work equality and commitment to the class interests of the peasants and workers are not accepted by teachers in the schools as measured by their every day behaviour. Moreover, and most important, such behaviour and the ideology to which it relates is contrary to the situational demands of the capitalist organisation of work found both at school as well as the factory and other work situations.

Third, from our observations of education reform we have found that the education system is used to penetrate the peasant production system by the state and by capitalist forces both local and internationally based. Peasant household production covers the costs of reproduction of labour and the means of production of household production. As noted by Bernstein, capital can exert pressure on the conditions of reproduction (e.g. increase the prices of manufactured commodities to levels far unequal to the prices of crops, leading to increasingly unequal terms of trade and contributing to the pauperization of peasantry) such that the peasant household must put in much more labour and decrease consumption. Drawing on the work of Kautsky (The Agrarian Question) Bernstein argues.[78]

> In some situations it is more beneficial to capital to dominate agriculture by controlling the conditions of reproduction of the small farmer rather than by expropriating him...in this process capital is saved the costs of supervision and management

> it incurs when it directly organizes production...the poor peasant household in order to survive disciplines itself to the benefit of capital...

Although we agree that in the initial period of imperialism indirect control of peasant production was paramount, we must also recognise the continual though haphazard and "unequal" efforts by the colonialist to directly control peasant production through price manipulation; extension agents; settlement schemes and irrigation; terracing and cattle dip projects; taxation; research on industrial crops controlled by capitalist corporations like the Lint and Seed Corporation, etc. Violent repressive apparatuses like the Field Force Unit were relied upon to enforce peasant compliance.[79] The colonial state apparatus were serving British capitalists who required a constant and increasing supply of industrial raw materials and an expanding market for commodities produced in the centre. Growth in commodity consumption necessitates cash incomes, the destruction of traditional production of manufactured goods and the creation of new consumption needs. An increasing amount and array of consumption items necessary for the reproduction of the labour force become products of commodity production, thereby furthering the penetration of peasant production. The primary means with which peasants could pay taxes and buy consumption goods was through cash crop production or migration to plantation or mines to work as hired labourers. Whether a producer worked on his smallholder plot or worked on a plantation, the value of his labour was expropriated by capital.

The penetration of peasants by the world-wide capitalist system continues at an accelerated pace today. Specific national and international reform policies whose objectives may include the promotion of national and local self-reliance in fact serve the interests of capital in the penetration process. For example, in Tanzania efforts to directly control production have intensified since independence, partly in response to changes under advanced capitalism, the constant pressure for increased capital accumulation and also due to material and historical changes in Tanzania. Amin's description of "economic de traite" fits our analysis here.[80]

> But the "producteur de traite" (producer under that system) is not a petty commodity producer in spite of appearances. The administration and capital intervene in the productive process and actually control it. There is a host of administrative measures employed to force the peasant to produce what is wanted and in the manner desired: from pure and simple compulsion to the slightly more subtle approach of taxation in money form while the authorities were only prepared to buy one particular product from him. There was also the compulsion arising from the action termed promotion or modernisation of the "rural training" services—agricultural extension accompanied by the practically compulsory purchase of equipment (ploughs, seed-drills, hoeing equipment, insecticides, fertilizer, etc.)—"provident societies", "co-operatives, etc. The constant interference of the administration in the productive process ensures and supplements that of capital: both the "visible" part of the capital—colonial trade and minor agents transport and the "invisible" part, the submerged part of the iceberg, i.e.

> the capital of the processing industries located in Europe or on the Coast of Africa...Thus dominated, the "producteur de traite" is stripped of the real control of his means of production. In theory, he remains the traditional owner of the land and owner in the bourgeois, individual sense, of the equipment. However, he is not in control of his production nor can he decide what to produce on the basis of comparative prices. He is therefore not realy a commodity producer...A peasant reduced to this status is a semi-proletarian. A proletarian, because he is subjected to capital exploitation, extracting his surplus value. A semi-proletarian because he retains the apperance of a free commodity producer, in terms of class consciousness.

The transformation of a peasant petty commodity producer into a "semi-proletarian" is a dynamic and historical process, which was hardly complete in the colonial period but which has accelerated in recent years in Tanzania as in other social formations with a similar economic base in peasant commodity production. District by-laws on what to grow, acreage, what inputs like fertilizers to use, what farm practices to follow (weeding), etc., are one example of administration penetration. These by-laws are enforced through fines and imprisonment.[81] The "planned villages" programme begun in 1973 is another example. The movement has been successful in resettling more than half of the population and the goal is to have settled all peasants in planned villages by the end of 1976. The rationale for planned villages relates both to production and reproduction: more efficient provision of agriculture inputs; extension advice on farm practices; credit

and banking facilities; marketing infrastructures to handle distribution of farm produce and consumer goods; together with access to dispensary, water and school facilities in each village. According to a recent statement by the Minister of Agriculture, each village is to have its own extension agent by 1979.[82] The former Co-operative Union/Society structure has been totally disbanded, in line with the policy of promoting ujamaa villages as the basic units for production and distribution. Marketing boards will now deal directly with village units and district representative bodies.

The significance of education reform including universal primary education; vocational education oriented to training in literacy, numeracy and farm skills; and selection procedures linked to a pyramid structure of education such that primary education is terminal for the majority and higher education increasingly "closed" to peasants: the significance of these and other aspects of the education system is much clearer when conceived of in relation to other institutional measures to influence and control peasant production. The "administration" is penetrating the peasant production process directly by creating conditions for closer supervision of producers, amounting to an intensification of peasant labour. There is nothing "inherently" counter-revolutionary about measures like planned villages, universal primary education and vocational training. Their ultimate meaning depends upon whose interests are being served, capital or labour, and the objective

reality of underdevelopment and imperialist exploitation.

The role of international capital agencies in funding such reforms in Tanzania and elsewhere is significant to our understanding of constraints which affect progressive reform. Every major education "innovation" in adult education, primary school and secondary school is wholly or in part dependent on foreign aid.[83] Indeed, sixty per cent of the 1973/74 Development Expenditure on education in Tanzania was funded by foreign aid.[84]

There has been a significant shift in aid "trends" of international capital agencies. For example, the World Bank has increased the amount lent to agricultural projects from 6 per cent in 1948-60 period to 24 per cent in 1973-74.[85] At the same time the proportion of total loans for agriculture in the poorest countries (per capita GNP less than $150) has increased from 22.5 per cent in 1964-68 to 38.2 per cent in 1969-74.[86] The World Bank has declared its growing interest in the 40 per cent poorest people in the poorest countries of the capitalist world system. Concern is shown for problems of unequal incomes and absolute poverty, inadequate social services like health, housing, water and schools, inadequate government attention to the need for "integrated" rural development programmes. These concerns however, are all related to capital requirements of increased agriculture productivity.

> Since rural development is intended to reduce poverty, it must be clearly designed to increase production and raise productivity. Rural development recognizes, however, that improved food supplies and nutrition, together with basic services such as health and education, cannot only directly improve the physical well-being and quality of life, of the rural poor, but can also indirectly enhance their productivity and their ability to contribute to the national economy. It is concerned with the modernization and monetization of rural society, and with, its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national (and international capitalist) economy.[87]

The World Bank's education policy has also changed, from an earlier focus on the expansion of secondary and higher levels of education in the early 1960's to a new focus on "basic education" and education reform. In the words of the President of the World Bank, Robert S. McNamara, the new policy "explores, therefore, how low-cost functional education can enable the poor to participate more effectively in the development process".[88] Different education will be provided for different groups and countries, in order to provide "opportunities" for "the poor, the ill-fed, women and rural dwellers" to "advance from the classroom to the place of work". Education must be tried to increasingly "productive participation by all in the development process".[89]

With respect to basic education, the policy states;

> Such schemes, open to various age groups would offer programmes of varying content

> and length adapted to the different group needs, with corresponding changes in the training and the role of teachers... The differences between the lower-income countries and the relatively more developed ones will determine the proportion or "Mix" of different areas and kinds of assistance. In the poorer countries, basic education and rural training are expected to receive emphasis, together with selective support for the further development of skills. The development of second and third levels of education would take a more central place in the education strategies of the middle-and higher-income countries.[90]

What could be clearer? Adapt education to the place a given nation has in the international capitalist system, and within that nation, fit the education to the place each group (i.e. class) has within that production system. "Adaptive education" was the theme of colonial education in Africa, workers' education in North East United States in the 1800's and black education in Southern United States throughout its history. It is now the theme of international capitalist agencies. As noted above, these international agencies are greatly involved in funding and providing technical expertise for Tanzanian education reform programmes. Further investigation is needed to document the nature and amount of influence and control which such capitalist agencies have over Tanzania education policy and practice.

On the basis of the investigations made by ourselves and others reported on here, we conclude first that Tanzanian education reform in practice has not led to struggle against imperialism or against

the capitalist system, nor against the reproduction of class relations of exploitation and dominance in production. Instead, education reform has been oriented to making the education system more efficient in promoting skills, attitudes and knowledge which increase the productivity of peasants and workers without giving insight into the nature of the capitalist system itself; in legitimizing the capitalist class structure; in reproducing capitalist relations of production; and in penetrating the peasant production system. At the same time, education reforms have not been able to function smoothly or achieve all their objectives, even on their own ideal terms. Internal and external contradictions have been shown to have contributed to the difficulties in implementing "Education for Self-Reliance" and other reform policies; and contradictions have arisen within the education system itself and reforms to change it.

NOTES

1. The author acknowledges the contribution of student and staff colleagues at the University of Dar es Salaam towards a clearer understanding of the problem, through continual debate in and out of the classroom. In addition, I am grateful to Karen Fields, Jim Breeden and Henry Bernstein who provided detailed criticism of an earlier draft of this paper and valuable suggestions, many of which have been incorporated into the body of the paper.

2. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, Speech given to "The Arusha Declaration Teach In", in Mbioni Vol IV No. 3 (August/September, 1967): 2-17.

3. UNESCO/UNICEF Co-operative Programme, Basic Education in Eastern Africa, Report on a Seminar, Nairobi, Kenya, 19-23 August, 22-26 October 1974, p. 20.

4. Dag Hammarskjold Foundation/I.D.S., "The 1974 IDS/Dag Hammarskjold Seminar on Education and Training and Alternatives in Education in African Countries", "Summary Conclusion" (June 1974), mimeo, p. 5.

5. Dag Hammarskjold, ibid., p. 6.

6. Dag Hammarskjold, ibid., p. 6.

7. Dag Hammarskjold, ibid., p. 15.

8. Martin Carnoy, "The Political Consequences of Manpower Formation!" Comparative Education

9. Dag Hammarskjold, op.cit., p. 9.

10. See Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America Education Reform and Contradictions of Economic Life. (New York: Basic Books, 1976) which represents a significant contribution to our understanding of "how the system works" in developed capitalist social formations. The tools of analysis developed by Bowles and Gintis have been very helpful in guiding our own approach to the problem of peasant education in Tanzania. The specific context of the Tanzanian social formation, characterised first by its position in the periphery of the international capitalist system nevertheless requires different questions to be asked and different sources of data and documentation to be explored. Other useful critiques of the developed capitalist education system include Robert Dreeben On What is Learned in School. (Reading Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1968), Frank Parkin, Class Inequality and Political Order (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971); Joel H. Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

11. Andre Gorz, Strategy for Labour (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1964).

12. Iza Guarra-Labèllè, "Mass Education in Latin America", paper presented to the I.C.I. Seventh International Conference on Education in the Third World: Problems and Prospects,

Ottawa, April 8-11, 1975. The clearest example of revolutionary education reform is that of the Chinese, beginning with the steps taken during the "Great Leap Forward", the Great Chinese Cultural Revolution, and the current movement to consolidate and further the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat". Relevant readings include John Ehrenreich, "Dictatorship of the Proletariat in China", Monthly Review 27, No. 5 (October 1975): 16-28; John Garner and Wilt Idema, "China's Educational Revolution" in Stuart R. Schram (ed.), Authority and Cultural Change in China (Cambridge University Press, 1973); William Hinton, Turning Point in China (New York: Monthly Review, 1972).

13. Bowles and Gintis, op.cit., p. 287.

14. See Bowles and Gintis, ibid., Samir Amin, Accumulation on a World Scale (New York: Monthly Review, 1974); J. Banaji, "Modes of Production in Materialist Conception of History", mimeo, 1975.

15. The Honourable C.D. Msuya, Minister for Finance, "Introducing the Estimates of Public Revenue and Expenditure for 1974/75 to the National Assembly on 12th June, 1974" (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1974), para 69.

16. "Spotlight on Tanzania", Africa No. 40 (December 1974), p. 175.

17. R.H. Sabot, "Education, Income Distribution and Rates of Urban Migration in Tanzania", University of Dar es Salaam, ERB Paper, 1972.

18. Annual Manpower Report to the President 1974. The Manpower Planning Division, Ministry of Manpower Development, p. 30.

19. Ibid., p. 31.

20. Ibid., p. 31.

21. Ibid., p. 25 and Table 12, p. 27.

22. On the distinction between beliefs, false beliefs and values, see Gunnar Myrdal, Objectivity in Social Research (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1969).

23. See case studies by Andy Coulson, including "Blood-sucking Contracts" University of Dar es Salaam, mimeo; "The Fertilizer Factory", Maji Maji No. 8 (1972), and "The Automated Bread Factory" University of Dar es Salaam, mimeo, 1975. For a more total analysis, see Issa G. Shivji, Class Struggles in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1975).

24. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, "Question-Answer Session", University of Dar es Salaam, February 14, 1976.

25. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, "Speech to the Mass Rally in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique 31 August, 1975" in We Are Brothers United in a Common Struggle. (Empresa Moderna S.A.R.L.) 1975.

26. Shivji, op.cit.

27. David R. Morrison, "Education and Political Development: The Tanzania Case". (Brighton, University of Sussex, Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, 1970).

28. The following provide empirical documentation of differential expectations and access to primary schooling: L.F.B. Dubbeldam, The Primary School and the Community in Mwanza District, Tanzania (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, Publishing, 1970); E. Saguge Gesase, "Struggle Over the School in a Tanzanian Village" in Papers in Education and Development No. 2 (Department of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, 1976) and in Marjorie Mbilinyi (ed.), "Who Goes to School in East Africa? Access to Schooling and the Nature of the Schooling Process", University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, Mimeo, 1976; Manuel Bottlieb, "The Extent and Character of Differentiation in Tanzanian Agricultural and Rural Society 1967-69", African Review Vol 3, No. 2. (1973), pp. 241-261. Marjorie Mbilinyi, The Education of Girls in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, Institute of Education, 1969) and "The Problem of Unequal Access to Primary Education in Tanzania" in Mbilinyi (ed.), op.cit. 1976.

29. On the issue of unequal access to education for women, see Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Tanzanian Women Confront the Past and the Future", Futures (October 1975); 400-413.

30. See titles cited in footnote 28 above.

31. See Mbilinyi et al, op.cit. 1976, for more detailed discussion of the findings.

32. For analysis of the organisation of public corporations, see I. Shivji, "Capitalism Unlimited", The African Review, Vol. No.

33. Here we draw heavily on reports by primary school student teachers in Department of Education, "Teaching Practice Journal Report", No. 1 (1975) and No. 2 (1976) and personal communications with practicing teachers. See also Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Young Child Study Phase II-Primary Education", National Scientific Research Council, Dar es Salaam, 1974.

34. We have drawn here on unpublished findings based on interviews with peasants in Pare and Songea Districts in 1974 as well as on feedback from student colleagues in seminar discussions. See Gesase, op.cit., for potrayal of class struggle over the primary school in a planned village.

35. Gesase, op.cit., provides one example.

36. "Wapendekeza Wanafunzi Wasichaguliwe kwa Siri" Uhuru (March 27, 1976).

37. "TAPA Yagundua Kashfa", Uhuru (March 30, 1976).

38. C.Y.Mwamkai, "Uchunguzi wa TAPA ni wa Kweli", Uhuru (May 4, 1976). See also Gesase, op.cit.

39. "Wazazi wahakikishe mahudhurio ya watoto", Uhuru April 20, 1976.

40. Ministry of National Education, "Ripoti za Kamati za Mikoa zilizoundwa na kamati ya Kumshauri Waziri wa Elimu ya Taifa juu ya Elimu ili kujadili na kupendekeza juu ya elimu ya Msingi". (Dar es Salaam, n.d., draws on 1973 regional reports).

41. See Marjorie Mbilinyi, The decision to Educate in Rural Tanzania" (University of Dar es Salaam, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 1972), and The Education of Girls...op.cit., 1969.

42. Information on "indiscipline" in schools has been partly drawn from the following: Ministry of National Education, "Ripoti za Kamati..." op.cit., E.S. Kisanga, E.A. Nguvana, S.K. Mgiray and T.J. Manase, "Discipline in Schools" (University of Dar es Salaam, unpublished research paper, 1975; Kassim Almasi Umba, "Discipline in Tanzania Secondary Schools" (University of Dar es Salaam, unpublished MA(ED) dissertation, 1975); Pugu 6th former "Crisis at Pugu School" Maji Maji No. 4 (September 1971): 6-8, and other Maji Maji issues thereafter.

43. Malcolm S. Adisehiah, "Education and Productive Work in India" Prospects IV No. 2 (Summer 1974): 143-151.

44. Quoted in S.M.Rugumamu, H.O. Kaya, J.N.Philip and F. Ngaiza, "The Response of the School

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45. Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance" (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer.

46. The findings summarized below are based on the following: Mr. M.R.Besha, "Education for Self-Reliance and Rural Development" (University of Dar es Salaam, Institute of Education 1973); W.M. Chamungwana, "Socialization Problems in Tanzania: An Appraisal of Education for Self-Reliance as a Strategy for Cultural Transformation", Studies in Curriculum Development 5 (July 1975) pp. 51-67; J.M.Kigalu, G.M.G.Kinunda, S. Mlanga-Materu and C.W. Philemon, "Education for Self-Reliance, It's Current Status in Schools"; Kijanga, Mwasomola, Mwakyusa and Mbega "Education, A Report of Research on Implementation and Misinterpretation of ESR", and S.M.Rugumamu, H.O. Kaya, J.N. Philip and F. Ngaiza, "The Response of the School Community Towards the Implementation of the Policy of Education for Self-Reliance", Unpublished Research Papers, University of Dar es Salaam, 1975. Anza Lema, "Education for Self-Reliance, A Brief Survey of Self-Reliance Activities in Some Tanzanian Schools and Colleges, "(University of Dar es Salaam, Institute of Education 1972) and Muyangizi, "Implementation and Usefulness of Self-Reliance in

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47. H. Mapolu, "The Organisation and Participation of Workers in Tanzania", The African Review 2 No. 3 (1972) and "The Workers' Movement in Tanzania", Maji Maji 12 (September 1973).

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54. Ministry of National Education, "Community Education Centre...", ibid., November 9, 1973, p. 2.

55. TANU, "Musoma Resolutions", Dar es Salaam, 1974.

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57. For implementation of UPE 1977, we have drawn on the following sources of information; First Year unpublished Education Research Papers (University of Dar es Salaam, 1976) by J.G.Guyashi, "Problems of Teaching in Primary Schools in Tanzania Mainland" and P.S. Ndezi, "Tanzania Primary School Education System Reproduces Capitalistic and Individualistic Socio-economic Relations in the Community"; Gesase, op.cit.; as well as personal communications with First Year Education students who were primary school teachers prior to their entry to the University, 1975/76. See also progress reports regularly published from the regions and districts in Uhuru.

58. President Julius K. Nyerere in an official declaration to Parliament inaugurating the First Five Year Development Plan, 1974, cited by Y. Kassam in Marjorie Mbilinyi, Yusuf Kassam and Abel Ishumi, "The Educational Process in Tanzania", op.cit., p. 41. This section on adult education draws heavily on the work of Yusuf Kassam.

59. Budd Hall, Adult Education and the Development of Socialism in Tanzania, (Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau, 1975), Chapter 1.

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61. Victor M. Mlekwa, "Policy and Practice in Adult Education", Research Report from Kahama, Papers in Education and Development No. 1 (July 1975), p. 72.

62. Speech by B. Johanson (1973), cited in Mlekwa, ibid., p. 73.

63. Aikael N. Kweka, Integration of the Primary School and the Community in Moshi District, unpublished M.A. (Ed.) dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1975, pp. 138-139.

64. Institute of Adult Education, "Evaluation of Mtu ni Afya" in Studies in Adult Education No. 12 (1974). See Joshua S. Horn, Away With All Pests (New York: Monthly Review Press,1969), for a description of the radically different

Chinese experience which must be perceived within the context of class struggle in China.

65. Marja-Liisa Swantz, "Youth in Bagamoyo District", Young Child Study Part II (Dar es Salaam, National Scientific Research Council, forthcoming), and "Youth and Ujamaa Development in the Coast Region of Tanzania", paper presented to the Annual Social Sciences Conference of East African Universities, 1973.

66. P.B.M. Marwa, A.J. Mkanga, L.J. Mwaipopo, W.A. Mbindi and M.S.M.S.Mkuye, "Adult Education and the Hill", unpublished Third Year Education Research Paper, University of Dar es Salaam, 1976.

67. The following discussion of the historical development of folk development colleges from farmer training centres is based on Herme Joseph Masha, "Educational Innovations in Tanzania, A Theoretical Framework, "unpublished M.A. (Ed.) major Paper Term I, University of Dar es Salaam, 1975."

68. Ministry of National Education, Sectoral Planning Unit, "Establishment and Equipment of Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania (A Project Proposal for External Financing)", Dar es Salaam, April 1975), p. 2.

69. Ministry of National Education broadcast on Commercial Service of Radio Tanzania, September 9, 1975, cited in Moshi, op.cit. p. 27,, n. 39.

70. See Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Transition to Capitalism in Rural Tanzania" ERB Paper 74.7, (University of Dar es Salaam, 1974) for a discussion of peasant stratification which presents data drawn from several different research investigation. Here we should note that "outstanding farmers" implies kulaks and self-employed fundi and local TANU leaders are usually kulaks or else middle peasants in most rural areas of Tanzania which have been investigated.

71. U.Kill, "Rural Training Centres Research Programme", Progress Report II, Dar es Salaam, Christian Council of Tanzania, mimeo, 1976 (list dated to December 1975). Kill's report represents the most thorough study of vocational training centres now available.

72. See Marjorie Mbilinyi, The Decision to Educate in Rural Tanzania, op.cit.

73. For example in a recent report by the District Development Director at Kyela, it was pointed out that the first Secondary School in the district, a TAPA private school, is soon to be built. Shs 200,000/= had been collected since 1958 through "levies" on cash crops amounting to 1-3 cents a kilo; Shs 300,000/= was required for annual recurrent expenditure! Daily News, May 1976.

74. W.A. Lewis, The Theory of Economic Growth (1955), cited in B.L. Hall, op.cit.

75. For a review of studies of the state, see David A. Gold, Clarence Y.H. Lo and Erik Olin Wright, "Recent Development in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State". Monthly Review 27, No. 5 (October 1975): 29-43. Other references include Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in R. Cosin (ed.), Education Structure and Society (Middlesex: Penguin, 1972), Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society (London: Quartet Books, 1973); "The Capitalist State—Reply to Nicos Poulantzas, "New Left Review, No. 82 (1973) and in Robin Blackburn (ed.), Ideology in Social Science (London: Fontana, 1972); "Poulantzas and the Capitalist State", New Left Review, No. 82 (1973). See also Alan Stone, "How Capitalism Rules", and Isaac Balbus, "Ruling Elite Theory vs Marxist Class Analysis" in Monthly Review, Vol 23, No.1 (May 1971), pp. 30-36, 36-46, for reviews of Milibands' book cited above. Nicos Poulantzas, "The Problem of the Capitalist State", New Left Review, No. 58 1969) and Robin Blackburn (ed.), Ideology in Social Science (London, Fontana, 1972).
Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory", New Left Review No. 82 (Nov-Dec 1973): 3-16.

76. We have taken term, "cracks and inconsistencies", to describe the phenomena described here: a term developed in discussion about the paper.

77. See the Ministry of National Education, "Ripoti.." op.cit., Department of Education, "Teaching Practice Journal Reports", op.cit., Marjorie Mbilinyi, "The Colonisation Process in Our Secondary Schools" University of Dar es Salaam, mimeo, 1975.

78. Bernstein, H. "Capitalism and 'Underdevelopment'; Radical Critics and Marxist Analysis", University of Dar es Salaam, 1976, mimeo, pp. 11-13.

79. On the history of Agricultural extension work, see P. Raikes and V. Meynen, "Dependency, Differentiation and the Diffusion of Innovation", paper presented to the 8th Annual Social Science Conference, Nairobi, 1972. On the use of political repression to control peasant production, see Walter Rodney, "Policing the countryside in Colonial Tanganyika", to be published in M. Kaniki (ed.), Tanganyika Under Colonial Rule, forthcoming. Brian Bowles "Export Crops and Underdevelopment in Tanganyika 1929-1961", Utafiti I, No. I (1976), pp. 71-85, provides an analysis of historical patterns of crop production and the articulation of peasant production into the capitalist mode of production.

80. Samir Amin, "Capitalism and Ground Rent, The Domination of Capitalism over Agriculture in Tropical Africa", (Dakar: IDEP, 1974), R/2613, mimeo, p. 35.

81. A recent case involving twenty-three peasants in Arumeru District, some of whom were fined and others imprisoned for not weeding their coffee and banana farms, is one of several cases receiving headlines in the national press. The enforcement of the by-laws and the attention given by the press illustrate the interaction of repressive and ideological state apparatus. See Uhuru, "Maoni Yetu", 22 April, 1976.

82. Uhuru, 1 May 1976.

83. Mosha, op.cit.

84. UNESCO, United Republic of Tanzania Preliminary Education Projects for the Third Plan (Paris, August 1974), p. 51.

85. World Bank, Rural Development Sector Policy Paper, Washington D.C., February 1975, Annex 8, p. 84.

86. World Bank, ibid. Annex, p. 85.

87. World Bank, ibid., p. 3, our emphasis.

88. Robert S. McNamara, "Foreword", World Bank, "Education: Sector Working Paper". Washington D.C., December 1974, p. 1.

89. McNamara, ibid, p. ii.

90. World Bank, Education Sector Working Paper, 1974, p. 5, p. 7, our emphasis.

91. For discussion of British colonial education policy, see Marjorie Mbilinyi, "African

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Education in the British Colonial Period (1919-1961)" in M. Kaniki (ed.), Tanganyika Under Colonial Rule, forthcoming. On the relationship between American education for blacks and colonial education policy, see Kenneth J. King, Pan-Africanism and Education (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971). See Bowles and Gintis, op.cit., for further references and analysis of education for workers in the United States. For discussion of an alternative model see J. Breeden, "The Struggle for Socialist Education in Tanzania". Papers in Education and Development No. 1, "Policy and Practice in Tanzanian Education," University of Dar es Salaam, 1975.