

SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY  
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Educational reform in Tanzania :  
Schools, skills and social trans-  
formation

by

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## Educational Reform in Tanzania: Schools, Skills, and Social Transformation<sup>1</sup>

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### Independence: A Setting for Educational Reform

As elsewhere in Africa, independence was a moment of excitement, hope, and optimism in Tanzania.<sup>2</sup> European rule was regarded as an obstacle to progress, a barrier to the flowering of local creativity and energy. With the fetters removed, Tanzanians could now chart their own course, rely on their own skills and self-confidence, and make a new society.

Yet, as in much of Africa, decolonization in Tanzania was not in itself a revolution. The Africanization of political power and, somewhat later, administrative office, was of course dramatic and important. Perhaps less dramatic --at least at the time--but equally or even more important were the maintenance of the basic structure of the Tanzanian economy, the persisting external orientation of production and consumption decisions, and the expanding role of international capital. Nor did the transition from British to local rule foster a prolonged mass mobilization and participation in an active struggle. Indeed, the major anti-colonial armed conflict in Tanzania had been had been waged at the beginning of this century. In the mid-20th century, rooted in myriad local grievances and led (though that term may overstate the power of national leaders to control the direction of events) by a relatively better educated elite, the nationalist party (then, Tanganyika African National Union--TANU) provided a framework for linking elite discontent with mass resistance and for confront-

ing the British. Although it may not have been clear at the time, both the violence against European institutions and authority and the British harassment of nationalists were mild. Successful negotiators, more than victorious guerrillas, orchestrated the transition.

Influenced by theories of modernization and still heavily reliant on external provision of capital, skills, and technology, independent Tanzania's leaders initially sought and largely followed foreign development advice. By the mid 1960s, however, the initial optimism had been tempered by frustration. A sharp decline in world prices for sisal exports blocked some projects and slowed others. An army mutiny prompted a renewed request for external military assistance. Apparent trade union support for the mutiny led to tighter control of labor organizations. Foreign policy conflicts with Germany (over representation from East Germany) and England (over white settlers' unilateral declaration of independence in what was then Rhodesia) demanded high level attention and deprived Tanzania of additional expected funds. Still only half the children could be admitted to primary schools, and those students who were most successful were inclined to regard themselves as a privileged elite, to disdain manual labor and refuse national service, to insist on salaries and perquisites comparable to those of the Europeans they replaced, and to use their access to power to begin to accumulate capital.

#### Education for Self Reliance

A recognition of the extent of the problems and an initial effort to analyze their causes and propose remedies appeared in the Arusha Declaration and related policy papers in 1967.<sup>3</sup> Among those papers was "Education for Self-Reliance," which offered a broad indictment of Tanzanian education and announced

several major reforms. The goal of primary schooling was to be a basic education--a shift from a pattern oriented toward the preparation of those few students who would advance to post-primary institutions, and thus an arrangement in which a majority of those enrolled failed, to a curriculum primarily intended to equip young Tanzanians for adult roles. School-based productive projects were to integrate each school more fully into its local community, to involve the educated elite in manual labor, and to provide some resources to support the school. Since their education was provided from the public treasury, higher level students had a national obligation to community service. In short, schools were to be development institutions, oriented toward national needs and goals. Although major educational resources were still to be devoted to high level skills development, the school system as a whole was expected to upgrade the competences of the entire populace, to promote a broader sense of community, to nurture attitudes of cooperation and patterns of collective effort, and to foster a sense of self-confidence. For Tanzania to be self-reliant its schools had to construct the foundation. (For government expenditures on education in Tanzania, which increased over 1500% from 1962/63 to 1980/81, and which currently constitute approximately 15% of total government expenditures, see Table 1.)

These reforms were not, of course, the first changes in the educational system Tanzania had inherited at Independence. (See the Chronology of Major National and Educational Policies, Appendix A.) Nor were they the last. Over the past two decades, educational reform in Tanzania has been frequent and extensive. Access to school was greatly expanded. Many new schools were opened. School fees were abolished. All primary schools were nationalized. Universal primary education was largely achieved by the end of the 1970s, well ahead of the pace in many more affluent countries (see Table 2).

The curriculum at all levels has been substantially revised. Swahili is the language of instruction in primary schools. The fourth year selection examination was discarded. Students were required to serve a period of national service. Extensive literacy and other adult education programs were inaugurated (see Table 3). Work has begun on networks of Folk Development Colleges and local political education institutions, both of which are to serve as community education centers. University recruitment criteria were revised to require students to have had a period of successful work and party activity.

#### Education for Tanzanian Socialism

Each of these reforms was prompted by a sense that Tanzania's schools were not serving adequately their development tasks, and, to varying degrees, all have been implemented. Thus, although burdened by the institutional legacies of European rule and operating in an unfavorable external environment, but united in spirit and dedication, Tanzanians would conduct their revolution by education.<sup>4</sup> In the view of President Nyerere, socialism--the declared national goal--was a state of mind.<sup>5</sup> To achieve the transformation of individual consciousness that socialist construction required and to prepare its architects and work crews, radical educational reform was essential. Hence, the reforms I have outlined were both responses to specific problems within the educational system and at the same time basic elements of a broad strategy of socialist transition.

Although there are many participants' reports on these reforms, although many researchers have addressed particular initiatives, and although Tanzania continues to encourage systematic review of its policies and programs, there is, unfortunately, relatively little evaluative assessment of the broader soci-

etal impact of changes in the Tanzanian educational system. That is, the available research focuses more on specifically instructional and organizational goals (for example, relative success rates in different types of schools, or extent of implementation of particular policies) than on the broader role of schools in social transformation. Does schooling in Tanzania in fact promote self-reliance? Are young Tanzanians better equipped than their elders to develop and elaborate Tanzanian socialism? This paper, then, constitutes an initial effort to explore an approach and analytic framework for studying schools and social transformation, concerned both with what happens within schools and with what roles schools play in society. What follows, therefore, is an introduction to a broad-scale on-going research project.

#### Successful Reforms

On the one hand, many of the specific goals envisaged in educational reform policies have been achieved. As I have noted, almost all young Tanzanians will enter school, and most will complete the basic 7-year primary program. That in itself is an extraordinary accomplishment. (Note, however, that recent data suggest a relative decline in Standard I enrollments, and thus eventually in the percentage of school-age Tanzanians registered in primary schools, after 1977-78. To date, apparently, neither the causes of that decline, nor its significance have been carefully studied.) (For summary statistics on education in Tanzania, see Table 4.) Curriculum revision--focusing educational content more directly on Tanzania's experiences and concerns--has reached into even the remote corners of the country at every level. Examinations are constructed and graded within Tanzania. Although there is wide variation in practice, almost all schools do maintain productive projects, and in some schools there are im-

portant lessons in production techniques, cooperative labor, and marketing strategies. Many formerly illiterate adults have gained access to the world of writing; there is a demand for more advanced instruction and material to nurture and extend their new competence. All students at the University of Dar es Salaam focus some attention on Tanzanian and East African society and environment.

In short, there has been substantial success. A very poor country, in a relatively brief period, has introduced institutional changes that reach nearly all its citizens. Initial instruction is in a language and draws on experiences and materials that are familiar to everyone. Although affluence clearly enhances the likelihood of academic success, poverty does not preclude it. These successes in turn provide the foundations for other programs. Nutritional and pre-natal information can now be disseminated much more widely. Agricultural improvement programs can reach remote farmers. Members of cooperatives and union members can monitor their leaders more effectively. Tanzanian citizens evince a pride in their language and their country that derives neither from chauvinistic propaganda nor from xenophobia, but rather, notwithstanding their relative poverty, from a sense of accomplishment and self-confidence. In the two decades since the end of European rule, these are major achievements.

#### Persisting Inequality and Elitism

On the other hand, many of the features of Tanzanian society--the very patterns that stimulated educational reforms--persist. Although the gap between the most and least affluent Tanzanian citizens has been narrowed, stratification has not become unimportant. Some people lead more comfortable lives than others, and, what is important to this discussion, their children and chil-



dren's children are more likely to lead comfortable lives than are the children of today's lower strata. Notwithstanding successive efforts to create and maintain a school system in which individual achievement and merit determine admission and progress, and despite attempts to redress regional imbalances, parents' occupation, income, social status, and class remain the best predictors of school success. While some Tanzanians finish school with a deep sense of national service and community obligation, many continue to regard themselves as a privileged elite, to disdain productive labor, to avoid posts in remote rural areas, and to rely heavily on external models and assistance. Indeed, as a country Tanzania itself is now much more integrated into the capitalist world system than it was at Independence. The Tanzanian economy struggles to produce enough to feed its citizens and to sell enough overseas to pay for its petroleum and other imports. In recent years it has been unable to weather significant environmental or market stresses without recourse to massive external aid.

Even though most of the educational reforms have included a component of political education, most Tanzanians--both leaders and the populace at large--continue to understand education largely as a technical process, like running a giant and complex machine: well-informed leaders can organize and rationalize the scarce available resources, understand when to lubricate the bearings and change the gearing, and thus manufacture high quality products. Yet, this understanding of education--as a technical process--is incompatible with the expectation that the educational system will play a major role in broad social transformation. As long as it remains the major determinant of individual and collective rewards, the educational process is inherently political. Indeed, the populist orientation of recent educational expansion has rendered even more significant the role of school success in determining Tanzanians' life chances. The focus on universal primary education and adult literacy has severely limited the expansion of post-primary education, with the result that a smaller and

smaller percentage of those who enter school can proceed beyond the seventh year. With a small educational establishment at independence, 36% of the students who reached Standard VII were admitted to secondary school. After the extraordinary expansion of primary education in the 1970s, by 1980 only 4% could proceed, and that only through the equally rapid expansion of private (and fee-paying) secondary schools (see Tables 5 and 6).

Since persuading people to alter their attitudes and behavior is at least as important as and certainly more difficult than helping people to develop new skills, the educational system must mobilize as well as train. Since patterns of stratification reinforced by salary structures and other reward systems cannot be exhorted away, reducing their material as well as their ideological importance must be important tasks for schools. And since the forms of educational access and advance are as important as the educational content, educational reform must address who gets in and who gets ahead as much as what is taught. In short, education for socialism, or for socialist construction, must itself be a socialist process, and not simply the prior school system with new political goals.

It is important to note here that where educational reform efforts have not reached their stated political goals, they have more often been diverted than blocked. That is, in a situation where a progressive leadership for the most part controls the terms of political discourse, and where there is little outspoken opposition to major policy directives, resistance to change takes the form of deflection. New policies are converted into mechanisms to maintain older ways. For example, school self-reliance projects are unlikely to be rejected outright. But, deflected from their stated purpose, self-reliance projects do not become a dynamic base for challenging local power alignments through introducing new production, storage, or commercial techniques. Head teachers and their staffs are unlikely to voice openly their unwillingness to hoe and weed

with their students. Rather, they are likely to assert their role as supervisory and managerial staff. Similarly, they are likely to follow the political education syllabus in asserting the value of labor and at the same time to use additional labor time as a sanction for student transgressions. Elites are outspoken in their support for meritocratic advancement rules and for affirmative action to correct previous inequities. At the same time, they are also energetic in seeking permission for their children to re-take examinations, to repeat school classes in order to improve results, and to secure private school places for those not admitted to public schools.

#### Correspondence and Contradiction

Why have these policies and programs not been more successful? With apparently unchallenged national power, with a strong commitment to socialist development, with an openness to assessment and a willingness to modify programs, and with broad mass support, why have Tanzania's leaders found the educational system so institutionally malleable and at the same time so structurally intractable? What do we learn from these efforts at educational reform, about Tanzania and about the roles of education in societal transformation more generally?

Three initial comments are in order here. One is that observers must be sensitive to time horizons. Far too often do researchers expect programs to result in broad changes scarcely months after their inception. In the absence of traumatic events, social change is likely to be a long, and certainly not linear, process. Reverses will succeed advances. Each will be important but tran-

sitory. The situation at any particular moment may, or may not, indicate the direction of change, but it surely does not reflect a definitive outcome.

Second, the external environment remains very powerful. On the regional scale, the very proximity to Kenya, where leaders seem better rewarded, where shortages of basic supplies seem less frequent, and where consumer goods seem more available, is itself a constraint. If Tanzania's development strategy is to be preferred to that of Kenya, Tanzanians must see the better results. The ability to delay gratification, to work hard now for a better life some generations in the future, is in part a function of visible and apparently viable alternative models. On the global scale, the incorporation of Tanzania into the world economy is manifested concretely within the educational system by the extent to which new projects, and even recurrent expenditures for regular operations, rely on external funding (for most of Tanzania's independence, foreign sources have provided the major share of development funding for education; see Tables 7 and 8). Although there is a great sensitivity in Tanzania to subtle donor influences, and a firm resolve by Tanzanians to set their own priorities, nonetheless the goals and concerns of external partners often become parameters within which Tanzanian choices are made.

Third, it is important to distinguish educational from societal problems. The clearest example is unemployment and underemployment (that is, the failure to find wage labor) of a large percentage of those who complete primary school. Although many educators (and others) see this as a crisis for the educational system--too few Form I places--at the core, this is a problem of employment creation rather than one of school expansion. Admitting more students to secondary school might keep them out of the labor market for a few years more, but their extended education would not in and of itself create more jobs. At the same time, since however defined development involves increased agricultural productivity, requiring fewer farmers to feed more of the populace, and since

industrialization, however halting, requires a larger settled labor force, the movement of young people to urban areas is likely to continue largely irrespective of public policy. And where secure urban life, however difficult to achieve, appears to be so much better rewarded and more highly regarded than rural farming--that is, where the reward structure seems to favor urban migration--teachers' exhortations to remain at home are unlikely to keep all the young people in the villages, especially if they find it difficult to obtain sufficient land and/or capital to set out on their own. There does not seem to be persuasive evidence that vocational skills are better acquired a few hours per week in school than all week at the job site. Finally, it is not immediately obvious that it is preferable for Tanzania for the unemployed to be illiterate as well (who would benefit from a reversion to the older pattern of the exclusion of half the school-age children from primary schools?). The point here is that it is important to maintain a sense of what can, and what probably cannot, be accomplished in and by schools.

To make sense of a situation where apparently successful radical and fundamental educational reforms have thus far seemed more to maintain than to transform the social relations, inequalities, and attitudes of peripheral capitalism, we must recognize that there is both correspondence and contradiction in Tanzanian education.<sup>6</sup>

Schools function to reproduce a particular social order, as elsewhere, more through institutional arrangements than through curriculum content. Reproducing peripheral capitalism in Tanzania requires identifying and differentiating a new elite generation, reinforcing and legitimizing its claim to power and at the same time permitting sufficient social mobility to reinvigorate the ruling group and to defuse potential discontent. The bulk of the citizenry must be equipped with basic skills in a manner that restrains their aspirations and reminds them of their largely rural agricultural future. There must be nurtured

an ideology that promises extensive change, that attributes delays in those changes to external factors (both human and ecological) or to the inadequacy of citizens' own efforts, that certifies the leadership potential and responsibility of the new elite, and that, where those in power are largely drawn from and rely heavily on administration, portrays development as a technical process best managed by those with the relevant technical and administrative expertise. All of these elements of the reproduction process are reflected in Tanzanian schools.

But that reproduction is neither perfect nor complete. In part, that has to do with institutional and individual incapacities. But it also has to do with contradiction. Schools in Tanzania, like their counterparts in core capitalist states, have contradictory roles. They must channel most students toward rural agriculture, making that seem desirable and rewarding. At the same time, they must identify and select a small group of students to receive more extended schooling, to be encouraged to be critical, innovative, and anxious to succeed, and to have the skills and self-confidence required of leaders. Especially in the context of an ideology that emphasizes egalitarianism and merit and that calls for basic education and productive labor for all students, it is difficult to separate the two tasks. Success in developing an inquiring orientation and critical attitudes generates rising expectations among the school population as a whole and increases the quality and the quantity of the discontent at the differential reward system. Success in channeling the school population toward rural agriculture through a hierarchical and authoritarian school structure reduces the likelihood that the new adults will have the attitudes and skills required to transform Tanzania's dependent political economy. Similarly, closer integration of schools into their local communities and a more participatory school environment will promote greater self-reliance but

will also reduce the ability of the schools to reproduce current power and economic relations.

A second general observation concerns the relative autonomy of education. As I have noted, schools reflect larger social patterns, but they do so neither completely nor perfectly. Hence, schools are not autonomous institutions independent of conflict and power within society that can be used mechanically as a fulcrum for transforming society. At the same time, to perform their tasks adequately, and especially to maintain their legitimizing role--to project an image of equality and merit while organizing differentiation and stratification, schools and teachers must have some autonomy. That autonomy, in turn, makes schools both a focus for conflict and a terrain for conflict. Control of the educational system does matter. Since that is clear to all groups contending for power, disputes over school organization and content have society-wide roots and ramifications. For the observer, that means that each interplay of proposal, response, and counter-proposal must also be understood as a phase of a broader struggle. Ostensibly technical issues, like the length of the basic education, or the prerequisites for entering a post-primary technical program, or the allocation of time and resources to self-reliance projects, are also political issues, and must be understood--by observers as much as by participants--as such.

A third observation concerns the role of Tanzania's governing party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi--CCM).<sup>7</sup> Though nominally supreme, the party in Tanzania does not rule. More an alliance of contending groups and ideological orientations than a tightly organized and highly centralized institution, it is able to facilitate and legitimize rule. As it does, it too is both a focus and a terrain for conflict. Apparently currently dominated by a technocratic-administrative orientation and often controlled at the local level by a coalition of administrators and larger scale farmers, the party lurches between developing peripher-

al capitalism and challenging it. That alternation is reflected in educational policy.

Education in the initial years of Tanzanian independence was focused on the development of high level skills. Resources were to be allocated to render Tanzania more self-sufficient and therefore less dependent on foreign sources of skills, with the reluctant recognition that this emphasis would delay the extension of educational resources to all of the population. Periodic reevaluations have criticized this focus on high level skills, stressing that (1) where early schooling is organized around the preparation of young people for more advanced levels, almost all who enter school necessarily fail (to proceed), with the result that those who complete Standard VII are still termed 'leavers'; (2) elitism persists and stratification is reinforced; and (3) rather than providing a foundation for Tanzanian socialism, peripheral capitalism is entrenched. Those critiques have often been followed by a new set of reforms. Yet, the evidence is that those reforms have often been deflected, such that education for self-reliance is redefined, away from education for socialist construction and back again to education for 'manpower development.'

Put somewhat differently, where the workers and peasants have yet to seize power, where the political revolution has yet to occur, schools cannot be primarily a vehicle for constructing a new order. And although their central role in reproducing the current order and their necessary relative autonomy permits schools to be a site for revolutionary initiatives, where the educational system relies heavily on external funding and advice, schools are unlikely to be primarily concerned with promoting socialist construction. The focus of the research for which this paper is an introduction must therefore be on both what happens within the schools (what are the content and practices of education for socialist construction) and on the roles of schools in society (what are the origins, trajectories, and politics of socialist initiatives). Just as the rev-



olution cannot occur without attention to the schools, so the educational system cannot, by itself, be the revolution.

N O T E S

<sup>1</sup>This paper draws on on-going collaboration with my colleagues at Stanford University. An abbreviated statement of these ideas was included in a paper presented at the Western Regional Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, 1982: Martin Carnoy, Carlos Torres, Joel Samoff, and Jeff Unsicker, "Education and Radical Change in Africa and Latin America." My colleagues and I are currently revising and integrating our initial papers for monograph publication. This paper also serves as an introduction to a continuing research project on Revolution by Education in Tanzania: A Reassessment (see Note 3, below).

<sup>2</sup>To facilitate the presentation, I use here the current term, Tanzania, to refer to both the contemporary United Republic of Tanzania and to Tanganyika prior to its union with Zanzibar in 1964. For the post-colonial era I am concerned with mainland Tanzania.

<sup>3</sup>This brief summary and analysis draws on a variety of published (see note 4, below, and Joel Samoff, "Education and Transformation in Tanzania," Issue XI, 3/4 [Fall-Winter 1981]:22-26) and unpublished sources. Among the latter are the papers prepared for an on-going research project in Stanford University's program in International Development Education on Revolution Education in Tanzania: A Reassessment, for which the field work is co-directed by Suleman Sumra of the University of Dar es Salaam. Among the papers prepared thus far are: Carol Baume, "Self-Reliance Activities in Tanzanian Schools: A Review of

the Literature," and "The Failure of Self-Reliance Activities in Tanzanian Schools"; Faustin Mukyanuzi, "Educational Policy and Expenditure Patterns on Education in Tanzania, 1961/62 to 1980/81"; R. R. Ntuah, "Educational Planning in Tanzania"; Suleman Sumra, "Education and the Concept of Self Reliance," and Jeff Unsicker, "Review Paper: The Musoma Resolutions and Higher Education in Tanzania," "Revolution by Adult Education? A Survey of the Literature on Rural Adult Education in Tanzania," and "The Transition to Socialism in Tanzania: Class Struggle and the University" (Western Association of Africanists, 1982). The Arusha Declaration and related papers are collected in Julius K. Nyerere, Essays on Socialism (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968), and included in Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Ujamaa (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1968).

<sup>4</sup>The enthusiasm of that perspective is reflected in Idrian N. Resnick, editor, Tanzania: Revolution By Education (Arusha: Longmans, 1967). For overviews of education and development in Tanzania, see also: A. L. Gillette, Beyond the Non-Formal Fashion: Towards Educational Revolution in Tanzania (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Center for International Education, 1976); H. Hinzen and V. H. Hunsdorfer, editors, Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzanian Experience (Hamburg: UNESCO Institute of Education and Evans Brothers, Ltd., 1979); Marjorie Mbilinyi, "Contradictions in Tanzanian Education Reform," in Andrew Coulson, editor, African Socialism in Practice (London: Spokesman, 1979), pp. 217-227; Pius Msekwa and T. L. Maliyamkono, The Experiments in Educational Policy Formation in Tanzania Before and After Arusha (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, 1978). Recent research on education in Tanzania that touches on some of the themes discussed here includes: Abel G. M. Ishumi, Community Education and Development (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau, 1981); T. L. Maliyamkono, The Unproductive School

(forthcoming, 1983); T. L. Maliyamkono, A. G. M. Ishumi, and S. J. Wells, Higher Education and Development in Eastern Africa (London: Heinemann, 1982); H. J. Moshia, editor and translator, Report of the Research on the Progress and Impact of Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1982); I. M. Omari, et al., Universal Primary Education in Tanzania: A Continuation of the Educational Revolution (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, 1981). President Nyerere's paper, "Education for Self-Reliance," has been reprinted many times, including in Resnick, Tanzania: Revolution by Education.

Note that the focus of concern here is the schools. Learning and education are of course not limited to the schools. Indeed, it may well be that in contemporary Tanzania, the specialized schools (for example, Folk Development Colleges) and the non-school learning experiences (for example, adult literacy programs) are able to make a more dramatic contribution to social transformation than the formal primary and secondary schools. At the same time, these questions about schools and social transformation must also be addressed to the formal schools.

<sup>5</sup> Although commentators on Tanzania are fond of quoting President Nyerere's statements of the 1960s as evidence for his current thinking, it would be a serious error to fail to recognize changes in understanding that have emerged over the past two decades and an injustice to the President himself to deny him the opportunity to revise his own thinking. It is impossible within the confines of this paper to explore the understandings of socialism in Tanzania of the 1980s, but it is important to note that socialism is taken to involve contradiction and conflict in the society and not simply an attitude of mind (see, among other sources, the CCM Guidelines of 1981).

<sup>6</sup> I am drawing here on the literature concerned with a critical analysis of education in contemporary society. Correspondence refers to the processes through which schools reflect and reproduce the political structures, social relations, and dominant attitudes of the larger society. Contradiction refers to the necessary tension within educational systems that are expected both to contribute to the reproduction of the social order and at the same time to develop and nurture critique and innovation, which are also essential to the maintenance of the social order. For an introduction to and overview of this literature, see, among others: Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (New York: Basic, 1976), and "Education as a Site of Contradictions; in the Reproduction of the Capital-Labor Relationship: Second Thoughts on the 'Correspondence Principle,'" Economic and Industrial Democracy 2(1981): 223-242; Martin Carnoy, Education as Cultural Imperialism (New York: McKay, 1974); Martin Carnoy and Henry M. Levin, The Dialectics of Education and Work (Stanford: Stanford University Press, forthcoming); Michael Apple, Education and Power (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), Ideology and Curriculum (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), and editor, Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education: Essays on Class, Ideology, and the State (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), especially Chapters 1, 3, 4, and 10; Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, editors, Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977); and Samoff, "Education and Transformation in Tanzania."

<sup>7</sup> There has been an extensive and critical debate on the nature of the party and politics in Tanzania. Among the major recent contributions have been Andrew Coulson, editor, African Socialism in Practice: The Tanzanian Experience (Nottingham: Spokesman, 1979), and Tanzania: A Political Economy (London: Oxford University Press, 1982); W. M. Freund, "Class Conflict, Political

Economy and the Struggle for Socialism in Tanzania," African Affairs 80,321 (October, 1981):483-499; Goran Hyden, Beyond Ujamaa: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Ahmed Mohiddin, African Socialism in Two Countries (London: Croom Helm, 1981); Susanne D. Mueller, "The Historical Origins of Tanzania's Ruling Class," Canadian Journal of African Studies 15,3(1981):459-498, and "Retarded Capitalism in Tanzania," in Ralph Miliband ;and John Saville, editors, Socialist Register 1980 (London: Merlin Press, 1980), pp. 203-226; Bismarck Mwansasu and Cranford Pratt, editors, Towards Socialism in Tanzania (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); Cranford Pratt, The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Philip Raikes, "Rural Differentiation and Class-Formation in Tanzania," Journal of Peasant Studies 4,2(January, 1977):285-325; Idrian N. Resnick, The Long Transition: Building Socialism in Tanzania (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1981); Samoff, "Crises and Socialism in Tanzania," Journal of Modern African Studies XIX,2(June, 1981):279-306; John S. Saul, The State and Revolution in Eastern Africa (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979); and Issa G. Shivji, Class Struggles in Tanzania (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976).

Table 1 EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION, 1963-1978  
From Tanzanian, UNESCO, and United Nations Data\*

Year	Total Expenditure on Education as % of All Public Expenditures	Relative Change 1963 - 1978 (1963 = 100)
1963	15.21	100
1964	17.13	130
1965	18.37	250
1966	14.97	209
1967	13.98	191
1968	13.60	137
1969	13.47	54
1970	14.29	331
1971	14.30	513
1972	14.63	393
1973	14.50	399
1974	12.30	442
1975	13.80	450
1976	14.75	1000
1977	15.55	1623
1978	15.05	1462

Data from Ulf Goranson, "Development Assistance to the Education Sector in Tanzania since Independence," Ministry of National Education, Department of Planning, March, 1981, and Jeff Unsicker, for the Research Project on Revolution by Education in Tanzania: A Reassessment.

\*The source data for these calculations are from the statistics reported by Tanzania, UNESCO, and the United Nations. Unfortunately, those three sources are rarely in complete agreement and occasionally report widely divergent figures. Hence, here I have averaged the annual statistics from these sources.

Table 2 TANZANIA EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID  
Public School Enrollment, by Grade, 1981,  
Percentage Increase, 1971-81, and 1961-81  
and Percentage Female, 1961, 1971, and 1981

School Year	Total 1981	% Increase 1971-81	% Increase 1961-81	% Female		
				1961	1971	1981
Univ 1st Yr	959	37	1,162	8	11	24
Secondary Forms						
6	1,740	21	530	9	14	23
5	1,804	12	664	11	16	23
4	8,481	32	429	30	25	31
3	8,541	17	310	26	27	32
2	8,840	16	150	29	29	33
1	8,886	17	112	29	27	34
Primary Standards						
VII	356,307	405	2,150	23	34	43
VI	441,715	418	2,459	24	37	46
V	491,181	379	2,391	25	38	47
IV	752,154	444	688	32	40	48
III	517,285	246	416	35	40	49
II	473,957	185	335	38	41	50
I	498,023	162	310	40	42	50
TOTAL	3,569,873	272	630	35	39	48

SOURCE: Ministry of National Education, Recent Developments of Education in the United Republic of Tanzania, 1978 - 1980, Country Report Submitted to 38th Session of the International Conference on Education, Geneva, 10th - 18th November, 1981 (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, 1981), Annex 1. Calculations added.



Table 3 LITERACY PARTICIPATION IN TANZANIA, 1970-1975 AND 1980

	<u>Adult Learners</u>	<u>Teachers</u>				
1970	185,350	14,046				
1971	908,351	23,115				
1972	1,508,204	80,768				
1973	2,989,910	80,262				
1974	3,303,103	93,937				
1975	5,184,982	97,729				
TOTAL	14,079,900	389,857				
			% Illiterate			
					Registered for	
1980	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Literacy Classes		% Registered
	Adults	%	%			Who Attended
	10,114,983	35.45	64.55	54.19		53.16

SOURCES: Pius Msekwa and T. L. Maliyamkono, The Experiments: Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (Dar es Salaam: Black Star Agencies, 1979), p. 57.

Y. D. M. Bwatwa, "The Decision-Making Machinery of Adult Education in Tanzania," in H. Hinzen and V. H. Hunsdorfer, editors, The Tanzanian Experience: Education For Liberation and Development (London: Evans Brothers for UNESCO, 1979), p. 139.

Ministry of National Education.

Table 4 EDUCATION IN TANZANIA, 1980  
Summary Statistics

<u>Type of Institution</u>	<u>Number of Institutions</u>	<u>Number of Learners</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>	<u>Teacher:Pupil Ratio</u>
Primary (Public)	9,930	3,367,644	81,266	1:41
Secondary (All)	154	67,296	3,158	1:21
Secondary (Public)	83	38,830	2,085	1:19
Secondary (Private)	71	28,466	1,073	1:26
Adult Education Centers	70,000	1,943,027	NA	---
Folk Development Colleges	52	13,383	241	1:56
Teachers' Colleges	35	11,423	679	1:17
Teachers (In Service) [1978]	1,955	45,634	2,400	1:19
University of Dar es Salaam	1	3,455	851	1:4
University (foreign)	---	1,230	---	---

SOURCES: Ministry of National Education.

Ministry of National Education, Basic Facts About Education in Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Printpak/MTUU, 1980), p.41.

Table 5 SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND ENROLLMENT IN TANZANIA  
Government and Private (Fee-Paying) Schools

Year	GOVERNMENT			PRIVATE			TOTAL		% PRIVATE	
	Schls N	Stud N	Stu An % Incr	Schls N	Stud N	Stu An % Incr	Schls N	Stud N	Schls %	Stud %
1961	39	11,832	--	2	NA	--	41	--	--	--
1962	61	14,175	24.5	1	NA	--	62	--	--	--
1963	62	17,275	21.9	3	NA	--	65	--	--	--
1964	63	19,897	15.2	5	NA	--	68	--	--	--
1965	69	21,915	10.1	7	1,065	--	76	22,980	9.2	4.6
1966	70	23,836	8.8	17	3,786	255.5	87	27,622	19.5	13.7
1967	72	25,551	7.2	30	8,564	126.2	102	34,115	29.4	25.1
1968	73	28,043	9.8	35	7,571	-11.6	108	35,614	32.4	21.3
1969	74	29,958	6.8	37	8,092	6.9	111	38,050	33.3	21.3
1970	74	31,217	4.2	40	9,961	23.1	114	41,178	35.1	24.2
1971	75	32,603	4.4	41	10,749	7.9	116	43,352	35.3	24.8
1972	76	33,288	2.1	40	10,503	-2.3	116	43,791	34.5	24.0
1973	80	34,502	3.6	44	12,623	20.2	124	47,125	35.5	26.8
1974	81	35,926	4.1	44	14,366	13.8	125	50,292	35.2	28.6
1975	81	38,327	6.7	58	14,933	3.9	139	53,260	41.7	28.0
1976	81	39,947	4.2	58	17,196	15.2	139	57,143	41.7	30.1
1977	81	41,965	5.1	67	19,213	11.7	148	61,178	45.3	31.4
1978	81	41,792	-0.4	67	22,400	16.6	148	64,192	45.3	34.9
1979	83	40,298	-3.6	71	28,003	25.0	154	68,301	46.1	41.0
1980	83	38,830	-3.6	71	28,466	1.7	154	67,296	46.1	42.3
1981	84	38,292	-1.4	76	29,310	3.0	160	67,602	47.5	43.4
1982	85	38,983	1.8	81	30,162	2.9	166	69,145	48.8	43.6

Percent Increase, 1961-1982:

	Schools	Students
Government	23.2	77.9
Private	1,057.1	2,732.1

SOURCE: Ministry of National Education. (Calculations Added.)

Table 6 SELECTION TO SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TANZANIA  
as a Proportion of Students Completing Standard VII, 1961-1982

Year	Enrollment in Standard VII	Selected For Form I	Proportion Selected (%)		
			In Govt Schools	In Private Schools	
			Selected for Form I as % of Std VII/VIII Completers		
Year	Stud Who Completed Standard VII/VIII		In Govt Schools	In Private Schools	Govt+Private
1961	11,732	35.8		NA	---
1962	13,730	35.0		NA	---
1963	17,042	29.2		NA	---
1964	20,348	26.1		NA	---
1965	29,367	20.2		1.6	21.8
1966	41,083	15.5		5.7	21.2
1967	47,981	13.8		5.4	19.2
1968	58,872	11.9		4.4	16.3
1969	60,545	11.8		4.2	16.0
1970	64,630	11.4		4.7	16.4
1971	70,922	10.9		4.6	15.6
1972	87,777	9.1		4.2	13.3
1973	106,203	7.7		4.1	11.8
1974	119,350	7.1		4.2	11.3
1975	137,559	6.3		3.7	10.0
1976	156,144	5.5		3.7	9.2
1977	169,106	5.1		4.0	9.1
1978	185,293	4.7		3.9	8.6
1979	193,615	4.6		4.4	9.0
1980	212,446	4.2		3.1	7.3
1981	357,816	2.6		2.0	4.6
1982	419,829	2.2		1.9	4.1

SOURCE: Ministry of National Education.

Ulf Goranson, "Development Assistance to the Education Sector in Tanzania Since Independence" (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, Department of Planning, March, 1981), p. 26. [Slightly corrected and calculations added.]

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Table 7 TANZANIA MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION EXPENDITURES  
1962/63-1979/80: Foreign Component (Percent)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Foreign Component of Ministry of National Education Expenditures (%)</u>
1962/63	65
1963/64	65
1964/65	65
1965/66	70
1966/67	60
1967/68	14
1968/69	63
1969/70	67
1970/71	54
1971/72	64
1972/73	65
1973/74	70
1974/75	54
1975/76	79
1976/77	80
1977/78	74
1978/79	81
1979/80	71
TOTAL 1962/63-1979/80	72

SOURCE: Ulf Goranson, "Development Assistance to the Education Sector in Tanzania Since Independence" (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, Department of Planning, March, 1981), Appendix 3.

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Table 8 MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT BUDGET  
Source of Finance, 1980/81 (T. Shs. '000 000)

<u>Source</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Amount</u> (T. Shs. '000 000)	<u>Percent of Total</u> <u>Development Budget</u>
Sweden	grants	83.8	34.36
Tanzania	local funds	70.6	28.95
Denmark	grants	28.5	11.69
Switzerland	grants	12.8	5.25
World Bank	loans	12.5	5.13
Norway	grants	10.1	4.14
F R Germany	grants	9.0	3.69
Afr Dev Bank	loans	4.1	1.68
UNHC Refugees	grants	3.5	1.44
Netherlands	grants	3.2	1.31
UNICEF	grants	2.5	1.03
USSR	loans	1.2	0.49
UK	grants	1.0	0.41
Finland	grants	0.8	0.33
U. S. A.	grants	0.3	0.12
TOTAL		243.9	100.02

SOURCE: Ulf Goranson, "Development Assistance to the Education Sector in Tanzania Since Independence," Dar es Salaam: Ministry of National Education, Department of Planning, March, 1981, p. 14 [percentages added].

## APPENDIX A

Chronology of Major Policies and Developments in Tanzania

Compiled by Jeff Unsicker and Joel Samoff

<u>YEAR</u> -----	
<u>GENERAL POLICIES</u>	<u>GENERAL EDUCATION POLICIES</u>
1955 -----	
TANU formed as national liberation party	
	TANU Constitution: Promise No. 6 commits leadership to educate self and to use that education for the benefit of all
1958 -----	
	TANU Annual Conference: commitment to establishing a leadership training institution (becomes Kivukoni College in 1961)
1961 -----	
Independence (United Kingdom Trusteeship)	
Three Year Plan for Economic Development (based on World Bank report)	
1962 -----	
	Initial decolonization of curriculum.
1964 -----	
First Five Year Plan (FFYP) for Economic and Social Development	
	FFYP: major emphasis placed on high level skills training by the educational system, particularly secondary schools and the university
	Secondary school fees abolished.

APPENDIX A: Chronology of Major Policies and Developments in Tanzania/Page A2

1965 -----

One-Party Interim Constitution adopted.

Swahili becomes language of instruction in primary schools.

Phase-out of Standard VIII (8th year of primary school) and merging of upper (V-VII) and lower (I-IV) primary schools begun.

1967 -----

Arusha Declaration: clarifies and strengthens Tanzania's commitment to ujamaa socialism; nationalizations; leadership code

Education for Self-Reliance Policy: emphasis on mass education, particularly primary schools -- both increasing enrollment and changing curriculum to provide skills for rural agricultural development strategy.

Phase-out of Standard VIII completed.

1968 -----

Entrance examination to Standard V eliminated (all primary school pupils able to remain in school for 7 years).

UNESCO/UNDP supported Work Oriented Adult Literacy Project (WOALP) [Mwanza Functional Literacy Project], initiated

1969 -----

Second Five Year Plan (SFYP)

SFYP: directs that all primary schools will become adult education centers and directs that the main emphasis of adult education will be on rural development

National Education Act: government assumes control of all schools.

First mass education campaign: To Plan is to Choose (focus on the new Five Year Plan)



APPENDIX A: Chronology of Major Policies and Developments in Tanzania/Page A3

1970 -----

Presidential Circular No. 1: calls for worker participation in management

Party declares 1970 Adult Education Year

Second mass education campaign: The Choice is Yours

1971 -----

TANU GUIDELINES (Mwongozo) adopted

Six Districts Literacy Campaign

TANU 15th Biennial Conference: Resolution 23 calls for the eradication of illiteracy in the next four years

TANU 15th Biennial Conference: directed that workers education be carried out within working hours

Third mass education campaign: A Time for Rejoicing

National Forms 4 and 6 examinations replace Cambridge examinations.

1972 -----

Decentralization policy adopted

National Literacy Campaign, planned for three years, is initiated in response to 1971 TANU Conference Resolution

TANU Annual Conference: Iringa Resolution finds agricultural productivity too low and declares politics and agriculture inseparable

Fourth mass education campaign: Politics is Agriculture

APPENDIX A: Chronology of Major Policies and Developments in Tanzania/Page A4

1973 -----

Primary school fees abolished.

TANU 16th Biennial Conference: Resolution 29 declares that students in classes VI and VII should be taught skills directly useful for work in villages

Prime Minister's Directive on Worker Education

National Examinations Council established (localization of examinations).

Fifth mass education campaign: Man is Health

1974 -----

TANU National Executive Committee (Musoma Resolutions).

Musoma Resolutions directed accelerated progress toward universal primary education (by 1977), elimination of illiteracy (by 1980), and self-sufficiency in high level skills (by 1980); instituted vocational orientation in all secondary schools; required village or factory work experience and recommendation and party endorsement for admission into university

Initial (4) zonal Kivukoni Colleges opened.

1975 -----

Third Five Year Development Plan

Village Development Act

People's Development Colleges established

Sixth mass education campaign: "Food is Life"

1976-1979 -----

Universal primary education.

Extensive adult literacy programs.

APPENDIX A: Chronology of Major Policies and Developments in Tanzania/Page A5

1980 -----

National Education Commission formed to evaluate past 19 years of education and plan the next 20

These papers constitute the preliminary findings of the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, and were prepared for presentation at a Conference at the University of Cape Town from 13-19 April, 1984.

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