The Trajectory of Universal Primary Education and Educational Decentralisation in Tanzania 1961-2015: A Nyererean Perspective

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Thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Statement of Originality
This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. I give consent to the final version of my thesis being made available worldwide when deposited in the University’s Digital Repository, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

Declaration

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this dissertation is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

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Date: July 2016
Acknowledgement and Dedications
The successful completion of this project is the result of contributions from many people. Since it is not possible to list all of them by name, I will mention a few on behalf of the others.

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# Abbreviations and Acronyms

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Arusha Declaration</td>
<td>Declaration of Tanzanian socialism</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of Revolution).</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEO</td>
<td>District/Municipal Education Officer</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for All</td>
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<td>ESDP</td>
<td>Education Sector Development Program</td>
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<td>ESR</td>
<td>Education for Self-Reliance</td>
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<td>GER</td>
<td>Gross Enrolment Ratio</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDA</td>
<td>International Development Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kiswahili</td>
<td>or Swahili (Tanzania National Language)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoEVT</td>
<td>Ministry of Education and Vocational Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>NER</td>
<td>Net Enrolment Ratio</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEDP</td>
<td>Primary Education Development Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMORALG</td>
<td>Prime Minister’s Office Regional Administration and Local Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTA</td>
<td>Parent Teacher Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REO</td>
<td>Regional Education Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>Also known as Kiswahili is a Bantu language and the first language of the Swahili people. It is a lingua franca of the African great lakes region and other parts of southeast Africa including Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Congo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TANU</td>
<td>Tanganyika African National Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>UPE</td>
<td>Universal Primary Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ujamaa</td>
<td>African socialism, Brotherhood, or at least family hood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URT</td>
<td>United Republic of Tanzania</td>
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Abstract

Despite the popularity and the breadth of his philosophical writings, few scholars have linked Tanzania’s founding post-independence President Julius Nyerere’s thinking to the analysis of Tanzanian educational policies and practices. Since 1961, Tanzania has initiated a series of reforms seeking to achieve Universal Primary education, coupled with a particular approach to educational decentralisation. An understanding of these reforms, and an assessment of their historical trajectory, requires an analysis of them through a Nyererean lens or framework. This project centres on developing such an understanding.

The aim of this study is to examine and assess Tanzanian educational reforms, policies and structures, over the period 1961-2015, against the Nyererean framework developed for this project. This objective will be achieved by completing the following tasks: first, identify Nyerere’s over-arching socio-political and economic worldview, which sought to integrate traditional African values with the socialist philosophies and development demands of the postcolonial context, expressed in terms of a broad social and political project: Ujamaa (African socialism). Then, analyse educational policies across three identified time periods in terms of their relationship to the project of African socialism and in particular its key educational components: Ujamaa, education for self-reliance; educational expansion (UPE); and Nyererean educational decentralisation.

The analysis of policy through a Nyererean framework yielded mixed results overtime. Whereas the pre Ujamaa period 1961-1966 was mainly characterised by the inherited conventional models underpinned by an emphasis upon post-primary education to lay the foundation for future economic growth, some ideas on Ujamaa such as brotherhood and abolition of racial discrimination in education, were also documented in policy. The Ujamaa and self-reliance period 1967-1985 was distinctive because it embraced most of the Nyererean perspectives in different areas such as education expansion, decentralisation and in particular merging study with work as part of the philosophy of forming citizens with the particular skills and dispositions that would be suited to the Ujamaa socialist society. Social-political and economic turmoil in the late 1970s and early 1980s is shown to have impacted on
Ujamaa policies, leading into the 1986-2015 period in which policy reversed by moving away from the principles of Ujamaa and self-reliance. Here we see the neo-liberal reforms of user-pays and privatisation of educational services. Although institutions such as the World Bank and other financial institutions arguably helped to boost the expansion of education to meet the Millennium Development Goals in the period since 2000, the approach used contrasted in significant ways with the Nyererean egalitarian ideals.

This work contributes a distinctive educational policy analysis in this period, adding to existing research. Despite some divergences, particularly in recent years, there are threads of continuity of the legacy of Nyerere such as enduring social justice and equity, particularly in education expansion, merging work and study and community involvement. Given the continuity in relation to the overarching Nyererean framework, this historical account demonstrates a need to go beyond dominant approaches and reconsider the work of Nyerere for the deconstruction of African/Tanzania educational policies.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Like many other African countries, Tanzania’s independence movements and invented post-independence educational approaches have many linkages with the state of political and military tension between the powers in the western block versus the eastern block after World War II. In the context of the cold war, the US and USSR competed for influence in Latin America and in the decolonising of Africa and Asia. The tension extended to the rapid African involvement in nationalist politics. While socialist related ideas had existed in Africa since even before the advent of colonialism (Stoger-Eising, 2000), an affiliation with European political parties, contact with European workers and pan-African (west Indian and African American) radicals partly influenced many African thinkers to identify themselves with Marxist related forms of socialism. In efforts to avoid capitalism, as it was associated with the colonial era, indigenised forms of socialism offered hope in the form of many basic tenets, such as equality (of opportunity) and social justice, which some saw as being associated with traditional collectivism (Kisubi, 2013). Aspects of socialism in Africa emerged in different forms, but essentially manifested into various waves (Lösch, 1990). The populist, pragmatic ‘open’ regime resonating with communalism and local cultural traditions emerged during the early years of independence movements from the 1950s. Examples of African socialism include Léopold Sédar Senghor’s Négritude in Senegal (Berktay, 2010), Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana (Biney, 2012; Fuller, 2015), the humanism of Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia (Sekwat, 2000) and Ujamaa in Tanzania (Sheikheldin, 2015). These were some of the African movements that emerged after the Second World War.

These approaches reflected diverse political economies and polities, covering theoretical intents, ideological perspectives, political movements, cultural and regional orientations and revolutionary struggles. Lösch (1990) has summarised the

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1 For convenience, I use 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. This study is concerned with mainland Tanzania.
overall motives for the emergence of African socialism in terms of post-colonial decolonization imperatives, including building egalitarian societies with solidarity, justice and governmental accountability, promoting equitable development in all sectors and restoring African identity and standing in the world order. According to Napier (2010), socialism in Africa emerged as a continent-wide movement in which many countries adopted socialism in some form as a reactive and anticolonial act, an emancipatory channel for development offering hope for a fresh recommencement and an anti-capitalist guiding ideology to overcome the legacy of colonial domination.

These African political approaches spilled over into educational transformations. As education had been an instrument of domination under colonial rule, post-independence educational transformation plans quickly incorporated newly popular socialist ideas. Educational transformation, as Napier (2010) describes it, was a crucial component of post-independence national development for most African countries, as a vehicle for: cultivating literate and civil society, building new institutions, fostering development in all sectors and creating a new post-colonial identity. Educational transformations were influenced by these shifts toward new political models, which were themselves shaped by internal events within countries and by external events on the global stage.

Tanzania’s approach to transforming ideas into actions was unlike many other African countries whose patterns appeared to merely pay lip service to the basic tenets of socialism by adopting socialism as a label when politically and economically expedient, and with numerous strategies and political realities for embodying features of elitism and capitalism (Bjerk, 2010). While other countries gave lip service to Pan-Africanism (Weeks (1970), Tanzania merged with Zanzibar to form a United Republic of Tanzania in 1964. This was not only confined to Tanzania but was also step towards African Unity, as Nyerere (1966) emphasises:

We must use the African national states as an instrument for the reunification of Africa, and not allow our enemies to use them as tools for dividing Africa. African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic, and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism (p. 41).
Accordingly, Tanzania became an operational base/focal point for liberation movements in Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique, providing training grounds and organizational support, as well as a safe haven for freedom fighters in exile (Napier, 2010). The Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity located its headquarters in Dar es Salaam. Tanzania promoted the union of the East African Community (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania), whose headquarters is in Arusha (Tanzania) (Weeks, 1970). Tanzania pursued a completely independent line in international relations in accordance with its policy on non-alignment, which stated:

We wish to be friendly with all, and we will never allow our friends to choose our enemies for us…we offer the hand of friendship to China as to America, Russia, Britain, and others… The fears of others will not affect Tanzania's friendship with China, anymore than our friendship with other countries would be affected by what their opponents say of them... I say again therefore, Tanzania wishes to be friendly with all nations on the basis of our equal dignity and humanity (Nyerere, 1966, pp. 323-324).

Based on its non-alignment stance, Tanzania received generous aids from the Republic of China, as well as from Russia and the United States and most of the countries of Western Europe. Ultimately, Tanzania created a socialist state based on the ownership and control of all major means of production, in accordance with political theories which were peculiarly its own (Saul, 2012). Based on this stance, Tanzania has been often considered to be one of the most progressive and enlightened countries in Africa (Sheikheldin, 2015).

Tanzania adopted the concept of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). This was yet another new concept of education and had the most far-reaching economic and social implications. It was an attempt to establish its own destiny on its own terms and it aroused world wide interest (Wabike, 2014). The concept was an expression of various concerns, but had particular implications for its commitment to the overarching national goals of the Ujamaa project and its emphasis on rural
development. The school would no longer be an elite establishment, aloof and detached from the community; it was to become an integral part of the community. This philosophy criticised the irrelevance of the inherited pre-independence approach to development, which had focused on the urban industrial sector but had resulted in massive unemployment and dissatisfaction among school leavers and contributed to the gap between the urban elites and the rural poor (Nyerere, 1973). According to Odia (1971), Tanzania was perhaps the only country in Africa that made an effort to evolve a development strategy that was directly relevant to the socio-political problems that were confronting the country. This involved the adaptation of formal education and other kinds of rural training to the country’s development requirements (Kyaruzi, Krogh, & Gjøtterud, 2014). The aim of this strategy, according to Odia (1971), was to promote a faster growth of production, raise the national income, ease the problems of primary school-leavers and ensure a more efficient utilisation of the rural labour force.

The spirit of Education for Self-Reliance became a legacy for the continent of Africa. Its elements, namely self-determination, self-reliance, basic skills and cooperative learning, became embedded in programmes variously labelled as ‘education with production’, ‘education with partnership’, ‘on the job training’ and ‘skills development’ (Kyaruzi et al., 2014). In Botswana, the brigades programme was an early example of this legacy (Napier, 2010). Accordingly, vocational skills, technical programmes that focused on basic survival skills, as well as programmes for advanced technical skills geared to workforce requirement, became prevalent in many countries, including those that were less developed (Wolhuter, 2004).

Another important aspect of Tanzania’s education history under the Nyerere administration was a commitment to providing basic education to all of its citizens. Since independence in 1961, Tanzania accorded a central role to education in its plans for constructing a new nation. This was because it was widely considered that the population had experienced little or no adequate education and training under colonial rule, except in the training of a contingent for the civil service and in mission schools that offered quality education for
some Africans (Otunnu, 2015). The first step included the creation of one unified public school system to replace a racially segregated one put into place by the British in the colonial days (Mbilinyi, 2003). Barriers of both race and religion were abolished such that all schools and colleges became open to all children (Mushi, 2009). Another important step was to increase enrolment in the post-levels of the primary education system, as they had been largely closed to Africans in the colonial education pyramid (Kyaruzi et al., 2014).

To develop educational systems that would cater for the needs of the majority and operate in line with the ethos of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance, the newly independent government advocated Universal Primary Education in 1974, to be achieved by 1978. This shifted the emphasis from the secondary and postsecondary high-level workforce of the early 1960s to primary and adult education. The abolition of school fees at the secondary and primary school levels in 1969 and 1973 respectively was a first and necessary step towards Universal Education (Mbilinyi, 2003). According to Dembélé and Lefoka (2007), Tanzania was among the first African countries to set ambitious targets and pledge greater commitment to education for all, before these became widely fashionable. Education expansion went hand in hand with the removal of the rigid screening imposed after the fourth year of primary schooling; this disappeared in 1974 (Dennis & Stahley, 2012). The latter move helped enrolments to grow from 825,000 in 1967 to over 3 million in 1977 (Sheffield, 1979). By 1982, “there were schools in virtually all villages in the country and all children whether poor or rich were going to school through a Universal primary Education Program on public financing” (S. Chachage, 2010, p. 24).

However, it was not only education that was paid for by the government, even medical services were being provided through public financing (Lal, 2010). These were not free services, as was claimed by those who champion the virtues of private provisioning; they were paid for collectively through taxation. Such policies were the real foundation of Tanzania’s unity, peace and togetherness (S. Chachage, 2010, p. 24).
Mbilinyi (2003) summarised the successes of the UPE under the Nyerere administration in this way:

Contrary to revisionist views today, UPE was highly successful; at least in quantitative terms. By 1984, the number of children in school had doubled: more than 90% of school-aged children were enrolled in school, a higher proportion than found in most other African countries, including those in the middle and high income groups. Of even greater significance to women, UPE led to gender parity in primary school enrolment. The proportion of boys and girls in primary school became equal only as a result of UPE (p. 2).

Although quantity was achieved at the expense of quality Sifuna (2007) and officials in Tanzania recognised the dangers in this trade-off (Sheffield, 1979), they generally supported the UPE as a basic component of socialism (Samoff, 1990b).

Another important feature that characterised the Nyererean admiration and was linked to efforts to achieve UPE was the emphasis that was placed on adult education, via mass campaigns that occurred from the late 1960s to the early 1970s. Although adult education in the 1970s, received only 8% of the national education budget (a much higher percentage than in almost any other African country) (Sheffield, 1979), this was perhaps the best indicator of Tanzania’s commitment to the basic needs of the poor. With the assistance of UNESCO, Tanzania developed the most extensive functional literacy programme in Africa (Mushi, 2009). Each of the campaigns involved facilitators and the distribution of teaching, and there was also a commitment to providing learning materials to groups and radio programmes, and newspapers to the newly literate. Rural libraries that were established in each village supplemented these. By 1978, nearly the whole of the illiterate population was enrolled in one of the various levels of functional literacy classes. This compared unfavourably to other countries in Africa, where adult education was considered as the poor stepchild in the education hierarchy and was usually sadly lacking in staff, materials, transport, and especially morale; in contrast, the Regional and District Adult Education Officers in Tanzania often had Land Rovers and adequate materials (Buchert, 1994). Between 1970 and 1978, Tanzania trained over 100,000 adult teachers and produced more than 40 million texts for adults (Knowles, 1990). In
1982, more than 95% of adults could read and write due to mass literacy campaigns that had been conducted over the years (S. Chachage, 2010).

Political education was an important component of many education programmes in Tanzania immediately after independence (Havnevik & Isinika, 2010). This involved learning about national political issues from the perspective of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance. Even in adult education, the objective did not exclusively relate to teaching reading and writing, but also to spreading the values of *Ujamaa*. The national service was compulsory for form VI leavers before they could be considered for university education. According to Green (2010), the intention of this was to instil ‘correct attitudes’ towards national development. However, university students protested against this in early 1960s, claiming that the motivation for national service was to make it part of Tanzanian socialism (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003). Senior civil servants and party officials, including cabinet ministers, received explicit political education either through participation in national service or in special courses at Kivukoni college (Ngoc & Caillods, 1975). The aim of these courses was to re-orientate Tanzanian citizens to the new roles they would play in the emerging socialist society.

At the heart of Tanzania's policies during the Nyerere administration were great concerns. These included not only disquiet about the substantive actions so often associated with government ownership or control of key businesses and industries, which limited the opportunities to accumulate wealth and increased social services to the poor, but also about the process by which the entire population could participate more fully in its development via decentralisation. According to Samoff (1979a), in the early 1970s Tanzania attempted to extend decentralisation programmes farther than most of other African states. The education system was also characterised by the linking of the education process with the development of a participatory democratic political process, beginning at the village level and escalating to the national level. For instance, following an increase in the number of primary school students, which lead to a scarcity of physical facilities, the responsibility of the construction and furnishing of schools and teacher houses shifted from the central government to regional villagers and local authorities. In most regions of the country, villagers built primary schools with their bare hands, providing land, raw materials and labour (Langsten, 2014). The government’s contribution, under the UPE programme,
remained the provision of both a tin roof and teachers who had received only a few weeks of training (Okkolin, Lehtomäki, & Bhalalusesa, 2010); that is, whereas the Ministry of National Education had formerly built and equipped primary schools according to a fairly uniform standard, the regional authorities allocated materials (worth $625 per classroom and $865 per teacher's house) to villages, which would construct the buildings by self-help. Although the value of local labour and materials was difficult to calculate, the contribution of self-help in villages averaged $3,000 per classroom in 1977 (Sheffield, 1979).

In contrast to many other African countries, which paid lip service to rural development, equity and concern for basic needs (Schneider, 2004), Tanzania moved consistently towards building a rural, socialist society. In 1970, about 97% of the population lived in rural areas; hence, rural education and training were necessary (Odia, 1971). One of the most important decisions that had implications for primary education was the 1973 movement of the population from scattered homesteads to planned Ujamaa villages, where the government could more easily provide social services and through which the populace could organize themselves into manageable cooperative productive units (Sheikheldin, 2015). Although almost every area of the country contained Ujamaa villages (villages having well-developed social and political systems and collective production systems), the ‘villagisation’ of the whole population, except for a small number of pastoral groups, helped the government to move ahead with its ambitious plans to provide health services, safe water supply and particularly Universal Primary Education (Magesa, 1999).²

Decentralisation involved the shifting many of the policy-making and administrative responsibilities to regions and districts in an attempt to bring the government closer to the people. This was further accelerated by the devolution of responsibilities in the 1975 Village Act, (Green, 2010). Each of the villages elected a chairperson and a secretary to organize the village's communal efforts (usually a farm, and frequently a

² According to (Odia, 1971, p. 16), an Ujamaa village was based on communal ownership of land and collectivisation of production; (while it was unique) it was almost similar in objective and organisational structure to the Israeli kibbutz. Priority was, as a rule, given to Ujamaa villages in the provision of educational, training and agriculture.
marketing cooperative), including committees for education and development. In 1978, village managers were appointed and assigned by the government to the villages, thus bringing the bureaucracy all the way down to the lowest level. The determination to bring development to the rural poor and to involve them in the development process was remarkable (Huizer, 1973).

Similarly, the education system under the Nyerere administration was characterised by the integration of the school and the community. The use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction throughout the primary cycle also helped to minimize the psychological distance between school children and their parents, which studying in a European language increases (Brock-Utne, 2006). All of the subjects were supposed to be related to the local environment, and primary schools would have the use of a school farm or take part in other villages' self-help activities. The links between school and community were strengthened by the Village Act of 1975, which gave villages considerable legal and financial autonomy, and by the need for villages to assume the major responsibility for building schools and teachers' houses (Mahenge, 1985). The goals of closer school-community links were consistent with Tanzania's *Ujamaa* policies of making primary education a terminal course that prepared most school leavers for village life and strengthened the capacity of villages to run their own affairs. As villages assumed the major responsibility for building primary schools, it was inevitable that they would increasingly consider them as their schools rather than the government’s schools.

Given the contemporary signs of the demise of neo-liberal prescriptions in most of the less developed countries, it is essential to learn from Tanzania’s successful past approaches. It is also important to learn from the 1960s and 1970s success stories if the current mass education under construction is to be fruitful by preparing students who will fight against poverty, diseases and ignorance.

### 1.1 Who was Nyerere?

Although the distinction may be difficult to maintain, the intent of this project is not to focus on Nyerere’s career in politics as the President of Tanzania for 23 years, nor make any definitive judgements about the pros and cons of his administration. Rather,
the focus is on his intellectual thoughts as a “genuinely African thinker” (Bjerk, 2011) and a “philosopher-statesman” (Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1995). Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999) was an educator, creative postcolonial thinker and a founding president of independent Tanzania from 1961 to 1985 (Jennings, 2006; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009). Known affectionately as Mwalimu (‘teacher’ in Swahili) throughout Africa, and perhaps among some groups in many countries outside Africa, Nyerere was described as a rare intellectual, an independent African thinker (Othman, 2010) who was open to new ideas and criticism. Nyerere’s fame in the west in 1960s and 1970s was perhaps mainly due to his pre-eminent development of and advocacy for what scholars like Major and Mulvihill (2009) and Chachage and Cassam (2010) referred to as ‘African socialism’. Nyerere was Tanzania’s most prominent political figure (Fouéré, 2014b) and was also one of the most reflective and articulate African socialist leaders (Stoger-Eising, 2000). He had developed his political thought in several influential essays and was a gifted public speaker and outspoken advocate of Ujamaa principles (Agyepong, 2010).

After independence in 1961, Tanzanian policy was closely associated with Nyerere and vice versa, as expressed by the term “Nyerererism” in Lwaitama (2004). The approach to national development implemented by the government of Tanzania was similarly conflated with his powerful presence in the social and political life of the country. On the international scene, after he voluntarily stepped down from the presidency in 1985, Nyerere played a strong role in the mediation process in Burundi and Rwanda in the 1990s (Fouéré, 2015). Nyerere’s public funeral on October 14, 1999, following his death from leukaemia in a London hospital, was one of the most extraordinary outflows of heartbreak ever-witnessed in sub-Saharan Africa (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003; Pratt, 2000). As his coffin was carried through the streets of Dar es Salaam, observers bore witness to the renewed popular emotional investment in Nyerere and, according to Fouéré (2014), the existence of shared feelings of belonging among the Tanzanian citizenry.

3Julius Nyerere was a president of Tanganyika from 1962-1964, and of Tanzania 1964-1985, but remained a pragmatic politician (Stoger-Eising, 2000). Despite some controversies in his political projects regarding socialism, and in particular Ujamaa villages in 1973 (cooperative villages), Nyerere was described as one of the world’s most articulate African liberators (Becker, 2013; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009).
There is a plethora of literature about Nyerere (Kisubi, 2013; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009; Peterson, 2015). While the person is the same, the literature about him is different. Some literature sources seem to be antagonistic to Nyerere’s policies, especially those related to his socialist ideology (Fouéré, 2014b; Schneider, 2004). This group portrays Nyerere’s policies as being mostly detrimental to Tanzania’s development and an example of misleading philosophical idealism and broken political promises which squandered the country’s development opportunities. Legum (1995) for example, contends that, although Nyerere’s aspirations may have been to transform the economy of Tanzania from poverty to prosperity, this goal was not fully achieved. Economic progress was distorted and resources were wasted due to his utopian ideology, giving rise to a marginalised rural sector, corruption and inefficient bureaucracy. This camp concludes that, because of Nyerere’s failed economic schemes, his ideas left Tanzania poorer than it would have been under a less utopian-minded leadership.

What has been overlooked, however, is that Tanzania’s economic challenges may not necessarily be solely due to egalitarian approaches. Napier (2010) argues that the dramatic economic decline that Tanzania experienced in the mid and late 1970s should be associated with years of escalating oil prices, the collapse of the world’s commodity prices and a severe and intensive drought which individually or together reversed the development accomplishment of many African states, regardless of their ideological orientation. This response focuses on the wider conditions beyond Nyerere’s control, and could point to other countries in East Africa, such as Uganda and Kenya, which embraced different, pro-capitalist, development strategies and trajectories, but which faced similar economic difficulties. Similarly, Fidel Castro when responding to a Mexican reporter (SIEMPRE) in an interview on June 4, 1991, at Havana PRENSA, asked, “There is talk of the failure of socialism, and where is the success of capitalism in Africa, Asia, and in Latin America?” (Castro, 1991, p. 2). Castro responded with irony and deep concern for people who rushed to issue a death certificate to socialism without first seriously reviewing the development of capitalism in the less developed world. Fidel further responded, “Where is the triumph when it has generated hunger, poverty, overpopulation, war, and ecological destruction?” (Castro, 1991, p. 2). Based on Castro, the evidence of the successes of
capitalism in less developed countries is still limited, and thus the literature that associates Nyerere’s approaches with the economic downturn maybe missing an argumentative point.

A second group can be identified from the literature that includes scholars who may be regarded as sympathetic to Nyererean policies (Kassam, 1994; Napier, 2010; Nasongo & Musungu, 2009; Pratt, 1999, 2000). The research in this camp acknowledges some of the flaws during the Nyerere administration, such as Tanzania being a one-party state and the centralised economy, but the overall assessment is positive. Othman (2010), for example, argues that it was a sound attempt at avoiding the post independence risks of inequality, elitism, and political instability. Havnevik and Isinika (2010) argued that the economic achievements were modest, but highlighted significant successes in social welfare in which, by the early 1980s and despite economic difficulties, Tanzania had one of the highest literacy rates in Africa, with every village boasting at least a primary school (Samoff, 1990b). Ninety percent of these villages had at least one village cooperative store, while over sixty percent had relatively easy access to a safe water supply and a health centre or a dispensary (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003; Jennings, 2006). In addition, Nyerere’s unique policy of ‘villagisation’ provided a bridge in the gulf between urban and rural dwellers by ensuring the latter had access to basic social amenities (Schneider, 2004). Others, such as Agyepong (2010), argue that Nyerere’s policies, such as those of ‘the basic needs first’, might have helped Tanzania to remain one of the most politically stable countries in Africa, and perhaps spared the country from the violence and open revolt that erupted in other neighbouring countries, such as Egypt, Tunisia, Zambia, Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Kongo and Somalia. This study has not: concentrated on the success and failures of Nyerere’s administration (Ibhawoh and Dibua (2003); romanced him as a person (Othman, 2010); implored Nyerere to pursue different agendas and connect to other political repertoires of morality (Ulimwengu, 2004);

They are sometimes referred to as Ujamaa village. According to Nyerere (1973) “Ujamaa villages are intended to be socialist organizations created by the people, and governed by those who live and work in them. They cannot be created from outside, nor governed from outside. No one can be forced into an Ujamaa village, and no official - at any level - can go and tell the members of an Ujamaa village what they should do together, and what they should continue to do as individual farmers…” (p. 67). The key principle is that they were socialist organisations.
gathered personal memoirs and anecdotal contributions, often drawn from recycled secondary literature; however, this study has sought to use Nyererean ideas to construct a framework for analysing Tanzanian educational policies.

Similarly, researchers, including Samoff (1994a) and Wabike (2014), have written widely on the general status of education, and in particular Mosha (1990) and Ishumi and Maliyamkono (1995) on the implementation of education for self-reliance policy. Others (see for example Omari, Mbise, Mahenge, Malekela, & Besha, 1983; Omari & Mosha, 1987; Sifuna, 2007) have specifically focused on the strengths and challenges of implementing Universal Primary Education during Nyerere’s administration. Other work, like that of Ambrose Kessy and McCourt (2010) and Ambrose Kessy (2013), focused on decentralisation during the Nyerere administration, but did not connect it to education. The conclusion of their study was that, although the central governments supported popular participation through self-help projects, Ujamaa had the ironic effect of making local administrators the mere agents of the central government. A limited number of studies, such as those by Therkildsen (2000) and Lillis (1990), have addressed education decentralisation in Tanzania specifically, but without adequately relating this to Nyererean ideas. A recent study by Sasaoka and Nishuma (2010) investigated whether Universal Primary Education weakens decentralisation in East Africa (Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania), and concluded that central control has strengthened while the notion of increased local control under decentralisation has become blurred; thus, they propose the enhancement of participation and accountability in school governance in order to recover client power.

Building on the aforementioned work, this study takes a different approach. This study sets out to construct a Nyererean framework based on an extensive analysis of his published work, and to then apply this framework to an analysis of Tanzanian educational policies, particularly those related to decentralisation and Universal Primary Education. In a sense, this is an attempt to analyse policy through a distinctive Nyererean lens, adding a deeper understanding of it and its trajectory. As such, this project moves away from the previous conceptions and dominant approaches: it examines Tanzanian educational policies collected via extensive fieldwork in Nyererean terms.
1.2 Primary Education in Tanzania: Current Context and Reality

Tanzania is located in East Africa and has a population of almost 45 million, with an estimated GDP per capita of $1127 USD (URT, 2012). The current model of school education is summarised as 2-7-6 (4+2), and a three-year model of university education. This implies: 2 years of pre-primary education (years 1 and 2); 7 years of primary education (standards I-VII); 4 years of secondary ordinary level education (forms 1-4); and 2 years of secondary advanced level education (forms 5 and 6). The official school attendance age ranges from 5-6 for pre-primary, 7-13 for primary, 14-17 for lower secondary and 18-19 years for upper secondary (BEST, 2010a).

Although Tanzania is considered to be a ‘poor nation’ by most international standards (Ng’ondi, 2012), it has a long history of strategies to combat ignorance, disease and poverty. These efforts include reforms that focus on decentralisation and Universal Primary Education. Tanzania’s efforts to expand primary education have been on the government agenda since independence in 1961, and particularly from 1974 when Tanzania launched its first accelerated drive towards Universal Primary Education. There is an extensive body of literature that analyses and evaluates the inception, implementation and outcomes of this drive (Kuder, 2005; Manara & Mwombela, 2012; Sifuna, 2007). What seems to be common in this literature is the recognition of success in terms of access to education with, for example, a reported increase in the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) from 48.6% in 1974 to 98% in 1991, but with an argued decrease in quality education (Sifuna, 2007). However, these gains toward Universal Primary Education were eroded following the economic recession in the late 1980s and the introduction of a cost sharing policy in the social sector (Ng’ondi, 2012). This cost sharing covered primary education, where parents were required to pay school fees and other mandatory contributions. In response to the deterioration of many of the aspects of primary education, Tanzania formulated a number of policies, including the Education and Training Policy (URT, 1995) whose main aims included: improving the quality of education processes; improving and increasing access and
equity for all children, decentralising the management of primary schools; and devolving authority to local governments.

In 2002, in the context of the UN’s Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Tanzania renewed its 1974 commitment and launched its second accelerated drive, bringing the international (MDG) target date of 2015 forward to 2005. The Dakar Forum made a collective commitment, later to be adapted to the MDGs, to ensure “that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality” (UN, 2012, p. 16). The government of Tanzania initiated the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) covering the period between 2002 and 2006. This was followed by the second phase of the Education Development Plan between 2007 and 2011. PEDP programmes were developed from ESDP and were aimed at translating Tanzania’s development vision 2025 and the Education and Training Policy 1995 into specific targets that were set to achieve the goals agreed to in Jomtien in 1990 UNESCO (1990). They were also specified in the World Education Forum on Education for All (EFA) and the World Summit Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (World Education Forum, 2000). The underlying principles of the PEDP were increased access, equity and quality for all children. Key features of the PEDP were to: abolish school fees and all other mandatory contributions, introduce capitation grants in which each pupil was to be allocated $10 USD per year and establish development grants that were transferred to school from the central government. These were meant for the purchase of desks, and the construction of teachers’ houses, for classrooms and for toilets (URT, 2011).

Moreover, the roles and responsibilities of institutions and actors dealing with education were also revised. Although primary education involves several ministries and departments, its current management can be classified into three main levels. The first level is the central government and includes the Prime Minister’s Office Regional Administration and Local Government (PMORALG), and the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT). The main responsibilities of the central government include overseeing local authorities in the provision of education. The second level includes local government and its responsibilities, include monitoring, reviewing and evaluating the progress of primary education at the district level (URT, 2008c). The third level is a school committee comprised of teachers, parents and
pupils. The head teacher is the secretary of this committee and is responsible for all school financial transactions. Among the parents’ responsibilities are the provision of learning materials such as exercise books, pens and pencils, health expenses, and food. The parents or local communities also make some contributions in the form of cash or labour to top up the development grants received by the school from the central government for the purpose of the construction or rehabilitation of classrooms and teachers’ houses (Manara & Mwombela, 2012; SAQMEC, 2011; URT, 2006).

From the foregoing discussion, it can be noted that, from 1961, the Tanzanian government established several policies to expand primary education, which were aimed at increasing access, equity and quality. Since 2000, the status of primary education in Tanzania has improved considerably. For example, the Net Enrolment Ratio increased from 59% in 2000 to 95.4% in 2010 and the Gross Enrolment Ratio increased from 78% in 2000 to 106.4 in 2010 (UNESCO, 2010b). In raw figures, primary school enrolment increased from approximately 4.9 million in 2000 to 8.4 million in 2010 (BEST, 2010a).

In spite of the impressive achievement in the size of school enrolment, Hartwig (2013) and Anangisye (2011) found that a majority of pupils were without access to high quality education. A recent UNESCO (2012) report documents several problems in the primary education sector, using standard quantitative measures of quality. One problem includes the Primary Teacher: Pupil Ratio (TPR), which was 55 to 1 in 2009. In addition, significant disparities exist, ranging from a low of 28 to 1 in Iringa District (urban) to an extraordinary 315 to 1 (TPR) in Sikonge District (rural). This situation would almost certainly affect teachers’ capacity to work effectively and their willingness to stay in remote areas. The Pupil/Text Book Ratio was not yet 1:1, as required by the government standard, but ranged from 1:3 in the Tanga Region to 1:6 in Kagera Region. The capitation grants were often untimely and lower than planned. Late entry was also among the major difficulties, and many children did not attend school at all. In 2006 for example, only 36% of students in standard one were of school age. Some 925,000 estimated out of school students (representing 13% of primary school aged children) had never attended school.
1.3 Research Questions

The overall objective of the current study is to examine and assess the Tanzanian educational reforms, policies and structures between 1961-2015 against a Nyererean framework and its component parts, developed for this project. To guide the analysis of the policies, I employed some basic analytical questions that were connected to the Nyererean framework.

a) The overarching research question of this study is:

How did educational policy in Tanzania, from 1961-2015, relate to the broad political project of Ujamaa?

b) Sub-questions (for the whole study):

i) What were the major characteristics of the project of Ujamaa and African socialism, as elaborated by Nyerere?

ii) What were the main articulations of this framework in the area of education?

iii) How did educational policy align with this framework?

c) Analytical question for policy analysis:

i. What were the major milestones, directions, and themes of educational policies during the 1961-2015 periods?

ii. In what ways did educational policies align with, and/or contribute to the achievement of the three major components of the Nyererean framework for education: Ujamaa, education for self-reliance; educational expansion (UPE); and Nyererean educational decentralization?

iii. In what ways did educational policies contradict the expressed objectives of the Nyererean framework for education?

iv. What new and distinctive insights into educational policy in Tanzania can be drawn from this analysis and interpretation of policy and its trajectory?
1.4 Significance and Potential Contribution of the Project

The study uses the Nyererean framework, which has been drawn from a deep engagement with the extensive body of work of Nyerere, and so grounded in the local historical, social and political context. The significance of this study, therefore, resides first in the elaboration of a comprehensive Nyererean framework for education, related to the broader project of *Ujamaa* (African socialism), which is essential for understanding Tanzanian history post-1961, and, second, the trajectory of educational policy since then. In turn, this significance extends to the particular interpretation of educational policy made through this lens, which contributes new insights and understandings of this historical and contemporary case. By developing and using the Nyererean framework, the study contributes to the broader project of identifying and highlighting the distinctive African approach and ideas. The outcome of the project will, I hope, reinforce the need for concrete historical investigations and point out the limitations of the dominant (master key) approaches.

This study is rooted in the philosophy of Nyerere (1968d) who called on African intellectuals to retain their African-ness while, at the same time, take advantage of and utilise the knowledge that they had acquired as the consequences of western impacts, designed to improve African living conditions and ensure the dignity of Africans. It builds on Nyerere’s (1973) argument that Africans have something in their culture and civilisation worthy of retention and of which they should be proud, such as social institutions and values. The thinking here extends to the argument of Nyerere (1966) that it is not necessary for Africans to renounce their heritage in order to improve under modern conditions. According to Nyerere (1973), the essential choice was not between modernity and traditionalism, between backwardness and progress, between developments and stagnation, as it may often have been presented according to dominant, western and imperialist logic. Rather, the question for Nyerere was how the Tanzanian/African community could become modern, progressive and developed, and yet remain distinctively and essentially African.

1.5 My Normative Position
Penney (2001) recommends that we declare personal agendas for undertaking policy research. His arguments resonate with this study. As Penny (2001) puts it:

There seems a continuing reluctance to accept that as researchers we can and indeed should acknowledge and actively reflect upon our personal agendas. I suggest that rarely is educational research, and particularly policy research in education, undertaken without strong (even if not explicit) commitments and accompanying interests in instigating or encouraging change...Reflecting upon the motivations for undertaking research and specifically hopes of 'impact' in arenas of policy and practice seems crucial if we are to acknowledge, and address from the outset, that the act of research is by no means a neutral one...this is about admitting that we do have an agenda - that is personal and inevitably political...it will always be there - and in many instances will be the driving force that retains our commitment to a project (p. 1).

Based on Penny’s arguments, I identify myself as being not only an educational researcher interested in Comparative and International Education, but also a Tanzanian civil servant and educational superintendent, working with local government and dealing with the day-to-day management of primary education and equity issues. My everyday tasks involve not only working with teachers and students, but also school management committees and parents in general, to take part in running the schools in their jurisdictions. This includes making sure that all the school age children within our municipality are enrolled on time. My position requires me to work with education stakeholders in ways that prompt development by addressing inequalities within schools and structures, and addressing policies that could be inhibiting students’ participation in education.

Similarly, my interest in using Nyererean ideas to analyse Tanzanian policies is connected with my academic journey. It originates from provocative questions that were asked by one of my Norwegian professors at the University of Oslo when I was completing my Master of Philosophy in comparative and international education. One day this professor came to our class to deliver a lecture. Before she began teaching, she said she had some questions to ask Tanzanian students. Her first question was,
“From where do you import cars in Tanzania?” “From Japan”, we answered. She asked, “Why?” We said, “Well, because Tanzania is a poor country that does not manufacture cars.” She nodded her head. Her second question was, “From where do you get goods like medicine, computers, mobile phones and their spare parts?” We said, “Mostly from China and other developed countries like USA, German and others.” She asked “Why?” We said, “Tanzania is a developing country with no factory to manufacture those commodities.” Then she came closer to me and asked, “What is your name?” I replied, “My name is Elpidius.” She continued, “What does that mean?” I said, “I am not very sure.” And, she asked, “From where did you import that?” I answered that it sounds Greek. She asked why, and I had no good answer. I also had four classmates from Tanzania. Their names were Alice, Blackson and Mohamed. None of us had a first name that was distinctively (endogenously) African.

The professor then stopped questioning and continued her lecture (about the recolonisation of the African minds). However, in connection to those questions I could guess what her following questions would be: “Are there no names in Tanzania? Why, should you import something, which you already have?” Those questions have been ringing in my mind and have made me rethink the appropriateness of importing almost everything from the west and sometimes from Asian countries without questioning the necessity of this. The professor’s questions have indeed been one of the catalysts/motivations for me to rethink the alternative models of analysing African policies. The construction of the Nyererean framework for education is part of my response to the professor’s critical questions. It is against this backdrop that my commitment to the Nyererean principles of uncovering and developing a distinctive African/Tanzanian identity and approach was evoked. Policy analysis in this study is, therefore, based on my normative position: that all children in Tanzania should have access to free or affordable primary education of high quality, in a manner that involves greater participation of the school community than is presently seen, and where decentralisation does not lead to inequitable distribution of resources.
1.6 Methodology for the Study

This study examines major policy themes, milestones, directions, the continuity or contribution of policies to the framework, and ways in which educational policies from 1961-2015 contradict the Nyererean framework for education in Tanzania. By using a Nyererean framework (developed in chapter three) the study examines, assesses and interprets Tanzanian educational reforms, Acts, circulars, rules, speeches, polices and structures from 1961 to 2015. I then organise the findings into four major sections: 1) Ujamaa, 2) education for self-reliance, 3) education expansion (UPE) and 4) Nyererean education decentralisation.

1.7 Chapter Overview (Thesis Structure)

This thesis is comprised of seven chapters. The first three chapters situate the study within a review of literature and the establishment of the Nyererean framework. Three analytical chapters covering policy over identified time periods follow.

Chapter 1

Chapter one presents some of the background for the study, outlines the project and the approach taken, and states the rationale. It begins by describing national independence movements across Africa coming to power in the post-colonial context, political trajectories shaped by the Cold War and the growing nationalist and pan-African sentiments of those seeking to rediscover distinctive ways. It also discusses the role of the Tanzanian founding president as an active and leading intellectual in such endeavours, and the implication for education and its role in constructing the new Ujamaa society. It highlights how the Nyererean educational vision included strong commitments to Universal Primary Education, which was to be achieved through a particular form of decentralisation.

Chapter 2

This chapter presents a literature review.
Chapter 3
Chapter three presents the Nyererean framework for education that has been developed for this study. The framework is composed of four interlocked tenets: *Ujamaa* (African socialism), education for self-reliance, education expansion (UPE) and Nyererean education decentralisation.

Chapter 4
Chapter four covers the pre-*Ujamaa* and self-reliance era between 1961 and 1966. The chapter begins by setting out the context in which the education policies of this period emerged. Like subsequent chapters, it identifies the major themes and links them with the tenets of the Nyererean framework. Unlike the preceding chapters, chapter four presents an analysis of the time when Tanzania had not yet officially implemented the philosophies of African socialism. These policies are dealt with in the next chapters. However, as there were slight features of the African socialism, which co-existed with the inherited orthodox liberal approaches in this period, a theme of chapter is an emphasis on post-primary education for economic growth, which had the effect of primary education being neglected.

Chapter 5
Besides providing the context in which the policies of this period emerged, chapter five covers *Ujamaa* and the self-reliance era of 1967-1985. This chapter is characterised by policies that largely aligned with the Nyererean perspectives. The main emphasis identified in these policies was a need to place the economy or the major means of production into the hands of the masses. Large capitalist farms were nationalised. The government sought to ‘delink’ from the world economy by seeking to end dependency on foreign powers. In education, these policies of self-reliance were reflected in an attempt to merge work and study, and to upgrade the value and importance of productive work. Contradictory tendencies are identified and examined, such as the charging of a primary school fee of 20 Tanzanian shillings in direct contradiction with the Nyererean ethos of universal and free education. At the same time, significant policies on education expansion were introduced in this period via the Musoma Resolution, and these contributed to the impressive gains of over 95%
Gross Enrolment Ratio in the 1980s. The chapter concludes by considering the economic difficulties faced by Tanzania in the early 1980s, and the corresponding challenge to maintain these gains, in addition to the Nyererean principles of education for *Ujamaa* and self-reliance, under changed conditions. The Structural Adjustment Policies were introduced in the mid 1980s as the panacea for the Tanzanian social and economic hardships, and are dealt with in the next chapter.

**Chapter 6**

Chapter six concludes the historical analysis of primary education in Tanzania, and covers the period between 1986 and 2015. This was an important period in the history of Tanzania as it marked the major shift from the particular Tanzanian development path of African socialism, which the country consciously had constructed and aimed for since 1967, to the embracing of the neo-liberal tendencies and practices that were ostensibly adopted in response to a severe economic downturn. This is reflected in the shift from regarding education as a public responsibility to a recurring theme of emphasising the development of a market economy. In contrast to the Nyererean framework that underscored the importance of free education, as set out in chapter three, this period places emphasis on decentralisation via privatisation of educational services.

**Chapter 7**

Chapter seven concludes the whole thesis. It is organised into four major arguments: *Ujamaa*, education for self-reliance, education expansion and Nyererean education decentralisation. The major themes detail the analytical work that constitutes the key contributions to the field of educational policy. The analysis and interpretation in the four major arguments are based on the particular lens of the Nyererean framework for education, and provide particular insights into the history of educational policy in Tanzania, their characteristics and how the contemporary and future policy and practices might be viewed differently in the light of this project.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to situate this project, this chapter reviews research literature across three areas: education in Tanzania, educational decentralisation and Universal Primary Education (UPE). As elaborated below, the research literature characterises Tanzanian education in various ways. While the common finding is that the post-independent government prioritised post-primary education to produce high-level human capital, others associate education concerns in the early years of independence with the creation of nationalistic leaders who were urgently required for critiquing the colonial administration. Since 1967, Universal Primary Education has been presented as a major policy aspiration and this has been characterised in various ways, including as a human right, in terms of the formation of human capital, and as part of the production of good citizens who would build an *Ujamaa* society. Decentralisation was introduced in 1972, not only as a strategy for mobilising community labour through self-help schemes to build schools, but also and indeed mainly as a prerequisite for the egalitarian ethos.

2.1 Tanzania Education under Nyerere

There is a significant body of literature dealing with the administration of Nyerere (see for example Agyepong, 2010; Fouéré, 2014; Mesaki & Malipula, 2011). Apart from the justifications that Nyerere (1973) linked to the introduction of the new policies, Bjerk (2010) and Jennings (2006) associate the educational concerns in the early years of independence with the creation of nationalistic leaders who were urgently required for both critiquing the departing colonial administration and also implementing policies that would be consistent with the country’s new ideology of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance.

Dennis and Stahley (2012) point out that, soon after independence, the education system during the administration of Nyerere prioritised secondary and higher education to produce the necessary high-level human capital. Given the existence of
an insufficient pool of adults who had completed secondary school and a small number of university graduates, C. Chachage (2010) argues that the newly independent Tanganyika had to assign its highest educational priority to human resource development, particularly at the higher levels. This demand for high-level skills was connected to the economic and political imperatives to replace foreign workers with Tanzanians and thus further reinforce the priority of education Samoff (1990b). As the new administration that superseded the colonial rule placed an emphasis on high-level skills, more post-primary schools had to be built or expanded.

Education expansion was thus regarded as being by widespread popular demand and was promised by the nationalistic movement (Agyepong, 2010). This characterisation is also found in the work of Ibhawoh and Dibua (2003) and Kassam (1994) who posit that the new administration also considered education expansion to be critical to: self-reliant economic growth, the political mobilisation of the citizens and the establishment and maintenance of a democratic political order. According to Nasongo and Musungu (2009), the educational demand emanated from the assumption that effective participation required literate citizens to promote political participation, which in turn was a prerequisite for economic development. Maliyamkono (1980) extends this argument as a major move towards integrating the school with the community.

There are different explanations of the history of the national education system in Tanzania, such that educational expansion in the early years of independence holds different meanings in different studies. Whereas Major and Mulvihill (2009) argue that popular pressure was for access to primary schools, which in the earlier era had promised upward social mobility, Brock-Utne (2006) stresses that the critical educational task was to develop highly skilled workers to take over the positions of the expatriates and also to fulfil the agreement made in Addis Ababa with respect to human rights. This position, in part, aligns with the ideas of Giannini (2009) who writes that the administration intended educational expansion to be an investment in human capital and not solely as fundamental right to every citizen, as maintained by Othman (2010).
Another feature of the Nyererean administration that appears in the literature was the massive campaign for adult education between the 1960s and 1970s (Abdi & Kapoor, 2009). According to Mulenga (2001), the administration desired a literate adult population such that it would have an immediate effect on rural economic development, where the impact from increasing the enrolment in primary schools would be felt for up to 20 years. A mass mobilisation plan was put in place for the eradication of illiteracy within a period of four years (Ngoc & Caillods, 1975). Adult education classes in rural areas came to be characterised as community learning centres with a staged curriculum that focused on literacy and numeracy, but also had a special focus on political, community and agricultural education. Health education, as Mariki (2014) observes, was incorporated into adult education and supplemented by being taught at village health centres, such as hospitals and dispensaries. Radio broadcasts and the growing use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in all primary schools provided support to adult education (Brock-Utne, 2006). Primary school teachers, volunteers, and former pupils became teachers in these adult learning centres, although they had little formal training in andragogy.

Moreover, Sabates, Westbrook, and Hernandez (2012) argue that, in an attempt to avoid a north to south educational transfer, the administration established a range of indigenous education systems and referred to them as “Kwamsisi” schools, in which the curriculum placed emphasis on teaching agriculture, health, and life skills. The systems also included participatory and child centred pedagogies that incorporated children with special education needs. In these model schools, Kiswahili became the Language of Instruction (LOI) (Brock-Utne, 2006). While the cognitive level of instruction was said to be low, Sabates et al. (2012) argue that Tanzania became unique in using primary school students' mother or indigenous tongues.

In addition, Sabates et al. (2012) note that a contemporary evaluation in 1976 regarded Tanzania as the only country within English speaking Africa which had adopted a national policy to provide out of school and affordable education for children unable to access schooling as an essential component of the formal system. S. Chachage (2010) also maintains that Tanzania achieved one of the highest literacy levels, not only in Africa, but globally, to ensure that as many adults as possible acquired the 3Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic). According to Abdi and Kapoor
illiteracy levels dropped from 69% in the 1960s to 9.6% in the mid 1980s; by 1983 more money was being spent on universal adult literacy than primary education. In 1985, when Nyerere retired from the presidency, the illiteracy levels for the population aged 13 years and above had dropped to 10%, as compared to 85% in 1961 when Tanzania gained independence (Mariki, 2014).

Similarly, Ishumi and Maliyamkono (1995) and Mosha (1990) have also evaluated the place of education in the economy under the Nyerere administration. Mosha (1990) focuses on how the implementation of education for self-reliance helped students, teachers and other members of the school community to change their attitudes towards work. His study discovered that, in addition to engaging in a variety of productive school projects, students and members of the school community became increasingly willing to perform manual activities, which were initially carried out by the servant staff. According to Wabike (2014), such chores included cleaning the school, washing their own clothes, making their beds (for those who were in boarding schools), washing their plates and dishes, book binding, pottery, basket making, weaving, shoe making, carpentry, brick making, wood curving, fishnet making, boat building and the making of simple farm implements.

Ngoc and Caillods (1975) report that a few cooperative shops were also established under the administration and that they operated successfully. These shops provided pupils with a chance to learn about cooperative organisations. The school was designed to give students first hand experience in the early stages of the working of a cooperative society. In this way, the government saved some of the school maintenance expenditure and students learned to be responsible for the upkeep of their own surroundings (Rwiza, 2014). These findings support Maliyamkono (1980) who carried out a study which demonstrated that the revenue received by secondary schools in 1970 offset government expenditure on secondary education by 2.5%. In addition, apart from the direct economic gains made by the government and the schools, students gained ‘relevant’ skills and attitudes aimed at preparing them to face the out of school environment and managerial skills that would enable them to plan and perform activities outside the classroom.
Research by Rwiza (2014) and Wabike (2014) focused on the way many schools in Tanzania were involved in income generating projects, and how some were able to meet running costs. This is an expansion of the point that was raised by Ngoc and Caillods (1975), whereby some educational institutions served as exemplary centres from which the people in the local community could learn best practices in agricultural production and animal husbandry. For instance, Mosha (1990) found that Weruweru secondary school in Kilimanjaro Region in Tanzania was able to produce enough cereals to feed its students throughout the year. The yield per hectare was more than 30 bags. The same study found that other educational institutions like the Institute of Production Innovation at the University of Dar es Salaam and Sokoine University, both in Tanzania, embarked on projects geared towards resolving practical development problems and, hence, were able to contribute directly to the community and national income.

According to Major and Mulvihill (2009), the strength of Tanzanian education was such that many countries in Africa adapted Nyerere’s ideas of Education for Self-reliance and some successfully implemented the model. Botswana, for instance, widely adapted the idea that education should develop citizens who are self-reliant. One of the five national principles of Botswana, according to Major and Mulvihill (2009), was self-reliance. The national commission on education (NCE) states that:

> Self-reliance is important for the nation, for the institutions, and for the individuals...self-reliance for the nation means freeing the country from dependence on expatriates...for institutions and individuals involved to take initiatives and seize opportunities without waiting for government orders, or for government to provide service which community or individuals could organise for themselves (Botswana, 1977, p. 28)

Consequently, most villages in Botswana built junior secondary schools and many other educational institutions through the idea of self-reliance and by providing several contributions.

The research literature, including that undertaken by Brock-Utne (2006) Cameron (1980) also highlights how the national education system under the Nyerere
administration experienced some major shifts. In the late 1970s, Tanzania’s economic shortfalls became manifest, leading to the adoption of the national Economic Survival Programme (1981-1982) and successive Structural Adjustment Plans (1982-1986). In considering these, Fouéré (2014) noted that the Ujamaa lexicon was abandoned in favour of vocabulary related to change and modern capitalism, such as trade liberalism, increased wealth, globalisation and going with time. Indeed, there seems to be a general agreement in the literature that educational philosophies under the leadership of Nyerere were relevant to the Tanzanian context, but lacked proper interpretations, leading to poor policy implementation (see for example Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1995; Rwiza, 2014; Wolhuter, 2004). Phillips (2013) argues that the policy was narrowly defined, whereby the official interest and effort centred on the agricultural aspects of primary course, such that pupils were preoccupied with the tilling of the land and neglected the intended dialectical link between theory and practice.

Part of that emphasis included some distortions, as documented by Mosha (1990), who argues that because some overzealous implementers feared that they would be swept away by the ‘revolution’ they decided to embark on a haphazard implementation of the policy by ordering each pupil to cultivate two hectares of land. Such overambitious practices were aimed at making impressive headlines without necessarily accurately portraying the problems that would be encountered. In other extreme cases, Biersteker (1980) report that teachers set extra work on the farm as a form of punishment, an approach which was unlikely to encourage favourable attitudes towards agriculture. In some schools, the areas being cultivated were far away and became an intolerable burden for teachers and pupils alike.

Although the main goal of merging theory and practice was the integration of the community and the school, the task was not simple (Sabates et al., 2012). For instance, Rwiza (2014) notes that when primary school graduates went back to their parents, they found that their parents were neither willing to fragment their holdings nor listen to the offspring’s advice regarding the modern methods of agriculture which the youngsters had been taught at school. According to Green (2010), some pupils, aged 15 to 19, who graduated from standard VII were unlikely to become farmers as long as they believed a better living could be achieved through formal
employment as a clerk, mechanic or as a worker in some small scale industry. This was a common problem and an outcome at direct odds with the Nyererean vision.

In addition, Rwiza (2014) argues that the concept of learning by doing was misinterpreted. The orientation of productive work is different from merging theory and practice. Although the two terms are mutually reinforcing, as noted by Saul (2012), and in practice complement each other (Otunnu, 2015), they are not supposed to replace each other. However, whereas education for self-reliance aimed at merging theory and practice in all subjects such as mathematics, physics and geography, it became construed as ‘income generating activities’. Nevertheless, Rwiza (2014) maintains that responsibility for the failures of education for self-reliance lay not only with its architect, but also with the lack of resources, human power and the dominant top down approaches, which the implementers inherited from the western models of education. This argument is consistent with Mosha (1990), who asserts that the concept of education for self-reliance came from above, with enormous political pressure and public drama, and insufficient time was allowed for interpretation, debate and opposition on the part of the stakeholders. Education for self-reliance policies were pioneered by their proponents, however, Mosha (1990) maintains that it was difficult to recruit over a 20 year period believers who were also practitioners. This seems to have contributed significantly to complications in building a cooperative, challenging and creative socialist management structure or management, according to Samoff (1998).

Another theme emerges from the literature that is related to the misuse of authority. According to Bjerk (2010), reports on the misuse of authority and power, and cases of embezzlement of public funds at various levels eroded the confidence that people had in their leaders. Instead of the public seeing their leaders as believers of Ujamaa and education for self-reliance projects (Wohluter (2004) pointed out, the leaders came to be labelled as ‘blood suckers’. Given this tension, it became increasingly difficult for the public to implement ideas preached by leaders who seemed to disbelieve their own rhetoric. This is illustrated by the assertion in the package of education for self-reliance that each level of education was complete and terminal in itself (Nyerere, 1974d).
The Tanzanian education system was and still is made up of seven years for primary school, four to six years of secondary education, and three to five years of university. Although government leaders and politicians speak of primary education being complete in itself, Wohluter (2004) argues that almost none of them terminated his/her children from standard VII. According to Stoger-Eising (2000), education for self-reliance lacked clear differentiation between primary education and basic education. Whereas primary education was supposed to prepare the students for the next level, such as secondary school or college (Mosha, 1990), basic education was supposed to develop learning abilities and equip students with basic skills and experiences to allow them a reasonable standard of living.

In sum, based on the literature reviewed, there are diverging assessments of education and its success in meeting the official goals, particularly when coupled with some significant shifts in policy away from Ujamaa principles. Some of the literature associates the expansion of education with the political need to critique departing colonial administration. Others associate education expansion with financial needs to enhance the economy through producing more high-level workforce. Yet others see education as part of the overarching Ujamaa project and as a vehicle for spreading the Ujamaa dispositions in various ways. These dispositions included cooperative endeavours such as working together, participatory processes and merging study and work. Nevertheless, a significant part of literature presents the argument that it was difficult to implement the principles of Nyerere, because some officials preached what they did not seem to believe. They talked about Ujamaa, but indirectly embraced capitalism. In addition to the overarching cold war context, such an argument suggests the potential reasons for failure in the implementation of some of the educational policies during the Nyerere administration.

2.2 Universal Primary Education in Tanzania

Although there is abundant literature that addresses Universal Primary Education (see for example Behrman, 2015; Brundrett, 2014; Langsten, 2014), much of it avoids defining this concept; therefore, it means different things to different people,
including researchers and policy makers. It is perhaps taken for granted that it is understood to everyone. The lack of definition, according to Kuder (2005), is not incidental, but could mean that it is difficult to pin down. According to Omari et al. (1983), Universal Primary Education is used as a synonym for:

- The capacity, within a network of primary schools, to provide spaces for all school age children;
- The mandatory attendance of all school age children for a specified period, which entails: enacting a compulsory attendance law; making schools pleasant, attractive, rewarding, and inspiring; and solving family labour and financial problems resulting from the absence of children from home;
- Universal geographic, socioeconomic and cultural accessibility to primary schools;
- Enrolment of all school age children in grade 1 of primary school, which may require physically bringing them to school;
- The capacity to provide enough grade 1 places for school age students, regardless of what happens later or what decisions have been made about compulsory versus voluntary registration and attendance;
- Universal literacy, with instruction available to anyone, irrespective of age, regularity of attendance; and
- Universal, free, compulsory school education.

However, Omari et al. (1983) did not clarify a number of issues patterning to Universal Primary Education. For instance, the extent to which education is free is contentious as there are always indirect fees for students’ families for uniforms, contributions for buildings and school equipment. There are also marginal opportunity costs for parents who forego child labour in the family (Phillips, 2013).

In addition, several studies take it for granted that, firstly, Universal Primary Education will entail compulsory attendance, free of school fees, for a specified period, which is normally between ages 6 and 12 in less developed countries (Grogan 2009) and between 6 and 16 in developed countries (Richards and Vining 2015); and, secondly, that the government is obligated to make schools accessible, attractive and palatable to the learners (Eldridge, 2011). However, there are serious questions as
to whether attendance at school should be compulsory, whether schooling should be uniform and even whether schools provide the best approach to acquiring or providing education (Komba, 2013; Saraie, 2016). Very often these questions remain unanswered and reflect conflict within and amongst researchers. At the same time, the requirements for the number of years of compulsory education vary widely, even among African countries. UNESCO (2010a) undertook an analysis of the latter issue in 45 African member states and found that it varied widely from 6 to 13 years. The age of completion differed from 11 to 19, with the largest group finishing at 14 (13 countries).

Notwithstanding the presence of many convincing definitions, Universal Primary Education remains a largely a political issue as is shown in the work of Vavrus and Moshi (2009). Whereas most governments are primarily interested for Universal Grade One (Sitta, 2007), compulsory attendance and quality education are secondary to them (Brundrett, 2014; Sifuna, 2007).

Omari et al. (1983) have categorised the motives for Universal Primary Education into three clusters: human rights, equity and economic and social development. The human rights motive received its inspiration and platform from the 1948 United Nations General Assembly on the Universal Declaration of Human rights. To be specific, Article 26 (1) of the declaration, of which Tanzania is a signatory, propounds the right to education as follows: “everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory”. The right to education is thus taken to be fundamental and essential for the exercise and realisation of all other human rights, such as voting in elections, working in jobs other than the most degrading and exhausting menial labour, and being able to defend one self, especially in courts of law (URT, 2013). In addition, lack of education inhibits social and economic development, and instead promotes unquestioned myths and assumptions. However, Moosa (2013) notes that access to education is not a sufficient condition for social justice. It does not provide guarantees against exploitation, fascism or the degradation of human dignity.

The economic argument for Universal Primary Education is that primary education increases economic development and, hence, is central to any long-term strategy for
economic, social and political modernization (Langsten, 2014). Based on her findings, Komba (2013) links the necessity of the Universal Primary Education to a human capital theory which states that: a) expenditure on education should not be treated as pure consumption, but as an investment; b) increased investment in human capital not only increases productivity, but also increases an individual's income; and c) education spending is an individual and societal investment, because it is associated with a positive rate of return to both the individual and society.

Similarly, Bruns, Minghat, and Rakotomalala (2003) conclude their study by combining the economic and political motives, and argue that education is fundamental for the construction of globally competitive economies and democratic societies. It is a key to creating, applying and spreading new ideas and technologies, which, in turn, are critical for sustained growth; it augments cognitive and other skills, which in turn increases labour productivity. According to Appleton (2001), expansion of educational opportunity is one of the most powerful instruments for reducing poverty and inequality, and for laying the basis for sustained economic growth, sound governance and effective institutions.

However, Appleton (2001) presents this relationship in an overly straightforward way. The linkage between education expansion and economic growth is not as uncomplicated as some of the literature presents (see for example Behrman, 2015; Richards & Vining, 2015; Saraie, 2016). Aside from the rights based argument for the importance of Universal Primary Education, some of the literature highlights the need for investment in education by pointing to the poverty alleviating benefits that are claimed to be associated with it. For example, in her concluding remarks, Ekaju (2011) argues that Universal Primary Education was supposed to be an essential condition if Uganda had dreams of alleviating poverty by 2025.

However, Wedgwood (2007) conducted a study which demonstrated that in many countries in Africa, including Kenya and Tanzania in 1970s and Malawi in 1994, enrolment surges occurred at rates of more than 50% and, therefore, came close to achieving Universal Primary Education, and yet the hoped-for benefits in terms of economic development have not been realised. Impressive surges in primary enrolments in Tanzania were, in many cases, followed by regression in the 1990s
Anangisye, 2011; Okkolin et al., 2010). Tanzania is, therefore, taken as one of the most pertinent examples of a country where earlier efforts to get all children into primary schools yielded little apparent economic benefit in the long term. Although a relatively high percentage of the adult population passed through primary school in the 1970s and early 1980s, Tanzania remains one of the poorest countries in the world (Fouéré, 2014; Kuder, 2005). Reasons why primary education did not lead to poverty reduction in the Tanzanian case can be found both within the education system and in the environment into which the primary graduates entered (Wedgwood, 2007). Thus, although the exact relationship between education expansion and economic development is not easy to quantify, and remains a topic of ongoing debate, Universal Primary Education is widely seen to be at least a necessary pre-condition for national economic development.

In addition, equity issues seem to be some of the most popular arguments for universalising primary education in developing countries (Anangisye, 2011; Brundrett, 2014). Even in the most regressive and stratified societies, politicians obtain legitimacy by espousing equity (Easterly, 2009). The argument put forward for Universal Primary Education is that education has equalising effects in the sense that it recognises and rewards intellectual excellence in the race for status, power, occupation and income. However, Behrman (2015) has warned that equalisation is not that simple in education and life. It requires the examination of types and causes of inequalities, and their manifestation as inequities in schooling. Whereas children may start school as equals, not all schools in all societies make efforts to equalise their opportunities for each child to succeed. For example, Sayed (2010) in South Africa found that children were treated unequally in the classroom, depending on race, class and personality, and that the differences in treatment contributed to unequal outcomes. Diversities in talents between boys and girls in Muslim communities in Zanzibar were not equally appreciated/cultivated (Anangisye, 2011). Moreover, where more equal educational attainment was achieved, it did not necessarily translate into more equal opportunities and outcomes in society.

Other critics such as Eldridge (2011) have questioned the potential for equal opportunity through education. Advocates for de-schooling, such as Ivan Illich (1926-2002) argues that schools were oppressive, manipulative instruments serving the
interest of the elite in developing countries and in capitalist countries (Feinberg & Soltis, 2009). In Tanzania for instance, Anangisye (2011) argues that children of the middle class and those who stayed in urban centres mostly began schooling at the ‘right age’ and were not likely to drop out, as compared to their counterparts from economically poor rural areas. Based on these grounds, Cameron (2012) asserted that it is impractical to assume that students who began school as unequals could benefit equally and fairly from the same treatment and exposure. Based on this argument, Okkolin et al. (2010) wrote that genuine concerns on equity issues should not cease with the provision of places; they have to deal with the development of policies that are aimed at reducing social, political and economic inequalities.

Notwithstanding a plethora of literature on difficulties embedded in issues of equity, several strategies have been implemented in different parts of the world with varying degrees of success since the declaration of Universal Primary Education in 1940s (Anangisye, 2011). Bilateral and multilateral agencies, world class organisations and countries all over the world have since been engaged in campaigns, programmes and projects aimed at providing Universal Primary Education for every school age child. In Asia and the Arab world, and South or (Latin) America, UPE drives date back from as early as the 1950s to as late as the 1970s (Mori & Baker, 2010). In Africa, UPE campaigns go back to the 1960s (Dennis & Stahley, 2012). Since the inception of the then named Organisation of the African Unity (now African Union) in the 1960s, Universal Primary Education has been one of its key priorities (Behrman, 2015). Despite challenges and obstacles, almost every African country, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, has had Universal Primary Education targets and commitments (Richards & Vining, 2015). Despite the political will of a newly independent state and sound education policies that advocated the democratization of education, access to and participation in primary education was no easy task for children from economically and socially disadvantaged households (Hedges, Borgerhoff Mulder, James, & Lawson, 2016).

The more recent international instruments which call for increased access to education for all children include the International Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 (Sifuna, 2007) and the 1990 World Conference on Education for All. In September 2000, 147 heads of states and 189 nations in the United Nations
Millennium Declaration committed to making the right-based development. The second goal of the Millennium Development (MDGs) sought to “Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, would be able to complete a full course of primary schooling”. While sub-Saharan Africa made the greatest progress in primary enrolment amongst all developing regions, rising from 52% in 1990 to 78% in 2012 (Brundrett, 2014), it never completed the project and disparities between rich and poor, rural and urban remain high; thus children continue to not attend school (Kumar, Kumar, & Vivekadhish, 2016). The year 2015 marked the end of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals and the launching of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Education is the fourth out of its seventeen goals and aims to “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all”. The extent to which this will be met is subject to discussion.

Although Tanzania may be considered a ‘poor nation’ by most international standards (Ng’ondi, 2012), it has a long history of strategies to combat ignorance, disease and poverty. These efforts have included the articulation of several reforms, policies and strategies. Efforts to achieve Universal Primary Education have been on the government agenda since independence in 1961, and particularly since 1974 when Tanzania launched its first accelerated drive towards Universal Primary Education (Sitta, 2007). There is an extensive literature that analyses and evaluates the inception, implementation and outcome of this drive (Kuder, 2005; Manara & Mwombela, 2012; Sifuna, 2007). Primary education during the Nyererean administration is commonly described in this literature as a necessary instrument for national liberation, equity, empowerment and the formation and implementation of the socialist project in Tanzania. According to Otunnu (2015), it was intended that UPE lead to total liberation. Rapid changes were introduced to Tanzania’s education system in order to transform the curriculum; and concerted efforts were made to increase the enrolment of girls in schools and increase the sensitisation of the school system to socialist objectives and obligations. In this way, TANU aimed to achieve UPE by 1977 (Hartwig, 2013). This was a major commitment in a country which had limited financial resources (Hedges et al., 2016). Thus, enrolment schools increased from 825,000 in 1967 to 1,532,000 in 1975 (Otunnu, 2015). It was in this period that many more girls completed various levels of education.
The most recent campaigns in favour of Universal Primary Education include the popular Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP), which came into force in 2000 (Hedges et al., 2016; Oketch & Rolleston, 2007). Indeed, by law every child in Tanzania has the fundamental right not only to attend, but also complete quality primary education (Okkolin et al., 2010; Sitta, 2007). However, there are underserved or un-reached children who have not benefited from the fruits of Universal Primary Education (Hoogeveen & Rossi, 2013).

On the basis on the literature reviewed, issues related to Universal Primary Education are contentious both outside and inside Tanzania. The motives for UPE are diverse, but are generally associated with human rights, equity and social and economic development. Nevertheless, particularly during the Nyererean administration, Tanzania aimed to expand primary education in order to help achieve the overarching aims of the *Ujamaa* project. However, Langsten (2014) argues that hostile international economic conditions and the persistence of ecological violence have eroded the *Ujamaa* villages and reduced the resources that are desperately needed for the successful sustainability of UPE.

2.3 Education Decentralisation

There is a general acknowledgement in the relevant research literature that educational decentralisation is a contentious concept with competing definitions and rationales (Gamage & Zajda, 2009; Meyer, 2009). Samoff (1990a) argues that “to make sense of its forms and consequences in particular settings we need to understand decentralization as a political initiative, as a fundamentally political process, and consequently as a site for political struggle” (p. 519). According to Meyer (2009), the term means different things to different people. It is similarly difficult to define the boundaries of the literature on education decentralisation and so to engage in a literature review. Moreover, the difficulties are compounded by the nature of the literature on decentralisation, which is published in numerous forms and much of which is not easily accessibly outside Tanzania. Acknowledging these complexities, Sayed (2010) postulates that decentralisation most commonly involves the transfer of some educational authority from the central level to subnational
bodies/local government, extending participation at the school level through devolving responsibilities to school governance bodies. According to Rondinelli, Nellis, and Cheema (1983), decentralization is an ideological principle, associated with objectives of self-reliance, democratic decision-making, popular participation in government, and the accountability of public officials to citizens. As such, it has been pursued as a desirable political objective in itself (Venkataraman & Keno, 2015).

Maikish and Gershberg (2008) explain that decentralization might be defined in terms of forms (e.g. fiscal, political, administrative). Rondinelli et al. (1983, p. 14) extended an administrative form into four types of decentralisation that indicate the degree of power that is being transferred: deconcentration (spatial relocation of decision making), delegation (assignment of specific decision making authority), devolution (transfer of responsibility for governing), deregulation/privatization. Each specification reflects a sense of what is to be achieved (Samoff, 1990a). Decentralisation can also be defined in terms of the level at which the authority is being transferred (e.g. national to sub-national, region to district or up to school) (Maikish & Gershberg, 2008, p. 33). Broadly, deconcentration refers to the handing over of some amount of administrative authority or responsibility to lower levels within central government ministries and agencies (Winkler, 1989). It involves shifting of the workload from centrally located officials to staff or offices outside of the national capital/headquarter (Rondinelli et al., 1983). This was the most frequently used form of decentralisation in developing countries, including Kenya and Tanzania, between in early 1970s to early 1980s (Ambrose Kessy, 2013). In 1972, the government of Tanzania abolished traditional local governments, absorbed local officers into the national civil service, decentralised national ministries, and attempted to consolidate the rural population into Ujamaa villages that could be efficiently provided with services and facilities (Lillis, 1990). Although there is some debate among scholars, including Ambrose Kessy and McCourt (2010) and Semboja and Therkildsen (1994), over the issue of whether or not Ujamaa was intended to be a decentralisation programme, it manifests many of the characteristics of deconcentration (Rondinelli et al., 1983). The distinguishing feature of deconcentration was that the authority of responsibility for specific functions was shifted by the central government to a lower level of administration, but major decisions remained within the central government structure. Delegation refers to the
transfer of government tasks or functions to autonomous organisations, such as public corporations’ and many regional development agencies, which may then receive public funding and are ultimately accountable to the government (Winkler, 1989, p. 4). It involves the transfer of specific functions. In developing countries in the 1970s to 1980s, such responsibilities were delegated to public corporations, regional development agencies, special function authorities, semiautonomous project implementation units, and a variety of parastatal organizations (Therkildsen, 2000).

Devolution is generally understood as the most extensive form of decentralization, involving creating or strengthening financially or legally subnational independent units of government, the activities of which are substantially outside the direct control of the central government (Samoff, 1990a). Under devolution, local units of government are autonomous and independent, and their legal status makes them separate or distinct from the central government. Privatization may involve shifting the responsibility for producing goods and supplying services that were previously offered by parastatal or public corporations to privately owned or controlled enterprises (Maikish, 2008).

Gershberg and Winkler (2004, p. 11) have merged NDegwa (2002) typology of administrative-fiscal-political with the deconcentration, delegation and devolution of Rondinelli et al. (1983) to arrive at one that suits African education decentralisation; they use the term ‘deconcentration’, defined as the transfer of decision-making from the central government Ministry of Education (MOE) to either the regional/local offices of the MOE or the regional offices of the central government. This conceptualisation entails giving those offices increased autonomy both in terms of recruiting, evaluating and promoting personnel and in terms of allocating and reallocating budgets. Deconcentration may include some degree of political decentralisation. For instance, local politicians may gain some influence over local administrative decisions, although they no have direct authority in education.

According to Lauglo (1995) education delegation is the reversible assignment by the central or region government MOE, or in rare cases the municipal department of education, to public school principals and/or school management committees. In some cases, officials do no more than maintain the school buildings, but in other cases they may name the school principal, approve school development plans and approve
school expenditure plans. Similarly, education devolution, according to Gershberg and Winkler (2004), entails the transfer of decision-making from the central government to popularly elected regional or local governments. Key management decisions, including naming school principals and allocating regional/local education budgets lie with the governor and legislature or the mayor and city council. In some cases however, these decisions may in turn be delegated to schools or school councils (pp. 11-12). Devolution implies the creation of autonomous and independent subnational units of government, which have authority to raise revenue and spend without asking permission from above (Winkler, 1989, p. 4). It can result in a strong community financed and managed school.

Decentralisation, in various forms, has often led to or been associated with policies of privatisation, which refer to shifting some of the government’s core functions to private entities (Sasaoka & Nishuma, 2010). While some governments have used all four types simultaneously or at different times (Rondinelli et al. (1983), some began with one approach and later shifted to another. However, other governments have used various combinations of the four. For instance, in their in-depth research that was undertaken in 2008-2009 in three countries in eastern and southern Africa, Grauwe et al. (2011) found that Kenya demonstrated a mixture of trends (deconcentration, devolution and school autonomy), while Uganda adopted a policy of devolution, Lesotho utilised deconcentration and devolution.

Moreover, Edwards and DeMatthews (2014) note that in less developed countries, decentralisation has been a topic of debate ever since serious discussion on ‘development’ began in 1950s. What is interesting is that decentralisation has tended to fluctuate not only in Tanzania, but also at the international level. Conyers (1984) and Edwards and DeMatthews (2014) use the same line of reasoning to identify at least three main periods associated with decentralisation in less developed countries, including Tanzania. The first period was the mid 1950s to the early 1960s, which was characterised by the establishment or strengthening of local level governments in a number of countries, many of which were then under colonial jurisdiction. The second period was the early 1970s to the early 1980s; this saw or involved interest in decentralisation; this was initiated in this period by independent governments, often following a period of relatively high levels of centralisation after the achievement of
national independence. According to Samoff (1979a), planning and implementation were to be the province of the experts and the role of the populace was to be limited to providing, on appropriate occasions and under official administration and directions, voluntary labour to build roads, dig canals, clear fields and so forth. However, this did not work. Centralised planning produced plans that could not be fulfilled (Maro, 1990). In many areas the production of important commodities declined (Maro & Mlay, 1979). Self-help programmes and voluntary work became uncommon. Peasants, including coffee farmers in Tanzania, objected to the distant bureaucratic management by either producing other crops or withdrawing from the national and international market.

In order to stimulate participation in decision-making through local development committees, Tanzania introduced a decentralisation policy in 1972. Decentralisation was deemed important in Tanzania for several reasons. First, involvement of the community was taken to be essential feature of Tanzania’s national ethic (Samoff, 1979a). Second, community involvement was regarded as an important element of democratic government (Semboja & Therkildsen, 1994). Third, democratic participation was considered to be an essential element of Tanzania’s transition to socialism (Samoff, 1979a). Fourth, decentralisation was considered to be a key component of a general strategy to increase production and, thereby, achieve development (Maliyamkono, 1980). On the basis of these characterisations, decentralisation in early 1970s to 1980s was regarded not only as a sin qua non-for an egalitarian democratic society, but also as a prerequisite for the success of the development strategy.

The third period of decentralisation was denoted by the promotion of democracy and efficiency, particularly from the 1990s wherein it became a key element of ‘the good governance’ agenda of international agencies such as the United Nations and the World Bank. While decentralisation has been associated with neo-liberal agendas, such as delegation and privatisation, and new public management approaches, as suggested by Todes and Williamson (2008), proponents have promoted it across the political spectrum; thus, numerous diverse interpretations and applications have emerged. Decentralisation was firstly seen as an intra-governmental process of deconcentrating, delegating or devolving powers and functions from central
government respectively to field agencies, parastatals, or more radically to elected local government, however Rondinelli et al. (1983) and Todes and Williamson (2008) assert that the concept has widened in terms of the ‘good governance’ agenda to comprise ‘transparent, representative, accountable, and participatory systems of institutions and procedures for public decision-making’ (p. 336).

Although decentralisation is an inherently political process (Meyer, 2009), its purposes are complex and subject to diverse interpretations (Gamage & Zajda, 2009; Meyer, 2009; Zajda, 2006). From the research literature, justification for education decentralisation can generally be grouped into three categories: political/democracy; efficiency/effectiveness; and financial motives. The first category centres on political reasons, being based on an assumption that decentralisation delivers improved levels of community participation, which in turn promotes local commitment to managing education in their jurisdiction (Dickovick, 2011; Sayed, 2010; Yankson, 2007). For example, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, the Tanzania Education and Training Policy of 1995 required ministries responsible for education to devolve their responsibilities of management and administration to lower organs and communities (URT, 1995). The two ministries that were supposed to devolve their responsibilities were the Ministry of Education and Prime Minister’s Office Regional Administration and Local Government (PMO-RALG). However, the process of the devolution of powers and responsibility from central government to local governments was not without challenges. Challenges were found in the very process of devolving the responsibilities and were often linked to the expression of government policy in documents such as circulars, Acts and directives. Whereas various 1995 revisions to the 1978 Tanzania Education Act strengthened the power of the Minister of Education over primary education (Jerke, 2006; Therkildsen, 2000), the same Act weakened the powers of the PMO-Regional Administration and local government (Ambrose Kessy & McCourt, 2010). Furthermore, Phillips (2013) notes that some powers given to the central government conflicted with powers given to the local governments (District Authorities, Act No. 7 of 1982).

These tensions reflect a tendency towards post-independence political centralisation that was not unique in Tanzania, but was found in many other African countries (Shumba, Maphosa, & Shumba, 2008; Tooley & Dixon, 2006). In Uganda for
instance, Dauda (2004) and Muriisa (2008) found that, in 1997, the Ugandan central
government decentralised other administrative roles related to education, but retained
lucrative financial resources. Consequently, some of the local governments were
unable to utilise the powers entrusted to them (Prinsen & Titeca, 2008). Similar
ambivalent relationships between central government and local government in respect
to education are discussed in numerous studies, including those conducted in Europe
(Daun & Siminou, 2008; Popescu, 2010), such as Sweden where the pressure of
“market forces” and “neo-liberal discourse” encouraged decentralisation in education
(Zajda, 2006).

The second major reason given for educational decentralisation is one of efficiency
and effectiveness (Venkataraman & Keno, 2015), driven by an argument that these
are achieved when service providers such as schools, local governments or regional
governments are held directly accountable to their stakeholders or constituents
(Awortwi, 2010; McGinn & Welsh, 1999; Meade & Gershberg, 2008). This argument
is supported by several studies which argue or have found that local school
committees can play important coordination roles among pupils, parents, teachers and
non-teaching staff in enhancing education quality, equity and access in Tanzania
(Manara & Mwombela, 2012; SAQMEC, 2011). Other responsibilities of the school
committees include school funded mobilisation, codes of conduct and school
construction (Lyon, 2013).

However, the question of school committees’ capacity to interpret and implement
decentralisation and Universal Primary Education reforms remains unclear. While
studies by Phillips (2013) and Närman and Massoi (2010) generally claim that school
committees are instrumental in enabling students’ access to education, as they are
closer and know the local situation better, Sayed (2010) and Dickovick (2011) found
school committees in South Africa perpetuated educational exclusion by imposing
high and varying fees among public schools and demoting students with low English
competence to lower grades. This situation clearly illustrates a gap between
decentralisation’s stated aims versus what is actually being achieved with regard to
the Universal Primary Education policy.
Furthermore, the methodological problems raise questions about positive contributions made by the Parent Teacher Association to revive the ‘failing’ education system in Uganda. For instance, Dauda (2004) only interviewed the members of the PTA if the committees were functioning effectively. Whether such findings are valid more generally has not been explored. Given the reliance of self-reporting, one might, for example, question the extent to which the members of the PTA would criticise themselves by pointing out their weaknesses.

The third main reason for educational decentralisation centres on financial motives in which community financing reduces the financial burden on central government for educational financing by providing alternative source of funds for the educational sector (Bray, 1996; Zajda, 2006). Concurrent with decentralisation, the implementation of the UPE policy in Tanzania has accentuated the importance of local mobilisation of school funds. Although school funds are collected from different stakeholders, in the context of ‘free’ education, some studies (see for example Brock-Utne, 2006; Sasaoka & Nishuma, 2010) found that parents contributed the largest share of primary education expenses. For instance, in 2001, while the government in Tanzania contributed 20,000 Tanzanian shillings per school pupil per year, parents contributed more than 30,000 Tanzanian shillings per school pupil per year (URT, 2008c). Moreover, this contribution did not include other key expenses such as school uniforms, transport, food and snacks, teaching and learning materials, equipment and medical expenses. Despite the critical role that parents and local governments play in providing necessary finances for the effective functioning of schools, their direct influence on educational issues proper has declined over time (Therkildsen, 2000). Winkler (1989) characterises this as a deconcentration type of decentralisation, in which school funding is decentralised, but influence on educational issues proper, such as the organisation and management of the school system, decision making over curriculum, examinations, the relative weight given to academic and practical activities in the schools, and the length of classroom instructions remain highly centralised. There has even been a removal of the previous permission to adjust school terms to agricultural practices in Tanzania (Therkildsen, 2000).

Another theme that emerged in the literature relates to the government’s attempts to involve private sectors in the establishment and management of schools (Rees &
Hossain, 2010; Vitallis, 2009). This was undertaken according to the assumption that decentralisation through privatisation provides a wider opportunity to many groups of stakeholders to participate in education provision, thus leading to their involvement in education, particularly through competition (Busemeyer, 2008; Im, 2010; Meyer, 2009). However, the relationship between decentralisation and efforts to achieve Universal Primary Education in Tanzania has not been explored in the literature. Findings from other developing countries suggest that decentralisation is primarily driven by other agendas in which the goals of Universal Primary Education may not necessarily be among the key rationales (Lauglo, 1995). As mentioned above, one of the aims of the central government is to offload the financial responsibilities to the local governments, communities and private sectors (Dickovick, 2011). In many cases, however, the local governments and private sectors do not have sufficient financial resources to fund education in their areas of jurisdiction (Brock-Utne, 2006; Venkataraman & Keno, 2015).

Some private sectors, for example, lack both motivation and financial capability. That being the case, the private schools simply exclude the poor majority who cannot afford school fees (Brock-Utne, 2006; Geo-Jaja, 2004). However, what could this kind of decentralisation mean to the government? Politically, as Dauda (2004) asserts, the central governments may arguably be in ‘safer positions’, because complaints pertaining to the exclusion of poor majority and the falling of education quality are likely to be directed to municipalities, school committees and private educational institutions. For example, a study conducted in Nigeria on decentralisation and privatisation of education found: problems related to the deterioration of Net Enrolment Ratios; disparity in funding and deceleration in access to education; an increase in drop out rates; and an increase in illiteracy rates and low performance scores (Geo-Jaja, 2004). Such a situation was exacerbated by the mushrooming ‘private for profit’ schools, which made it difficult for the governments to pay attention to the outcry of the poor majority unable to afford them. In this way, inconsistencies embedded within decentralisation processes may in turn be obstacles to Universal Primary Education.

In relation to this, there is limited research on the relationship between decentralisation and the quality of primary education. Quality education is defined as
going beyond quantitative measures of inputs, such as the number of qualified teachers and adequate and appropriate physical structures, facilities and equipment, and includes teacher competency and commitment, and, crucially, relevancy and gender sensitivity (Brock-Utne, 2006, p. 60). While URT (2008c) promotes the simultaneous implementation of decentralisation and UPE with the intention of improving the processes, quality, access and equity of education, some commentators such as Närmän and Massoi (2010) criticise the idea. In addition, factors that affect provision of primary education are many and diverse, for instance, whether school committees reflect the needs of the communities or are dominated by local elites (Winkler & Gershberg, 2000), and whether newly decentralised units have the capacity to undertake new functions. It may also depend on how the ministries dealing with education provide technical support to the local authorities.

In sum, decentralisation remains a contentious concept, but the reviewed literature provides various ways in which the term can be understood. The implementation of decentralisation policies have been fluctuating. Between the 1960s and 1970s, centralisation was a catchword aimed at avoiding unnecessary differences between localities that would jeopardise independence. However, the implementation of centralisation was accompanied by several problems, including peasant protests on decisions that were made at distant places. In 1972, Tanzania introduced decentralisation as a prerequisite for egalitarianism policies. By this, more self-reliance through local participation and greater egalitarianism were sought in the hope that these would eradicate Tanzania’s poverty. Nonetheless, the reviewed literature indicates that, despite its success in mobilising school construction, decentralisation did not become a panacea for Tanzanian educational problems. Decentralisation was introduced in the 1990s under the banner of promoting democracy, efficiency and indeed as a prerequisite for good governance. However, its implementation resulted in deconcentration rather than devolution.

2.4 Conclusion

The review of literature reveals the key considerations in regards to general education under the Nyererean administration, Universal Primary Education and
decentralisation. The main goal of the Tanzanian education system under Nyerere was to build a socialist and self-reliant society through political, economic, social and educational actions. Education was, therefore, linked to the broader context of economic and social development. In regards to decentralisation, the literature focuses on the justification for decentralisation; numerous issues that must be taken into account when designing successful policies to support decentralisation; the framework to evaluate it; the impacts of decentralisation; the experience of community financing in African countries; and the evolution of decentralisation since 1961 in Tanzania.

Notwithstanding the reviewed literature on the above phenomena, there is limited work that considers policy in this period in terms of the prevailing political philosophy of Nyerere. For instance, Nasongo and Musungu (2009) analysed Nyerere’s theory of education with a view to render salient ideas that could contribute to theories of education, but did this in the context of Kenya and merged Nyerere’s ideas with what he called Marxist theory. With the exception of Nasongo and Musungu (2009), some of the authors (see for example Langsten, 2014; Omari & Mosha, 1987; Sifuna, 2007) and many others used mainly the western models/lens to examine the strengths and weaknesses of Tanzanian/African educational policies. Using western frames to analyse African policies has become a common problem in scholarship generally, and in scholarship about the so-called ‘under-developed’ or ‘developing’ post-colonial countries in particular. This could lead to conclusions being drawn that are not necessarily compatible to African contexts.

Similarly, decentralisation and Universal Primary Education reforms, each with their own aims and objectives, co-exist in Tanzania as major components in the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) and receive the support of donor agencies, such as World Bank (URT, 2000c). Whereas Universal Primary Education is generally meant to expand primary education (Sifuna, 2007), decentralisation claims to be directed primarily at democratic participation (Sasaoka & Nishuma, 2010; Suzuki, 2002). However, while Ambrose Kessy and McCourt (2010) and Ambrose Kessy (2013) recently pointed to some achievements that have arisen from the adoption of decentralisation policies in Tanzania, studies that employ an African lens to analyse the twin policies remain limited. Even the available few in East Africa such as by
Suzuki (2002), which was conducted out of Tanzania, are now dated. In addition, there are methodological problems which raise questions on findings like those of Dauda (2004) who used a borrowed framework and recommended the effectiveness of decentralisation in education in east Africa. An exception is Sasaoka and Nishuma (2010, p. 83), who, apart from borrowing the framework for decentralisation and service delivery from the World Bank, used interviews to examine the inconsistencies of decentralisation and Universal Primary Education in East Africa; but again, this was broad and not specific to Tanzania. This project departs from the approaches discussed above and contributes to the knowledge development in this field by examining the continuity of and deviations between Tanzania educational policies from 1961-2015 and asks how Tanzanian educational policies related to Nyererean ideas over time.
CHAPTER 3: A NYEREREAN FRAMEWORK FOR EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I identify the Nyererean socio-political and economic worldview as expressed in his philosophy of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance in which he sought to integrate traditional African values with the socialist and development demands of the postcolonial context. The intent of the chapter is to establish a Nyererean Framework. The framework is composed of four interrelated tenets: *Ujamaa*, education expansion (UPE), education for self-reliance and Nyererean (education) decentralisation, as shown in figure number one.

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5 The translator of *Ujamaa* terminology from Swahili language is faced with difficulties, as there is no precise English word equivalent; it literally captures ideas of family, ‘kinship’, ‘friendship’, ‘togetherness’, ‘brotherhood’. ‘Family hood’ comes closest to the idea being expressed. It conveys a strong sense of communal spirit, belonging together and mutual responsibility (Hyden, 1980; Nyerere, 1968b). It is this ethos of sharing and cooperation that Nyerere (1968d, p. 1) referred to when he coined the slogan ‘*Ujamaa* is the basis of African socialism’. *Ujamaa* also invokes the type of social and economic organisation, and thus social and economic policies, that Nyerere wanted to promote. According to Samoff (1990b), *Ujamaa* is generally used to mean ‘socialism’ or perhaps more accurately, ‘Tanzanian socialism’. Fouere (2014) emphasises that *Ujamaa* as a political thought articulated modernist socialist principles and a set of values and ways of living that are considered to be traditional and typically African.
The double directional arrows in the figure denote the mutual interactions that exist among the four tenets, which are inspired by Nyerere’s ideas. The aim of the framework is to depict the Tanzanian educational policies with respect to the four tenets.

### 3.1.1 Intersections of tenets

To some extent, the concept of *Ujamaa* encapsulates all of the tenets. Although the four tenets of the framework may seem to be separate, they are actually interlocked. Acknowledging their interconnectedness, I have attempted to determine the components and categories of the Nyererean framework for the purpose of policy analysis. Although I treat the four tenets separately for the purposes of convenience in this discussion, it is important that they be understood together.

As I elaborate below, Nyererean ultimate goal was to construct *Ujamaa* in Tanzanian society. To achieve the transformation that *Ujamaa* demanded and to prepare its architects and working team, a radical education reform was required. A radical reform would necessitate the involvement of the educated masses. The primary schools would become universal and include key sectors of the population in the construction of the foundations that would uphold the worldview, values, attitudes, orientation and style deemed appropriate for the egalitarian ethos. This process would
necessitate the development of enquiring skills and attitudes, thus making students active participants in the community affairs and collective activity. Therefore, education would play a key role and become a vehicle for the success of other sectors. The aims of *Ujamaa* were to be attained through a number of strategies. These would involve the reorientation of the curriculum such that it would include teaching students reading and arithmetic, instil the disciplines of social order and work place routines and inculcate a sense of pride into the Tanzanian nation and its history. The strategies would also include developing students’ creativity, their problem solving skills and transmitting to the new generation the skills that were necessary to implement *Ujamaa*.

Nyerere (1973) avoided connecting his *Ujamaa* project directly to European socialism by describing it as a distinct and quite particular African version of socialism. However, its launching almost inevitably came into conflict with the interests of those who supported capitalism over socialism, particularly the major industrialised, western, capitalist countries. In the cold war context, the political decisions to proclaim *Ujamaa* carried international geopolitical consequences. Tanzania faced sanctions, including the cessation of funding from international agencies like the World Bank for some of its social and economic programmes (Earth, 1995). As a response, Tanzania relied mainly on its peasants and workers for support by strengthening one aspect of the national project: self-reliance. The self-reliance strategy was implemented concomitant with directing the country’s efforts via the mobilisation of mass participation.

Education was assigned a key role in the Nyererean framework, principally to ensure that *Ujamaa* dispositions permeated the entire community (Nyerere, 1968d). In addition, education would reduce Tanzania’s economic dependence by promoting self-reliance, whereby all schools would be development institutions oriented towards national needs and goals. This was undertaken in several ways, including focusing on school based productive projects that would integrate each school more fully into the local community by way of involving the educated elite in both mental and manual labour; and supporting the schools to run economic productive programmes. The school system as a whole would help to: upgrade the competencies of the entire
populace; promote the broader sense of community; nurture attitudes of cooperation and patterns of collective efforts; and, thus, foster a sense of self-reliance.

The Nyererean concept of *Ujamaa* differed from some models of centralised socialism in that it advanced a decentralised model of funding and managing schools. Nyerere (1968d) called for schools to be managed locally such that the broader community would assist in funding schools in different ways, including building classrooms, houses for teachers, toilets, school halls, offices and making tables and chairs. This was a particular philosophy: not only was decentralisation aimed at involving the community in decision making, as stated by Rondinelli et al. (1983), but it was also a foundational part of *Ujamaa*, and indeed a pragmatic response to the crisis in economic conditions that arose from Tanzania’s geopolitical positioning in the cold war context (Pratt, 2000). A number of approaches were, therefore, put in place to address the repercussions of implementing *Ujamaa*.

Overall, this framework demonstrates interconnections between the four tenets that are permeated by *Ujamaa*. It highlights how education was seen as key to the spread of the dispositions of *Ujamaa*. This is most significant as, because the *Ujamaa* philosophy was not in consonance with the ideals of capitalism, the western major power countries ceased funding the Tanzanian programmes.

### 3.2 *Ujamaa*: ‘Tanzanian Socialism’

The overall ideas, plans, policies, strategies and approaches of Nyerere can best be described under the auspices of *Ujamaa*. *Ujamaa* was the ultimate goal that Nyerere (1973) sought to achieve. The word itself has innumerable interpretations (see for example Rodney, 1972; Spalding, 1996), however, Nyerere (1969a, p. 28) stated that “the word ‘*Ujamaa*’ was chosen for special reasons”: First, it is an African word and thus emphasised the African-ness of the policies that Tanzania would follow. Second, its literal meaning is family-hood, such that it reinforced the idea of mutual involvement in family. Third, the word *Ujamaa* indicated that Tanzanian socialism would involve building on the traditional African past (but would also embrace the possibilities of modern technology to enable the country meet the challenges of twentieth century); this would be uniquely Tanzanian, of a particular direction and
towards a particular kind of objective. Many of the Nyererean main ideas concerning *Ujamaa* were presented in the Arusha Declaration; this provided the goals towards which the Tanzanian people would work. It also indicated the direction that Tanzania would take in creating that society.⁶

Nyerere described his aspirations in what could also be referred to as his utopian vision for post-colonial, independent, Tanzania:

…to build a country in which all her citizens are equal; where there is no division into rulers and ruled, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, those in distress and those in idle comfort….in this country all would be equal in dignity; all would have an equal right to respect, to the opportunity of acquiring a good education and the necessities of life; and all her citizens should have an equal opportunity of serving their country to the limit of their ability” (Nyerere, 1966, p. 178).

Notwithstanding his general aspirations, the foundation and objective of *Ujamaa* would be the extended family (Nyerere (1968b). However, the recognition of family to which all people belong would extend beyond tribe, community, nation, and the continent of Africa to embrace all human kind. It was in this sense that *Ujamaa* did not distinguish one group of people as being brethren and others as natural enemies, but regarded all people as members of an ever extending family.

*Ujamaa* stressed African-ness. Whereas Nyerere (1968 p. 316) acknowledged that *Ujamaa* drew sustenance from universal human ideas and from the practical experiences of other people, he argued that it was mainly rooted in belief in the full acceptance of African-ness and that the African past held much that was useful for Tanzanian future. In the words of Nyerere:

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⁶ The word Arusha has multiple meanings. Arusha is the third largest city in Tanzania, which attracts many tourists who come to visit Mountain Kilimanjaro (the highest mountain in Africa), the Serengeti (one of the world’s largest animal parks), the Ngorongoro crater and the olduvai George (the original home of mankind and civilisation). The name of this city is also remarkable because that is the place where Nyerere promulgated his main socio-political and economic ideas. Tanzania’s intention to follow and implement the policies of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance was confirmed on February 5, 1967 in the northern town of Arusha.
The declaration is first of all a reaffirmation of the fact that we are Tanzanians and wish to remain Tanzanian as we develop. Certainly we shall wish to change very many things in our present society. But we have stated that these changes will be effected through the processes of growth in certain directions. This growth must come out of our own roots, not through the grafting on to those roots of something, which is alien to our society. This is very important; for it means that we cannot adopt any political 'holy book' and try to implement its rulings — with or without revision. It means that our social change will be determined by our own needs as we see them, and in the direction that we feel to be appropriate for us at any particular time. We shall draw sustenance from universal human ideas and from the practical experiences of other peoples; but we start from a full acceptance of our African-ness and a belief that in our own past there is very much which is useful for our future” (Nyerere, 1968d, p. 91).

This element of *Ujamaa* connects to the idea of the inevitability of synthesis and the importance of tapping key aspects from the African traditional society by preserving that which is valuable. By definition therefore, *Ujamaa* would downgrade other approaches that devalued African roots.

*Ujamaa* rejected direct conjunction with European socialism. Nyerere (1966) repeatedly argued, “We in Africa have no more need of being ‘converted’ to socialism than we have of being ‘taught’ democracy. Both are rooted in our own past in the traditional society, which produced us” (p. 170). Although the term is generally used to mean ‘Tanzanian socialism’ (Samoff, 1990b), Nyerere argued that *Ujamaa* was qualitatively different from European socialism, primarily because it did not come about from the set of circumstances predicted by Marx. Whereas European socialism was born of the Agrarian Revolution and the Industrial Revolution which followed it, Nyerere (1968d, p. 11) declared that his *Ujamaa* project had little to do with the spirit of class war. In Nyererean thinking, *Ujamaa* stood in sharp contrast to European socialism, because:
The European socialist cannot think of his socialism without its father-capitalism! Brought up in tribal socialism, I must say I find this contradiction quite intolerable. It gives capitalism a philosophical status which capitalism neither claims nor deserves. For it virtually says, 'Without capitalism, and the conflict which capitalism creates within society, there can be no socialism'! African socialism (Ujamaa), on the other hand, did not have the 'benefit' of the Agrarian Revolution or the Industrial Revolution…It (Ujamaa) did not start from the existence of conflicting 'classes' in society (Nyerere, 1968d, p. 11).

According to Nyerere (1973), Ujamaa was not a model of socialism that sought to build a happy society based on the philosophy of inevitable class conflict. There was no Agrarian or Industrial revolution in Tanzania which could have brought capitalism and, therefore, its antidote, socialism. Instead, Ujamaa had considerably more to do with the dynamics and dispositions that were derived from extended families than it did with the organisation of the forces of production.

Ujamaa was thus presented as being opposed to European socialism, which sought to build socialist societies based on the philosophy of inevitable class conflict, while at the same time drawing on the conventional socialist critique of capitalism’s exploitation of people in its social relations of production (Nyerere, 1968d). Ujamaa was, in other words, anti-capitalist in its orientation that discouraged uneven distribution of what is produced. It discouraged capitalist methods and the possession of personal wealth for the purpose of dominating others. While Ujamaa embraced the idea of working together cooperatively for the common good, it discouraged competition for individual private gain. The aim, according to Nyerere (1966), was to reactivate the philosophy of cooperation in production and sharing in distribution, which were seen as essential to the traditional African society. Thus, it was an attempt to expand Tanzania’s economy without expanding the opportunities for human exploitation. In this way, Ujamaa was a call to ensure that the advantages of modern knowledge and modern methods were achieved without a spread of the opportunities and incentives for human exploitation Nyerere (1973).
*Ujamaa* principles would, in particular, reject any proposal of a single country or group of individuals to establish projects, such as a complex of agricultural estates, heavy and light industries, as Nyerere (1968d, p. 93) insisted that “...it means that there are certain things which we shall refuse to do or to accept, either as individuals or as a nation, even if the result of them would be a surge forward in our economic development”. The rejection of such a proposal would be based on its effects upon the national independence and partly because a large number of people would become the paid servants of another nation or person (Nyerere (1968d) and this would be inconsistent with the commitment to the philosophy of *Ujamaa* (Nyerere, 1966). *Ujamaa* was thus an application to the doctrine of human equal rights that Nyerere (1966) had appealed to in Tanzania’s independence movement, rejecting the right of any other nation to govern Tanzania. The idea was to prevent the exploitation of one person by another and spread the concept of working together cooperatively for the common good, instead of competitively for individual private gain.

This was an ambitious strategy that called for tremendous human effort for change: as stressed by Nyerere (1966): “We are saying that what has taken the older countries centuries should take us decades. What we are attempting is a telescoped evolution of our economy and of our society. This is not a sociological, or even a biological, impossibility” (p. 170). This philosophy laid down the policy of what Nyerere (1968b) described as a ‘revolution by devolution’ that would occur such that a strong belief in traditional African roots was upheld.

Nyerere further described *Ujamaa* as a people centred approach, meaning that the purpose of all social, economic and political activity would be to give first priority to each Tanzanian person. Whereas Nyerere (1974c) acknowledged the importance of wealth creation in his project of *Ujamaa*, he also thought that this would cease the moment wealth stopped serving people and began to be served by people. According to this reasoning, the philosophy of *Ujamaa* rejected both the concept of national grandeur as being deleterious to the wellbeing of its citizens and material wealth for its own sake. On the contrary, *Ujamaa* was committed to the belief that there were more important things in life than an amazement of riches. If the pursuit of wealth clashed with things such as human dignity and social equal rights, Nyerere (1968b, p. 316) argued, the latter should be given first priority.
Another feature of *Ujamaa* was that it insisted that the major means of production and exchange should firmly be under the control of peasants and workers through the instrument of their elected central government, local government, cooperative or the like. The principle of common ownership as Nyerere (1969a) pointed out was borrowed from the traditional African societies, modified and included in the *Ujamaa* project which was announced in 1967 in Tanzania. The purpose of this principle was to avoid exploitation in the economy and circumvent tendencies towards inequalities.

According to Nyerere (1968d, p. vii) the policy on public ownership would be implemented concomitant with the conversion of all freehold land into leasehold ownership, on the grounds that land ought to belong to the people as a whole. According to the same reasoning, *Ujamaa* underpinned the nationalisation of entities like the electricity company and this emphasised public ownership and public participation in economic development activities. The philosophy of *Ujamaa* demanded that it was the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the wellbeing of all people in Tanzania, and to prevent the exploitation of one person by another and the accumulation of wealth to the extent that would be inconsistent with African socialism.

In addition to collectivisation of production, the principle of *Ujamaa* also had implications for the more equal distribution of goods and services. This combination aimed to replace individual gain by even collective consumption through social services, in which education was among the most important components. By seeking to build a more equal society, *Ujamaa* insisted that each person be guaranteed the right to work; thus, wage differentials were narrowed. Increasing the minimum wage would be one of the major achievements of *Ujamaa*. As part of state ownership, *Ujamaa* encouraged marketing cooperatives, cooperative villages, protective labour legislation and a change in the system of taxation so that the burden of supporting expenditure fell more heavily on those with higher incomes (Nyerere, 1968d, p. VII).
3.2.1 The role of education on *Ujamaa*

“It is not, however, only numbers which matter in education. The type of education given in our schools is equally important” (Nyerere, 1973 p. 33).

In an attempt to link *Ujamaa* and education, Nyerere (1968d) argued that the role of education should be to develop just and egalitarian social values. Nyerere began by criticising the colonial education system, claiming that it had not been designed to prepare people for the service of their country, but rather inculcated the values of the colonial society and the assumptions of capitalist society. Rather than encouraging individual interests of the few, the education system ought to serve the interest of the community as a whole (Nyerere, 1968). Education should foster social goals and encourage the growth of just and egalitarian attitudes and values. These values would include: human equal rights and respect for human dignity; living together; cooperation; the sharing of basic needs and resources which would be produced by joint efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none; a sense of commitment to the total community; a moral obligation to give service to the maximum of one's ability; and the fulfilment of responsibilities to the family, village and nation (Nyerere, 1968d). The role of education would be to foster these social goals of living together, working together for the common good.

According to Nyerere (1968d) this is what the education system in an egalitarian society would encourage:

It has to foster the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and in which progress is measured in terms of human well-being, not prestige buildings… whether privately or publicly owned. Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past. [It] must emphasize co-operative endeavour, not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility …And, in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; for this
leads to the well-educated despising those whose abilities are non-academic or who have no special abilities (p. 52).

According to Nyerere, education must break with the colonial past and help the pupils to learn and assimilate values appropriate to the *Ujamaa* future that was under construction. The appropriate values to which Nyerere referred related to *Ujamaa* and self-reliance. These values would lead to independent and free citizenry, a commitment to work and live in cooperation with others, and a cherishing of traditional African values.

The role of education should, therefore, not only be geared to emphasising the concepts of equal rights and responsibility to all citizens, but should also fulfil a determination that economic, political and social policies should be deliberately designed to ensure equal rights in all spheres of life. According to Nyerere (1968d), education should encourage the integration of racial systems in education with no discrimination on any other grounds, such as religion. Nyerere (1966) also argued that the educated must not consider themselves to be a class divorced from the toiling masses; rather, they should go to the people, not as scholars from the upper class but as comrades who recognised their duties as members of a larger society.

In order to put all these suggestions into practice, Nyerere (1968d) called for curriculum reform. In commenting on the content of the curriculum, Nyerere (1973) argued:

> We have made quite good progress in this endeavour so far, but far from complete. Not all the syllabi have yet been changed in accordance with the new policy; not every teacher has yet received the necessary retraining and reorientation. We must try to do more on this, because wrong education could cause difficulties for the nation as well as for individual in the future (p. 33).

The Nyererean objective was to change the curriculum to make sure that syllabi and texts were nationalised, with attention paid to studying Tanzania or Africa from a Tanzanian perspective. The introduction of political education would occur at all levels in order to nurture the worldview, values, orientation and style deemed
appropriate for a new Tanzania, The members of this country would be inquiring and self-reliant, and active participants in community affairs. They would have a preference for cooperation and collective activity, and be more concerned with public service than individual rewards. Such a curriculum, Nyerere (1968) argued, would enable school graduates to finish their schooling with a sense of political direction, an orientation towards public service and a degree of confidence in themselves and their society. Such a curriculum would make schools places of critical consciousness, with learner catered dialogue and cooperative communal initiatives.

Thus, \textit{Ujamaa} was introduced in Tanzania as an alternative to the dominant inherited model. After independence in 1961, Tanzania’s political approaches were characterised by a relatively open economy, with an emphasis on export production to generate foreign exchange and the encouragement of successful farmers. It had a limited global role, but maintained friendly relations with major powers. However, these strategies did not produce the desired result and seemed to move the country in an opposite direction (Samoff, 1990b). \textit{Ujamaa} as a radical coined term was, therefore, announced as a largely undefined socialism and an alternative to the inherited approaches. According to Samoff (1994b), the lack of definition and ambiguities embedded in its translation was not incidental, that is, the ambivalence was deliberate. As Nyerere (1974c) demonstrated later, challenging British rule required a broad national alliance. If the alliance’s ideology had been specified precisely, it would have perhaps risked excluding powerful allies and have assisted the British in their efforts to exploit divisions within the nationalistic movement, in order to maintain European control.

3.3 Expansion of Primary Education

In a socialist country, universal primary education would be provided free for all children, and post-primary education would be readily available to all who could benefit from it, however old they may be (Nyerere, 1971 p. 29).

This is another tenet of Nyerere’s social political framework, which outlines not only the type of ‘perfect’ education system that Nyerere imagined, but also, as indicated
above, highlights its significance in attaining the broader political and economic projects of *Ujamaa* goals. Although *Ujamaa* was presented as a general outline with regards to policy, educational expansion was envisaged as a vehicle through which those objectives could be met.

According to Nyerere (1973), the colonial education system created an elitist education system designed to meet the interests and needs of a small proportion of those who entered the school system. Therefore, much of his emphasis was directed towards education expansion, as it was regarded as being a widespread need. This was a pre-independent promise of the nationalist movement and was considered necessary to the self-reliant economic growth and political mobilisation of the citizenry, and to the establishment and maintenance of political order. In addition to the collective concerns, Samoff (1990b) argues that the expansion of education in Tanzania was widely perceived by individual Tanzanians as a critical prerequisite for improving access to jobs, power and wealth.

However, Nyerere’s fundamental thesis was that the state of affairs in which some children accessed education and others did not “must be unacceptable to a country which claims to building [*Ujamaa*]” (URT, 1969b, p. XI). The role of education was to develop human potential and to work towards the closer integration of schools and communities, but, more importantly, also include non-cognitive school activities. Thus, Nyerere (1973) articulated other objectives of expanding education that related to the relevance of rural life, the need to correct both the elitist bias of education and the negative attitudes of students towards agriculture and rural life. In order to avoid the problematic gap between material wealth and rural regions, Nyerere (1968d) insisted that rural areas must have priority in education.

The expansion of primary education would involve the elimination of school fees and the nationalisation of private primary schools in an attempt to narrow the gap between the more affluent regions. During the colonial era, the selection criteria favoured the few in the upper classes who were deemed to be intellectually stronger than their fellows and induced the sense of superiority among those who succeeded, Nyerere (1984) argued that, if Tanzania was to maintain and defend the principle of equal rights for all, then primary education should be for all, in order to spread the
dispositions of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance. It would therefore be inappropriate to pay fees for public service in a country whose belief was based on *Ujamaa* and a democratic ethos.

Nyerere’s concern was initially demonstrated in his first speech in the legislative council on May 25, 1954 when he argued:

> In this matter we cannot talk of cutting down our expenditure on education, because the country needs education…our duty is to supply… this demand… I think … we must not allow any other consideration to stop us from giving the people the education they want (Nyerere, 1966, p. 32).

While the primary concerns of the early years of independence were rooted in the creation of the nationalist leadership for both protégé and a critic of departing European (Samoff, 1990b), after 1967, the educational goals were altered. Instead of considering education to be an elite privilege or even solely as an investment in human capital, Nyerere (1984) considered education to be a fundamental right of all citizens and that effective popular participation required literate citizens.

Here Nyerere was arguing that the future of Tanzania would depend on primary education, because it was foundational in a country and a right for all citizens. Owing to timing and priorities, initially most people received no more formal education after completing primary school (Nyerere, 1984, p. 151). Primary education, therefore, particularly in this early period before the envisaged later expansion of secondary and post-school education, needed to be excellent, sufficient and directly relevant to their capacity to be productive and participating members of a free and developing socialist society, at the same time as they continued to learn from that society.

Primary education would include the vast majority of citizens of Tanzania and would also be the foundation of the whole Tanzanian education system. Therefore, Nyerere (1998) argued that if it was poor, “the rest of our education system is bound to suffer (p. 161)”. Although Nyerere (1974 p. 137) acknowledged that while increasing access and enrolment expansion was not an easy task to attain in a newly independent and a developing country like Tanzania, he also argued that “If primary school education is not universal, those who will miss out will be mostly the girls. Every child in this
country, male or female, should expect to receive an agreed minimum level of education as a right” (Nyerere, 1998, p. 161).

The question of teachers and their preparation was almost inevitable, given the project of educational expansion and the particular political project to be disseminated through education (the classic idea of educating the ‘new man’ that was prevalent in historical socialist societies). Nyerere (1968b) argued that many people generally thought of teachers as being experts in facilitating knowledge of subjects such as arithmetic, writing and so on; however, knowledge was not the only or most important thing which students learned from teachers. Rather, issues such as how teachers taught and whether they participated in extra-curricula activities were more important. In particular how the teachers performed as role models would even be more important than or equal to what they taught in classrooms. A quote from Nyerere (1968b) helps to explain this better:

Those of us who left school many years ago have forgotten many of the facts we learned there. But we are what we are in large part because of the attitudes and the ideas we absorbed from our teachers. Our values in life were developed when we were young; the way we regard our fellows, the way we react to events, the way we judge to be right and wrong—all these things have developed from our childhood experiences at home and at school (p. 226).

With this importance attached to teachers, Nyerere believed that it was difficult for Tanzania to build Ujamaa if they did not agree to defend and build it. Nyerere (1968b) claimed that the appropriate skills, values and attitudes of Ujamaa and self-reliance should be instilled into teachers who would subsequently disseminate them to learners and, through them, to their communities. Thus the task of spreading Ujamaa would be simpler or smoother. In this way, not only did Nyererean approach require more teachers, but also better teachers who could competently be acquainted with and promulgate Ujamaa’s dispositions.

Nyerere (1984) compared teachers with soldiers by arguing that:
A country cannot build *Ujamaa* unless the army is prepared both to build and to defend *Ujamaa*. It is, if anything, even more true to say that a country cannot build *Ujamaa* unless the teachers agree to build *Ujamaa*, and unless its education builds the basic attitudes of [*Ujamaa*] and self-reliance (p. 150).

Nyerere (1984) considered teachers important to the building of the foundation of *Ujamaa* as they could nurturing the learners’ worldview, values, attitudes, orientation and style that were considered appropriate for the egalitarian ethos. Given the importance of teachers in ensuring that the project of *Ujamaa* would be feasible, Nyerere suggested the expansion of secondary education as it could be difficult to improve and expand primary and technical education without teachers who had secondary education. According to Nyerere, “the important things in education are the teachers... the buildings can be mud and wattle huts if the students and staff are keen enough” (Nyerere, 1984, pp. 154-155). Nyerere (1984) further noted, “For we need more teachers, and we need better teachers – that is, new teachers in larger numbers, and more in–service training” to help implement the *Ujamaa* project (Nyerere, 1984, p. 155). The prerequisite for the expansion of primary education was, therefore, increased and rapid teacher training.

Thus, the Nyererean framework attributed great importance to education as part of the means of attaining multifaceted goals. Despite possible tensions regarding the role of education in individual improvement, social mobility, completing collective projects and whether it was rights-based, education was generally seen as a key to achieving almost everything. It was regarded as a vehicle to ensure that Tanzanians would be prepared for the specific tasks that the community expected. Schools would be places where appropriate ideas, values and worldview would be developed and moulded in such a way that from the process of schooling, a new type of person would emerge. This person would not only have a high level of academic achievement, but also an understanding of their role in society at large. In addition to developing students’ academic abilities, schools would identify and develop future leaders for the new society. Schools would not only develop cognitive domains, but also be places where students would learn party organized activities and undertake community work though student governments.
The widening of educational opportunities would also support the economic policies of self-reliance, which aimed at eliminating social inequality based on income and geographical location. Mass education was expected to improve the productivity of the rural sector and incorporate the broad population into policy-making processes. Education intuitions together with the home environment were considered crucial channels for the formation of attitudes that would bring service to the many instead of a privileged few. Education expansion was thus considered to be crucial to creating political awareness, mass participation, social equality, rural transformation, a road to achieving real freedom and development, and a sense of total commitment to the whole community. Given its importance, education would be expanded rapidly, beginning with primary education, and reach out to all people of all ages. While this may have sounded overly optimistic, it was presented as being possible via the employment of a number of strategies, notably mobilizing the citizenry to achieve universal literacy over a short period and also deliver education to all levels of Tanzanians.

3.4 Education for Self-reliance

An important component of Nyererean framework was the concept of self-reliance, which was used in connection to the main endeavour of building an Ujamaa society. The spirit and idea of self-reliance invoked issues of self-determination, self-reliance, basic skills and cooperative learning, and these would become embedded in primary and other levels of education. Given the cold war context that brought political ruptures and sanctions to Tanzania by some of the western major powers, such as Britain and USA (Pratt, 1999), the self-reliance strategy was introduced as a remedy and, as such, had multiple aims, including a response to the economic isolation and also a bid reduce dependence on the major capitalist powers. As Pratt (1999) noted, upheaval occurred over British criticism of Tanzania’s decision to receive significant quantities of aid, including arms from China. The situation was then intensified by British efforts to force Tanzania to carry the costs of the very heavy compensation and pension rights which Britain had granted to the ex-colonial officials who were leaving Tanzanian public service in large numbers. In reaction to this, by 1964 Nyerere had become perhaps more realistic in his reading of international politics and more pragmatic:
Neither out of gratitude, nor in the hope of future favours will we participate in world quarrels, which do not concern us… The world is divided into various conflicting groups, and each one of these groups is anxious for allies in Africa, and even more anxious that its opponent shall not find friends… The desire to help the United Republic in our economic struggle—even the desire for friendship with us—these things come second to what the other nation believes to be its own interests… We have to recognize that some overseas nations will help us if they can, and if they do not believe that they will harm themselves while doing so; other nations will help us solely in the hope of some kind of return to themselves—whether this be diplomatic, political, or economic (Nyerere, 1966, pp. 314-315).

These sentiments were followed by the joining of Tanzania to the Non-Aligned Movement in 1964, the party supremacy in which the interim constitution provided a single party state in 1965, and this was followed by a major series of nationalisation undertakings of the private sectors in 1967. Nyerere (1968b) justified this on nationalistic terms when he noted, “The only way in which national control of the economy can be achieved is through the economic institutions of socialism” (p. 264). Thus, both the cold war and Ujamaa were responsible for the context of the philosophy of Tanzanian self-reliance.

Although self-reliance received different interpretations (see for example Bjerk, 2011; Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003), it was generally presented in terms of Tanzania’s development that required the country to depend upon its own resources, including its people, land (mainly agriculture), good policies (of Ujamaa and self-reliance) and superior leadership (Nyerere, 1968b). Nyerere adopted three levels in regard to his conceptualisation of self-reliance, namely the individual, the local community and national. At the individual level, Nyerere interpreted a self-reliant individual as being one who cooperates with others, who is helped by them, but who does not depend entirely on anyone else for their food, clothing or shelter. In Nyerere’s ideas, a self-reliant person is one who lives on what s/he earns, regardless of the quantity, so that s/he is a truly free person, beholden to none. At the individual level, self-reliance also meant self-confidence, presumably in one’s inherent potential. Nyerere (1968d)
argued that it was individuals who constituted the group and unless the individual understood and put self-reliance into practice, organised groups could not be self-reliant.

At the community level, such as a family, village or region, the Nyererean notion of self-reliance referred to the community using its resources and skills they jointly possessed for their development. It implied and indeed called for the social unit to have confidence in itself. In this case, Nyerere (1968d, p. 152) hoped that the community would not take the attitude that someone else (especially foreign/capitalist interests) should dictate what to do before they would make any progress. Whereas Nyerere (1974a) acknowledged the inevitability of outside assistance in the form of advice, capital or human power, he also argued that they should be used to supplement local efforts, but only minimally.

At the national level, Nyerere (1968d) thought self-reliance would develop if individuals and different communities were self-reliant and if the citizens recognised that the way forward should be determined by their joint resources and their common efforts. Moreover, Nyerere (1973) dismissed what he referred to as wrong interpretations that regarded his philosophy of self-reliance as being the same as national self-sufficiency. Rather, self-reliance meant that Tanzania should choose the path to development that did not rely upon external influence. It meant international involvement and a willingness to give and receive help. Self-reliance also meant recognition that outside assistance could help to speed development, but only on the path that Tanzania had chosen independently. Accordingly, self-reliance included: making maximum use of Tanzanian resources; Tanzanians making their policies themselves; and Tanzanians controlling their own country, such that Tanzania would not bend its political, economic or social policies in the hope of receiving overseas aid as a result (Nyerere, 1968e). The philosophy of self-reliance did not, therefore, mean a complete rejection of aid, but rather it was an affirmation that Tanzania would welcome assistance to carry out purposes decided by Tanzanians. The philosophy implied the need of the country to stand firm on its principles without weakening and allowing themselves to be driven by the neo-colonialists, capitalists, or any other foreign major powers.
Nyerere (1968d) defended the philosophy of self-reliance, arguing that it was not a vague political slogan as many might have thought, but something that had meaning for every citizen, every group and the nation as a whole. It was based on the assumption that to maintain freedom, independence and people’s freedom, Tanzania had to be self-reliant in every possible way and avoid depending upon other foreign countries. Nyerere’s underlying supposition was that if every individual was self-reliant, then the house cell would be self-reliant, as would the wards, the districts, the regions and the whole nation; this part of an ultimate goal.

In addition to the three levels of the conceptualisation of self-reliance (Nyerere, 1968d), the term also had key features. According to Nyerere (1966), self-reliance denoted cooperation. It implied the importance of cooperative work and cooperative ownership, including the people’s control of the major economic and social institutions in the interest of all, on the basis of equality of opportunity.

Another aspect of self-reliance was an acceptance of the need and the right to work. According to Nyerere (1966), self-reliance could not easily be achieved through daydreams or a series of philosophical encounters, rather, it implied accepting the responsibility to work hard and intelligently in order to attain greater internal or domestic resources. Self-reliance thus implied accepting the obvious fact that Tanzanians were responsible for their own welfare and development.

Self-reliance also meant democratic involvement. Nyerere’s usage of the term self-reliance in an egalitarian society was consistently coupled with calls for the involvement of the people in all activities, particularly in decision making on issues which touched, involved or had a bearing on the lives of the masses, such as the management of primary schools. This is what would be conceptualised elsewhere as the establishment of people’s power in which the peasants, parents and workers would influence greatly how things were run, instead of the few, highly privileged petty bourgeoisie or elite taking the lead in influencing polices.

According to Nyerere (1968b) self-reliance involved a philosophy of cooperation in production and sharing, which was an essential part of traditional African society. Despite the application of this term, Nyerere (1968d) acknowledged that it was
difficult for an individual group or country to be completely self-sufficient. However, Nyerere (1974a) acknowledged the role of aid, loans and other forms of international engagement, such as trade, in accelerating development, as long as they were within the trajectory that the Tanzanians would have chosen (Ujamaa).

Moreover, Nyerere saw both Ujamaa and self-reliance as being intertwined: “the truth is that it is not possible to accept [Ujamaa] without self-reliance, or vice versa; and it is not possible to talk of racialism while still claiming to accept the Arusha Declaration [Ujamaa]” (Nyerere, 1968d, p. 94).

In connecting self-reliance to education Nyerere (1998) argued that education ought to be an instrument of liberation and that “for it to be so it must be relevant” (p. 160). According to Nyerere, the purpose of education should be the liberation of a person from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependence. Nyerere maintained that education has to increase a person’s physical and mental freedom to increase their control of life, and the environment in they person live. The ideas acquired from education, or released in the mind through education, should therefore be liberating ideas; the skills acquired by education should be liberating skills (Nyerere, 1976, p. 135). However, Nyerere (1968d) identified two obstacles that might restrict individual liberation and therefore work against self-reliance: the first was the environment in which a person struggles to eradicate things, such as poverty, ignorance and disease, and the second was oppression. Nyerere suggested that the only way to fight against those obstacles was to establish the Ujamaa project.

Nyerere (1974b) broadly defined a truly liberated nation as one which had freed itself from economic and cultural dependence on other nations, and was therefore able to develop itself in free and equal cooperation with other members of the world community. For a developing country like Tanzania, Nyerere (1974d) argued that the role of education should never be so irrelevant or other worldly as to become an instrument of alienation, that is, “alienation from yourself, because it makes you despise yourself; an alienation from a community in which you live, because it purports to make you different without making you useful to anybody, including yourself (Nyerere, 1998, p. 163). What Nyerere was emphasising is that education should make a recipient fit into the community by enabling students to learn relevant
things which will eventually make them self-reliant and, therefore, free from dependence.

A curriculum consistent with Nyerere’s self-reliance would emphasise skills development, be rural and community oriented and would reject the disjunction between mental and manual labour. Thus, Nyerere (1974b) was arguing that instead of education alienating the recipients from the community, it should help them fit into it. Education should never make a recipient seem redundant in the community. And one way of meeting this aspiration was to incorporate education and work.

Regarding curriculum content Nyerere (1984) believed that primary school children be taught to read and write fluently in Swahili (Language of Instructions), in addition to arithmetic, history, national songs, traditional dances, values, aims and how to work for their country and government. However, most importantly, students should acquire skills to earn a living and, therefore, contribute to the significant objective of Ujamaa and to African unity.

Nyerere (1968d) acknowledged the role of school examinations in reducing nepotism, but he also sought to downgrade them as he thought they were limited in their capacity to assess students’ power to reason. Apart from being a barrier to educational expansion, Nyerere (1974d) argued that exams had several inherent shortfalls. Therefore, Nyerere recommended that examinations, which he felt pigeon-holed students as successes or failures, should be restricted to a combined assessment. This would encompass both the students’ performances in theoretical work and in the practical productive work, which they did throughout the year, either at school or in the villages. This, according to Nyerere (1974b), would be a more appropriate method of selecting entrants for secondary schools and for university, teacher training colleges and so on, than purely academic procedures. This was the same reasoning that Nyerere adopted to discourage examinations that were geared to international standards and practices, which had been developed regardless of Tanzania’s particular problems and needs.

Nyerere (1968d) emphasised that education must not simply be preparation for secondary school. Instead of the primary school activities being geared to the
competitive examination, which would select the few who went on to secondary school, they ought to be preparation for the life that the majority of the children would lead. Similarly, secondary schools ought not to be simply a selection process for university, teachers' colleges and so on. They ought to prepare people for life and service in the villages and rural areas (Nyerere, 1968d). In addition, as exams posed a challenge to the expansion of primary education, Nyerere sought to abolish them so as to allow those who found school places to remain there throughout the primary school cycle.

In sum, the principles of self-reliance were to be interwoven with those of Ujamaa. Indeed, self-reliance was introduced as one of the major strategies to bring into fruition the ambitions relating to education expansion. While the philosophy of self-reliance had multiple objectives, it was consciously instigated in Tanzania in order to counteract the repercussions of economic sanctions that arose when Tanzania embraced the principles of Ujamaa. Self-reliance affirmed that Tanzania would not withdraw or slacken its stance regarding Ujamaa. Self-reliance was an expression of and strategy for building Ujamaa. Nyerere (1973) consistently argued that in order for Tanzania to maintain freedom and independence, the country had to be self-reliant in every possible way. Thus, Nyerere (1969a) demanded the maximum use of Tanzania resources, starting with the individual and moving from the community all the way to national level. Consistent with ideals of self-reliance, education had to be relevant in the sense of providing liberating skills and ideas that would make a recipient fit into the Tanzanian community by being self-reliant and, therefore, independent. Assessment that combined theory and practical skills, particularly farm work, would assist in gaining the goal of self-reliance. The aim was not only to unify intellectual and manual work, but also to involve the broader community in different activities, including the financing of schools, in order to further national development.
3.5 Nyererean (Education) Decentralisation

In order to make a reality of our policies of socialism and self-reliance, the planning and control of development in this country must be exercised at local level to a much greater extent (Nyerere, 1972, p. 1).

Decentralization is a contentious concept with competing definitions and rationales (Gamage & Zajda, 2009; Lauglo, 1995). However, the Nyererean education decentralization framework is distinctive as it is characterized by the amalgamation of three major interrelated strands: *Ujamaa*, decentralization and education. It is the component of *Ujamaa* that differentiates Nyererean decentralisation from other models in African, and perhaps in the world. Two dimensions of the process of Nyererean decentralisation can be clearly identified: the content of what is decentralized (administrative, fiscal and political); and the nature of or degree to which authority/decision making is devolved. This can be depicted along a continuum that moves from deconcentration, then to delegation, which is followed by devolution and then ends with privatization (Lauglo, 1995; Rondinelli et al., 1983).

Rondinelli et al. (1983) created the original basic vocabulary that describes various ways in which governments in developing countries may be expected to pursue administrative decentralization. Winkler (1989) applied this vocabulary to education, but with a particular focus on economic perspective. I built on their ideas in order to construct Nyererean Education decentralisation with a special focus in Tanzania. Table 1 explores the administrative, financial and political motives that characterised the Nyererean decentralisation framework.

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7 Deconcentration reforms shift authority for the implementation of rules, but not for making them (McGinn & Welsh, 1999, p. 18). Delegation involves the transfer of authority for a specified function (Dickovick, 2011). Devolution involves creating and capacitating local units of local government to be able to function without the direct control of central authorities. Privatisation refers to shifting some of the government’s core functions to private entities (Sasaoka & Nishuma, 2010).
### Table 1: General and Nyererean (Education) Decentralisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms ➔ Degree of authority ➖</th>
<th>Administrative</th>
<th>Fiscal</th>
<th>Political</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deconcentration to regional and district offices</td>
<td>Move managerial decisions and method of work from capital to regions and districts.</td>
<td>Give regional and district development directors greater authority to allocate budgets</td>
<td>Give regional commissioner authority to deal with political education for socialist development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delegation to school committees and Ujamaa villages</td>
<td>School committees and Ujamaa villages empowered to make some decisions regarding ‘self-reliance’ funds, but are limited on core curriculum.</td>
<td>School committees receive government funding and allocate spending, but are strongly encouraged to raise revenue locally (ESR).</td>
<td>School committee is elected and some members appointed, but school principal is named by District Education Officer (DEO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devolution to Ujamaa villages, districts and regions</td>
<td>District and regional educational managers are appointed by the Ministry of Education, but are accountable to the District Councils</td>
<td>Self-financing schools (ESR), but with some government subsidies. Schools allocate and determine their spending</td>
<td>School committees and Ujamaa villages set schools terms according to annual/rainy seasons to fit agriculture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatisation of educational entities</td>
<td>Discourage private educational entities, except for a few NGOs and religious institutions.</td>
<td>Private school owners are discouraged.</td>
<td>Private school are discouraged. Only few religious institutions hire and fire teachers, and name school principals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adopted from (Gershberg & Winkler, 2004, p. 10).

Whereas one of the key political motive for decentralisation is “to increase the effective control of the central government or at least that of key decision makers within the central government” (Winkler, 1989, p. 3), Nyererean decentralisation was centred on the argument that citizenry participation would promote local commitment to managing education in their jurisdictions. It called for the creation of the local-level institutions to involve the citizenry (Samoff, 1979b). Parents and the communities near the schools were encouraged to participate in education by creating school committees and reforming the old ones. Students in particular were encouraged to make decisions: “But although the school authorities must give guidance and a certain amount of discipline exerted, the pupils must be able to participate in decisions and learn by mistakes” (Nyerere, 1968d, p. 67).

Popular participation was an essential characteristic of the Nyererean decentralization framework in several ways. First, there was a sense that a participative style reflects long standing traditional African practices of decision through discussion.
(1966) puts it, “they talk till they agree. That gives you a sense of traditional African democracy. It is rather a clumsy way of conducting affairs, but discussion is one factor of any democracy and Africa is expert at it” (p. 104). Second, “every Tanzanian citizen is an integral part of the nation and has the right to take an equal part in government at local, regional, and national level (Nyerere, 1966, p. 262). Third, participation of citizens was regarded as a fundamental element of democratic government, as described by Nyerere (1973): “the people must make the decisions about their own future through democratic procedures” (Nyerere, 1973, p. 62). Democratic participation was considered to be an essential feature of Tanzania’s transition to socialism (Pratt, 1976). Fifth and perhaps most important, Nyererean decentralisation regarded citizen participation in education as a fundamental component of the general strategy to increase production in order to achieve development:

The people's freedom to determine their own priorities, to organize themselves, and their own advance in welfare, is an important part of our objective. It cannot be postponed to some future time. The people's active and continued voluntary participation in the struggle is an important part of our objective because only through this participation will the people develop (Nyerere, 1971, p. 333).

Thus, Nyererean decentralisation regarded citizen participation in primary education as a desirable component in an egalitarian and democratic society and also as a prerequisite for the success of Tanzania’s development strategy (Samoff, 1979b). While decentralisation strived for increased popular participation in local planning and the implementation of development policies, it also sought to strengthen socialist leadership through the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). Indeed, the Nyererean approach was characterised by the merging of political and government activities but this was seen to be for the common good.

Notwithstanding a plethora of literature (see for example Hill, 1979; Samoff, 1979a) concerning the diversity of decentralisation, Nyererean decentralisation was more idiosyncratic as it reflected the unique characteristics of the Ujamaa philosophy, which perceived genuine democracy and equal participation to be as crucial as public
ownership and reduced social inequalities. Nyerere (1969a) called for safeguarding and strengthening democratic procedures such that every Tanzanian would play an active and direct role in local communities and, at the same time, participate fully in the government of the country.

Decentralisation, as proposed by Nyerere (1972), followed logically from Ujamaa, education expansion and self-reliance, and implied a need to put more trust on people. Nyerere (1972) argued that if this was not feasible, “we have no claim to be socialists” (p. 12). Together with its overt goals of dispersing central government to rural areas, decreasing hierarchy and bureaucratic compartmentalisation, promoting cooperation among Tanzanian government ministries and reducing the distance between decision makers and the citizenry, the key for Nyererean decentralisation was to make it more pertinent to the goals of Ujamaa and the self-reliance enterprise. This was to be achieved by emphasising local freedom in both decision-making and action regarding matters that were perceived to be of local importance. Nyerere (1969a) argued that “rural development depends on the mobilization of the mass of the population in thousands of projects and requires spontaneous enthusiasm from below and decentralized leadership at the local level” (p. 11).

The second motive for decentralisation is based on a central government’s constraints towards or failure “to provide the finance to meet demand for schooling” (McGinn & Welsh, 1999, p. 29). However, one of the major purposes of Nyererean decentralisation was “to ensure that future economic planning stems from the people and serves the people directly” (Nyerere, 1972, p. 5). This financial rationale was centred on the argument that without both community participation in educational matters and institutions that ensure that citizens know about, understand and voluntarily commit themselves to educational particular programmes, poverty and ignorance can not be eliminated. Given the need to mobilise labour for the income generating projects that featured prominently in the Nyererean framework, notably to transform the agricultural practices, increase productivity, regulate commerce, and manage social services, such as the expansion of primary education, there was a perceived need to create unique local institutions to attain these particular goals.
It was for this reason that Nyererean decentralisation was characterised by concepts such as voluntary effort and participation in local planning and organisation. This was denoted by the application of enthusiasm for building strong local organisations and mobilising the population to undertake development activities, based on the belief that a key to development lies with involvement of those at the lower levels, such as Ujamaa village development committees or school management committees. Notwithstanding its implicit intent of overcoming the constraints of the cold war in late 1960s, following Tanzania’s decision to embrace and consequently pronounce the principles of Ujamaa and self-reliance, Nyererean decentralisation was perceived as perhaps the most effective way of achieving goals such as universal education, and also including the most isolated, disadvantaged and formerly excluded sections of Tanzanian society.

The third rationale for decentralization is based on the argument that “decentralization will reduce overload and congestion in the channels of administration and communication” (Rondinelli et al., 1983, p. 9). Nyererean decentralisation, however, sought to bring power closer to the people and to construct an efficient and democratic system of local government that would enable people to make their own decisions on things that affected them directly. This, in turn, was intended to facilitate peoples’ recognition of their own control over community decisions, and their taking responsibility for carrying them out. This was the very local control that Nyerere believed could be organised in a way that contributed to national unity, through diverse local control and working together to attain common goals (Nyerere, 1968d, p. 199).

In particular, Nyererean decentralisation was characterised by the integration of pupils, or rather schools, into society and it discouraged the alienation of the educated masses from society. Instead of centralised administration, Nyerere (1968d) called for change to how schools were run in order to make them compatible with the ideals of Ujamaa and to be self-reliant; in this way schools and their inhabitants would become a real part of society and the economy. Based on this approach, teachers, pupils and workers together would be called upon to be members of social units in the same way as parents, relatives and children were the family members of social units (Nyerere,
In this kind of relationship, schools could contribute to their own upkeep and students would work together with parents to develop the schools.

In addition, Nyerere (1968d) discouraged central/national government or authorities from being dictatorial as, “Government should avoid laying down detailed and rigid rules; each school must have considerable flexibility. Only then can the potential of that particular area be utilized, and only then can the participants practice-and learn to value direct democracy” (p. 67). His approach rejected the common tendency of centralisation in which officials from the centre (Dar es Salaam) would draw up a blueprint for the day-to-day organisation of all schools (Nyerere, 1968d p. 121). Instead, Nyerere upheld that each school should have a considerable flexibility so that the potential of particular areas could be fully utilised, particularly in relation to income generating school projects, such as agriculture or animal husbandry.

The responsibility for the establishment of school terms and times under Nyererean decentralisation would be devolved to the people at the grassroots who would accordingly be able to arrange them in such a way that children would be able to participate as members of the family in the community farms or, as Nyerere (1968d) put it, as junior members of the community on community farms. Although the Ministry of Education would still be responsible for general principles, such as school curriculum development and the basics on how to run the schools, the application of those principles would take into account the different geographical, geological conditions and local variations. According to Nyerere (1972), it would be absurd to try to settle all the questions from Dar es Salaam, because the social customs of the people varied to some extent. That meant the schools were to be autonomous in several respects. The authority to manage the primary schools would be given to the parents of the children who could start community farms to support the schools and work there with the children. The government or local government would become involved only when necessary, such as, for example, providing teachers (Nyerere, 1974d).

To conclude this section, Nyererean decentralisation was part of the broader project of *Ujamaa* whose focus included participatory democracy and financial and political administrative rationales. It also attempted to locate the degree to which authorities
were decentralised from the centre. The distinctive feature of this framework was the combining of education, decentralisation and *Ujamaa*. Like many of other models that Rondinelli et al. (1983) and (Winkler, 1989) developed, Nyererean decentralisation sought to bring the power of decision-making closer to the citizenry by decreasing the hierarchy and bureaucratic compartmentalisation. However, given the context of *Ujamaa*, self-reliance and the need to expand primary education, the creation of strong local institutions was sine qua non to attaining a global Nyererean framework. The connection of the Nyererean decentralisation to other tenets of the framework was that *Ujamaa* was the ultimate goal; but *Ujamaa* would be attained through implementing self-reliance policies. Self-reliance called for Tanzanians to reduce their tendency to depend on foreign economic assistance, as it was accompanied by conditions that contrasted with the ideals of *Ujamaa*. Nyererean decentralisation was, therefore, one of the alternatives that involved the wider community taking part in school affairs, including income-generating activities. On top of all these objectives, the core aims of Nyererean decentralisation were the raising of revenue at local levels, the funding of education expansion and the spread of the *Ujamaa* dispositions from the centre to the lower levels.
CHAPTER 4: PRE-**UJAMAA** AND SELF-RELIANCE

1961-1966

4.1 Introduction

The broad aim of this chapter is to examine how the education policies, particularly those related to decentralisation and primary education between 1961 and 1966, aligned with the Nyererean framework, as discussed in chapter three. This chapter explains the historical, economic and political contexts in which these policies emerged, in order to understand their meaning and significance. It identifies the main themes from the policy documents that can be associated with decentralisation and primary education, and links these themes with the Nyererean framework. The context section commences by summarising the conditions under which Tanzania achieved independence. It systematically considers a series of major events during the 1961 to 1966 and highlights how these events have influenced or constrained national policy development. Moreover, it is important to note that this analysis contains policies that were enacted when Tanzania had not yet established the implications of the African socialism project (URT, 1969b).

4.2 The Context: The Status of Education after Independence

Tanganyika was a German colony from 1886 to 1919, a mandate and later a UN Trust Territory under British administration (1919-1961). It was exposed to western influences for almost 80 years prior to achieving its independence on December 9, 1961. During the colonial period, efforts to build the transport and education systems were completely inadequate (URT, 1969b). Additionally, people were categorised according to their race and there was very little interaction between the races (Brock-Utne (2006). Cameron and Dodd (1970) maintained that at least until December 1961, the people of Tanganyika were openly racially categorised, not solely within the education sphere, but also in other sectors, notably hospitals, clubs, travelling facilities and many residential areas. In most cases, the people of Tanganyika lived in

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8 Tanganyika is the name of the mainland-exclusive of the island of Zanzibar, which is located off the coast of Tanganyika. When Zanzibar and Tanganyika were united into one country in March 1964, the official name of the union became the "United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar", abbreviated to Tanzania (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 92).
different areas. According to Tanganyika-Government (1961, p. 2), at least three social-economic tiers could be identified. The bottom tier consisted of 9,000,000 Africans who were predominantly rural in location, with only a small fraction living in urban areas. They occupied lower government service posts or provided a reservoir of semi-skilled and unskilled labour for commerce and industry.9

The second tier consisted of Asian communities (Indians, Pakistanis, Goans and Arabs) with a total population of 100,000 (Tanganyika-Government, 1961). The Asian population held the middle posts in the civil service and corresponding clerical posts in commerce, industry and trade. They were the traders, shopkeepers and entrepreneurs who commanded the distributive and retail sections of the economy. The government policies effectively barred the African population from taking part in commercial activities (Brock-Utne, 2006). The Arabs in particular, numbering around 25,000, mostly settled in coastal areas such as Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Pwani and Lindi and were primarily engaged in transportation enterprises. In contrast to the other groups, the Arabs generally lived among the Africans and intermarriages were common, but for census purposes the offspring of these mixed marriages were classified as Arabs (Cameron, 1967, p.40). The children of the Arabs either went to Asian or African schools.10 Out of the entire population, a very small but significant number of Asians overlapped economically, if not socially, with the third tier. This was composed of the dominant Europeans, numbering 20,000, who owned large scale businesses and plantations, and exercised the top level managerial and supervisory governmental posts, as well as posts in commercial and industry sectors; these were largely branches of firms with overseas headquarters (Tanganyika-Government, 1961). The European population also consisted of a small group of European missionaries devoted to pastoral, medical and education activities, and a few settlers. However, Brock-Utne (2006) suggests that the number of Europeans in Tanzania was never big as there was no large settler community, as in Kenya and Zimbabwe.

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9 In 1957, the number of Africans who lived in towns and townships was 276,400, that is, 3.2% of the total population. At the same time, not less than 69% of the non-African population lived in the towns and townships (Brock-Utne, 2006, p. 124).
In 1961, primary education was organised into two main levels: the lower primary school that was composed of standards I-IV and the upper primary level, which consisted of standards V-VIII.\footnote{In the Tanzanian education system, primary grades are referred to as ‘standards’ and secondary grades as ‘forms’} According to Omari et al. (1983), the overall education pyramid was as follows: four years of lower primary education organised on a half day basis, in which a single teacher provided for standards I and II, with the same arrangement for standards III and IV. At the end of standard IV, there was a selective examination and about a quarter of the pupils were able to enter upper primary, V and VIII, which consisted of four years of middle school education. A four-year admission to secondary school education was based on another selective examination, and only one third of the children who had completed primary education were able to enter secondary school.\footnote{Nevertheless, Cameron and Dodd (1970) argue that very few secondary school leavers received university education partly because within the boundaries of East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania), only Makerere (Uganda) provided university education. At the same time, the overseas opportunities were limited to children of chiefs and the rich national bourgeoisie. It was within this context that, by 1961, only 20 people had university education in Tanzania.} Secondary education also consisted of two parts: a lower secondary of four years duration leading to an examination of the Cambridge school certificate, and upper secondary which lasted for two years, but lead to the Higher School Certificate. There was a minimum of three years for higher education, which was provided by the University of East Africa. While African education was based on a year based 4-4-2-2 system Cameron (1967), the Asian followed a 6-4-2 pattern. However, for both Africans and Asians, standard I was the first grade while XII was the last/twelfth grade. The European education system was mixed, consisting of two classes at the bottom, then four standards of primary education, followed by six forms of secondary education.

The hierarchical segmentation of society was reflected in differentiated systems of schooling for the three identified groups in Tanzanian society: the Africans, the Asians and Europeans. Each group had its own different grant in-aid system, requirements of teachers’ service scales of fees and school class nomenclature. Whereas the African schools were allocated the smallest share of financial resources, Galabawa (1990) states that the Asian, and mostly European schools, consumed the
largest share of the public funds. In 1947, for example, while the unit cost per student for Africans was £2.2, it was £5.5 for Asians and £37.6 for Europeans (Galabawa, 1990). Similarly, Brock-Utne (2006) writes that African education was limited to standard VI until 1937, with limited expansion beyond standard VII, while the Asians and Europeans had access to education beyond standard VIII. As late as 1956 there were more Asian students in secondary schools in Tanzania than African students even though Asians accounted for less than 1% of the population.

Nyerere disapproved of the system of education which Tanzania inherited from the colonial administration as being both inadequate and inappropriate. This is reflected in a 1968 speech where he stated:

The independent state of Tanzania in fact inherited a system of education, which was in many respects both inadequate and inappropriate for the new state. It was however, its inadequacy, which was most immediately obvious. So little education had been provided that in December, 1961, we had too few people with the necessary educational qualifications even to man the administration of government as it was then, much less undertake the big economic and social development work which was essential. Neither was the school population in 1961 large enough to allow for any expectation that this situation would be speedily corrected. On top of that, education was based upon race, whereas the whole moral case of the independence movement had been based upon a rejection of racial distinctions (Nyerere, 1968d, pp. 47-48).

According to Nyerere, the education provided was purposefully restricted to the few individuals required to service colonial interests. This criticism is reflected in the work of several scholars who argue that the system, as it existed, was discriminatory in several aspects (see for example Buchert, 1994; Dodd, 1968). The enrolment figures of 1961 compare the number of students with the percentage of the total population to help substantiate the point that a segregated colonial education system existed in Tanzania (see table 2 below). Respectively, 80 and 95% of the European and Indian age groups were enrolled in primary and secondary education in 1956, whereas African enrolment in primary and middle schools, which was virtually equal to enrolment in the whole system, represented only 8.5% of the age group (Buchert,
However, the European figures may not give an accurate picture, because many parents sent their children back to their countries of origin or to Kenya for their education, especially secondary education.

Table 2 shows the African population in relation to the school age population and enrolment. It also highlights the ratio of boys and girls in standards I-VIII in 1961 and the declining rates of participation as students moved up through the school system.

**Table 2: Enrolment in Relation to Estimated Age Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Estimated school age population</th>
<th>School enrolment</th>
<th>Participation rate</th>
<th>Ratio boys to girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standards I-II</td>
<td>480,000</td>
<td>267,118</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2.5:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standards III-IV</td>
<td>460,000</td>
<td>196,713</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standards V-VI</td>
<td>440,000</td>
<td>39,638</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standards VII-VIII</td>
<td>420,000</td>
<td>27,849</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Another important factor that impacted on national policy making related to regional and international events and initiatives in which Tanzania participated and also influenced its developing approach to education. An example of this is Tanzania’s commitment to the UNESCO/ECA sponsored conference of African states regarding the development of education in Africa, which was held in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) from May 15 to 25, 1961, and was attended by delegations from 43 nations. The aims of the conference included:

To establishing an inventory of educational needs and a programme to meet those needs in the coming years… and to invite the United Nations, the other Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency to co-operate with UNESCO (UNESCO, 1961, p. v).
Other aims included examining the development of education in relation to African cultural and social factors, and establishing education as a basic factor in economic and social development. The scale of the issue is indicated by the fact that in 1961 only 16% of primary and secondary school age students were enrolled in school in Africa. However, this did not mean that all African countries were facing similar challenges with regards to access to education. As the report explains:

The situation varies, ranging from 2% of the school age group in several States to nearly 60% in others. In the majority of cases, the proportion of children out of school exceeds 80% of the school age population (UNESCO, 1961, p. 3).

Based on these inadequacies, one of the set targets was that “primary education shall be universal, compulsory and free” (UNESCO, 1961, p. 18). In addition to efforts to expand primary education, the report argued that African economic development was highly dependent on the skills taught in institutions to students of 15 years of age and above. It was therefore the highest priority to ensure that an adequate proportion of the population received secondary, post secondary and university education (UNESCO, 1961). The report emphasised that “the attainment of universal literacy cannot be given the highest priority in the earliest stages of economic development as compared with the expansion of other skills at secondary and higher levels (UNESCO, 1961). The argument was that plans for economic and social development depended upon an adequate supply of teachers, technicians, agricultural nurses, book keepers, secretaries, medical technologists, clerks and other secondary education level skills. It was therefore important to ensure that policies were in place to achieve the twin objectives of post secondary education and economic advancement.

Achieving Universal Primary Education and the expansion of secondary and university education were not the only goals: “the content of the curriculum should be related to economic needs” (UNESCO, 1961). The approach to reforming the curriculum included the argument that “there is interest in adapting educational curricula, particularly at the primary and lower secondary level to rural and village life” (UNESCO, 1961). This would raise the productivity of the agricultural economy, enrich community life in the villages and lead to an increase in enrolment
opportunities in rural areas. This strategy would also help diminish the number of school leavers who flocked to the towns and cities for employment jobs, which in certain areas were almost non-existent (UNESCO, 1961). In regards to the management of primary schools, the report suggested that the governments “encourage the decentralisation or devolution of educational administration” (UNESCO, 1961, p. 30). The argument for decentralisation relied on the idea that “an increase in national education budgets requires use of new financial sources, both public and private, national and foreign, material and human” (UNESCO, 1961, p. 20). The key argument for decentralisation was that “the distribution of financial burdens for education between central and local authorities aim at both elimination of duplication of effort and adherence to criteria of quality” (UNESCO, 1961, p. 20). The aim was, therefore, to distribute financial responsibilities, whilst also ensuring educational quality and efficiency.

Another important aspect of the social and political context is related to the constraints that faced Tanzania as a newly independent country. Influenced by theories of modernisation, and still reliant on the external provision of capital, skills and technology, Tanganyika sought and largely followed foreign development advice (Samoff, 1984). A plethora of literature (see for example Chachage & Cassam, 2010; Fouéré, 2014b; Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1995) examines the ways in which the first years of independence were accompanied by several difficulties and setbacks, which constrained Tanzania’s plans for economic and social development. For example, a sharp drop in the world price for sisal exports blocked some projects and slowed others (Samoff, 1984). In 1964, Tanzania experienced successive droughts, floods and the virtual collapse of its first ambitious First Five-Year Plan (Cameron, 1980 p. 105). No sooner did the country seem to stabilise than in January 1964 its army mutinied and made a number of demands, including the immediate Africanisation of army leadership and higher wages (Havnevik & Isinika, 2010). According to Samoff (1984), the army mutiny prompted a renewed request for external assistance from the British. Sixty British marines were landed by the helicopter at military barracks on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam and half an hour later the mutiny was over (Havnevik & Isinika, 2010).
While the army mutiny was still occurring, the leaders of the Tanganyika federation of Labour (TFL) called for strike action, demanding increased pay and a more rapid process of Africanisation of the civil service. Foreign policy conflicts with Germany (over representation from East Germany) and England (over white settlers' unilateral declaration of independence in what was called Rhodesia) demanded a high level of attention and deprived Tanzania of additional expected funds (Samoff, 1984). Almost simultaneously, there was a serious deterioration in Tanzania’s relations with Britain following British criticism of Tanzania’s decision to accept significant quantities of aid, including arms from China. According to Pratt (1999), this event was intensified by the disheartening British efforts to force Tanzania to carry the heavy cost of compensation and pension rights, which Britain had granted to ex-colonial officials who were leaving the Tanzanian public service in a large number.

In 1964, two Americans were expelled from Tanzania on suspicion of plotting the overthrow of the post revolutionary government of Zanzibar. Thereafter, both the United States and Tanzania withdrew the ambassadors from each other’s capitals. Once again, Tanzania recovered only to be troubled in 1966 by growing evidence of elitism in society, partly evidenced by a university students’ strike. Indeed, these were difficult years for both the government and the people. Yet, in the harsh fires of experience, the philosophy and the policies of the government were hardened and refined, and in the process they acquired what Cameron and Dodd (1970) characterise as a radical and more positively socialist stance than was the case in the neighbouring countries of Uganda and Kenya.

4.3 The Period of National Building and Ujamaa

The main aim of the Nyererean principles was the construction of a new society that would live according to the principles of Ujamaa, such as via collectivisation rather than competition for private gains. The aim was to avoid both giving an individual or group of people the power to exploit another, and the impact of powerful groups upon the national independence. However, the analysis indicates that a reliance on and encouragement of private investment and entrepreneurs permeated the policies in this period. According to Tanganyika-Government (1961), the fundamental purpose of
economic development during 1961-1966 carried over unchanged from before independence, and represented the strengthening of capitalist modes of production. Private capital formation took place mainly in plantation agriculture, manufacturing, the building industry and transport and distribution.

While policies may have represented a continuation of the pre-independence era, “the main objective was increasing agricultural production, expanding the internal market, and speeding up the transition from a subsistence to a monetary economy” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 7). Similarly, this period was characterised by the values of free economy, as it is reflected in this text: “It must not be assumed however that all the economic objectives and priorities selected for the plan will necessarily result in immediate and substantial increases in output and incomes…. Yet, there is no other way of achieving sustained increases of agricultural output in a free economy” (1961, p. 8). The aims of developing a self-sustained economy were characterised by the support of individual farmers (not collective), and the creation of large-scale villages which would practice modern techniques and organised settlement schemes. The supported farmers would concentrate on high priced cash crops such as groundnuts, tobacco and cotton:

We have in Tanganyika a number of privately owned estates and plantations. They occupy a tiny percentage of our land-less than one percent-but at present they account for some forty percent of the value of our exports. These estates have both the capital and the technicians that are needed to increase output, and we need an increase from them. The Government will give the estates more land if they need it (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. x).

Unlike the Nyererean perspectives, which discouraged individuals from owning large pieces of land while hiring others to work for them, the government in this period was willing to give as much land as the estates wanted. This was a form of capitalism which Nyerere opposed, as it was rooted on profit maximisation:

They will do so only if they believe that they can make a profit and that they will be allowed to export their profit if they wish to do so. These conditions we must accept; we can do nothing about them. The question we must ask
ourselves in every separate case is whether we also benefit in proportion…It is on this basis that our Ministers will work to attract investors from other countries, and will encourage local people to start their own industries (Tanganyika-Governent, 1964b, p. xiv).

While the Nyererean framework insisted on collectivisation, privatisation was heavily encouraged in this period. In order to encourage the private estates, the government industrial policy supported the capitalist economy by granting land, investment and repatriation of capital. However, these practices continued not because of the willingness of the new government, but because that was the only option.

Accordingly, Buchert (1994) suggests that trade during the period reflected the pre-independence pattern in which a large share of both exports and imports was conducted through western industrialisation (63-74% exports and 72-76% imports). Given the legacy of colonialism, concomitant with the positive stance on capitalism and the inherited involvement of the World Bank, the three year development plan of 1961-1963 concentrated “on economic projects which would yield the quickest and the highest returns in the near future” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 7).

Nevertheless, there were sections in the policy documents that showed an alignment with the Ujamaa principles. The recurrent theme of the three-year development plan of 1961/62-1963/64 was nation building, but was to a great extent influenced by external political and financial forces, notably the World Bank. However, the first five-year plan for economic and social development (1964-1969) had two sub-titles with two powerful messages on its cover, which contrasted with the inherited social economic ideals of capitalism, with the first being “Freedom and Work” and the second “I believe in human brotherhood and the unity of Africa” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. i). The two were recurrent themes, indicating the relationship between freedom and work on the one hand, and ideas of ‘brotherhood’ on the other; in particular how they could be extended to unifying Africa. Although the first five-year plan 1964-1969 did not seriously and coherently articulate philosophies of ‘brotherhood’, as compared to the 1967 policies, signs of Ujamaa started to appear even in this period (1961-1966). In its introduction section, the first five-year plan noted:
We in this country have great natural resources. First, we have a people who are enthusiastic, friendly, and law-abiding. This is our greatest asset in development. But we also have good land and minerals. And we have wildlife such as is found in few other parts of the world. These things we must preserve, and put to our service. Perhaps the most important of all, we must also retain the values of brotherliness, of family-hood, which our fathers had. Our task is to widen these values, not to eradicate them. This, in fact, is the purpose of all our work, and all our plans; the creation through African Socialism of a country in which we can all live proudly as brothers (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. xv).

Compatible to embracing policies of ‘brotherhood’ was Tanzania’s decision to follow foreign policy of non-alignment, a strategy that was presented to the union general assembly after independence. The policy of non-alignment insisted on the freedoms of individual states to align themselves with any country of their choice, without the primary consideration being wider block policies (Buchert, 1991). This stance on non-alignment is reflected in these words:

In all of its work, and in all of its decisions, the Government will constantly have two things in mind; the development of the Republic; and the safety of the Republic. The help we get from outside for development must not be allowed to deflect from the people's control of their government and the economy of this country. It is for this reason that we shall try to avoid undue dependence on any one group, or any one country. We shall try to get aid from both East and West; we shall be particularly anxious to get help through the United Nations when we can. It is for the same reason that we have made clear in the Plan those sectors of the economy in which we shall welcome private enterprise, those in which we shall go in partnership, and those where we feel public ownership is essential. The recent arrangements, by which the Government has taken over ownership of the Electricity supply, and Port handling, have had this objective-the firm control by the people of those sectors of the economy which regulate our advance (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, pp. xiv-xv).
This policy sought to preserve political independence by diversifying interactions with the international community, across political blocks and ideologies. It was also planned so as to promote the use of local, as opposed to foreign ideas and resources, as a means to sustaining economic independence (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b).

Another important policy that aligned with some features of Ujamaa in this period was the introduction of the one party state in 1965, under the leadership of the Tanzania African National Union (TANU), as the sole party in power. The primary concern of the newly independent Tanganyika was to establish political institutions and administrative systems, which would reflect the country’s independent status and adequately promote political stability and national cohesion. Buchert (1994) posited that the party was considered by the majority to be the party that best represented the populace, which could unite the whole nation and thereby preserve nation cohesion. The president became both the head of the state and the party, highly instrumental as an independent policy maker and as a mediator between the party and the government.

4.3.1 *Ujamaa* and teacher training

Immediately following independence was emergence of the philosophy of nation building, accompanied by a need to expand and improve teacher education; but at the time this was not intended directly for the creation of an egalitarian society, as discussed in chapter five, but to build the foundations for the future growth of the economy (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a). Despite these aspirations, a shortage of primary school teachers, particularly grades ‘A/B’, existed for two key reasons. First, “an unusually large demand exists here because of the expansion of the educational system and because of the strong drive to improve the quality of the teaching staff (and hence the quality of instruction)” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 83). Second, “the gap is often most acute in the early years of independence of a developing country because of the sharp expansion in the social and economic activities of the public sector of the country coupled with an accelerated retirement of expatriate civil servant (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 85). While education was
presented as a driver of social and economic growth, there was a shortage of personnel in this sector.

One way of removing barriers to the expansion of teacher education was the abolition of discrimination in teacher training colleges and training courses. The three-year plan stated that “student of any race should be eligible for admission to all teacher training colleges” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 78). Similarly, Act Number 6 of 1962 was enacted “to provide for Common Terms and Conditions of Employment among teachers by the Establishment of a Unified Teaching Service and for matters incidental thereto and connected therewith” (Tanganyika-Government, 1962, p. 1). A number of arguments in defence of teacher expansion were put forward. For example, the policy noted that the satisfactory development of the newly independent nation’s education system and improvement of standards was dependent upon the production of a sufficient number of skilled teachers (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 84).

Expansion of teacher education was also deemed important “to maintain the services and to enable the proposed development to take place” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 84). This expansion focused on two major areas. First, in developing an Institute of Education, the expansion of teacher training courses for post-standard VIII and post-Form 4 candidates and the introduction of a course for training post-Form 6 candidates (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 80). The second strategy stated:

It will be necessary to train all the post-Higher School Certificate and post-School Certificate candidates likely to become available during the plan period and also to increase the output of Grade II teachers. Post-Higher School Certificate teachers are required for secondary schools and post School Certificate teachers for work in the lower forms of secondary schools and the upper standards of primary schools” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 84).

Given the importance of teachers to the development of education in the country, the new government thought it was necessary to train all post-higher school certificate candidates who were likely to become available during the plan period, and also to increase the output of grade II teachers. According to Tanganyika-Government (1961), by 1965 the number of post higher school certificate teachers would rise to
3,500 as to compared to 250 in 1961. The government had specific targets, including extending post-school certificate teacher training courses to additional colleges, with a view to achieving an annual output of 225 teachers; the improvement of existing grade II teacher-training colleges to make possible the production of 750 teachers per annum; the introduction of post-High School Certificate teacher-training courses; and the erection of an Institute of Education to provide adequate facilities for research, including the printing of experimental material and as a clearing house for educational ideas and for the co-ordination of teacher training throughout the country.

The government’s intention to expand the teaching profession continued even after the completion of the three-year plan. The third main objective of the Ministry of Education was “to continue progress towards the long-term aim of achieving self-sufficiency in both quantity and quality of the supply of teachers to all Schools in Tanganyika” (Tanganyika-Government, 1964a, p. 102). Despite the earlier efforts in 1961-1963 to expand teacher education, during the first five-year development plan of 1964-1969, about 1200 teachers were required to fulfil the educational objectives of nation building (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. xii). While the three-year development plan made some efforts to expand education during 1961-1963, an increase in the number of students in the upper school was not matched with an increase of fully qualified teachers to teach them. The government subsequently reflected that:

The increase in the number of upper Standards in primary schools has not been matched by the increase in the number of teachers fully qualified to teach them. A major effort on behalf of the primary schools during the period of this Development Plan will, therefore, be made by increasing the teacher training facilities for secondary school leavers (i.e. Grade A teacher training courses). This is without prejudice to the continued employment and upgrading of Grade "C" teachers who will continue to form the great majority of the teaching profession in the primary schools (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. 65)

In contrast to the three-year plan of 1961-1963, the first five-year development plan for 1964-1969 accorded the greatest importance to teacher training programmes in
order to improve the entire education system. Tanganyika-Goverment (1964b) stressed that this improvement depended upon major changes in the teaching profession:

The teacher-training program is of the greatest possible importance to the development of education in Tanganyika. The improvement of the quality of the primary schools depends upon major changes in this field. The teacher training colleges will be reorganized so that there will be nine or ten large colleges, each with enrolments of 240 to 480 students. Most of these students will be taking courses leading to qualification as Grade "A" teachers. The reorganized colleges will be large enough to allow the breadth, depth and variety of course which, in turn, will eventually be the foundation of greatly improved curricula in Tanganyika schools (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 66).

The programme for upgrading serving grade ‘C’ teachers to grade ‘B’ was continued throughout 1964-1969, but with the negative consequence of the exclusion of primary education. However, the first five-year plan pointed out that the prioritising of secondary teachers was a pragmatic strategy based on available resources:

The largest number of teachers in the primary schools in the immediate future will continue to be Grade "C". During the period of this Plan the newly qualified Grade "A" teachers will be used mainly to meet the more stringent staff requirements of the upper Standards of the reorganized primary school system and to a lesser extent the chronic shortage of properly qualified staff for the lower forms of secondary schools. The lower Standards of the primary schools will not benefit appreciably before 1969 (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 66).

Since teacher education was deemed important to fulfilling the economic objectives of nation building, which arguably acted a transition from colonialism to the *Ujamaa* period, the government put in place a number of strategies to expand teacher education. However, due to the complex nature of teacher expansion, there was a division of responsibilities among different stakeholders. According to Tanganyika-
capital grants would be paid towards the cost of providing teachers’ quarters and improving classrooms, both deemed necessary to bring about the effective deployment of more highly qualified teachers. The teacher training programmes would make provision for staffing in the re-organisation of teachers colleges so that this was equivalent, though not identical, to that of the post school certificate forms in secondary schools. The new cadre of primary school inspectors would concentrate upon the profession and not the administrative work of the school, by propagating what the plan called “modern approaches to teaching and in lending strengths to the work of schools which had fallen behind” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a).

Similarly, the government launched what it referred to as ‘a three pronged onslaught’ to address the teacher shortage problem. This was done by training more grade ‘A’ teachers, revising grants-in-aid from government to local education authorities to favour the development of ‘high quality’ in primary schools, and through radical improvements in the professional services available to teachers in the field (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a). The first five-year plan also proposed to have 9 or 10 large colleges that would enrol 240 to 480 students a year, wherein most students would take courses leading to qualifications of grade ‘A’ teachers. Each local authority would be allocated an approved establishment of teachers whose salaries and allowances would be taken into account in calculating grants. In order to meet the need for a higher grade of teachers to improve education standards, this system would be adjusted yearly to include a higher proportion of grade 'A' teachers at appropriate levels, and to allow for new approved developments (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a).

The government proposed that three teacher colleges, Peramiho, Katoke and Korogwe, would be upgraded to grade ‘A’. The other three, together with the five colleges already providing grade ‘A’ courses, Butimba, Dar es Salaam and Mpwapwa, would continue their previous roles. At Dar es Salaam, provision would be made to train school leavers from form VI. Three new colleges would be built at Arusha, Iringa and Tabora to provide grade ‘A’ courses. The college at Iringa would be responsible for a teaching practice course while refresher courses would be based at Mbeya. However, the first five-year plan also admitted that “the lower standard of the primary schools will not benefit appreciably before 1969” (Tanganyika-
Primary education would continue to suffer from shortages of teachers for a considerable amount of time, while secondary schools received highergrade teachers. This helps to show the extent to which these objectives were based on economic necessity.

The availability of secondary school teachers would enable the government to raise the number of secondary school streams from 32, which were opened in the period between 1961-1964, to 48 streams by 1969 (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b). A central feature of the first five-year plan for the development of teacher training was the reorganisation of the system to produce eleven teacher training colleges, institutions that were able to provide the wide range of courses from which secondary school leavers could profit. Following the successful expansion of secondary education under the three-year plan, the Tanganyika-Goverment (1964a) noted that qualified people were coming forward in what the government called unprecedented numbers. The intake of post-secondary students to two-year teacher training courses of teacher training was expected to again increase during the plan period, from 310 in 1964 to 1500 in 1969 (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b).

Another strategy used to achieve an adequate number of teachers was the establishment of the education department at the university college of Dar es Salaam to help produce graduate secondary school teachers. According to Tanganyika-Government (1964b), there would be links between the university college at Dar es Salaam and the teacher training colleges through the new institute of education, of which the university college and teacher training colleges would be constitute members. The main function of the institute would be the coordination and progressive improvement of all teacher education at both primary and secondary school levels in Tanzania.

Although one of the Ujamaa principles was the Africanisation of the working force, it was difficult to recruit only Tanganyikan teachers immediately after independence. This was reflected in the following “the choice before us is clear. We have twenty African Tanganyikans who are graduates teaching in our secondary schools. We cannot restrict the number of our students to that which these twenty graduates can teach. We must get teachers from outside in order to fulfil our objectives”
While the policy to expand education aligned with the Nyererean principles, depending on expatriate teachers was perhaps just intended for the transition period. Until 1964, Tanzania was still deeply dependant upon the recruitment of secondary school teachers from overseas, particularly Commonwealth countries and the United States of America (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a). While teaching staff in primary schools were predominantly Tanganyikans, the situation was different in secondary schools. In teacher training colleges, out of a total of about 1,000 teachers who were employed in 1964, only 20% were Tanganyikans (only 20 of whom held university degrees) (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b).

Since continuing to hire teachers from abroad was inconsistent with the policy of national building, the government could not allow this practice to continue unchallenged. “It is extremely urgent to begin an imaginative programme designed to produce Tanganyika's own secondary school teachers to take the place of the large number of expatriates who have filled the gap in recent years (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 66). In order to bring the practice of hiring expatriate teachers to an end, between 1964 and 1969 the university college of Dar es salaam would have the main task of producing 1200 graduate teachers for secondary schools by means of a new three-year course, during which students would become fully qualified teachers both academically and professionally. However, the main goal of expanding teacher education in this period was not the spreading of the Ujamaa ideals, but economic growth.

4.3.2 Conclusion

The philosophy of Ujamaa underlined working cooperatively for the common good rather than competition for individual advancement. However, the analysis of policy documents in this period demonstrates the reliance upon and encouragement of private investments, and the strengthening of the capitalist mode of production. Privatisation was mainly manifested in agriculture, manufacturing, transport and education. Whereas Nyererean principles supported a state-run economy, the period was characterised by what the three-year plan referred to as a free economy.
This reflected the pre-independence pattern by which the country’s economy was controlled via western industrialisation.

Nevertheless, the same period did see some enactment of the practice of the *Ujamaa* principles, which emphasised the philosophy of brotherhood and how this idea could be extended to permeate the whole Africa. In other words the pre-*Ujamaa* period (1961-66) experienced the co-existence of both capitalist practices, and also to a lesser extent those of *Ujamaa*. It was in the pre-*Ujamaa* period when aspects of collectivisation began to emerge, but these were overshadowed by capitalist forces. Terms such as brotherhood and the expansion of African values began to be articulated. These aspects of *Ujamaa* were also presented through the formulation of a non-alignment foreign policy and the formation of some cooperatives, as well as the one party system in 1965. In particular, the pre-*Ujamaa* period was accompanied by the need to expand teacher education. However, the policy of expanding teacher education did not aim to spread *Ujamaa* ideals in the community, as will be discussed in chapter five, but was instead intended to be the firm foundation for future economic growth.

### 4.4 National Building and Self-Reliance

The philosophy of self-reliance required Tanzania to free itself from socio-economic and cultural dependence on other (major) nations (Nyerere, 1968d). Given the timing, however, the contents of several policy papers from 1961 to 1966 (including the three-year development plan 1961-1963, and the first five-year plan 1964-1969) contrasted with Nyererean self-reliance principles. This is due to their retention of colonial approaches and adherence to the capitalist development path. There was also enormous external pressure from dominant institutions such as the World Bank. This was mainly because the policy contents were conceived in “a period of transition from the colonial type of administration to independence” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 1).

The influence of the World Bank was reflected in several of the policy documents, such as those that stated that “the government choice and also the view of the World Bank Mission was that at this stage of development the first choice is the right one”
(Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 7). In addition to concentrating on projects which would yield the quickest returns, it is important to note the extent to which the World Bank was influential in Tanzanian policies and politics. This influence was reflected in the three-year plan:

Based on an extensive survey of the economy prepared by the World Bank Mission and on several subsidiary economic and statistical studies carried out by the Territory's economic and statistical services. The general directives had been determined and an assessment of resources, including the effect on recurrent budgets, sources of finance and manpower requirements had been made (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 1).

The World Bank had influence not only on policy content, but also the amount that could be borrowed to support the implementation of policies in a newly independent nation. For instance, due to budgetary constraints immediately after independence, the World Bank suggested the maximum figure of the loan fund which Tanzania could afford to borrow and also exactly defined the total size of the development plan: “the World bank recommended a total plan of £18 Million over the 1961/62-1963/64 period and placed a limit on the balance to be met from external borrowing at a little over £11 million” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 11). In addition, the overall budget to implement the three-year plan showed heavy reliance on foreign finances:

It is estimated that at the beginning of the financial year 1961/62 £3·5 million will be available from the "Territorial" allocation of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, including the amount uncommitted or unspent balances or approved Schemes. In addition there will be a balance of £487,000 of funds allocated to Tanganyika from the "Central" Colonial Development and Welfare allocation and it is hoped to secure a further grant from H.M.G. in the period, towards the University College, Dar es Salaam. "Other Sources" comprises foundations such as the Rockefeller, Ford, and Nuffield Foundations, the International Co-operation Administration of the United States Government, other Governments and International Institutions (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 11).
As is reflected in this text, the three-year plan placed significant reliance on foreign sources of finance or private investments. However, in their extreme dependence on rich nations, Nyerere (1968b) provided the following caution to underdeveloped nations:

Quite apart from the problems of unacceptable political conditions which possible donors have tried to attach to capital assistance, and which have caused us to receive less than we at one time hoped, there are hard facts to be faced about the amount of international aid likely to be available (p. 166).

Despite this, there were key aspects of policy content in this period that did align with the Nyererean principle of self-reliance. The broad aims of 1961-1966 stemmed from a context of workforce scarcity in 1964. For example, “at present we are forced to rely on non-Tanganyikans to carry out many of the skilled professional and managerial jobs” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. viii). As a response to this problem, the second objective of the first five-year plan was “to be fully self-sufficient in manpower requirements (by 1980)” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. viii). Another key objective was “to meet the requirements of the national economy” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a, p. 102). More emphasis on becoming self-sufficient is reflected in this quote:

I have already stated that one of the major long-term objectives of our planning is to be self-sufficient in trained manpower (sic) by 1980. This means a carefully planned expansion of education. This expansion is an economic function; the purpose of Government expenditure on education in the coming years must be to equip Tanganyikans with the skills and the knowledge, which is needed if the Development of this country is to be achieved. It is this fact, which has determined Government educational policy (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. xi).

Education expansion was considered pivotal to economic development. Accordingly, several strategies were put in place to enhance the policy of self-sufficiency. According to Tanganyika-Goverment (1964b, p. 64), 48 more secondary school streams would be opened over the five-year period from 1964; the number of pupils
entering form one would rise from 5250 in 1964 to 7070 in 1969 and the number of students entering form five would rise during the same period from 680 to 1280. The emphasis was not just on increasing the overall number of secondary students, but also to produce more science than arts students. By 1964/65 the government suggested, “Form 6 output will contain a proportion of 4 Science Higher School Certificates to 3 Arts. It is planned that this shift of emphasis will continue until there is assurance that Tanganyika's needs in the ‘hard’ professional occupations are well on the way to being met” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 85). Yet, even within the science discipline, there were some specialisations that were favoured more than others:

In order further to facilitate this process the Government will concentrate its offers of bursaries largely in courses which will prepare Tanganyikans for those occupations which the country most urgently needs to fill in order to carry out its development programme. Action is also planned to improve co-ordination of foreign scholarship offers in order to bring them into closer harmony with Tanganyika's most urgent high level shortages (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 85).

According to Tanganyika-Goverment (1964b), in 1964 Tanzania’s high-level workforce was grouped into three broad classes, which could be roughly equated with the educational levels normally associated with the successful performance of the jobs in each of the respective classes. For example, each of the three categories indicated the qualifications and the shortage at that time: Class A had a shortage of 3200 individuals trained for occupations that normally required a university degree, such as doctors, engineers, graduate secondary teachers and scientists. Class B had a shortage of 9,300 of people trained for occupations that normally required two years post-secondary education/training, such as engineering technicians, physiotherapists, laboratory technicians and some schoolteachers. Class C had a shortage of 16,000 in occupations that normally required secondary school education, such as skilled office workers, middle management personnel and skilled modern craftsmen dealing with precision metal working, electricity, electrical machinery (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 82). Therefore, educational expansion was intended for economic growth and this aligned with the capitalist approach.
Another policy that aligned with the philosophy of self-reliance was called Africanisation, sometimes referred to as localisation. The Africanisation policy required that more Tanzanians be employed to replace expatriates. The context of this policy was that at the time of independence, practically all the administrative, professional and technical posts in Tanganyika were filled by expatriates (Skorov, 1966). According to Tanganyika-Goverment (1964a), the low percentage of Tanzanians in secondary education was responsible for many professional jobs being taken by people from abroad, who apart from being highly paid could not be relied upon to continue living in and constructing a new independent state. In February 1962, the Africanisation Commission was set up to elaborate a plan for complete ‘localisation’ of every level of the civil service, to investigate the adequacy of in-service training schemes and to report to the Cabinet periodically on progress (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b). Table number 3 indicates senior and middle grade services.

Table 3: Localisation of Senior and Middle Grade Civil Service

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanzanian citizens</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>2469</td>
<td>3083</td>
<td>3951</td>
<td>4364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign citizens</td>
<td>3282</td>
<td>2902</td>
<td>2580</td>
<td>2306</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>1710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total officers</td>
<td>4452</td>
<td>4723</td>
<td>5049</td>
<td>5389</td>
<td>5962</td>
<td>6074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Localisation %</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>71.8</td>
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Source modified (URT, 1969b, p. 24)

In carrying out the Africanisation or localisation programme, it was deemed necessary, on the one hand, to ensure that all the top policy-making jobs, including chief executives, cabinet ministers and permanent secretaries, were in the hands of Tanzanians (Skorov, 1966). It was also necessary to retain expatriate skills and to replace them gradually when competent Tanzanians became available. It was obvious, however, that in certain branches, notably the professions, Tanzanians would have to depend largely on expatriates for several years to come, though a steady decline was expected in the number of expatriate employees (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a).
4.4.1 Conclusion

Although the philosophy of self-reliance opposed the practice of developing nations bending their policies in the hope of receiving aid from richer countries (Nyerere, 1974a), some of the policy content in the first two plans indicate that Tanzania had retained some inherited orthodox approaches. There was still immense influence on policy by international organisations, notably the World Bank. This was mainly because Tanzania was a newly independent country. However, there is also evidence in the policy documents for the beginning of the Nyererean self-reliance philosophy, which was presented as the need for self-sufficiency in the workforce. Strategies that aligned with this policy included training the number of students in secondary schools, with a special emphasis on science rather than art subjects. Related to self-reliance was the policy of Africanisation, sometimes referred to as localisation, which required that more Tanzanian workers, particularly those in top managerial posts, replace expatriates. Moreover, Tanzanian personnel were preferred, because they could help to build the ‘new nation with an African ethos’, which was planned in the near future.

4.5 Primary Education Expansion

The Nyererean philosophies were concerned with expanding primary education so that Ujamaa dispositions would spread across all levels of the education system. Even though only 50% of the school age population benefited from primary education in 1963 (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b), primary education expansion was not given priority immediately after independence. Instead, the major policy themes of 1961-1966 concentrated on the contribution that the formal education system would bring to demands for economic development. However, the claims of the government on the neutrality of the reforms, the influence of the World Bank and the UNESCO report (1961), as noted earlier, permeated subsequent Tanzanian plans and directives. The main focus of the Tanzanian government in the two development plans included rapid national economic development, in which the prioritisation of teacher training, technical, secondary and higher education were perhaps seen as the best strategy to achieve the national goals. While these may have been necessary steps, given the context of the newly independent nation with an insufficient workforce, policies that
prioritised meeting workforce requirements for economic growth came at the necessary cost of postponing development to primary education. This contrasted with Nyerere (1971) whose *Ujamaa* philosophies consistently emphasised the important role of African nations in providing free and better education for all school age children.

The distinctive characteristics of both the three-year development plan (1961-1963) and the first five-year plan (1964-1969) were that they did not emphasise Universal Primary Education. The emphasis was on other levels of education, including adult education. The government’s decision was based on these arguments:

This education policy admittedly differs in the short run from humanitarian ideals, which attach great importance to moulding human minds and strive to have the greatest number possible benefit from education as a source of moral enrichment and aesthetic satisfaction. Indeed, it should be stressed that the results of this idealistic position are most frequently ephemeral and even become harmful to society as a whole when not accompanied by a simultaneous improvement of material living standards. With the available financial resources for economic and social development of the country as scarce as they are, the Government has henceforth decided to pursue a policy of educational-development matched to economic requirements (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. 13).

Based on the above text, the decision to neglect primary education in these early years of independence was not accidental. Although only 50% of the school age population (standards I-IV) in 1963 benefited from primary education, as compared to 1.7% of the school age population who attended secondary education forms I to IV in the same year (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. 12), the first five-year plan noted that “there is a satisfactory percentage of young people benefiting from Primary education and in the view of the limited funds available, it is not intended to embark upon a large scale primary school expansion” (Tanganyika-Government, 1964a, p. 112). However, the political decision to restrict the growth of primary education contrasted with Nyererean principles since it meant that half of each new school-age group would be illiterate, representing 85% of the male and 96% of the female population aged 15 and over (Skorov, 1966).
In particular, the contents of the policies immediately after independence can best be seen from their overall targets, which the three-year development plan referred to as ‘urgent objectives at that stage of the country’s development:

(a) Development of agriculture and the livestock industry with its subsidiary task of development of water supply and irrigation; expanding internal market and spreading up the transition from subsistence to a monetary economy.

(b) Improvement and development of communication.

(c) Development of secondary and technical education (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 8).

The policy reflected the main theme of the three-year plan: the laying of foundations for future growth with a major focus on the development of infrastructure. On the basis of the three-year plan, primary education was not among the ‘urgent’ goals reflected in this text: “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 adult in (for example) Sukumaland, on the other hand, have an impact now” (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. xi). While it was perhaps necessary to focus on adults, as they could lay the base for future economic growth, the decision to leave out primary education stood in contrast to the Nyererean *Ujamaa* ethos. Nevertheless, the educational context of adult people in 1964 made this situation more urgent, as reflected in this document: “Illiteracy ranges from about 40% in some areas to 95% in others and thus constitutes one of the most serious problems of the country” (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. 36).

While several justifications were given as to why the decision to limit the expansion of primary education at that stage of the country’s development was very important, many of these contrasted with Nyererean egalitarian ideals. These justifications can perhaps be placed into major four groups: geographical, financial, political and academic. Of these economic justification was prominent. According to Tanganyika-Goverment (1964b, p. 7), the key reasons for this included a wide geographical spread and that the country was still in its infancy in assuming responsibility for its foreign services, army and the development of a new machinery of government. According to
Tanganyika-Government (1961), the government’s capacity to finance, sustain and implement many of the projects was still low and thus placed emphasis on economic development and on projects that were likely to ‘yield quick returns in terms of output and income rather than on long-term projects’, such as primary education. This is again highlighted in the policy document:

The limitations of resources at Taganyika’s disposal means that out of many desirable projects only a proportion can in fact be included in the plan. Some criterion for selection was obviously necessary. The crucial choice before the government was between the sort of development plan, which would lay foundations for a more rapid growth of economy, and a plan, which would cover a very much wider field at the expense of slowing down the rate of growth. The first choice implied a concentration on economic projects, which would yield the quickest and highest returns in the near future, whereas the second choice meant distribution of scarce resources over all competing sectors alike. The government’s view and also the view of the World Bank Mission was that at this stage of Tanganyika’s development the first choice is the right one (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 13).

Similarly, by 1961, many children who completed primary school in Tanganyika did not get places in secondary education:

Because only one in five of children who complete Standard IV has the opportunity of continuing to Standard VIII and because, with the expansion and integration of secondary education, one in three of these who complete Standard VIII will have the opportunity of going on to Form IV, it is more important to increase the number of places in Standards V-VIII than to open more primary schools. The cheapest way of achieving this in rural areas is to extend four-year schools to Standard VI, using the places in middle schools thus released to double the number of places in Standards VII and VIII (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 83).

As the quote suggests, since secondary school capacity was extremely limited, the obvious conclusion was that its expansion should receive top priority and receive the
first call on educational resources. This decision was based on the strong recommendations by the UNESCO mission of 1962, and subsequently adopted in the three-year educational plan (UNESCO, 1962). Later manpower surveys, in confirming the soundness of this approach, also provided more precise data about the required expansion of secondary education (Skorov, 1966).

Following the scarcity of resources, it was thought reasonable to first concentrate on post-primary education so that the policy of Africanisation could be implemented. However, this came at the expense of primary education, as the following policy documents:

We have still to expand formal education in the secondary and technical levels. We must do this in order that we shall be able to provide all the trained manpower we need within Tanganyika by 1980. If we are to do that we cannot use our small resources on education for its own sake; we cannot even use them to make primary education available for all. Children entering school this year will still be at University in fifteen years' time! Instead, we are forced to concentrate our efforts now on the expansion of teacher training, on expanding the number of Tanganyikans at our University, and generally on reducing the wastage which now occurs within the educational system” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. xii).

The target was to restructure the education system in such a way that “by 1980 Tanganyika will not have to rely upon external assistance except for employees requiring exceptional qualifications” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 63).

Although post-primary education was expected to stimulate other sectors, the government funding reflected overall national priorities that were deemed to yield quick returns. For example, over 60% of the £24 million in the plan was allocated for economic development, such as agriculture, while 25% of the estimated total expenditure was devoted to education, training, research, surveys and investigation, while the reminder was distributed between the army, police, foreign service, government buildings and miscellaneous services (Tanganyika-Government, 1961). The plan gave specific responsibilities to the Ministry of Education including
educational services, such as the administration, staffing and inspection of primary education, secondary education, teacher education, examinations, higher education, probation services, library services, antiquities and museums. This allocation of funds was consistent with the main theme of the three-year development plan, that is, “laying a foundation for the future growth” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 8). This was clearly a capitalist approach.

Although the overall policy emphasis (1961-1966) was on the expansion of post-primary education at the expense of primary education, there were key areas in the policy text that indicated that marked efforts were made to expand primary education and thus align with Nyererean philosophies. This involved having policies in place to open about seventy new standard I streams to bring the intake to about 160,000 primary students a year by 1969 (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a). The total enrolment completing primary education would thus rise from 20,000 in 1964 to 50,000 in 1969 (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b). The enrolment ratios were maintained at the level of 1964 which were as follows: in standards I-IV, there were 519,000 pupils, corresponding to an enrolment ratio of 49%; and in standards V-VIII, there were 128,000 pupils, with an enrolment ratio of 14%, or a total of 647,000 pupils corresponding to an enrolment ratio of 32% (Skorov, 1966).

Some allocations were made for new primary schools and classes, especially for standard I-IV, and funds were used to redress what Tanganyika-Goverment (1964b) referred to as the more serious anomalies in the national system. Yet the overall share of secondary education rose from 16.8% in 1961 to 20% in the plan’s estimates of recurrent expenditure, whereas that of primary schools fell from 66.3% to 54.3% (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a, pp. 67-68). From 1964 onwards, secondary education was free to permit able pupils to continue their studies, irrespective of the financial situation of their families, but this did not happen in primary schools.

Similarly, although there were attempts to expand primary education, the length of the course of primary education was reduced via the change from an 8 to a 7-year system to match the economic rationales of the time. Until 1964, the duration of primary school education was 8 years (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b). As noted earlier, after independence in 1961, the double shift or half-day system was introduced in
Tanganyika primary schools as a pragmatic approach to accommodate as many students as possible who had missed their education opportunities (Tanganyika-Government, 1961). In the course of implementing the double shift, the government came up with an argument that although the primary school course was conducted for 8 years, students could receive a better education in a shorter amount of time. This is demonstrated in this text:

Although the present full primary school course lasts for eight years, the system of half-day attendance (“double shift”) in standard I and II, and in many schools in standard III and IV as well, means that the effective lengths of the course is seven or six years. The syllabus, in having to allow for this, is in effect one covering six years only of full time education. It is now proposed to reduce the duration of full primary course from eight to seven years. This can be done without in any way reducing the content of the full course in use today. To do this, and to maintain acceptable educational standards, an all-out drive to discontinue the practice of half-day attendance in standard III and IV of the lower primary school is essential as also the introduction of the more highly qualified teachers throughout primary schools. When this reform is carried through all children entering Standard V will be given the chance of competing for places in secondary education on completion of Standard VII instead of Standard VIII as at present (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 65)

Although the work of conversion would be at its peak in 1965/66, the overall conversion to a 7-year system would not be undertaken at the same time throughout the country, but in three consecutive phases. The first phase in 1965/66 would involve the coast, Morogoro, Tanga, Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions. The second phase in 1966/67 would involve West Lake, Mara, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Tabora and the Kigoma region. The third phase in 1967/68 would involve the Mtwara, Songea, Mbeya, Iringa, Dodoma and Singida regions (Tanganyika-Government (URT, 1964b).

However, reducing the educational period from 8 to 7 years was unlikely to solve the problems of double shifts. It was also unlikely that the same education standards would be maintained. Rather, this was rather a capitalist symptom of less time being
required if students attended full day sessions for standards III and IV. While it was obvious that these changes were largely implemented to favour the inherited capitalist economic ideals, they were defended by the government on the basis that children who would leave school after standard IV “will have progressed further than their predecessors, since the school curriculum will be revised to include in the Standard IV syllabus some of the work now done in Standard V” (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. 66). According to the five-year plan, the movement away from half-day attendance in standards III and IV would enhance this change. Children in standards V, VI and VII would be taught according to a programme which would ultimately bring them to the ‘same standards’ as formerly achieved in standard VIII (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b). Failure to achieve this, the plan insisted, would mean “The last objective would constitute a major threat to the standards obtaining in the secondary schools” (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. 66). Despite these justifications, the intents of this move was largely economic one, to shorten the duration of schooling, save money and get students to join secondary school and then work to boost the economy.

Another policy that aligned with the Nyererean principles and sought to expand primary education was concerned with improving the education of girls. Until 1961 only 1 in 12 girls who completed standard IV had the opportunity to proceed to standard V, as compared with 1 in 5 boys (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 79). The plan acknowledged that it was expensive to provide boarding schools for girls for standards V-VIII, as capital costs had risen to £30,000 each in 1961; however, if no provision was made for building additional schools, there would only be limited opportunities for girls in rural areas to complete eight years of education. While it was possible for some areas such as towns to arrange for girls to attend as day pupils in boys’ boarding middle schools, it was difficult to do the same in rural remote areas. In an attempt to improve the situation, the plan sought to build 6 new schools during the plan period which, when fully operational in 1961, would provide 2080 more places for girls in standards V-VIII (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 83).

Another strategy that would help expand primary education concerned the introduction of a single system of education. Unlike the pre-independence era, whose educational policies were criticised by the newly independent state for perpetuating
and supporting discrimination among groups of people, the three year plan 1961-1963 was remarkable in that “the overall formal educational system would “take place within the framework of a single system of education for pupils and students of all races, to be introduced with effect from 1st January (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 78). The basis of this policy, according to URT (1969b, p. 10) and Tanganyika-Goverment (1964a, p. viii), was that it would govern the future development of the educational system. Although admission to secondary school courses would be via a competitive examination taken on the completion of an eight year primary course (Tanganyika-Government 1961), pupils of any race would be eligible to enter all secondary schools. Similarly, selection for the Higher School Certificate Course would be made on a pupil’s results in the school certificate examination and on a student’s general school record.

However, there were 6 key conditions that were set for the admission of a primary school student. First, the single system of education would be introduced on the basis that “pupils of any race should be eligible for admission to all primary schools provided that the pupil's aptitude for the language of instruction is such that he should be able to maintain his place in the school” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 78). The second was that “the primary course should be of eight years' duration” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 8). The third was that “For a period of three years from the date on which legislation providing for a single system of education is brought into force (1962-65), priority for admission to all primary schools be given to the community for whom the school was established” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 78). The fourth condition was that “the language in which instruction is given should be acceptable to the community concerned” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 78). The fifth condition was of particular importance and more consistent with Nyerere’s philosophy of providing education to all children, namely the cancellation of fees under certain economic conditions: “Fee remission should be made to ensure that no pupil who has qualified for entry to a school is unable to attend because his (sic) parents are unable to afford the tuition and boarding fees” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 79). The sixth condition was that “for a period of three years from the date on which legislation providing for a single system of education is brought into force, the style of living at boarding schools established for
a community should continue to be appropriate for the community concerned” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 79).

4.5.1 Conclusion

The principles of Nyerere (1966) dismissed any consideration that would stop the government from giving the people the education they wanted and deserved. However, the main policy themes in the three-year plan, the first five-year plan and other associated policies and circulars in this period concentrated on projects, which would yield quickest returns. The main focus was on how the post-primary education, notably secondary and technical education, would help the country to meet its economic needs, rather than the provision of education as a right. This was a marked contrast to the Nyererean education ideals, but was defended on the grounds that, given the economic context of the time, the government had to pursue policies that directly matched the country’s urgent economic requirements, and primary education was not among these.

Despite focusing on projects which would yield the quickest economic returns (Tanganyika-Goverment (1964b), there were some aspects of the policies which did align with the Nyererean education principles. These included the initiatives of the state in raising the number of students who completed primary education, expansion of girls’ education, fee remission and the introduction of a single system of education in January 1962; this was accompanied by conditions that had to be fulfilled, such as using the language of instruction that was acceptable to the community concerned. Overall, the focus of the state was on projects that would yield quick economic returns and primary education was not one of them. Reducing the years of from 8 to 7 was particularly designed to favour the economic interest. Such policies with capitalist aspects contrasted with the *Ujamaa* ethos. It is also important to note the ways in which the World Bank Mission and UNESCO informed the plans of the newly independent nation.
4.6 Local Authorities and Nyererean (Education) Decentralisation

One of the key aims of the Nyererean decentralisation was to give the people power over their own lives and their own development. Nyerere (1972) argued that in order to make the policies of socialism and self-reliance a reality, the planning and control of any development had to be exercised at the local level to a greater extent, that is, giving people at the local level an opportunity to participate cooperatively for the common good other than individual advancement. However, the analysis indicates that there were mixed trends in Tanzanian policies with regards to decentralisation in this period. Given the timing (1961-1966), there were arguably few elements of the Nyererean vision for local responsibility and participation in the building of schools in the three and first five-year plans. Instead, the policy themes, particularly of the three-year plan, the first under independence, were largely still informed by the then dominant institutions, notably the World Bank and UNESCO and were thus more in line with orthodox inherited approaches.

A significant theme of the policies in this period included the decentralisation of political responsibilities to the lower levels: “Government’s policy is to continue to establish efficient democratically elected authorities in both rural and urban areas to which the Central Government can progressively delegate increased powers and responsibilities while still retaining essential control over their activities” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 92). Thus, the delegation of responsibility involved both granting only some responsibilities to local authorities. The question was which powers were actually to be delegated to lower levels and which ones would be retained, and for what reasons. Such questions are consistent with Lauglo (1995) who argues that decentralisation may be derived by hidden agendas. What is often explicitly stated may not necessarily be the real or sole aim of the decentralisation reform.

Following an introduction of a single system of education in January 1962 (Tanganyika-Government (1962), the central government continued to exercise overall responsibility for the administration of the education system and its development:
Under the single system of education proposed, the central government will continue to exercise overall responsibility for the administration of the educational system and its development: it will also retain direct responsibility for post-primary (post-Std. VIII) education and teacher training. For primary education it is the intention that local authorities should assume an increasing measure of responsibility (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 79).

While the central government would retain direct responsibility for post-primary education and teacher training, other functions were delegated to local government authorities.

Besides the delegation of political and administrative responsibilities, the most frequently recurring key feature of decentralisation policies in 1961-1966 was concerned with the central government strategies to devolve financial responsibility to the lower levels of the management. Although the main concern of the Nyererean decentralisation was to “increase people’s participation in decision making” (Nyerere, 1972, p. 3), what mostly occurred in this period was the offloading of the financial responsibilities from central government to local governments, communities, parents and private sectors under the banner of participation. Despite delegating the responsibilities, Tanganyika-Government (1961) made it clear that the local governments in the period immediately after independence and perhaps until the present time did not have lucrative revenues, as compared to the central government. According to Tanganyika-Government (1961, p. 92), rural local authorities to which the power was being delegated would derive funds for development either from their recurrent revenue, their reserves, loans from the Local Councils Board, or from capital grants and funds controlled by other ministries.

Similarly, the central government through the ministry of finance would continue to make available to the municipal councils and to the town councils loan finance and development grants, but within the limit of funds approved in order to help local authorities in providing services to the populace (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 92). The principal explicit aim of the policy of decentralisation, according to the plan, was “to arouse and mobilize the dormant human resources of the nation so as to
improve its economic, social and cultural life, and to co-ordinate the efforts of the people themselves with those of central and local government and voluntary and other agencies” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 92). The government would put several methods in place to attain the enunciated aims of decentralisation, including: the training of local government staff and leaders in community development techniques; the eradication of illiteracy by mass campaigns; the provision of basic education in home crafts and mother crafts for women; offering technical and financial assistance to self-help schemes; and assistance with campaigns for mobilising the people to increase their participation. The payback for the government’s efforts would be people’s participation in several projects, such as building schools on a voluntary basis.

In the education sector, the devolution of the financial component was not uncommon. The three-year plan required that the building of more classrooms so as to expand primary education would undertaken mainly by the lower levels or local authorities and not the central government, such that “the number of completely new primary schools, which can be opened will depend largely upon the ability of the Local Education Authorities to continue their commendable efforts of the last three years (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b, p. 65). Although it was previously agreed that the local authorities and central government should share the expenses of primary educational services (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 87), the decision was later altered and stated that “it is envisaged that local authorities or communities will pay for the whole cost of building additional classrooms, the Government paying an equipment grant of £50 a classroom” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 83). While this decision might have been relevant in the sense of allowing lower levels to participate in the affairs of the primary education, it was likely that primary school children would be disadvantaged in terms of funding as compared to other levels of education; this would contrast negatively with the Nyererean egalitarian principles.

In relation to this, one of the objectives of the 1964 five-year plan, as stated before, was to convert the education system from 8 to 7 years. However, the success of this plan would depend on the contribution of local authorities:
Local Authorities are once again required to bear a substantial proportion of the cost of the reorganisation and of such development as is approved. The Ministry of Education will be able to provide some additional funds through the subvention system, but Local Authorities will also have to continue to raise large extra sums from their own local resources (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a, p. 111).

This meant that the conversion to a 7-year system would largely depend on the ability and enthusiasm of the individual local government authorities to construct new schools. The role of the government would be to assist with funds to convert the primary education course from 8 to 7 years. Another role of the central government would be to cooperate with local education authorities before implementation commenced, as detailed in the plan: “The detailed implementation of the Plan as it affects primary schools must await the result of local planning carried out in consultations with each of the 73 Local Education authorities in the country” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a, p. 112). This means that while there was cooperation between the central government and local governments, it was limited mainly to financial issues.

Moreover, the offloading of financial responsibilities by the central government to local authorities was important, because it was not limited to education alone, but also to other sectors including water, roads and health. This indicates the extent to which the local authorities were overloaded. In 1961 for example, there were “19,143 miles of roads maintained from central government funds, of which 8,114 miles are classified as main roads and 11,029 as district roads. Another 8,000 miles of rural and village roads, often in very poor condition, are the responsibility of local authorities” (Tanganyika-Government, 1961, p. 29). In 1964, the first five-year plan estimated that by 1970:

Some three hundred additional rural dispensaries will need to be established to provide reasonable cover in the rural areas. It is proposed that rural dispensaries should remain the responsibility of the local authorities, and that the responsibility for supervision and the training of staff will continue to be that of the central Government (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 70).
Nyerere (1972) suggested that planning and control be exercised at the local level so as to make socialism and self-reliance a reality, the delegation of responsibilities in the year immediately after independence was accompanied by the imposition of sanctions. If any local authority decided to expand primary schools without approval from the central government, measures like these could be taken:

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\text{Where a Local Authority opens, staffs, or in any way finances non-approved schools or classes, the Ministry of Education cannot make any contribution at all towards the cost of these classes, will not include the costs involved in its calculation of subvention rate, and will take no cognizance of the burden of such non-approved expenditure when considering or discussing the cost of education to Local Authorities” (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a, p. 114).}
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Importantly, sanctions like these were imposed on the local government not to expand primary schools as the Nyererean framework recommended, but rather to indicate that it was not the priority of the government at that time, as shown below:

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\text{Government will use any remaining grants to assist those Local education authorities, which follow an approved policy of development worked out in conjunction with the Ministry of Education. Such policies will aim to ensure that the proportion of children going to school in each area will be maintained (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964b, p. 65).}
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Primary education expansion was not the only area where the central government would exercise its power over the local government. In 1964, each Local Authority, according to URT (964), would be allocated an approved quota of teachers whose salaries and allowances would be taken into account in calculating subvention rates. This strategy was intended to meet the need for a higher grade of teacher to improve standards. The government would adjust this quota yearly to include a higher proportion of grade 'A' teachers at the appropriate levels and to allow for new approved development. However, the government placed the following conditions if the local government authorities failed to abide with this:
Where any Authority fails to maintain its approved establishment of teachers (either in respect of total numbers or of approved professional qualifications) it will suffer an appropriate reduction in its subvention rate. This proviso is essential in order to maintain in the national interest some measure of central control, and to prevent Local Authorities misapplying their limited resources, or indulging in measures that might irretrievably damage approved standards of education” (Tanganyika-Governent, 1964a, p. 114).

As the quote suggests, the central government imposed appropriate sanctions to make sure that the lower levels implemented policies that were in the interest of the central government. This was a top down approach, which could not match Nyererean decentralisation.

### 4.6.1 Conclusion

The aim of this section was to examine the relationship between the decentralisation policies of 1961-1966 against the Nyererean vision of decentralisation. The distinctive feature of the Nyererean education decentralisation was the amalgamation of the three key components: education, decentralisation and *Ujamaa*. However, given the timing, not many elements of the Nyererean vision of decentralisation could arguably be identified in this period. On the contrary, the orthodox strategies for decentralisation, particularly those associated with the dominant institutions such as the World Bank, permeated the policies of the time.

The major policy themes included decentralisation of the political, administrative and financial functions. Despite the rhetoric, most functions that were delegated to the lower levels were those related to the financing of education at the lower levels by their respective communities, parents and local authorities. However, the intention of decentralisation may not have been to redistribute managerial powers to lower levels to enable community participation in educational affairs, as the Nyererean education decentralisation framework would suggest, but the moving of the financial burden from the central government to the local authorities to finance primary education in their respective localities.
The delegation of financial responsibilities was not limited to education, but also occurred in other sectors, such as health, road construction and water supply. In this way the lower levels could be overloaded and thus fail to provide substantial support to education. Moreover, the local authorities did not have lucrative resources as compared to those of the central government. This means that by devolving the responsibility of providing education to the lowers levels, the right to education of most of the children could be in jeopardy; this was contrary to the Nyererean egalitarian ideals. Since individual local authorities had different capacities for revenue collection as well as expenditure, the richer local authorities were more likely to expand primary education than the poorer ones and, thus, create classes.

Whereas the Nyererean vision of decentralisation requires that planning and control be exercised at the local level to enhance *Ujamaa* (Nyerere, 1972, 1973), this period was characterised by the imposition of sanctions at the local level as a mechanism to ensure that those at the local levels received and implemented unaltered directives of the central government. While such practices would help to maintain the uniformity of policies throughout the country, it was in opposition to Nyerere (1972, p. 1) who argued that “local problems could remain and fester when people who are aware of them are prevented from using their initiatives in finding solutions”.
CHAPTER 5: **UJAMAA AND THE SELF-RELIANCE ERA**  
**1967-1985**

5.1  **The Social Political Context 1967-1985**

This second phase, popularly known as the Arusha Declaration (1967-1985) was characterised by *Ujamaa* and self-reliance policies. The Arusha Declaration was a political statement about Tanzania’s commitment to *Ujamaa* or what Heywood (2012) and others call African socialism. It was announced in February 1967 at the town of Arusha. *Ujamaa* policies were those that invoked ideas of government ownership, or the control of key businesses, industries, and institutions such as education, and limited opportunities to accumulate wealth by narrowing the gap between urban and rural income, eliminating gender inequality, introducing leadership codes, providing rural areas with more social services such as education, water and dispensaries, and creating participatory politics. Besides Tanzania, a few other nations, newly independent from colonial bonds, attempted to implement significant alternatives to an almost similar development strategy. These nations, most notably China and Cuba, sought a development strategy based on independence, self-reliance and socialism (Maliyamkono, 1980, p. 337). However, as Stoger-Eising (2000) argue, the collectivising policies of *Ujamaa* made Tanzania different from most of those in Africa.

Soon after the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere issued a policy paper in 1967 on Education for Self-reliance (ESR) (Nyerere, 1968d). ESR was a policy within a framework of *Ujamaa* that critiqued the colonial education system and provided an alternative model which explicitly addressed ideas of relevance of education, egalitarianism, practicality and the elimination of elitism (Nyerere, 1968d). This model became the basis for all major educational changes in the country. The leadership of the country attributed greater importance to education as part of the means of achieving the wider *Ujamaa* project (Fouéré, 2014).
In order to socialise students with the appropriate dispositions, teachers were considered to be agents of change, and the teaching profession was expanded. The curricula in schools were changed to embrace African-ness, and so to favour African values that were presented as cherishing collective effort over individualism and competition. Development in Tanzania in this period was thus characterised as “revolution by education” (URT, 1969c, p. 3). Mass education was considered to be perhaps the most important way to incorporate the present and future generations in the development process by raising their level of political awareness and by improving their agricultural skills. Since *Ujamaa* was the political and ideological project that sought to create a new society, educational acts and laws, such as Educational Acts 1969 and Education Act 1978 number 25, were put in place to rapidly expand primary education. They did this by making it compulsory for all children of school age so expanded the provision of schooling to achieve universal access and participation. The leaders were to encourage an increased involvement by the peasantry in the development process by means of hard work and political participation through the TANU (currently CCM) institutions (URT, 1969c).

The period 1967-1985 was thus characterised by the creation of a new development strategy with the reduction of external dependence via increased self-reliance at its core. As Fouéré (2014) notes, the government’s direct role in the economy was increased substantially. The period was permeated by the nationalisation of companies, which were organised as Parastatal Corporation with the directors responsible to the national leadership rather than stockholders. As Samoff (1990b) sums up, Tanzania’s open economy was increasingly closed: licence and tariff restrictions on imports, controlled foreign exchange transactions, government partnership for most foreign investors who were to be limited to specified economic sectors and individual accumulation were all severely restricted (URT, 1979). Industrialisation was to focus on basic industries, the indigenisation of skilled positions was accelerated and foreign policy became critical of imperialist international capitalism and more African oriented (Magesa, 1999).

For the whole period throughout the 1970s, Tanzania obtained additional material and political support via friendship with many donors, including the socialist block and
the left leaning Scandinavian countries (Earth, 1995). The 1970s, as Earth (1995) asserts, was the decade of the "basic needs" approach to development, which matched well the Ujamaa policy of extended familyhood or socialism. Even the World Bank supported the 1973 Ujamaa process of resettling the population into planned villages as a convenient way to measure ‘inputs and outputs’.

However, the restored optimism of the radical development strategy was jarred by two major, dramatic events in mid 1970s: a sharp rise in oil prices (URT, 1979c) and a decrease in production as a result of severe drought and small investment outlays in agricultural activities. The drought was severe immediately after 1970. In 1974 and 1975, food production fell far below national requirements. The sharp drop in the production of food, according to URT (1979c), necessitated the importation of huge qualities of cereals leading to very high food importation prices and, hence, a sharp drop in the foreign currency reserve. The problems of poor performance were particularly acute during the period 1972-1974 (URT, 1979c). Alongside the decrease in production, the drop in the export price of many crops accounted for the fall in foreign earnings. Although there was an increase in prices in 1973/1974, production did not pick up and sales were relatively small. Another major challenge that arose from that was a worldwide escalation/inflation from 1971 (URT, 1979a). Consequently, Tanzania increased wages and salaries in 1972 and 1974 to keep up with inflation (URT, 1979c). From 1974, the increase in the prices of petroleum, spare parts and raw materials led to high production costs and sometimes crippled production in industries (URT, 1979c). For these and other reasons particularly related to the Cold War, agricultural production stagnated; foreign reserves were quickly depleted and industrial expansion slowed, forcing the Tanzanian government to seek extensive assistance (Samoff, 1990b).

The marriage between Tanzania and the World Bank ended around 1979 (Earth, 1995). In the early 1980s, Tanzania was caught in the international economic depression which affected the whole of the African continent, as well as other continents, in particular Latin America (Edwards & DeMatthews, 2014). The micro economic difficulties further enforced the liberalisation of the economy, which brought back some of the capitalist socio-economic characteristics of 1961-1966. With the fall of the dollar precipitating a global recession, major donors, banks and
multilateral institutions changed their economic policy thinking. Just as the debts were coming due, Tanzania suffered a number of setbacks: oil price shocks, drought and a drop in agricultural exports such that inflows could not balance current account deficits. The country deepened its debt (Komba, 2013). Between the late 1970s and early 1980s, foreign assistance was far less forthcoming. Several external donors took their cue from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) whose insistence on sharp cuts in services and on substantial devaluation was rejected by the Tanzanian government in 1980-1981 (Buchert, 1994). The disagreement between the government of Tanzania and the IMF was not resolved until 1986, despite initial devaluation in 1983 and 1984 (Samoff, 1990b). According to Buchert (1991), strong disagreement was expressed concerning causes of and, accordingly the needed adjustments to, macro-economic difficulties. While the IMF identified primarily domestic policy errors as the main cause behind Tanzania’s difficulties, the Tanzania government attributed external factors as being more important for the economic decline.

Despite the tug of war, as Buchert (1991) notes, the government of Tanzania applied some of the IMF suggested policy measures, including a 70% devaluation of Tanzanian shillings against the US dollar during the period 1982-1984. Other specific efforts used to stimulate agricultural production included increased producer prices and credit schemes, and the adjustment of the wage and salary levels, particularly for the non-agricultural population, which suffered from the declining food production. .

However, the 1980-1985 Tanzanian reluctance to agree with the IMF and World Bank resulted in a prolonged and severe lack of foreign exchange, acute shortages of goods and services, and growing corruption (Mbilinyi, 2003). The country relied on suppliers' credit to finance imports, thereby increasing its debt. The end of the 1970s was also marked by a war. In 1978, the Ugandan army invaded and occupied North Western Tanzania. Ultimately, the Tanzanian soldiers managed to expel the Ugandan soldiers from the Tanzanian territory within a few days. However, the war with Uganda imposed far heavier strain on the Tanzanian economy (URT, 1979c) than expected. An indirect cost was an increase in armed crime, smuggling and other marketing that occurred outside official channels, as well as illegal currency transactions (Samoff, 1990b).
Since the early 1980s, and in the context of these economic difficulties, the tendency to introduce five year plans for economic and social development (which had been adopted between 1961 and 1981), long term perspectives, and other more specific plans were suspended in favour of short-term emergency packages, including the 1981 National Economic Survival Programme, the 1982 Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the reform package announced in the 1984/1985 budget (Buchert, 1991). The economic adjustment policies were formulated in consideration of a further downhill movement of the economy during the 1980s which put additional pressure on the country to adapt to the World Bank’s overall strategy for sub-Saharan Africa so as to become eligible for IMF and other international funding (URT, 1996c).

5.2 The Policies of Ujamaa 1967-1985

The period of 1967-1985 reflected and articulated numerous policies consistent with Nyererean socialist/Ujamaa principles. This was reflected in the second five-year plan which noted “the plan emphasizes the development of forms of economic activity which encourage collective and co-operative efforts and avoid wide differences of wealth and income” (URT, 1969b, p. 1). The emphasis was on policies that would bring benefit to all: “we have decided that our Government and our people must work for economic growth in a manner, which will bring benefit to all; and we have decided on the policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance” (URT, 1969b, p. viii). The implementation of these socialist principles was in line with URT (1969b), which pointed out that Ujamaa would have been meaningless if it was not followed by policies that legislated its principles and, ideally, lead to actions in accordance with the policies underpinning Ujamaa principles. Although Nyerere (1968d) claimed in 1962 that “the basic difference between a socialist society and a capitalist society does not lie in their methods of producing wealth, but in the way that wealth is distributed” (p. 2), the Arusha Declaration was accompanied by policies that pertained to controlling the major means of production and exchange, notably: the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy, including the principal financial manufacturing and trading institutions. The following reasons were given for this decision:
The private sector cannot be relied upon to provide the main thrust in directly productive investment. The Arusha Declaration specifically places an increased responsibility on the public sector to engage in directly productive investment, both in industry and scale agriculture. During the Second plan the institutional foundations for socialist development must be consolidated (URT, 1969b, p. 3).

As shown in URT (1969b), “the most dramatic steps taken to implement this aspect of the Arusha Declaration were nationalisation of the banking” (p. 12). It also insisted that, “the nationalization of all financial institutions has resulted in public control of all profits generated by the finance of trade” (p. 134). The objective of the policy according to URT (1969c) was to place the economy firmly under the control of peasants and workers through the instrument of their elected central government, local government, cooperative or any other similar administrative body. The goal, as URT (1969c) stresses, was to avoid exploitation in the economy and thereby minimise inequality, which is another tenet of the Nyererean framework. The year 1967, therefore, became the landmark for almost all of the Tanzanian policies and plans beginning to lean in the direction of Nyererean socialist principles.

The principle of common ownership reflected in URT (1979a) was consistent with Nyerere (1973) who claimed that it was adopted by Tanzania from the traditional African societies in which all basic goods were held in common. Accordingly, the large state capitalist farms were converted into state farms and the accumulation of private wealth by leaders in the party and government would no longer be permitted (URT, 1969c). The implementation of a nationalisation policy that aimed to control the major means of the economy did affect the formerly influential non-African populations, particularly in the plantation industry among white settlers and in the Asian-dominated financial and trading sector (URT, 1969c). However, the purpose of the accumulation and re-distribution of wealth by the Tanzanian government was to promote social equality among the African population, but with an emphasis on the rural population.
The key sectors or important means of production and distribution that were nationalised by the 1970s, according to URT (1979b, p. 1), included: land, forests, mines, water petrol, and electricity, communication media, transport median, banks, insurance companies, milling, import and export trade, iron and steel enterprises, arms and ammunition, cement fertilizer and the subsequent acquisition of interests in mining, cement, tobacco products, tins, pyrethrum, extract under the industrial shares (acquisition) Act and a majority interest in the sisal industry under the October 1967 Tanzania Sisal Cooperation Act.

Among these sectors, the banks, insurance and food processing industries were the first to be taken over by the government (URT, 1967b). Eight of the larger import/export and wholesale businesses were also nationalised and formed the nucleus of the state trading corporations. In the 1970s, more than half of the country’s sisal plantations were nationalised and many of the large-scale grain farms were turned into state farms or handed to Ujamaa farmers. Additionally, coffee estates in Kilimanjaro were relinquished to local cooperative societies (Buchert (1994). Under the banner of Ujamaa, land, forests, mineral resources, electricity, telecommunications and railways fell under government control by 1969 (URT, 1969c). This was followed by an out-flux of the non-African communities who were against the policy that involved expropriations. This took place at a time when the world market conditions for both sisal and coffee were highly competitive (Buchert, 1991).

Ujamaa principles or ideas were reflected not only in national or public sector control over the economy, but also in the creation of the equitable distribution of income. This was reflected in the second five-year plan: “the Plan aims to spread the benefits of development widely throughout society” (URT, 1969b, p. 1). The aim was to avoid a wide disparity in income and wealth in different areas. The principle of non-discriminatory income according Nyerere (1968d) was not imported, but resonated with the traditional African societies in which basic goods were shared almost equally among all members of the extended family. An income policy which aimed at narrowing the gap between urban and rural incomes (URT, 1979c) was implemented. Wage and salary levels were to be regulated vis-à-vis the rural incomes of the peasantry, a strategy which implied the readjustment of the high and middle level
earnings in the modern sector. To promote development among the mass of the population, the provision of a wide range of social amenities such as dispensaries, water facilities and schools in the countryside received major from 1967 to the 1970s. For instance, about 1,452,000 rural inhabitants were provided with water in rural areas from 1971-1973. A number of rural health centres and dispensaries were provided with water during the second plan (URT, 1979c).

Significant steps were taken in Tanzanian policy making to affect a relatively more even income distribution among workers URT (1979c). Measures were taken to reduce the salary levels of high-ranking government officials, to limit wage increases for skilled urban workers and to infuse the attitudes of university students with the ideal of national service rather than occupational mobility (Lofchie, 1976). The minimum wage levels were raised in 1972 and 1974 (URT, 1979a). The ratio of the highest to the lowest salaries was 9:1 at the end of 1974 compared to 50:1 at the time of independence in 1961. Following what URT (1979b) referred to as a progressive tax system and stable wage structure, the general gap between low and high income earners was narrowed. The controlled wages and incomes in turn resulted in a stable price system until 1971 when worldwide inflation impacted on the Tanzanian economy (URT, 1979c). Since the beginning of global inflation in 1971, the execution of Tanzania’s income policy was beset with problems. The cost of living shot up suddenly so that if the policy of raising wages by 5% per year had been adhered to, as URT (1979c) noted, the workers' real incomes would have fallen. Consequently, Tanzania increased wages and salaries in 1972 and 1974 to keep up with inflation.

At the same time, a national price control advisory board was established in an attempt to secure just and uniform price levels for basic consumer goods, and in particular to prevent what URT (1979a) characterised as discriminatory pricing among individuals. The National Development Cooperation was given new and heavy responsibilities, and other parastatal organisations were created. The idea was that unjustified price increases of necessities would reduce the consumer standard of living by allowing excess commercial or industrial sector profits, whether in the private or parastatal sector.
Another point that indicates the continuity of Nyererean egalitarian principles concerns the emphasis on development in the rural sector. This is reflected in the second five-year plan, which notes:

The foundations of socialism must be built in the rural sector. The extension of the principles of *Ujamaa* now has top priority in the rural program… The Second Plan will implement the policy of rural development through self-reliance. This requires that programs be aimed at providing development opportunities throughout the countryside and for all sections of the population rather than over-concentration of attention at the centre and on a privileged minority (URT, 1969b, p. 3).

Rural development was emphasised as a way of creating socialist forms of production throughout the rural sector. At the same time, the role of urban development in creating employment was underscored “among other things the growth of towns has important effects on the surrounding countryside, in providing markets for rural products, in offering services and general stimulation and in providing employment opportunities (URT, 1969b, p. 7). This indicates that both rural and urban development were to fulfil different aims.

### 5.2.1 *Ujamaa* and the Transformation of Curricular Content

The overall Tanzanian concept of education evolved within, and as part of, the overall national policy of *Ujamaa*. The Arusha Declaration that embodied the national policy of socialism was later followed by Tanzania’s education blue print that sought to implement the ideas of *Ujamaa*. The aims of the curricular content via the ‘right’ education, as Maliyamkono (1980) notes, were to: instil revolutionary thinking, liberate people from colonial behaviour, prepare people to cope with nature and meet basic human needs through cooperative efforts. One of the key aims of *Ujamaa* was to make education more relevant to Tanzanians in terms of focusing on local needs, their ways of working and living, practices, attitudes and values, and, therefore, merge the community’s needs with individual aspirations. In line with *Ujamaa*, Jonathan Ezekiel, the then Director of Primary Education in the Ministry of Education in Tanzania, noted:
To implement this policy we made a complete overhaul of our curriculum content and materials, the Kiswahili subject being included, in order to educate our children and orient our teachers in the new principles as set out in the above two policy documents. We accomplished this version of our curriculum and a new curriculum was produced. Ever since, we have been developing it to match the changing times and circumstances of our society (Ezekiel, 1977, pp. 44-45).

Matching with the fundamental Nyererean idea of education, Tanzanian policies in this period focused on the need to change the curriculum to make it more compatible with both Ujamaa ideals and economic demands. The third objective of the second five-year plan was “to reorient education according to the policy of Ujamaa” (URT, 1979c, p. 79). The strategy to transform the curriculum outlined in the second five-year plan document strived to provide primary school children with 7 years of education, which would provide them with basic knowledge, skills, socialise them with the ‘right’ dispositions, and teach them values that they might become useful members of society. In 1969, the government of Tanzania passed Education Act No. 50. In addition to furthering the ideas of Ujamaa, the Act brought all educational institutions that were receiving public funds under the control of the Ministry of Education (Ezekiel, 1977). As the second five-year plan notes:

Educational planning is not just a matter of setting targets for the number of students to be in school—it is also a matter of ensuring that the right things are learnt. The Government is already committed to a transformation in the content of primary education towards an emphasis on the needs of the school leaver who must make his life in rural society. Effective implementation of this intention will require steady effort over the Second Plan (URT, 1969b, p. 8)

The content of the second five-year development plan for curriculum was consistent with the ideas of Nyerere, who sought to revise the curriculum to “make it much more Tanzanian in content” (Nyerere, 1968b, p. 49). Following the proclamation of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, changes were made to the curriculum to make it more Tanzanian, as the policy insisted “the curriculum of primary schools will be changed
implementing the principles of Education for self-reliance, providing the basic training required for life primarily in rural economy” (URT, 1969b, p. 150). More focus was placed on the practical needs of the society. Instead of Tanzanian students being solely exposed to British and European history, materials on the history of Africa were not just made available, but made a mandatory part of the school curriculum for the Tanzanian children. As Ergas (1982) puts it, African history was therefore taught from a new Tanzanian perspective, and not as a 'footnote' to European history.

According to Hinzen and Hundsforfer (1982) the curriculum was changed to include Tanzanian history, with emphasis being placed on national heroes who fought for emancipation from colonial rule, and on Tanzania’s interpretation of the country’s contact with the foreign colonial powers. Local culture was revived and began to receive more attention. The texts and syllabi for primary schools were nationalised with the aim of studying Tanzania from a Tanzanian perspective (Ujamaa). Tanzanian national songs and dances were made part of the primary school curriculum. The recurring theme was to provide education which would be meaningful to the national and individual needs.

Until 1984, the policies continued to embrace Nyererrean values and principles as, “the basic foundation in the development of any nation is in the kind of educational curriculum used in its schools and colleges. For this reason it is essential for a nation to oversee the development, implementation and evaluation of its educational curriculum (URT (1984, p. 19). The major emphasis of the policy was to align the curriculum with the Ujamaa ideals.

5.2.2 Ujamaa and the Language Policy
Perhaps the most recurrent theme in Nyererean social and political philosophies was the importance of 'traditional African values' and the centrality of 'the traditional African family'. These constituted the core element of Ujamaa (Stoger-Eising, 2000). Implementing the language policy manifested the ideas of Ujamaa, one of the tenets of which stressed that the ‘right’ values should be taught through a relevant language (URT, 1969a). According to Buchert (1991, p. 171), Kiswahili was introduced in
1967 as the medium of instruction in all primary schools, thereby eliminating the immediate barrier integrated education. The introduction and maintenance of Kiswahili as the national language while retaining the local languages was another aspect of the attempt at unifying the different Tanzanian peoples without eradicating the differences between them, and creating a Tanzanian identity that cut across ethnic lines (Stoger-Eising, 2000). Significant changes were made in the language policy of 1968, which made Kiswahili a language of instruction at all levels of the 7 year primary education syllabus (previously for the first four years). As the policy exemplified, “we are moving towards an education system in which the primary level is conducted in Swahili, while secondary and advanced courses will be conducted in English” (URT, 1969b, p. 152). Following the development of the Arusha Declaration, which reoriented Tanzania’s development efforts towards the masses of peasants and workers, Kiswahili had to become a language of instruction in schools.

The language of instruction policy in primary schools in Tanzania closely aligned with the Nyererean framework and was influenced by the linguistic scenarios that were structured in English, Kiswahili and ethnic languages. Since Kiswahili was already a lingua franca and a language of political consciousness which had been used during the independence struggle against colonial rule, it was promoted as a language of instruction in primary schools to strengthen the national identity and independence from colonial domination (URT, 1969b). In addition to other political intentions, the adoption of Kiswahili was a pragmatic measure, because about 95% of the Tanzanian population spoke Kiswahili in the 1960s (Brock-Utne, 2006).

It was a remarkable move towards an educational system in which the primary school experience would be conducted in Swahili language, however, Samoff (1990b, p. 232) argues that Kiswahili was made the language of instruction in primary school with the implicit consequence of eliminating expatriate teachers from those schools. In addition to all other advantages that were associated with the implementation of this policy, there was perhaps an implicit goal of protecting the employment opportunities of the Swahili speakers by implementing what was known as the ‘Africanisation’ policy. This is reflected in the policy, which states, “By the end of second plan (that is 1974), almost all secondary school teachers will be Tanzanians” (URT, 1969b, p. 152).
While changing the language of instruction was part of the *Ujamaa* project as it was claimed to be rooted in the pre-colonial African values, the decision to switch from English to Swahili was justified on these grounds:

The decision to shift to Swahili as a medium of instruction in primary school was necessary, since only 10% of standard seven leavers go on to secondary education, while the rest require appropriate skills for the working world they enter primarily in the rural areas” (URT, 1969b, p. 152).

The consolidation of Kiswahili at the primary educational level was therefore a deliberate plan since post primary education was still restricted to a relatively small proportion of the population. Although using an African language matched with the Nyererean framework, having only a 10% transition rate to secondary education was incompatible with the requirements of *Ujamaa*, which stressed the idea of self-sufficiency in the workforce sector.

Enhancing Swahili was compatible with the Nyererean approach in terms of embracing African-ness, national identity and a strategy to distance colonial rule, however, the new situation gave rise to educational problems and social challenges. The educational problems arose because those children who continued to secondary school, had to shift from Swahili to study in a new language, mainly English at the same time as they took on a more academically demanding set of subjects. The special programme in English instruction mounted by the Ministry of National Education for Secondary School entrants was established, in part, to address this problem.

However, the potential social implications were more profound. The division between Swahili education at the primary level and English education at the secondary level created and perpetuated a linguistic gulf between different groups and tended to alienate higher levels of education from the majority of society, making it inevitably remote from the problems of the mass of the society. As it became the continuing reality, the policy insisted that “this would not be tolerable, particularly as the government moves over to the complete use of Swahili, it will become more and more
inappropriate to have the secondary and higher education (university) operate in English” (URT, 1969b, p. 152).

Nevertheless, the move to switch to Swahili secondary schooling and university, as will be detailed in chapter six, was not successful until 2014 when the new policy was introduced, although not implemented. The major barrier to a shift to Swahili medium Secondary Education was the lack of teaching materials in Swahili. Almost all the teaching and learning materials were in the English language. In reaction to this situation the policy stated:

This lack cannot be made up overnight; it will require a systematic programme of translation and creative writing over some years. Therefore, there must be long-term planning for such a shift, with adequate commitment of resources to prepare for the change ahead of the intended implementation, so that adequate materials will be available in Swahili for the student at that time (URT, 1969b, p. 152).

This task to put in place enough resources was seen as part of the larger need for Swahili development in Tanzania to cater for the increased number of technical fields which would support the increasing number of Tanzanians qualified in the various technical disciplines. The government designed and produced an intensive study skills course known as ‘Learning through Language’ to help pupils negotiate the transfer from Swahili to the English medium.

Despite various measures that were put in place to enhance Swahili in 1980, the presidential commission detected deficiencies in the Tanzanian education system. Among them were deficiencies in English:

The results of surveys made so far show that many students at various levels of education do not have adequate ability to communicate effectively in English and Kiswahili. This deficiency has been caused mainly by shortage of equipment qualified language teachers and lack of incentives to push students into learning and making use of the English language. Some of the teachers
and students also fear that they might be labelled as having a colonial hangover if they speak English (URT, 1984, p. 21).

Although Swahili was noted as being among the subjects with difficulties, the focus was on English. However, as distinct from the policy of 1969, which sought to make Swahili a language of instruction from primary to university, by the 1980s the focus of the government had changed to something else, as the policy noted:

Both Kiswahili and English will be used as media of education. The teaching of English will be strengthened at all levels. Kiswahili will be the medium of education at Nursery and Primary Levels. The teaching of English will be consolidated in Primary schools. English will be the medium of education at post primary levels where the teaching of Kiswahili as a subject will also be strengthened (URT, 1984, p. 21).

The aim to retain English as a medium of instruction was in part to reverse the earlier Ujamaa commitments made in 1969, that Kiswahili be advanced as a national language by being introduced as the medium of instruction at the primary level and, in the longer run, to replace English at the secondary and university levels (URT, 1969b, pp. 148-153). In other words, the emphasis upon English since the 1980s went hand in hand with the implementation of the neo-liberal prescriptions, which contrasted with Nyererean principles. The promotion of English occurred at the expense of the Kiswahili language.

5.2.3 The role of teachers in spreading Ujamaa

And every knowledgeable person now agrees that ‘attitudes of mind’ are shaped very largely when a person is very young. They can alter later, but it is hard, and the early character forming is usually decisive. The fact is, therefore, that those who have the responsibility to work with the young have a power, which is second to none in relation to the
future of our society. Two groups—parents and teachers share that power... For teachers can make or ruin our society. As a group they have a power, which is second to none. It is not the power of a man with a gun; it is not a power, which can be seen by the fool. But it is the power to decide whether Service or Self shall be the dominant motive in the Tanzania of 1990 and thereafter (Nyerere, 1968a, pp. 227-228).

The Nyererean perspectives had a profound impact on the whole educational system in Tanzania, including by way of guiding policy makers, implementers and particularly teachers. Teachers were considered to be important due to their capacity to transform society by implementing curriculum changes. And, as is reflected in the quote above, the policy making in this period considered the role of teachers to be crucial in the overall socialisation of the next generation by: instilling values, disciplines of the social order, and work place routine; inculcating a sense of belonging and pride in the nation; and by developing the students’ creativity, skills and dispositions. Almost all of these aligned with the broader political project of Ujamaa. The whole idea of teachers preparing new citizens was, therefore, a predominant feature of policies in Tanzania in this period. Although the recurring theme of expanding teacher education, as I will indicate later, was associated with the preparation for achieving UPE by 1978, the approach of investing in teachers at that time conformed to the ideas of Nyerere (1968a), namely that teachers have the power to shape the ideas and aspirations of the nation regarding what is ‘bad or good’. It is against this backdrop that the main intent of expanding the teaching workforce was conceived, mainly to inculcate appropriate beliefs and values into the young generation so that they could in turn become useful members of the Tanzanian society.

In April 1967 the Ministry of Education organised a conference in Dar es Salaam to study, understand and devise strategies to implement the policy of education for self-reliance, and drew several recommendations pertaining to the role of education in implementing the policies set out in the Arusha Declaration. The first was wholehearted support for the aims of education, as were outlined in the ‘Education For Self-reliance’ policy paper (URT, 1967a). Secondly, the heads and principals
were asked to discuss with their staff appropriate strategies to instil in students the
desired socialist and self-reliance attitudes. Thirdly, URT (1967a) clarified and
emphasised the importance of enabling all new members of staff from overseas to be
conversant of Tanzania’s aspiration in developing a socialistic and self-reliant country
before they left their countries to come to Tanzania. Fourthly, the conference
demanded a careful selection of students entering teacher-training colleges. The
implementation of all of these strategies was expected of teachers as leaders, in order
to spread *Ujamaa* dispositions:

> It would be utopian to, believe that the *Ujamaa* principle will spread spontaneuously without some concerted leadership efforts. During the
> Second Plan much experience will be gained in the most effective ways of
> spreading the practice of *Ujamaa* throughout the nation. All avenues of
> advance to the ultimate goal of socialism will be explored, mobilizing the
> Party, the people and the Government behind the program. It is
> particularly important that teachers take active part in various areas
> (URT, 1969b, p. 4).

In addition, URT (1967a) recommended that teachers’ colleges provide an
opportunity for students to discuss the country’s contemporary economic and political
problems. Student teachers were encouraged to participate in national building
projects, such as communal farming and other activities both within and outside the
teachers’ college campus. For this to happen, student teachers were trained to be
resourceful, and were given an opportunity and some relevant skills from the
communities around the teachers’ college. Because *Ujamaa* would become the basis
for the transformation of the rural society, it was considered to be particularly
important that teachers take an active part in communal activities. As the policy
noted:

> The Ministry of National Education will strengthen the place of education for
> *Ujamaa* in their syllabi, and increase the practical content of the teaching, with
> communal schools gardens, and other activities, which pay more than a form
> of lip service to *Ujamaa*. It is particularly important that teachers should take
an active part in the communal activities. There is no example worse than that of the teacher who refuses to dirty his hands in the school garden, while impressing upon the children the importance and dignity of agricultural-labour (URT, 1969b, p. 29).

In view of the new philosophy that placed an emphasis on agriculture, the new teachers as leaders were required to have practical experience in this field. It was therefore important for each teacher college to have an agricultural farm where student teachers would, where possible, grow their own food or cash crops. An opportunity was given to the student teachers to engage in income generating activities relating to those that would be found in primary schools. These proposed changes in the Tanzanian education system called for a major review in the curriculum for teachers colleges, which would be carried out by curriculum developers for the teacher colleges; these developers would be composed of principals of teachers’ colleges, ministry officials, and the institute of education staff (TANU, 1974). Student teachers were expected to be well grounded in several aspects of certain areas of political education, such as: the history of the struggles of Tanzanians; the party and the government; the politics of socialism and self-reliance; problems for under development; and strategies for development. These topics had a strong relationship with the content of *Ujamaa* (Mmari (1988).

With regard to the examinations in the teacher training colleges, the URT (1967a) noted that the final assessment of students, which was not due until early 1967 and was based on the ability to teach and on written examination, was no longer sufficient as it did not assess those qualities that the new Tanzania desired, such as character and willingness to serve the nation. In order to do away with the emphasis on the final written examination at the end of the second year, the marks obtained by students by the end of two-year course would be recorded and taken into account at the end of the course.

In order to bring these recommendations into fruition, a number of laws and by-laws were put in place. In 1969 for example, a new education act was passed to help implement the changes that were proposed nationwide. One of the key aims of Act No. 50 of 1969 was to “Repeal and replace the Education Ordinance and to provide
for the development of a system of education in conformity with the political, social and cultural ideals of the United Republic” (URT, 1969a, p. 3). The government took over the responsibility for all schools, employing all teachers as government servants. In addition, the Act stated that “all teachers shall be registered” (URT, 1969a, p. 12). The 1969 Education Act sought “to require assisted schools and private schools to obtain approval for the employment of any teacher and to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which a teacher would be employed in any such school” (URT, 1969a, p. 17). However, being registered as a teacher was not a guarantee that they would be able to continue teaching. The director of education was given more powers:

The Director may, if he is satisfied that any person registered as a teacher under this section has failed or ceased to fulfill any of the requirements prescribed by or under this Act, or that on any other ground that may be prescribed, the name of any teacher ought to be removed or suspended for any period from the register of teachers, direct the removal or suspension of the name of the teacher from the register of teachers, and upon such removal or suspension the person affected shall cease to be a registered teacher for the period during which such removal or suspension remains in force, and the register of teachers shall be amended accordingly (URT, 1969a, p. 12).

As the quote reflects, there were different ways to make sure that teachers were compelled to implement policies that would be in tune with the national aspiration of Ujamaa. In the light of the new social policy of Ujamaa, the Ministry of National Education redefined the general aims of teacher education, as follows: 1) to educate students in the true meaning of the Tanzanian concept of Ujamaa; 2) to train students to be dedicated and capable teachers with an understanding of and a care for the children placed in their charge; and 3) to deepen the students’ general education (URT, 1979b).

Once twenty years had passed since independence had occurred, that is, in November 1980, the government of Tanzania called for an evaluation of all education programmes in the country as preparation for the year 2000. According to URT (1984), the President appointed a commission of 13 people from different sectors to
review education in Tanzania; this commission emerged with recommendations for 
the reconsolidation and reform of education. One of the tasks of the commission was 
to restate the objectives of teacher training: “to acquire, assimilate and pass on to 
others the national cultural practices; moral, ethical and aesthetic principles and 
academic knowledge in the various subjects of arts, social sciences, natural sciences 
and technology as are taught at different levels of education” (URT, 1984, p. 5). The 
role of teachers was associated with passing on the Ujamaa dispositions to the next 
generation.

Additionally, the 1984 presidential commission on education set several objectives for 
Teacher Training that accurately reflect Ujamaa principles. According to URT 
(1984), the aims of teacher training were to provide the student teacher with: an 
understanding of the philosophy of development; moral, ethical and psychological 
principles; and the knowledge and skills to enable a teacher:

a) To teach with competence and so develop and expand the general level of 
education and scope of pupils in his/her care;
(b) To take good care of the children entrusted to him/her by the nation and instil 
in them the principles of good citizenship and a sense of self-sacrifice for the 
good of society;
(c) To develop in the children an appreciation and acceptance of the national 
policy of socialism (Ujamaa) and self-reliance (URT, 1984, p. 5).

The overall objectives of educational policy in the early 1980s indicate the continuity 
of the Nyererean ideas. The aim of the government was to expand teachers’ education 
so as to enable them to spread the dispositions of Ujamaa to the students.

The expansion of primary education as a key component of a Nyererean framework 
required a corresponding increase in the number of teachers, as they were deemed to 
have paramount importance in the creation of a new Tanzanian society. The new 
Tanzania society that was envisaged was one which would align with the principles of 
Ujamaa. The expansion of teacher education was, therefore, aimed at achieving 
Ujamaa, which then spread through Universal Primary Education. Since 1974, the
stated goal in increasing the number of teachers in Tanzania was to achieve Universal Primary of Education (TANU, 1974). As the policy stressed, “in this plan, emphasis will be in getting enough teachers to meet the requirements of the Universal Primary Education by November 1977” (URT, 1979c, p. 85). However, the reason for expanding the workforce of teachers was not limited to Universal Primary Education, the other related aim, as the policy put it, was the “production of extra teachers in order to cope with expanded education in primary and secondary sectors” (URT, 1979a, p. 48). In addition, the overall explicit intent was to increase the preparation of teachers who would, in their work, help disseminate amongst students the attitudes and values of Ujamaa.

Despite the government articulating its intention to implement the policies of Ujamaa and self-reliance, the number of teachers who had received teacher training in Tanzania in 1967 was not proportionate to the rate of expansion that was envisaged (URT, 1967b). In an effort to meet the goals and demands for more primary school teachers, the government of Tanzania developed a number of strategies. The strategies included the introduction of a Distance Teacher Training Programme (DTTP) outside of the normal Teacher Training Colleges. This was conceived as an effort to find a solution to the huge teacher demand for Universal Primary Education:

The Universal Primary Education Programme has greatly increased the demand for teachers so much so that the government has had to introduce the Distance Teacher Training Programme (DTT) outside the normal Teacher Training Colleges. This was an effort to meet the demand for more primary school teachers (URT, 1984, p. 33).

While it was important to meet the demand, the selection procedures were fastidious. According to Nyerere (1985) the approach of distance teacher training in Tanzania in 1970s involved primary school graduates between the ages of 17 and 28 who were ‘carefully selected’ by education officials in cooperation with village committees who were familiar with the applicants. These graduates were prepared to teach primary school through a combination of specially designed correspondence courses and radio programmes; they attended training sessions with teachers specifically prepared to help them and participated in in-service training given by more qualified teachers. At
the end of their three years of distance training, the teacher trainees attended residential courses of a few weeks' duration at national teachers colleges. The process culminated in a final examination. Out of the 45,534 young people selected between 1970-1980, 35,028 finished and qualified as primary school teachers, grade C (Nyerere, 1985).

This approach attracted a lot of attention in Tanzania, and was conducted alongside the conventional college based courses. According to Nyerere (1985), the tremendous increase in enrolment in the 1970s, as will be explained later in this chapter, was only made possible by supplementing the normal teacher training programme with a system of Distance Teacher Training.

According to Tunginie (1977), in the middle of January 1976 about 2400 coordinators attended an 8 week orientation course as teacher trainers of those who received training through distance learning. By 1976, the distance learning approach had attracted a lot of attention within the country, and this required the provision of financial estimates beginning with the 1976/1977 fiscal year. The government approved a monthly allowance of 150 Tanzanian shillings per student per month for approximately 15,000 student teachers for 3 years, by allocating them time to teach in primary schools that were located in their home villages and allowing them to receive face-to-face lessons from ward-coordinators, correspondence courses and radio lessons. The new teachers survived on a trainees' honorarium of 150 Tanzanian shillings per month (which was at that time equivalent to about 20 U.S dollars; by 1985 this was equivalent to about 9 US dollars) (Nyerere, 1985).

According to URT (1969b), “other short courses will be held in existing premises (teacher’s colleges and elsewhere) in an endeavour to intensify the retraining of the primary school staffs in accordance with the principles (of Ujamaa) enshrined in the Arusha Declaration” (p. 154). This retraining effort, including the supervision of pupil teachers, would be supplemented by the work of the District Education Officers (Inspectorate) and itinerant Teacher Educators.

Another pragmatic approach used after 1974 was the expansion of the pool of potential teachers. The purpose of this was, “in order to mitigate the shortage of
teachers, this programme intends to involve all people who can teach” (URT, 1979c, p. 83). The strategy involved people of different professions with the capacity to teach, and they would be inserted into the school timetable to teach according to their availability of time and their competencies. In order to be sure that people of different professions knew how to teach, teaching methodologies were introduced as a compulsory subject for all students in secondary schools in Tanzania. As the policy stated, “It [the government] is also intended to introduce a teaching subject for all secondary school students to enable them to teach soon after completing school should they be required to do so” (URT, 1979c, p. 83). This was another approach whereby local people’s initiatives, particularly those who had passed secondary education and beyond, would be useful in making the implementation of the Ujamaa policies operational.

Other strategies in line with the Ujamaa project involved refresher and in-service courses aimed at broadening each teacher’s academic and professional horizon and keeping them up to date with political changes, which were taking place rapidly and having a significant effect on the primary school curriculum. Another strategy was to build more teacher colleges such that “the plan will finalise on-going projects started during the last plan and will also embark on building new Colleges of National Education in areas now without these institutions depending on availability of funds” (URT, 1979c, p. 85). A more pragmatic teacher preparation model was put in place. It was composed of the formal grades of teachers, namely: grade A, grade B and grade C. Whereas training for each grade lasted two years, recruitment occurred at different levels: grade C trainees were recruited after the completion of primary school; grade B trainees were recruited after two years of secondary education; and grade A trainees after the completion of 4 years of lower secondary education. However, since grade ‘A’ teachers were relatively few in number, particularly in the rural areas, and were, at that time considered to be in great demand or ‘hot cakes’ highly needed by different departments, the plan included the provision of a new type of grade D teacher. According to URT (1969b), grade D were teachers who, having completed primary school education, would receive a one-year ‘crash training course’ organised locally at the district/municipal level to provide basic guidelines for teaching, preferably after completing national service (URT, 1979c, p. 81). More efforts to expand teacher training in line with the Ujamaa philosophy were put in
place. Two hundred places in two teachers colleges were devoted to courses for the
re-training of serving teachers in new methods and materials which were introduced
in the process of the reorganisation of the primary schools, “ to bring them into
harmony with the Arusha Declaration” (URT, 1969c, p. 68). Table number 4 below
provides details of the enrolment figures in teacher education during the 1969-1976
period.

Table 4: Planned and Actual Enrolment of the Students in Teachers' Colleges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Education officer III</th>
<th>Grade ‘A’</th>
<th>Grade ‘C’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Planned</td>
<td>Actual</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (URT, 1979c, p. 81).

Since 1974, when Tanzania identified its target of attaining Universal Primary
Education by 1977, the educational policies placed more emphasis on increasing the
number of primary school teachers. The dominant argument was that, “the
revolutionary measures adopted to ensure the success of the UPE programme by the
year 1977 and its continued enhancement in the later years centres on the production
of adequate teachers and availability of teaching materials” (URT, 1979a, p. 48). As
the name suggests, the strategies used were named as revolutionary in order to denote
the aim of expanding teacher education at that time. Table number 5 shows the targets
of the government for the expansion of teacher education.
Table 5: Enrolments of Teachers 1975-1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year grade</th>
<th>Within colleges</th>
<th>Outside college</th>
<th>Grade A/B</th>
<th>Diploma</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>3072</td>
<td>1176</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>7493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>3513</td>
<td>16000</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>20472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>2137</td>
<td>12000</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>17437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>2081</td>
<td>12000</td>
<td>3210</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>17741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/80</td>
<td>1657</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3410</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>5607</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td><strong>12388</strong></td>
<td><strong>43072</strong></td>
<td><strong>11577</strong></td>
<td><strong>1713</strong></td>
<td><strong>68750</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: modified from the Tanzania third five-year development plan (URT, 1979c, p. 85). The figures in 1979/80 on student teachers who would be recruited from outside are not provided in this table. However, it is possible that, because Tanzania was at war with Uganda in 1978/1979, the overall arrangements had been interrupted.

Following the increasing of resources, some achievements were made in regards to attaining the goals of *Ujamaa*, because by June 1974 there were 326 teachers, which was a number above the second five-year plan’s target (URT, 1979c). Similarly, President Nyerere (1985) noted:

By the end of 1983 there were over 2,000 students taking a Grade C course, 6,100 taking a Grade A course, and 1,482 taking a diploma in Education. This makes a total of over 9,600 teachers in residential training in addition to the university students taking education courses as part of their degree. In preparation for the planned expansion of day secondary schools, student entry for the two-or-three year teachers’ diploma course increased to over 1,000 students in July 1984. Further, many of the diploma-trainee teachers, as well as a few primary school teacher trainees, are being prepared in specialist subjects including courses in agriculture, music, commerce, science, teaching of the handicapped, and so on. Yet more has to be done. There is currently a shortage of 28,000 Grade A primary school teachers and 888 more qualified teachers are needed to bring the existing secondary schools up to full strength (Nyerere, 1985, p. 48).
In addition, based on the emergency measures deployed to reduce the college-based grade A pre-service training course from two years to one year, Tunginie (1977) writes that the output of primary school teachers increased from 2142 in 1970 to 5604 in 1976. According to Tunginie (1977), the total teaching workforce increased from 17,790 teachers in 1970 to 38,199 teachers in 1976, including about 15,000 village teachers trained through distance teaching techniques. At the same time, the enrolment of primary school pupils increased from 827,976 in 1970 to 1,874,357 in 1976, which represented nearly 85% of all school age children. That means that the output of both teachers and pupils almost doubled in 6 years. Although the teacher pupil ratio was 1:47 in 1970, Tunginie (1977) argues that it increased to 1:49 in 1976. From 1967, the government of Tanzania had set a target to increase the teacher: pupil ratio from the high ratio of one teacher to 45 pupils (1:45) by the end of 1974 (URT, 1979c).

With the implementation of the second five-year plan in 1969, the number of student teachers that began the grade ‘A’ teacher-training course in 1969 was 1,200, nearly four times as great as the 320 who commenced in 1964 (URT, 1969b, p. xi). The global entry of teachers into courses of pre-service training in preparation for service in primary schools, that is grades A, B, C and D, increased from 1,440 in 1969 to 2,850 in 1974 (URT, 1969b, p. 67). Based on these increases in the figures, the policy noted that, “these achievements will contribute greatly to our aim of becoming self-sufficient in high-level manpower by 1980; in overall terms, and with an exception I shall refer to later, we have achieved what we set out to achieve” (URT, 1969b, p. ii).

Notwithstanding the unprecedented efforts made to change the quality and size of the teaching profession in Tanzania, given the major push to achieve UPE that caused the influx of many of the school age children, in 1974 the primary education sector still had a deficit of approximately 10,000 teachers (Omari & Mosha, 1987). The accelerated student enrolment, as will be discussed later, would require an 80% increase in the teacher corps, amounting to 40,000 new teachers, within the three years after 1977 Stabler (1979). The teacher training institutions themselves, in turn, faced a shortage of staff. With the total enrolment of student teachers in 1974 being 9978, the teacher training institutions could hardly meet the new demand (Omari, Mbise, Mahenge, Malekela, & Besha, 1983). Although the government highlighted
some achievements in this area, as indicated earlier, by 1976 there was still a high
demand for more teachers. This, therefore, jeopardised the expectations that the
objectives of the *Ujamaa* project would be attained (URT, 1979c).

The shortages in the teaching workforce were due to a number of factors, including
the introduction of the policy to lower the age of retirement, as was reflected in this
policy: “there is, however, a big shortage of teachers, despite the achievement,
because some teachers retired after the age of 55, a big increase in the number of
primary schools compared to the number of teachers and also because many teachers
left the profession for other jobs” (URT, 1979c, p. 82). While the policy of retirement
at 55 had a profound impact on other professions apart from teachers, the
phenomenon of many workers leaving for other jobs was particularly marked in the
teaching profession, mainly because of poor working conditions, such as living in
remote areas where services like electricity, clean water and hospitals were
inadequate (URT, 1984), and perhaps the low chance of having access of other fringe
benefits, such as travelling and night allowances, as compared to other professions.

Moreover, these impressive gains contrasted with the statements in the third five-year
plan for economic and social development, which noted that, “the second problem is
our inability to get enough teachers to carry on the whole training programme” (URT,
1979c, p. 94). Another challenge related to the insufficiency of teachers was the
frequent transfers of teachers as a result of getting espoused (URT, 1979c). In
addition, these challenges of shortages of teachers in the Tanzanian education system
continued to face the education sector until the early 1980s when the report of the
presidential commission noted:

Expansion of Education at its various levels will require a sufficient number of
teachers. Today, there is a big shortage of teachers in our schools and colleges.
By April 1982, primary schools in the country had a shortage of 34.94% of the
required number of teachers. By March 1981 secondary schools and teacher
training colleges had shortages of 29.81% and 29.63% respectively (URT,
1984, p. 12).
Based on these challenges and particularly due to the aims of attaining the *Ujamaa* project, in 1984 the Ministry of education prepared an action plan for training the required number of teachers by taking into account the anticipated expansion of education, actual current teacher shortages and wastage, and the need for academic and professional competencies at each level of the school system. These short term strategies, according to URT (1984), involved the introduction of a programme of hiring teachers to fill teaching vacancies in schools and teacher colleges. Such vacancies arose because teachers took normal, sick, maternity or emergency leave, and attended seminars, workshops and upgrading or further studies.

Similarly, the department of education at the University of Dar es Salaam was expanded and upgraded to the status of Faculty of Education as a strategy to produce the required number of graduate teachers (URT, 1984). The Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam was given the task of preparing and coordinating in-service teacher training programmes for teachers and college tutors. The point being highlighted here is that the task of increasing primary school teacher numbers to meet the broader goals of *Ujamaa* was handled by many sectors apart from primary education.

Closely linked to the ambition of the state to expand the teaching workforce was a significant shift of emphasis from the state control of almost all educational institutions to include the religious institutions in the provision of education. The plan of the government in 1984 was “to give a go ahead to reputed religious organisations and agencies to establish teachers colleges and conduct teacher training in conformity with the policies and guidelines of the Ministry of Education” (URT, 1984, p. 13). This was one area of inconsistency between the Nyererean ideas and the policies at this time. The Nyererean framework suggested that as many education institutions as possible be owned by the state so that everyone with academic qualifications could be free to enrol. Delegating this responsibility to religious institutions could in some ways jeopardise the rights of certain groups of people whose beliefs did not conform to those of the selected institutions to run teacher training colleges. Although there was a slight shift from state control of educational institutions to involving religious institutions, the broader aims of attaining the *Ujamaa* enterprise remained almost the same, and would be conformed to by the religious institutions. One of the conditions
placed upon the religious institutions was to accept and enrol any student teacher without any discrimination based on one’s background, such as religious affiliation or race.

5.2.4 Conclusion

This section reviewed the Tanzanian policies 1967-1985 and how they aligned with *Ujamaa* as one of the key tenets of the Nyererean framework. Despite some contradictions, the major themes indicated a close linkage between the Tanzanian educational policies and the Nyererean framework. The period was characterised by the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy including the principal, financial, manufacturing and trading institutions. Large capitalist farms were converted into state farms, and the accumulation of private wealth by leaders was prohibited. As URT (1969b) notes, the second five-year Plan from 1969-1974 related explicitly to the five major principles announced in the Arusha declaration: social equality; *Ujamaa*; self-reliance; economic and social transformation; and African economic integration.

Education was considered the crucial means to realise these principles. As one policy document puts it, “the target is to develop primary school education on the basis of our policy of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance” (p. 106). Participation in education was, therefore, considered to be a crucial tool to create political awareness and mass involvement in the development process by shaping the attitudes and forming the skills needed for a self-reliant socialist society. The contents of the curriculum in Tanzania were changed to be more compatible with the ideals of *Ujamaa*, intended to meet economic demands while embracing African-ness by providing the basic training required for life primarily in a rural economy. Teachers were singled out as being the most important change agents that would effectively aid the spread of the dispositions and the smooth implementation of the policies related to *Ujamaa*. While many of the educational policies in this period were compatible with the Nyererean framework, the 1982 delegation of the responsibility to the non-governmental institutions notably religious organisations to provide teacher education could in some ways jeopardise the ideals of the *Ujamaa* project by discriminating against some groups of people. Because they were non-government institutions without many financial resources, they were likely to impose user fees, which would be difficult to
pay for some people with financial difficulties, and hence reverse the Nyererean egalitarian principles.

5.3 Education for Self-Reliance

The notion of ‘self-reliance’, as reflected in the policy documents, was not only consistent with the broader philosophy of Ujamaa relating to rural life, but also a pragmatic response to economic conditions and loss of international aid. The domestic repercussions of this resulted in the most recurring socio-economic policy of 1967-1985 and were a top priority for the government. In 1969, Paul Bomani, the then Minister for Economic Affairs and Development Planning, highlighted the importance of self-reliance in the second five-year plan: “on the one hand, the mobilisation of local resources for development, while on the other, avoiding dependence on foreign resources” (URT, 1969b, p. 3).

According to Mosha (1990, p. 60), the policy of self-reliance was emphasised in Tanzania as it was seen as a weapon to help Tanzania break away from undue dependence on other countries and to resolve its problems of hunger, lack of housing and disease. In this sense, the concept of self-reliance was connected to the wider political thinking of the time (1960s-70s) being put forward for developing countries to de-link from the world economy in some ways and instead pursue indigenous development that would involve import substitution. At the same time they would seek ant end dependent relationships with foreign powers. According to URT (1979c), “one meaning of self-reliance is that we in Tanzania should have the capacity to satisfy our basic needs locally even under difficult international circumstances” URT (1979c, p. II). Given first priority, producing locally for domestic consumption before focusing on exportation to gain profit and foreign currency was an important factor in Nyererean principles. In addition to attempting to satisfy local needs before focusing on profit maximisation, the government emphasised that “self-reliance not only implies producing more but also making more effective use of what is produced” (URT, 1969b, p. 5). The policy emphasis was, therefore, on both more production and using what had been produced effectively.
Continuity was also reflected by not depending entirely on the central state to provide everything in running primary schools, but rather relying on the local communities for moral and material support, such as building schools in their particular communities. This was reflected in how terminology, such as voluntary efforts, participatory, local planning and organisation, permeated the policy, such as URT (1969c) and URT (1979b). As Paul Bomani, the Minister of Economic Affairs and Development Planning maintained, “What does democracy mean for the majority of citizens of this country if there is no chance of participation physically?” (URT, 1969b, p. 36) This indicates the extent to which Nyererean ideas were emphasised. According to Nye (1963), the policies of self-reliance in Tanzania could be placed into three major categories: doing something about rural services despite fiscal limitations; servicing as an outlet and later an impetus for increased political participation; and building local organisation. In addition to being part of the wider project of Ujamaa, Nye (1963) insisted that self-reliance policies were intensified by the fact that some of the Tanzanian dreams of international aid in late 1960s and early 1970s had failed to materialise.

Another way in which the continuity was reflected pertained to Tanzania’s political or ideological commitment to non-exploitative work relations, as the Prime Minister of Tanzania, Edward Moringe Sokoine, emphasised in his introduction to the second five-year plan (1969-1974):

> When we proclaimed the Arusha Declaration we made it clear Tanzanians themselves will bring about Tanzanian’s development. That is why we resolved to build a self-reliant society. We are emphasising Ujamaa because this is the only political philosophy, which will ensure the equality of man. It denounces exploitation of man by man (sic) or of one group of people by another group. Similarly we emphasize self-reliance because we want each person to earn his living through his own sweat. This is another way of saying that we do not want a person to exploit another nor one group of persons to exploit another. It is in that light that we also emphasize that work is the essence of life. For without working a person cannot be self-reliant and cannot live by exploiting other people either by stealing from them or by making somebody else work for him” (URT, 1979c, p. ii).
The above text is generally inclusive and reflects an ideological commitment to non-exploitative work relations, which was another key dimension to the Nyererean framework. While the implementations were meant to be grass root in nature, a long-term goal of the self-reliance policy was to reduce the central role that foreign aid played in the development of the nation. In order to bring the ideas of self-reliance into line with the overall *Ujamaa* project, in 1974 the policy paper ‘Musoma Resolution’ was articulated (TANU, 1974). Although education was seen as a key component of the Musoma resolution, the principal goals were largely economic and ideological, and aimed to reduce dependence from both foreign countries and the central government (TANU, 1974).

Moreover, the transference of the Nyererean principles into the policies is reflected at the beginning of the introduction of the Presidential Commission on Education which noted, “basically, the aims and objectives of education in Tanzania remain the same (that is *Ujamaa*) as outlined by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere in his booklet ‘Education for Self-Reliance’, published in 1967” (URT, 1984, p. 1). Although this was stated in summary, it meant that the national vision of self-reliance would be maintained in the subsequent educational policies.

### 5.3.1 Linking work and study (tertiary level)

Another aspect of continuity is reflected through an emphasis on the work-study principle. At the tertiary level, the curriculum was equally Africanised and changed to break the barrier between mental and manual works: “Universities will be required to run economically productive projects in order to aid in the running costs of these institutions” (URT, 1984, p. 17). The intent of the policy was to alter the whole system of education in Tanzania and achieve what TANU (1974) referred to as a more harmonious relationship between mental and manual work. The emphasis on education as part of work came into being as an order following the ruling party’s 16th conference, which directed that “work should be part of education. This means that education for self-reliance must be emphasized at all levels of education and not in primary schools only” (URT, 1979c, p. 80). Accordingly, each level of education in Tanzania was geared towards attaining a specific goal. At university level, the work-
study principle was promoted by abolishing direct admission of form VI leavers to the university, which took effect from 1975. As the plan disclosed:

Students being admitted to the University from this plan period will be required, together with other qualifications, to have worked for a period not below two years. At the same time, because of the big gap between men and women in higher education, more efforts will be directed towards increasing the number of women... Final examinations in all departments and faculties will be reviewed with a view to elevating the importance of daily course-work in assessment of students (URT, 1979c, p. 85).

The entire formal Tanzania education system was thus restructured in such a way that everyone attending academic courses would have to perform some work as part of their training, including a requirement of one year in National Service, para-military training and community development works for students completing colleges and form VI secondary education. According to TANU (1974), the resolution required that all form VI leavers wishing to join university must have at least two years of work experience in places like offices, factories and/or villages before they could be admitted to any higher learning institution in the country. Only when form VI leavers had demonstrated their two or more years of work competence, their abilities, attitudes, character and general work performance and commitment for further training, and had obtained satisfactory recommendations from their work places or employers and local Party chairperson (TANU), would they be considered for university education. The expectation was that sending students to work between secondary school and university would, according to Samoff (1990b), reduce their alienation from their native family and communities.

However, the students at the university of Dar es Salaam instituted a strike against the directive which required two years of work experience, and this resulted in the government sending them back home (Brock-Utne, 2006, p. 125). Since 1976, the Tanzanian National Women’s Organisation (UWT) and other critics have also expressed the view that the entry conditions or criteria of two years of work experience was harder on women, because of marital and other family commitments.
(Biswallo, 1985; Maliyamkono, 1980). After a break of two or more consecutive years, it was difficult for most women to resume their studies. Consequently, as Samoff (1990b) maintained, other concerns prevailed and the enrolment of women at the university plummeted precipitously. In 1976, the two years work experience requirement was waived to allow female students to continue to be admitted as direct entry students after their one year of National Service training (URT, 1984). Apparent shortages of qualified applicants led to similar waivers for students in the subjects of geography and subsequently engineering. In 1984, the government accepted the recommendation of the Presidential Commission on Education to abolish the work requirement for university admission for all the applicants (URT, 1984). Ultimately, academic schooling proved more powerful than education for social transformation (Samoff, 1990b).

Relatedly, as Biswallo (1985) noted, the Musoma Resolution heralded a revolution in post secondary education in Tanzania. University entrants ceased to be direct secondary school leavers, but mature aged people with necessary qualifications would be enrolled: “Even so, the Universities will continue to admit mature people who have the necessary entrance qualifications; (b) Efforts will be made to recruit students with the necessary qualifications, to fill the vacant places in the Universities” (URT, 1984, p. 15). Thus, the university started to serve people who had been workers and peasants with experience in the diverse fields. This policy, as Biswallo (1985) maintains, necessitated a change of university curricula to accommodate the characteristics and the needs of adult learners. Such a step was unquestionably an attempt to implement Nyererean perspectives, which demanded an integration of education with work and the de-emphasis of the paper qualifications inherent in the formal education system by suggesting that work should be part of the learning activities and study (Nyerere, 1968d). The education for self-reliance policy had other profound impacts at the university level. In 1974 for example, four terms replaced three. According to Maliyamkono (1980), the fourth term was devoted to practical work which every student was required to complete according to his/her area of study. The aim was to assist students in understanding their academic disciplines better in terms of practical applications.
5.3.2 Work-study principle (secondary level)

At the secondary school level, the Nyererean ideas of linking work and study were reflected in various policies. The principles of ‘work and production’ were also insisted upon in the secondary school curriculum. This was reflected in the 1984 Presidential commission on Education report, which noted: “Therefore: (a) Diversified secondary education will now be called Basic Vocational- Education and Training” and will continue to be provided by emphasizing basic vocational skills, science, technology and positive attitudes to work, production and service...(b) Every secondary school will be required to promote the development of skills and positive attitudes of production...(c) Adequate preparations will be made for the introduction of basic vocational education (d) Diversified secondary education will comprise of prescribed secondary school subjects together with basic courses in vocational education (URT, 1984, p. 23).”

After the pronouncement of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, guidelines and directives were issued towards “translating into action, the philosophy of education for self-reliance” URT (1984, p. ii). This translation included, among other things, the imperative “to cultivate respect for manual and other types of work and to perform their duties and responsibilities to the best of their abilities” (URT, 1984, p. 4). Schools were able to initiate income-generating projects and meet some of their maintenance costs, and some institutions served as exemplary educational centres from which the community could learn (Mosha, 1990). While such an attempt aimed at de-emphasising purely academic abilities and formal examinations, it did enhance and indeed upgrade the value and importance of manual work. Participation in education was considered to be a crucial tool for forming the skills needed for the self-reliant socialist state.

While the first phase (1961-1966) had emphasised education for workforce development to propel the capitalist economic development strategy of relying on increased economic growth in the early years (Buchert, 1994), the policy of education for self-reliance announced in 1967, supported the socialist strategy. Among the key aims of the Education Act 1969 was the “the promotion of the policy of self-reliance” (URT, 1978, p. 23). The Education Act 1978 number 25 gave the Minister of
Education the authority “to provide guidance to schools under its jurisdiction regarding the undertaking and execution by them of commercial or other projects as part of their self-reliance schemes (URT, 1978, p. 11). This was meant to enhance the work-study principle.

The continuity is reflected through encouraging the socialist habit of wanting to work:

A socialist is a worker. Therefore by introducing work in schools we are building socialist habits among the students. A student, who refuses to sweep his room, for example, or wash his plate after a meal, puts himself in a class of people who live on the work (sweat) of others, which is incompatible with socialism. Hence when we say that work should become part of education, we are talking about creating the socialist habit of wanting to work (TANU, 1974, p. 114).

Apart from the aim of wanting schools to contribute to the national economy by taking part in different income generating works, the policy had an implicit key meaning of inculcating the habit of wanting to work among the young generation. While these concerns were approached differently, one of the roles of the ‘national education’ enshrined in Education Act 1978 number 25 was clear: “the attainment of the wider national goals of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance” (URT, 1978, p. 6). That means the work-study principle was part of the broader goal.

Since the Arusha Declaration, more policies on income generating activities were issued to concretise the implementation of the policy of education for self-reliance. In 1976 for example, 13,400,000 Tanzanian shillings were allocated in the third five-year plan to support income generating school projects in secondary schools and colleges of national education (URT, 1979c). According to URT (1979c), these projects included poultry, piggery, dairy development, horticulture, small industries, farming, metal work, cookery and garment production. Post primary vocation training institutions would be established to offer two-year training in masonry, carpentry metal work, needlework and cookery for standard VII leavers. The graduates from such institutions were expected to strengthen technical know-how in villages. This approach was expected to enhance the policy of self-sufficiency in technicians of
various grades, placing emphasis on the establishment of schools with a bias towards various technical subjects (URT, 1979c). According to URT (1979c), one third of the curriculum of forms I-IV in the early 1980s was taken up by different vocational businesses: agriculture in 33 public secondary schools, commercial 29, technical 16 and domestic science 7. In 1985, about 90% of public secondary school students were enrolled in biases in which agriculture accounted for 45.7%, commerce 33.2%, domestic science 15.4% and technical 5.7% (Buchert, 1991). The value of income generating activities was considerably higher in secondary schools than in primary schools. During 1981-1985, the profit realised in secondary schools increased by 21% and the unit cost per student by 20% (Wabike, 2014). The focus of secondary schools was to boost the output of technical oriented students so as to increase the supply of local technicians in civil, electrical and mechanical engineering, building design and quantity surveying. The diversification programme for secondary education, with biases in commerce, agriculture, domestic science and technical education, would continue in the third five -year plan (1976-1981) (TANU, 1974).

5.4.3 Self-reliance and educational infrastructure (primary level)
At the primary school level, the ideas of self-reliance as propounded by Nyerere (1968d, pp. 44-75), were reflected in various forms. Whereas the aim of secondary education was to prepare students for higher education, various professional training, such as teacher training and direct employment in the previous years, and primary education in Tanzania, emphasised the policy of merging work and study based on the rationale that most of students who went through the primary school education system were expected to go and participate actively in the ‘national-building’ activities in the rural areas. Accordingly, all subjects in the primary schools were related to agriculture, and where possible every school would have a school farm where local cash and food crops could be grown and modern farming techniques be practiced. The school farm, according to Maliyamkono (1980, p. 339), would be organised on a communal basis. The produce from farms could then provide food for the children and could enable the purchase of extra school and sports equipment. Members of the school, both teachers and students, would be fully involved in the project.
In addition to enriching pedagogical approaches by merging theory and practice, the policies of making work part of education would, according to TANU (1974), help Tanzania escape poverty by way of self-reliance: “we have often declared that we will get rid of our poverty through our own efforts, that means each one of us, and we surely cannot say that students are excluded from contributing to the national efforts in the struggle to eliminate this poverty” (p. 114). Other related advantages of combining work and study, according to URT (1979), included hastening the country’s development, enabling students to participate fully in income generating activities whilst at the same time strengthening their theoretical and practical skills.

In addition to aligning with the overall Nyererean framework, the policy of combining work and study was not just a pragmatic response to the social economic situation of Tanzania at that time, as Cooksey (1986) put it, but was also part of the strategy to solve the crisis of standard VII leavers who had no prospects for secondary education. This is reflected in URT (1979c) which notes:

Standard VII leavers with no prospects of higher education are still attracted to migrate into urban areas in search of any type of job, some of which have very low remuneration. There is a need to prepare viable projects in the rural areas which will occupy the youth and check the migration into towns (URT, 1979c, p. 87).

Largely drawing on Nyererean philosophies, whilst also providing an antidote to the problem of young people flocking into towns, the government of Tanzania put in place policies that would change the primary education system to include a practical component by insisting that “primary education will be restructured in such a way that its final years will have a big technical content” (URT, 1979c, p. 9). These policy concerns were consistent with the argument of Nyerere (1968d), that in a country such as Tanzania that had a serious education system, work had to be an integral part of learning activities, and study be part of work.

In addition to being compatible with the Nyererean ideas, the educational context at that time supported the whole idea of amalgamating mental and manual labour. The transition rate from primary schools to secondary schools was only 13.8% in 1967 (URT, 1987). The remaining 86.2% could not be accommodated, mainly due to the
lack of places in government schools, an issue that in part had been perpetuated by the inherited colonial regime. As the Gross Enrolment Rate and Net Enrolment Rate increased following the expansion of primary education in line with *Ujamaa* policies, secondary schools failed to keep pace with the growth in the number of students who were completing standard VII.

Table 6: Percentage of Students Selected for Secondary Schools 1967-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>STD VII Leavers</th>
<th>Public</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Private</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Public &amp; Private</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>47981</td>
<td>6635</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>2591</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>9226</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>58872</td>
<td>6989</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>2610</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>9599</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>60545</td>
<td>7149</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>2511</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>9660</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>64630</td>
<td>7350</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>3021</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>10371</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>70922</td>
<td>7780</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>3254</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>11034</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>87777</td>
<td>7956</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>3667</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>11623</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>106203</td>
<td>8165</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>4379</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>12544</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>119350</td>
<td>8472</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>4964</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>13436</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>137559</td>
<td>8680</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5114</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>13794</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>156114</td>
<td>8659</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5756</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>14415</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>169106</td>
<td>8706</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6590</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>15296</td>
<td>9.0</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>185293</td>
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<td>7165</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>15885</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>193612</td>
<td>8908</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8467</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>17375</td>
<td>9.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>212446</td>
<td>8913</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6677</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>15590</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>357816</td>
<td>9178</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>7095</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>16273</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>419829</td>
<td>9241</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7988</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>17229</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>454604</td>
<td>9899</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>8469</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>18368</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>649560</td>
<td>10077</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>9606</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>19683</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>429194</td>
<td>10881</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>11745</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>22626</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table number 6 compares the total number of standard VII students who sat the Primary School Leaving Examination from 1969 to 1985. Throughout a period of nineteen years, not more than 13.8% of students who sat for the Primary School Leaving Examination (year seven) were selected to join a public secondary school (form one). Similarly, not more than 5.4% of students who completed the primary education cycle were selected to join a private secondary school. In 1984, the overall trend of the transition rate from primary to secondary school plummeted from 19.2%, for both public and private secondary schools, to as low as 3%. In 1984 alone,
629,877 (87%) standard VII leavers could not get places for secondary education. Equally important was the huge increase in students who registered for the standard VII exam. Whereas 212,446 (100%) sat the standard VII exam in 1980, by 1984 the number had almost tripled to 649,560, equal to 306%.

The emphasis on work-study principles was due to a decrease in the number of students from primary schools joining secondary schools. Given the egalitarian ethos of expanding primary education between 1967 and the early 1970s, combined with the obstacles to the registration of private secondary schools, private secondary schools served only 5.4% in 1967, while government secondary school received 13.8% of all children who finished primary school in 1969. However, following the effects of the Structural Adjustment policies, as will be shown in chapter 6, by 1985 this trend had changed. Both private secondary schools and students outnumbered their government counterparts (Samoff & Sumra, 1994). Whereas private secondary schools accommodated 2.7% places for all students who finished primary schools, the government secondary school provided 2.2% places for (URT, 1987). While the policy of privatising education stood in sharp contrast to Nyererean philosophies, the increase in the number of private secondary schools reflected popular demand and local political initiatives, and both of these were congruent with the Nyererean framework (Samoff, 1990a). One of the reasons for this popular demand was related to the parental response to the inadequate expansion of public secondary schooling, which had been regarded as a ticket to future success. Although private secondary schools had increased in number, they were unevenly distributed. This was another aspect which contrasted with the Nyererean ideals of distributing social services equitably. As Samoff (1990a) indicates, in 1984 about 42% of all private secondary schools on the Tanzanian mainland were constructed in the Kilimanjaro region, the most affluent area, but containing only 5.3% of the total national population. Despite these controversies, the point being emphasised is that the lack of secondary school places in Tanzania in the 1970s and early 1980s accelerated the work-study principle.

As table 6 indicates, a large portion of the students finishing standard VII, about 94%, could not be accommodated in secondary education and, therefore, had to rely upon the manual skills they had acquired from school to enable them to master the rural environment. However, the emphasis on the work-study principle did not only come into being due to the educational context in which many children failed to transit to
secondary school in 1960s and 1970s, it was also part of the broader Nyererean ideas in which the government and the Party’s annual conference in 1974 directed that “work should be part of education (TANU, 1974). This meant linking work and study at all levels of education and not solely in primary schools (URT, 1979c, p. 80).

Other key practical steps that were indicative of continuity included the change of the curriculum in line with the new Tanzanian perspective of education for self-reliance such that it provided the basic training that was deemed important for rural life economy. This was a radical reform of the primary school system, its organisation and its curriculum. Although the core of the curriculum revision was practical agriculture (Dodd, 1969), political education became an integral component Cameron and Dodd (1980). The key to curriculum changes was to reject the disjunction between mental and manual labour (Samoff, 1990b). All curriculum changes had to be approved by the regional and district officials of the party and the government (URT, 1978). In his report after 24 years of independence, President Nyerere (1985) indicated that, by 1971, “radical revisions had been made in the curricula and syllabi (with most textbooks being revised accordingly), and the schools were being reorganized in accordance with the policy of ‘Education for Self-Reliance’ (p. 47). The aim of changing the curriculum was “to acquire, apply and pass on to others, the techniques and to analyse a range of issues pertaining to social and economic development” (URT, 1984, p. 5). As these were critical areas in education, they demanded a concerted and consistent follow-up in curriculum review, development and evaluation.

5.3.4 Conclusion
To conclude, therefore, this section has analysed policies that reflected the continuity and change of the Nyererean ideas. The analysis indicated that Nyererean philosophies permeated almost all policies in the period from 1967-1985. A number of policies and laws were enacted to align with the broader overarching philosophies of African socialism with a focus on self-reliance. Although the policies had multiple themes, the key areas included Tanzania’s plans to delink from the world economy by seeking to end dependence upon foreign powers. This delinking strategy was extended to involve local communities to cover part of the expenses incurred by running projects that concerned them, such as primary schools. The implementation of Nyererean ideas in the education sector was reflected by merging work and study
as a strategy. Secondary schools were required by the government to promote the development of skills, cooperative endeavours and positive attitudes of work. In 1984, for example, universities were required to run income-generating activities. However, this was preceded by the abolition of direct admission to universities and the promotion of work attitudes and social commitments. While the whole idea aligned with Nyererean egalitarian philosophies, the introduction of two years of work experience became a barrier to female students’ participation in university studies, because in the process of waiting to fulfil the two year requirement most women married and thus took on other commitments that later hindered or delayed their continuation with studies. In this way, the implementation of the work-study principle could be seen as contrasting with Nyererean equal opportunity principles. Despite the controversies reflected in the policy documents, the 1967-1985 period reflected much of the Nyererean ideas on self-reliance, perhaps more than any other phase/chapter in this study.

5.4 Expansion of Primary Education

In socialism, as we understand it, education is the right of all citizens and not something which should only be provided for a plutocratic elite or as a form of charity for the poor. Our national economic and social policies are determined in that context (Nyerere, 1985, p. 52).

Chapter four indicated that the Tanzanian educational policies and practices of 1961-1966 gave the highest priority to the expansion of post-primary education to meet the long term objectives of a nationally self-sufficient high level workforce by 1980 (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a). The emphasis on workforce development was intended to propel the capitalist economic development strategy of relying on increased economic growth rates in the early years after independence, rather than supporting the construction of the socialist project (Green, 2010). As a result, the number of young people entering form V in 1969 was more than twice as great it was in 1964 (URT, 1969b, p. xi). Between 1961 and 1971, the number of pupils enrolled in government secondary schools increased from just under 11,832 to 31, 662 (Nyerere, 1971, pp. 32-33), university entrants to B.A. were 534, compared to a 1969
target of 528 in 1968 (URT, 1969b, p. 22). The overall results, as URT (1979c) points out, “were fairly satisfactory. Localization of the senior and middle grade positions in the Civil Service rose from 57% in 1964 to 82% in 1969” (URT, 1979c, p. 1).

The effect of placing emphasis on post-primary education, however, was that expansion in the number of primary school places was held back and thus compared unfavourably with the Nyererean egalitarian principles (URT, 1969b). With the heavy emphasis on higher education the pace of primary expansion was left to depend on the availability of recurrent resources at the local government level. Despite being neglected, there were significant increases of the number of students in schools. According to URT (1969b), total enrolment increased from 634 thousand in 1964 to 777 thousand in 1968. Standard I entrants increased from 140 thousand in 1964 to 160 thousand in 1968 (p. 24). However, the percentage of school age children who were entering year one remained static. Given the growth of the national population, which was estimated at 2.7% per annum in 1967 to 1975, 3% from 1975 to 1980 and 3.3% 1980 to 1985, the absolute numbers enrolled in standard I only showed an increase from 140,000 in 1964 to around 163,00 in 1969 (URT, 1969b, p. 48). This low level of expansion was reflected in the second five-year development plan 1969-1974, which noted: “because of financial constraints and the overriding priority given to expansion of secondary and higher education, it was not possible to provide for any significant relative expansion of Std. I enrolment (i.e. the proportion of children of the appropriate age groups grew very little from the first to the fifth Plan year)” (URT, 1969b, p. 148). This meant that the proportion of children of the appropriate age group had grown just barely faster than the 2.7% annual growth of population.

However, the pronouncement of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 marked a change of direction and shifted the emphasis from higher levels to include primary education as one of the key tenets of the *Ujamaa* project. This was the period when elements of Universal Primary Education were first included in Tanzania’s development plans. The period was guided by the principle that “Tanzania has decided to follow the path of Socialism and Self-reliance. This means that the provision of social services is our Government’s cardinal responsibility” (URT, 1979c, p. ii). In 1969, the government of Tanzania enacted the Education Act 1969, which stated that:
No person having control over admission of pupils to any school, whether Government, public or private, shall refuse admission to any pupil on the ground of his religion or race provided that- (a) this section shall not apply to any school in which the instruction imparted is wholly or mainly of a religious character if admission to such school is open to all members of the public professing that religion regardless of their race; (b) it shall be lawful for public schools to give preference to the citizens of the United Republic. (2) Any person who contravene the provisions of subsection (1) shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding five hundred shillings (URT, 1969a, p. 14).

Whereas the pre-Arusha Declaration reasons for not paying enough attention to primary education was that Tanzania had an inadequacy of funds, after 1967 the policy changed and stated that not giving priority to primary education would be incompatible with the *Ujamaa* ideals and rural development objectives:

Emphasis in education expansion in the First Plan (1964-1969) was at the higher levels of secondary, technical and university training. The programme was geared to meeting the long-term objective of self-sufficiency in most grades of skilled manpower by 1980. Primary expansion was restricted by the scarcity of funds and the priority given to higher-level manpower (sic) needs. Enrolments in Standard I have grown only marginally faster than the rate of growth in numbers of school age children... Caution regarding primary expansion was a temporary policy, justified by the pressing need to allocate resources to the rapid expansion of higher education. Persistence of such a policy would be incompatible with both socialist ideals and rural development objectives. As pressing high-level manpower (sic) needs are met, priorities within the educational system change; it becomes proper to allocate increasing attention to the educational needs of the rural masses. The time for such a shift in emphasis has arrived. The Plan will therefore include provision for a considerable acceleration in the rate of growth of primary education... (URT, 1969b, pp. 7-8).
Although there were diverse interpretations as to why the emphasis on expansion of primary education occurred in 1967 (see for example Ergas, 1982; Samoff, 1994a), the official government position was that it would be incompatible with the principles of *Ujamaa* if children continued to miss education (URT, 1969c). Despite incompatibility with the African socialist principles that supported equal opportunities, the number of Tanzanian children who were out of school had increased due to the rapid population growth, making the situation worse in 1969 than it had been in 1964. According to URT (1969b), as late as 1969 only 47% of Tanzanian school age children could find primary school places. Such a small percentage stood in sharp contrast to the *Ujamaa* ideals that Nyerere preached, and arguably forced the government to act instantly.

Nonetheless, the policy of expanding primary education in Tanzania, moving towards UPE in the late 1960s, was presented in an official policy as an important pathway to advancing towards multiple goals. These included acting as a bridge to attaining the *Ujamaa* project’s objectives and generating needed skills, security against droughts and other environmental disasters, improved standards of living and supportive political communities (URT, 1969b). As Resnick (1968) suggests, development in Tanzania from 1967 was characterised as ‘revolution by education’. Based on the rationale applied to primary education at that particular time, efforts were undertaken to make it compulsory in order to change people’s consciousness about education and its importance, and so encourage all parents to send their children to school.

The government’s central objective from 1967, as substantiated in the second five-year plan (1969-1974), was to emphasise “providing educational opportunities for all the people” (URT, 1969b, p. VIII). However, this objective was perhaps too general and also contradicted the second objective in the second five-year plan, which sought “to enable 52% of the school going age children to go to school in the year 1973/1974” (URT, 1979c, p. 106). Yet, it was estimated that only 49% of the children were admitted in standard I at the end of 1973/1974 (URT, 1979c, p. 106). This means that there was only a 2% increment of school age children who could find places from 1969 to 1973. This 49% was almost the same proportion of children who received access to primary education in 1961 when the country became independent (Tanganyika-Government, 1961). The 51% of children without places for schooling
remained a real challenge and indeed an obstacle to bringing into fruition the *Ujamaa* project.

The objective of providing educational opportunities for all the people set in 1969 was perhaps too general, as it indicated neither the intended audience nor the time frame. Therefore, the government formed a relatively more specific objective “to give every Tanzanian child a basic education (primary) as soon as the financial circumstances of Government permit, which is presently planned to be achieved by 1989” (URT, 1969b, p. 148). However, as noted in chapter four, this objective did not only conflict with the Nyererean ideals of providing primary education to all school age children as soon as possible, but it could essentially be associated with the UNESCO sponsored conference of the African states on the development of education, which was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from May 15 to 25, 1961. One of its targets was that African countries would achieve UPE by 1980 (UNESCO, 1961). Tanzania first extended this objective up to 1989, presenting this as the earliest possible date (URT, 1969b), but the fact that the objective was arguably given too long a time to be met contrasted with the Nyererean principles which insisted on giving the people the quality education they needed and deserved as soon as possible. This was so the government could emancipate them from the shackles of ignorance, poverty and diseases, which were identified as the main barriers to meeting the goals of the *Ujamaa* project.

In line with the *Ujamaa* principles, the second five-year plan set an objective to “to increase the number of pupils enrolling for standard one in proportion with the increase in national population and to prepare the groundwork for Universal Primary Education by 1989” (URT, 1979c, p. 79). The groundwork involved the preparation of the required number of schools, classrooms and teachers. Consequently, the government systematically set targets and a time frame to expand primary education from 1969-1989, as is reflected in table number 7.
Table 7: The Planned Enrolment Expansion in Primary School 1969-1989

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Standard I Boys</th>
<th>Standard I Boys</th>
<th>Standard I-VII Boys</th>
<th>Standard I Boys</th>
<th>Standard I Boys</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage of age group in standard I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969/70</td>
<td>100384</td>
<td>71101</td>
<td>171485</td>
<td>517994</td>
<td>332926</td>
<td>850920</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973/74</td>
<td>119282</td>
<td>89088</td>
<td>208370</td>
<td>674196</td>
<td>465863</td>
<td>1140059</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>154385</td>
<td>124367</td>
<td>278752</td>
<td>899147</td>
<td>676892</td>
<td>1576039</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/84</td>
<td>221639</td>
<td>198430</td>
<td>420119</td>
<td>1222415</td>
<td>1009600</td>
<td>2232015</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988/89</td>
<td>325661</td>
<td>326986</td>
<td>652647</td>
<td>1771114</td>
<td>1633546</td>
<td>3404660</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source (URT, 1969b, p. 149)

Table number 7 illustrates the time frame and the percentages for how the government of Tanzania planned to expand primary education from 1969 to 1989. According to these figures, it would take the government almost 20 years to provide Universal Primary Education from 1969/70 to 1988/89. During the implementation of the second five-year plan, the government of Tanzania proposed to effect progressive increase in year one enrolments, taking into account not only population growth, but also to increase the relative percent of the primary age group for which primary education could be provided from rather less than 50% in 1969 to Universal Primary Entry by 1989 (URT, 1969b). At the same time, a new impetus was given to adult education to deal with particular problems of illiteracy and agricultural extension work, health education, and political awareness (URT, 1979c). URT (1979c) noted that the target to eradicate illiteracy by 1975 was set in 1971. By the end of May 1973, a total of 2,893,850 had been enrolled, compared to 1,555,000 people who enrolled by April 1972. This was a 58.6% increase between the two years. By July 1974, 3.5 million people had enrolled for adult education classes (pp. 106-107).

Despite the setting of plans and the time frame to expand primary education from 1969, the lack of resources to inject in the education sector was still a real challenge:

The growth in availability of resources for social development is limited by the rate of growth of output. This is the basic constraint on the achievement of the important objective of Universal Primary Education. Education, by far the largest social service currently receives about 20% of Tanzania total annual recurrent expenditures. This includes the amounts spent by Local Councils…The availability of resources to government will grow at roughly
… between 7 and 8% per annum…However, in order to achieve full universal primary enrolment at the earliest possible date (1989) a growth rate of 9% was allowed for education. This will increase Education's share of the national expenditure substantially (URT, 1969b, p. 148).

Despite these financial challenges, the government continued with its key objective of expanding primary education by setting strategies. In order to achieve full Universal Primary Education the growth rate of 9% was allowed for education (URT, 1969b).

Another important policy was issued to help achieve the objectives set in the second five-year plan (1969). This included the abolishing of all school fees for government primary schools in 1973 in order to boost the number of children who enrolled in standard I and reduce the regional inequalities that had begun to be prevalent in Tanzania (URT, 1979c, p. 79). The underlying argument of the reinvigorated impetus for education was that in an egalitarian and democratic ethos it would be inappropriate to pay fees to access the public service (URT, 1979c). As Omari and Mosha (1987) maintain, “Thus, theoretically, all children of sound academic ability could acquire education at public expense from primary school to university. This was also consistent with national socialist policies” (p. 15). However, a nominal contribution of 20 Tanzanian shillings per student in government primary schools continued to be paid by all parents (Omari & Mosha, 1987, p. 15). The Education Act 1978 number 25 also supported and recognised the payment of school fees:

…subject to any written law for the time being in force relating to the payment of school fees, and subject to any order made by the Minister prescribing the minimum fees payable in respect of any pupil, a Local Education Authority may, in respect of the pupils in schools for which it is the Local Education Authority, prescribe the school fees payable in respect of pupils in those schools (URT, 1978, p. 11).

Although it was supported by the Education Act 1978, school fees, no matter how small, did not align with the Nyererean egalitarian principles. However, this was not a new phenomenon in Tanzanian history. Fees dated from the era of European rule and continued into independence and Arusha Declaration (URT, 1979a). Before
independence, school fees were collected by the local education authority and used to be an important source of revenue, especially since they were far more easily collected than local personal taxes (Samoff, 1990b).

Nevertheless, there were significant achievements with regard to achieving education for all school age children. The growth in the numbers of new admissions increased and the apparent admission rate went up from 43.0% in 1969 to 45.7% in 1970, 48.9% in 1971, and more than 50% in 1973 (Ngoc & Caillods, 1975). In particular, the enrolment of children in standard I showed a significant numerical progress, though this was qualified by the still low participation rate of just over 50%, as it increased by 43% from 157,979 in 1969 to 226,010 in 1974, amounting to an increase of 17,660 (9%) children above the 208,350 target set earlier (URT, 1979c). Nevertheless, in his report for ten years of independence (1961-1971), President Nyerere (1971) acknowledged that there had been steady progress in regards to the expansion of primary education: the number of primary schools had increased from 3,100 in 1961 to 4,705 in 1971 and from 486,000 primary school pupils in 1961 to 848,000 in 1971. Whereas only 11,700 completed the full course of primary school in 1961, by 1971 this number had increased to 70,000 (pp. 32-33). Significant progress was also achieved in the schooling of girls from 1967. According to Ngoc and Caillods (1975), the proportion of girls increased from 35% in 1961 to 39.5% in 1971. However, despite the increase in numbers, only 52% of school age children were able to get places in school by 1971 (URT, 1979c). That means the expansion of primary education for the period of 1961-1971 was only steady and thus did not accord with the Nyererean principles.

In its follow up to the Tanzanian second-five year plan for 1969-1974, the directive on the implementation of Education for Self-reliance TANU (1974, pp. 133-145) reviewed the progress that had been made in transforming the Tanzanian education system to be compatible with the ideals of Ujamaa. The conference provided the resolutions of the Tanganyika National African Union (TANU) in its proceedings of National Executive Committee meeting held at Musoma on November 4, 1974. The conference produced a directive, which sought to universalise primary education by targeting and overcoming the challenges that had been faced during the implementation of Education for Self-reliance policy (1967-1974).
The plans for expanding primary education were also reflected in the report of the President (and chairperson of the ruling party (CCM) given at 25 years of independence:

In 1974 we decided that we could no longer delay the introduction of Universal Primary Education, and that it must be achieved within three years. This decision was consistent with our philosophy (Ujamaa) and was the result of insistent public demand” (Nyerere, 1985, p. 47).

The seventh objective of the third five-year plan was “to complete and strengthen Universal Primary Education” (URT, 1979c, p. 5). Therefore, the need to implement Ujamaa ideals plus the popular demand for primary education access pressed the government to attain the target earlier than was originally planned (i.e. 1989). The argument behind the UPE move on the part of the government at this time was essentially that, in as much as education was a right of all Tanzanians, and perhaps more importantly, a government committed to the development of an egalitarian society could not discriminate against its people in the provision of education, particularly at the basic level (TANU, 1974).

Such sentiments were not new, but were consistent with the 16th National conference held in September 1973 of the then ruling political party, TANU, which later joined with the Afro Shiraz Party (from Zanzibar) in 1977 to form CCM (the Tanzania party of revolution). This conference expressed its concern at the large number of insufficient places in schools. Together with the original but implicit aims of education for Ujamaa construction, the Musoma conference made use of various data to support the arguments on the urgent need to expand primary education in Tanzania, rather than wait for the previously set goal of attaining UPE by 1989. Consistent with the 1971 report of President Nyerere, which insisted that “for our country education is a necessity” (Nyerere, 1971, p. 72), the conference noted “only 48.6% of all children of school age were attending school although 55% of them could in fact have been enrolled if all the vacant places had been filled” (TANU, 1974, p. 137).
Although Tanzania was still very far from attaining Universal Primary Education, an additional issue was that not all available primary school places could be filled due to many obstacles, including some families living in scattered and undeveloped rural areas. The remedy to this problem as will be presented fully in section 5.5.3 below was the establishment of the *Ujamaa* villages (URT, 1979c).

Given the situation of the low participation rate, which directly contradicted the Nyererean egalitarian principles that sought to give all Tanzanian children of school going age basic education, the TANU conference noted, “it is going to be extremely difficult, and indeed there will be no justification whatsoever for only a few of the children in the village to be given places while the rest are left out” (TANU, 1974, p. 137). Hence, the National Executive Committee of TANU was duty bound to give appropriate guidance to the government on how to handle the task:

> It is hereby resolved that within a period of three years from now, that is, by November 1977, arrangements must be completed which will enable every child of school age to obtain a place in a primary school. It is understood, of course, that the implementation of this directive is not going to be an easy task. It requires very careful thinking and planning, and devising new teaching techniques, but similarly it is not an undertaking that necessarily requires a lot of funds. It is something, which can be implemented without involving large expenditures of money, if certain changes are made in our existing system and practice (TANU, 1974, p. 137).

Thus, the target date was brought forward by the Tanzania National Executive Committee of TANU on its commitment to achieve Universal Primary Education. The Tanzanian government advanced the target year for attaining Universal Primary Education from 1980, as originally agreed by the member states at the Addis Ababa conference in 1961 (UNESCO, 1961), and from 1989, as it was articulated in the Tanzanian second five-year development plan of 1969-1974 (URT, 1969b), to 1977 as specified in the Musoma resolution document (TANU, 1974). Although Tanzania planned to achieve UPE by 1977, the two years covering the period of 1974/75 and 1975/76 were not included in the second and third five-year plans following what URT (1979c) referred to as social, economic challenges, particularly drought.
Alongside finalizing the previously unattained targets in the consecutive first and second five-year plans, the education system in Tanzania had to undergo dramatic changes from 1976. One major emphasis in the third five-year development plan in 1976-1981 was to ensure that the Universal Primary Education was systematically and satisfactorily implemented (URT, 1979c, p. xii).

While the targeted time proved to be too ambitious, as the government acknowledged, it would still put in place what the third five-year plan referred to as appropriate ‘revolutionary measures’ and strategies, such as local community mobilisation so as “to have all school going age children be admitted to standard one to ensure that the intended goals were reached. The first objective in the third five-year plan was “to implement the 1974 Musoma Resolution requiring that each child of school going age should go to school by November 1977-Universal Primary Education (UPE). In order to reach this target, admission to standard one will be accelerated. In 1975/76 we achieved 59.3% of this target” (URT, 1979c, p. 106). In order to enable all school going age be admitted in year one, the commitment was made that “therefore more efforts will be made in building more classrooms and teacher houses in order to increase the nation’s capacity to achieve this target” (URT, 1979c, p. 106).

However, enrolment alone would not be enough. After the students had been enrolled in standard I, the second objective was to “insist on regular attendance so that children admitted in standard one can complete primary school (i.e. reach standard VII)” (URT, 1979c, p. 106). In addition, the sixth objective in the third five-year plan, and perhaps one of the most revolutionary measures, was “to make sure that classes are arranged in accordance with the number of children in different (Ujamaa) villages. The responsibility of building schools is with the villagers and the government will only supplement the villagers’ efforts” (URT, 1979c, p. 106). Again, the role of making sure all enrolled students attended school was devolved to the Ujamaa village governments such that they would take appropriate measures to overcome truancy and all other obstacles that would hinder students’ access to education. This policy

13 The third five-year Development Plan was the last medium term plan launched in 1964 and was due for completion in 1981. One of the goals of the long-term plan was to make Tanzanians self-sufficient and a skilled workforce by 1981.
reflected the Nyererean approaches to people’s participation. Equally important was the objective to increase the number of pupils who completed standard VII. The aim was that all children who were admitted in standard I should complete primary school. The third objective of the third five-year plan would help to clarify the key target of investing in primary education at that particular time “to develop primary school education on the basis of our policy of ‘Ujamaa and self-reliance” (URT, 1979c, p. 106). This also indicates how the expansion of education was to fulfil the overarching objectives of Ujamaa.

In order to put the objectives into practice, new timelines were established and were quite different from these set in 1969 to achieve UPE by 1989. As shown in table 8 below, the Tanzanian government planned that by 1978 about 100% of eligible children would be enrolled.

Table 8: Children of School Going Age (7-13) against Available Places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of children of school going age</th>
<th>School places</th>
<th>Percentage of children accommodated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1974/75</td>
<td>433,210 (actual)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975/76</td>
<td>665,621 (actual)</td>
<td>273,375</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/77</td>
<td>848,293 (estimate)</td>
<td>418,410</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/78</td>
<td>867,973 (estimated)</td>
<td>491,136</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/79</td>
<td>491,000 (estimated)</td>
<td>507,770</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/80</td>
<td>506,325 (estimated)</td>
<td>525,700</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/81</td>
<td>521,315 (estimated)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source modified from (URT, 1979c, p. 83).

Table 8 shows the trend of development in the implementation of Universal Primary Education by focusing on school-aged children (7-13 years) against the number of school places that would be available. As the table indicates, there was a dramatic increase in enrolment from 1974/1975 owing to the introduction of new policies, such as the abolition of school fees in 1973, and the enrolment of children above seven years, which cleared the backlog of those who had not previously been enrolled at the right age, but, incidentally, resulted in the plummeting of enrolment rates in 1978/80.

It was perhaps for the same reason that there was a huge difference between the estimated numbers of students to be enrolled as compared to the school places. Moreover, in 1978/1979 and 1979/1980 the percentage of the students who were
accommodated exceeded the available school places by 3% and 4% respectively, a situation which might have led to the congestion.

Tanzania put in place strategies to attain the goal of Universal Primary Education, as set out in the timelines and as a matter of urgency, and hence meet the overarching objectives of Ujamaa construction. In this it was assisted by figures obtained via the national census. Until 2015, the national census had been traditionally conducted every ten years. Before passing UPE in 1974, the previous national census had occurred in 1967; therefore, the next one was supposed to be conducted in 1977/1978. However, the UPE campaign could not wait for the national census to provide what Omari et al. (1983) refers to as more reliable figures of how many children of school age needed access to education and how many facilities were needed. Instead, the Ministry of National Education, as it was referred to then, took pragmatic measures and mobilised all schoolteachers to conduct a mini census or registration of children aged between 5-14 years in all districts and municipalities, under regional supervision.

However, this pragmatic approach to collecting data had its own problems. Whereas the Ministry of National Education had set school age at 7-12 years (URT, 1979c), the Ministry of National Economic Planning had set it at 7-13 years. It was unclear as to which ministry actually had the authority to define school age and Omari et al. (1983) argue that this confusion resulted from the fact that the Ministry of National Education did not precisely define the year of entry. This made it unclear whether children who turned 7 during the academic year were to be admitted or whether they had to be 7 years before the academic year began. Despite the shortfalls in the process of collecting data, the overall approaches aligned with the aims of quickly identifying and then meeting the needs of universal access to and participation in primary schooling, which was one of the key components of the Nyererean framework.

Nyerere (1968d) frequently discouraged the beliefs of individuals particularly in underdeveloped nations to depend on money as the basis of development. For Nyerere it was improper for underdeveloped nations to depend on something that their countries actually did not have. On the contrary, the foundation of development that he put forward was “the land (and agriculture), the people, good policies (of
socialism/\textit{Ujamaa} and self-reliance), and good leadership (Nyerere, 1968a, p. 29). Despite Nyererean assumptions, the plans to achieve Universal Primary Education in Tanzania involved significant expenditure by the state to expand its education budget so as to meet the goals of the \textit{Ujamaa} project. In 1974 for example, the government released 189.5 million Tanzanian shillings for the Universalization of Primary Education (Omari et al., 1983). This, according to Omari et al. (1983), was the single largest contribution to primary school education ever made in the country’s history. In 1976/77, 18.79% of the total national budget was devoted to education and a major proportion of this was directed to the Universal Primary Education plan. Other strategies involved an estimated Tanzanian 418.2 million Tanzanian shillings be spent in a period of five years to implement UPE and thus make it successful (URT, 1979c, p. 106).

In addition to the government budget, since 1974 each parent, as noted earlier, had been asked to contribute 20 Tanzanian shillings per annum for each child in school, which would make a total of 59.8 million Tanzanian shillings, but only 24.2% of parents actually contributed (Omari et al. 1983). The tension with this approach was that it went against the \textit{Ujamaa} principles that supported the abolition of school fees in 1967 (URT, 1969b). Similarly, although the contribution was a flat fee, it did not take account of parents’ different levels of income and capacity to pay the fee, and hence was characterised as a regressive measure. This is perhaps one of the main reasons as to why not 100% of revenue could be collected as previously planned (URT, 1979c). Nonetheless, parents of Tanzanian children particularly in the recently formed \textit{Ujamaa} villages made tremendous efforts to provide physical facilities for the required classes (URT, 1979c).

Additionally, all workers and business operations were mobilised to contribute 5% of their earnings to school education (Omari et al., 1983). The military and national services were also involved in the building of facilities. Non-governmental organisations, such as religious and community organisations, cooperatives and individuals provided their premises for school children to use during the initial stages. Printing facilities and transport operations were used to assist with the activities of enhancing Universal Primary Education. Other levels of education were also given responsibilities. The University of Dar es Salaam printing unit was completely taken
over by the Ministry of National Education to produce exercise books for primary school children (Omari et al., 1983).

Furthermore, international organisations, led by the Swedish International Development Authority, contributed 20 million Tanzanian shillings in the first year alone to enhance UPE, with the funds tied to the purchase of equipment and materials, and to the provision of training (Omari et al., 1983). In 1978, a compulsory attendance law was passed by the parliament of Tanzania that required each district to draw up plans for building new classrooms in accordance with the mini census data (URT, 1984). Unfinished classrooms were quickly completed for use and double sessions were introduced, with pupils studying half days under a shortened syllabus.

Given the continuous pressure to act in line with Ujamaa ideals, the government put in place several laws, by-laws and enactments in order to attain and maintain firm decisions on UPE. The Education Act number 25 of 1978 included articles on compulsory enrolment and attendance at school (URT, 1978). Section 35 of the Act, for example, noted “it shall be compulsory for every child who has attained the age of seven years but has not attained the age of thirteen years to be enrolled for primary education” (URT, 1978, p. 20). Similarly, the 1978 Education Act required of the parents that “every child compulsorily enrolled for primary education shall ensure that the child regularly attends the primary school at which he/she is enrolled until he/she completes primary education (URT, 1978, p. 20). This Act obliged students to attend at any national school and complete the period of instruction specified in respect of the level of national education for the attainment of which the child was enrolled (URT, 1978, p. 20). In addition to closely aligning with Nyererean perspectives, the content of Act number 25 was consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 Article 26, which required that “education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages”. That meant attaining the Ujamaa objectives was in line with the Declaration of Human Rights.

The quantitative achievements of the universalisation of primary education in Tanzania were quite impressive both in terms of aligning with the Nyererean perspectives and providing basic education as a social service to the majority.
The report of the chairperson of the ruling political party (CCM) and a president of the state demonstrates the overall qualitative achievements that occurred in 1961-1985:

So what have we put in place since independence at the end of 1961? We now have an educational policy designed by us to suit our needs, which we are endeavouring to implement despite the difficulties of making the fundamental changes they require. Curricula and syllabi have been redesigned in all subjects in the twenty-two years since independence so as to lead us toward our educational objectives. All primary school texts, some secondary school textbooks, as well as those for adult education, have been written or rewritten. Two universities have been established, with entry dependent upon academic merit. We now have three and a half times as many students in government secondary schools, and more than seven times as many children in primary school. All our children can get a seven-year education ensuring the elimination of illiteracy among the younger generation. Our adult population is now 85% literate, and millions of people are attending adult education classes, which we hope will increase the percentage of literate adults even more. Also, we have begun a widespread plan for technical education at all grade levels (Nyerere, 1985, p. 51).

According to the Basic Educational Statistics, by 1982 Tanzania had achieved 95% Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) but the Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) was 68.3% in the same year (URT, 1987, p. 5). There were 3,552,000 pupils enrolled in about 10,000 primary schools by the end of 1983, compared to 3100 primary schools in 1961 (Nyerere, 1985, p. 48). Similarly, the then Minister of Education reported in 1980 that progress was satisfactory: “I am glad to inform the parliament that nearly all children of age 7-12 now have been enrolled. Now we are dealing with 7 and 8 years only. This year (1980), the number of pupils registered for grade 1 is estimated 560, 330” (Siwale, 1980, p. 8). URT (1987) also noted that the overall enrolment (standards I-VII) rose from 753,114 in 1967 to 3,553,144 in 1983, and the teacher pupil ratio was 1:34 in 1984 (URT, 1987). By 1984, the number of enrolled school-aged children had reached 100% (URT, 1987, p. 5). This, according to Mbilinyi (2003), was a higher proportion than found in most other African countries, including those in the middle
and high-income groups. Nyerere (1985) states that these advances had been achieved by a poor and underdeveloped country which started independence “with only one hundred African university graduates, and which has simultaneously been working to bring basic health care to all of its people, building an infrastructure of communications and public utilities, expanding its agricultural production, and creating the foundations of its industrial sector” (p. 52).

Several reasons were associated with these impressive gains, such as obtaining additional material and political support via friendship with many donors, including the socialist block and the left leaning Scandinavian countries (Earth, 1995). Despite Tanzania’s socialist self-reliant ideology during the 1960s and 1970s, it remained a popular recipient of loans from the World Bank because of its political stability (URT, 1979c). In 1985, Nyerere highlighted how aid had been important to the success of Tanzania’s primary education expansion:

Summing up, and looking back over twenty-two years of independence, Tanzania can legitimately be very proud of its achievements in education. We have not done everything we would have liked or aimed to do. We have done more than most people outside Tanzania believed to be possible. We had help from friends. At the beginning, some of our education administrators, most of our secondary school teachers, and almost all of our university academic staff were expatriates, often paid for by various aid arrangements. Even now we have many non-Tanzanians teaching in the science and professional departments of our universities and a few volunteers from overseas teaching English, science, or math in our secondary schools. But the vast bulk of the work, and the financial burden of our education policy have fallen upon the people of Tanzania (Nyerere, 1985, p. 51).

While aid was an important factor in Tanzania’s successful expansion of education, in some ways, it with contrasted with the Nyererean ideas of self-reliance. Moreover, embedded in this ‘success’ story were challenges that Tanzania faced in the early 1980s and reversed the Nyererean ideals of education for all.
The quantitative success that has continued to be realized in this programme (UPE) has not reflected an equivalent degree of quality for a variety of reasons. There has been a shortage of an adequate number of teachers with the requisite competence, an inadequacy in the number of classrooms and staff houses, and a serious insufficiency of educational materials (URT, 1984, pp. 8-9).

Most of these problems reflected the context of the cold war and economic difficulties. Although 22.1% of the total government recurrent expenditure was devoted to education (with the regional and local authorities also making a very sizeable contribution) in 1983, it amounted to little more than 1.25 billion Tanzania shillings, which in 1985 equated to approximately 73.5 million U.S. dollars. An additional 23 million U.S. dollars (much of it was gifts from abroad) was allocated to educational development expenditures (Nyerere, 1985, p. 51). By 1985, the situation in education was worsened by the huge shortage in foreign exchange which presented difficulties in buying books, stationery and equipment (URT, 1984). The report of the then Tanzanian President in 1985 summarised the financial difficulties that faced the country in early 1980s and how it reversed the egalitarian educational ethos:

These financial constraints hamper every aspect of formal education despite Herculean efforts by our villagers and our teachers. It is made worse by the even greater shortage of foreign exchange with which to buy books, stationery, and equipment. Thus, for example, the teacher in an average primary school class will have fifty children who have to share about seventeen textbooks in each subject. Sometimes there is also a shortage of pencils and exercise books. Our secondary schools and universities also suffer very greatly from a lack of books; we have to import all our paper as well as almost all the tertiary-level books. The teaching of science and technical subjects is particularly badly hit by the foreign exchange shortage, for almost all of the needed equipment has to be brought in from outside the country (Nyerere, 1985, p. 51).
Moreover, Tanzania educational advance had been halted by global economic forces. As President Nyerere (1985) maintained:

Meaningful educational expansion is thus precluded by ever-increasing financial constraints. Indeed, despite all our efforts, there has been a decrease rather than the needed increase in real expenditures on education during the last four years. As a result, even existing school equipment and modern buildings are deteriorating through want of spare parts and maintenance (Nyerere, 1985, p. 52).

The reduced government expenditures had to be concentrated on essential and immediate day-to-day expenses such as teachers’ wages and minimal purchase of books. In addition to these challenges, which threatened the goals of the Ujamaa project in terms of distributing educational services nationwide, Galabawa (2001) notes that the government was financially overloaded. Given the inclination of Ujamaa ideology, not only was the provision of education free, but other social services such as health were free.

The main challenge, as President Nyerere (1985) put it, was “How to maintain Universal Primary Education as our population increases and at the same time improve the quality of teaching; how to provide adult and post-primary education at its present levels; and how to meet the minimum training needs of young people leaving school if they are to become productive and active members of our society” (p. 52). Reacting to these bigger questions, in November 1980 the President appointed a commission of 13 people from different sectors to undertake a review of the system of education and make recommendations for its consolidation or reform (URT, 1984). The first pertained to the question of improving the school attendance:

The Ministry of Education will draw up regulations, in line with the Education Act No. 25 of 1978, to indicate the minimum number of days and periods which a pupil must attend in order for him or her to qualify to enter for the final examinations and to get the certificate of successful completion of education level...The Ministry of Education, in cooperation with the Prime
Minister's Office, will prepare plans to ensure that pupils attend all classes (URT, 1984).

The second objective concerned the enrolment age. The presidential commission on education emphasised that “the primary school enrolment age will remain at seven years. But beginning in 1985, schools with an adequate number of classrooms and in which each one of the classes has no more than 30 pupils, may admit children with an age of six years” (URT, 1984, p. 9). The third recommendation related to class size: “No more than 35 children will be allowed in one class. This number shall not exceed 30 per class by the year 2,000” (URT, 1984, p. 9). Regarding the repeating of school years a policy was put in place, namely that “a pupil who shows that he has not mastered, reading, writing and arithmetic (the three Rs) in any of the first four years of primary school will be allowed to repeat not more than twice within this level of education” (URT, 1984, p. 27).

Although almost similar strategies were put in place to expand secondary education in early 1980s, the role of primary education continued to be emphasised, because, “as the quality of secondary education itself depends upon the quality of primary education, greater emphasis will be directed towards the consolidation of primary education” (URT, 1984). Another reason of emphasising primary than secondary education was that “secondary education is the education provided to a few Tanzanians in their preparation to fill high-level manpower positions in the country” (URT, 1984, p. 9). However, this reflects capitalist thinking, not the Nyererean ideals of providing to all. The primary reasons for expanding primary education in early 1980s were based on the belief that “primary education is a right to every Tanzanian. It is, therefore, important that the government should ensure its provision to every citizen” (URT, 1984, p. 8). Here we see slight shift of emphasis. Education is emphasised as being a right for everyone and the notion of education for Ujamaa construction started to be muted.

There was also a divergence regarding the role of education as compared to the ideology of the 1960s. The capitalist economic thinking about the role of education began to permeate Tanzanian policies in the early 1980s, as is reflected in this document:
The employment situation in the country has shown that the need for trained manpower keeps growing year after year. This growth has been caused, to some extent, by the establishment of new economic sectors whose manpower (sic) requirements had not been estimated for in the manpower (sic) plans drawn earlier. There is a need, therefore, to expand educational provision in order to satisfy the manpower requirements of different sectors as we approach the year 2000 (URT, 1984, p. 7).

In this way the objectives of expanding primary education were now multifaceted. In addition to being a human right, education was considered as an important aspect in fulfilling the workforce requirements in the 1980s.

5.4.1 Expansion of Primary Education Via Abolition of Grade IV Exam

Since 1967 the question of exams had been another important policy issued by the government of Tanzania to support the expansion of primary education via the removal of the standard IV examination, an exam given in year 4 that had to be passed by students before moving into year 5. The justifications for the abolition of the exam were many and can be grouped into four major sections: socialisation for the Ujamaa project, ideological commitment to UPE, equity issues and human capital/development. According to URT (1969b), the aim of abolishing the exam in this period was to expand education generally, and primary education in particular, as a mechanism to socialise citizens for the project of Ujamaa. Whatever the intention, the policy to abolish the exam can be seen as aligning with Nyerere (1968d) who sought to de-emphasise the role of competitive exams as they limited the chances of the poor majority to access a full course of primary education. It also inhibited the achievement of the Ujamaa project.

The policy to abolish the grade four examinations was issued in 1969. While this was consistent with the Nyererean socialist objective, another primary reason for abolishing exam was economic, which mostly aligned with the capitalist approach to education. According to URT (1969b), by 1969, the financial position of the state,
was still limited and, therefore, the government had to embark on other alternatives in education, particularly abolition of the examination:

The Government has therefore been forced to think of priorities even within the primary school sector. For the truth is that many of our children who do go to primary school have to leave after Standard IV. Over much of the country, therefore, we are still wasting money and effort by giving children four years' education, and then abandoning them at an age when they are very likely to forget even that little which they have learned. Government has therefore been forced to choose between an all-out attack on the numbers of children entering primary Standard I on the one hand, or removing this iniquitous and absurd Standard IV examination on the other. For-to plan is to choose. Our resources do not allow us to do both at the same time. The decision which Government has taken is that we should concentrate our efforts on getting rid of the necessity for selection at Standard IV. This means that, instead of greatly expanding the number of standard I classes, we have rapidly to increase the number of classes at standard V, VI and VII in order that every child who enters primary school should get a full seven years education (URT, 1969b, pp. xi-xii).

This policy was issued to support the completion of a full 7 year course of primary schooling to enable the recipient become ‘a useful member of the society’, rather than four years of education whereby children left school when they were still too young to become responsible citizens. Since the exams were considered to inhibit participation rates in years 5-7 (and beyond), the second five-year plan issued a policy stating that “no child who enters primary school year-1969-or afterwards will have to take that examination; they will go straight through to Standard VII” (URT, 1969b, p. xi). URT (1969b) further recommended the removal of that exam by referring to it as an “iniquitous and absurd Standard IV examination” (p. xi). Instead of having selective exams, the government would introduce “continuous primary education programme from standard I to VII by eliminating standard IV examination” (URT, 1979c, p. 81).

Clearly, this decision reflected Nyerere’s (1968b) wider thinking about the role of examinations in the education system. Nyerere (1974d) discouraged written
examinations in schools due to what he considered to be their inherent weaknesses of encouraging interpersonal competition for individual instead of collective excellence. He argued that examinations “must be a preparation for the life which the majority of the children will lead” (p. 61). Together with other reasons, the key aim of the Nyererean framework was to open up more educational opportunities to the rural masses and, therefore, include provision for considerable acceleration and provide seven years of primary education by 1974 as a path to achieving the Ujamaa project.

Another reason for abolishing the exam was that it historically resulted in many, who failed the test, dropping out of school after year 4. In 1961, for example, there were 94,000 children in government schools in the fourth grade, but only 18,000 (19%) qualified for the first selective examination for the fifth grade (UNESCO, 1962).

Similarly, Auger and Haule (1977) note that of the estimated 4,750 primary schools students (as at 1969), more than a half (approximately 58%) did not continue with schooling beyond grade four, because of the barrier of the exam and, therefore, they had to exit the educational system, as they had no option to repeat. The exams perpetuated inequities, namely students from poor, uneducated and rural backgrounds being disadvantaged in terms of access to and success in schooling. A reversion to total illiteracy for the dropouts became an accompanying reality and hence a barrier to inculcating the young with the ‘right dispositions’, as the Nyererean framework would put it. This meant that the practice of giving promotional examinations at the end of four years discriminated against many children and thus contrasted unfavourably with the Nyererean ideals about equality of opportunity.

Nevertheless, capitalist thinking continued to appear in the policy document. According to URT (1969b) primary education was an investment in the near future:

We have made this decision because we believe it is better that money should be spent on providing one child with a 7- year education which may help him or her to become a useful member of society, rather than divide that same amount of money and staff between two children neither of whom is likely to get any permanent benefit. For the justification of spending money on education in our economic situation is that this is an investment in our future
giving a large number of children only four years education means merely that we have foregone the present satisfaction of other needs without gaining anything in the future. It is rather as if we spent our money on putting up the walls of two factories knowing that we had insufficient money to put a machine in either, instead of building one factory properly so that it could begin to produce the goods we need (URT, 1969b, p. xii).

Again this was another area which could be seen as diverging from the Nyererean egalitarian principles. Whereas the Nyererean philosophies insisted on providing education to the Tanzanian populous as an important step towards achieving the Ujamaa project, the aim of abolishing the grade 4 examination, according to URT (1969b), was to invest in the education of the young children so as to stimulate the economy of the newly independent nation. This was unquestioningly capitalist thinking. Although the idea of abolishing standard IV examination could lead to more opportunities for students to continue with grades 5-7 and therefore increase the possibility of more school age children being able to complete a full cycle of primary education, it was opposed mostly by the wealthy urban sectors; they believed that its abolition could arguably lower the education standards set by the state at that time (Sifuna, 2007).

However, allegations related to quality were immediately dismissed by President Nyerere (1984) who contended that issues pertaining to falling standards of education because of abolishing exams were mostly advanced as a bourgeoisie manoeuvre to maintain quality education for a few at the expenses of the many, a strategy which was absolutely unacceptable in the Tanzania of those days. He claimed that “we cannot protect the excellence of education for the few by neglecting education for the majority. In Tanzania it is a sin to do so” (Nyerere, 1984, p. 203). Similarly, such sentiments were dismissed via the argument that “I must vehemently condemn this attitude. It is one means by which a few lucky and privileged people create an inferiority complex among the majority, in order to exploit and disregard them” (Nyerere, 1984, p. 156). Nyerere (1984) dismissed such assertions in the sense that most of those who criticised the elimination of grade four examinations, in favour of ‘quality education’, were the few lucky and privileged people whose children were guaranteed to get access to private or better public schools and pass the exams.
However, according to Nyerere, the main concern for the poor peasants whose children were out of the primary education system was access to education; the issue of quality (measured by exams) was secondary.

As is often the case for many policies that strive to expand access, participation and retention in different parts of the world, this policy had accompanying financial costs:

Each of these two developments (increase at Standard I and increase at Standard V) involves a heavy increase in costs, particularly in the recurrent budget, both in the coming Plan and in subsequent Plans. In order to achieve these targets maximum use is to be made of self-help efforts in the construction of School buildings. Also steps are to be taken to ensure that recurrent costs per student are kept at a minimum” (URT, 1969b, p. 149).

The financial costs would increase due to a number of reasons. More children would be retained in school for the duration of 7 instead of 4 years, as was the case hitherto. This demanded the extension of facilities such as the provision of classrooms for standards V, VI and VII in order that, by 1974, all public primary schools would be in a position to offer seven years of primary education (URT, 1969b). Owing to the accompanying increase in costs needed on the part of primary school, the government of Tanzania issued a policy stating that “it is clear, therefore, that the objectives of the plan can only be achieved if the communities served by the schools contribute all the labour (other than skilled labour) required in the erection of premises as a voluntary contribution in a spirit of self-reliance” (URT, 1969b, p. 63). This idea of a particular type of the decentralisation will be described in sub-section 5.5 below, not only laid firm foundations for achieving Universal Primary Education, but also closely aligned with the overall Nyererean framework of popular participation.

5.3.2 Conclusion
This section has focused on how the expansion of primary education related to the overall Nyererean framework and its emphasis on the Ujamaa project. The section identified four main themes from the policy analysis: enrolment expansion, abolition and the re-introduction of the school fees as the strategy to expand primary education,
and termination of the year 4 examination to allow students to complete a full 7 years of primary education. One of the key arguments of Nyerere (1985) was that in a country that is guided by the philosophy of African socialism, education is the right of all citizens and not something which is given as a privilege to a certain class of people. Education was therefore considered to be an important path to achieving the socialist objectives. However, the overall content and practices of the educational policies in 1961-1966, as shown in chapter four, contrasted unfavourably with this fundamental Nyererean ideal, as the government concentrated in expanding secondary, technical and university education at the expense of primary education. After the Arusha Declaration, however, the educational policy thinking changed and primary education received new impetus/attention; it was presented as an important pathway towards multiple goals, notably as a bridge to achieving Ujamaa, to generate needed skills and support political communities. However, 20 Tanzanian shillings per student per year continued to be charged. This continuation of charging a fee, no matter how small, did not accord with the fundamental Nyererean principle of free basic education for all school age children. Similarly, the 20 Tanzanian shillings were imposed on all parents without consideration of income.

Despite divergences, the period of 1967-1985 could be seen as being mostly consistent with the Nyererean egalitarian principles. This is reflected in the fact that more attention was given to primary education via the introduction of policies, such as the Musoma resolution of 1974 which was aimed at universalising primary education. However, the aims of education expansion in this period were multifaceted. On the one hand, education expansion was aimed at achieving the Ujamaa goals. On the other hand, however, education expansion was seen as an investment in the human capital. Accordingly the policy analysis reflected both the Nyererean egalitarian thinking as well as the inherited capitalist approaches, such as investing in education expecting to advance the economy of the country. To put it another way, the policy analysis reflected continuity and divergences in relation to the Nyererean philosophies.
5.5 Nyererean Decentralisation and the Administrative Aspect

To seize the power from the hands of capitalists… it is necessary that we should reorganize the administration of Government so as to make it more appropriate to our goal of socialist development. We have to work out a system, which gives more local freedom for both decision and action on matters, which are primarily of local impact, within a framework, which ensures that the national policies of socialism and self-reliance are followed… The system must enable the Central Government to give… assistance to local people… while it reduces the amount of red tape and bureaucracy, which is at present in danger of strangling our people's enthusiasm (Nyerere, 1972, p. 2).

The main policies that aligned with the Nyererean decentralisation framework in this period could best be placed under three major categories according to their rationales: administrative, political and financial devolution of responsibilities from central to local governments. Despite this categorisation, the distinctive policy feature in this period was a strong amalgamation of self-reliance, education decentralisation and Ujamaa (African socialism). This was consistent with Nyerere (1972) who argued, “these proposals (of decentralisation) in fact follow logically from the Arusha Declaration and Mwongozo (TANU guideline), and from the basic principles of Ujamaa. For they imply putting trust in the people. And if we cannot do that, we have no claim to be socialists” (p. 12). Decentralisation in this period was thus considered not only to be part of self-reliance but also to be a sin qua non of the attainment of the overarching Ujamaa project.

At the heart of the overall Tanzanian policies in the period from 1967-1985 were great concerns about government ownership or control of key businesses and industries, limiting opportunities to accumulate individual wealth at the expense of the majority and increasing social services to the poor. These concerns extended to creating conditions and opportunities for the Tanzanian people to participate democratically as part of and within the Ujamaa project, in part through a particular approach to decentralisation which I identify as Nyererean (education) decentralisation. This policy, in general, set out to, or was presented as involving
devolution of power from the central government to the lower levels, such as regions, districts, divisions, wards, villages and schools. The terms related to participation (involvement, delegation, devolution, deconcentration and decentralisation) were not uncommon as they received multiple interpretations and often were associated with other approaches in countries, such as China, Cuba and Yugoslavia, that had more or less similar backgrounds (Maro & Mlay, 1979). The particular Nyererean decentralisation, however, involved distinctive ideas designed to achieve particular purposes of Ujamaa and self-reliance.

The key reason as to why decentralisation policy received more attention in this period was consistent with the argument that “in order to make a reality of our policies of socialism and self-reliance, the planning and control of development in this country must be exercised at local level to a much greater extent” (Nyerere, 1972, p. 1). Prior to the Arusha Declaration, the inherited education administrative system in Tanzania was considered to be highly centralised and thus ineffective for several reasons, including the argument that “almost everything that was to be done at the regional or district level had to be declared with the headquarters in Dar es Salaam” (Maliyamkono, 1980, p. 343). Decisions and expenditures had to receive approval from ministries located far away from the scene of action and this, according to URT (1969c), resulted in time wastage. However, such a concentration of power at the hands of a few administrators “ran contrary to the egalitarian objective of involving the people in decision making” (URT, 1979a, p. 23). Secondly, coordination at the local level was considered to be poor because extension staff were answerable to different ministries in the capital city. Thirdly, local authorities lacked the necessary finance and workforce to initiate and implement development programmes. Fourth and perhaps most important and relevant in this section, was that the decentralisation set-up was considered to be unable to achieve the socialist and self-reliant development envisaged by the Arusha Declaration, which emphasised the utilisation of local resources, provision of avenues for popular participation and reduction of spatial inequalities (Maro, 1990).

The year 1967, therefore, spearheaded the promulgation of the philosophy of Education for Self Reliance, which among other things called for a radical change in which schools were to be run so as to involve lower levels in the management of
educational matters (URT, 1969c). After the Arusha Declaration, the second five-year plan aimed at allowing greater participation at community level in decision making (URT, 1969b). Similarly, one of the objectives of the 1972 decentralisation policy was to ensure that national objectives and priorities were adhered to, and that the policy of a gradual equalisation of wellbeing between different regions could be implemented (Nyerere, 1972). The decentralisation reform after the Arusha Declaration was consistent with the socialist project and was intended to give power to the people at the subnational level to plan and implement projects that would mobilise local resources (URT, 1979b).

Maro (1990) categorised the objectives of the Tanzanian decentralisation reform in the 1970s into three major categories: political, administrative and economic objectives. The political objectives included: 1) wider and more constructive popular participation in plan formulation and implementation; 2) an enhanced role of the party; 3) a more equitable redistribution of development in the country; 4) direct popular control over decision-making officials; and 5) living together in units larger than a family as a key social political goal. The administrative objectives included: 1) increased efficiency and effectiveness; 2) more effective integration of government programmes; and 3) increased accountability of the bureaucracy. The economic objectives included: 1) increased government capacity to mobilise people and successfully implement productive projects; 2) greater capacity to assist *Ujamaa* villages and other local institutions in their production efforts; and 3) facilitation of rural development in the broad economic and social political context, and especially the provision of appropriate, local level, universal access to educational services and the mobilisation of local resources to do so (p. 674).

The suggested reformation of education institutions via the second five-year plan (1969-1974) also suggests continuity, and was accompanied by a number of activities and policies with direct linkage to the *Ujamaa* project:

Another matter of great importance for the success of this Plan is that there-should be an improvement in planning and administration at Regional and local levels. The development of Tanzania cannot be effected from Dar es Salaam (the capital); local initiative, local co-ordination of plans, and local
democratic control over decisions are also necessary. Some reallocation of financial and administrative responsibilities between the centre and the districts is included in this Second Five-Year Plan, and consideration is being given to the possibilities of further decentralization. But whatever the form of organization, it is essential that every Party and Government official, at both local and national level, should regard it as his duty to encourage socialist developments, which spring out of the people's initiatives (URT, 1969b, p. xii).

As the text indicates, the second five-five year plan (1969-1974) and the third five-year plan (1976-1981) were largely influenced by the Arusha Declaration with its emphasis on socialism and self-reliance. This was consistent with URT (1978), which emphasised that to achieve the objective of the Arusha Declaration there ought to be organisational and institutional structures with power to generate and implement plans at the subnational level. Accordingly, the second five-year plan sought to establish the regional plans, the designation of nine up country towns as growth centres in an attempt to spread development throughout the country and away from Dar es Salaam (the capital), and the decision to move the seat of the government and ruling party to the centrally located town of Dodoma (URT, 1969b).

Whereas the responsibility for regional and local government, the mobilisation of rural self-help efforts and the development of Ujamaa activities were consolidated in the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development, almost all educational activities, including adult education, were placed under the Ministry of National Education (URT, 1969b). The government did this by focusing its attention on planning and administration at regional and local levels by advancing the argument that the development of primary education in Tanzania could not be affected from Dar es Salaam (the capital city), where the central government was situated. Rather, local initiative, local co-ordination of plans and local democratic control over decisions pertaining to primary education were necessary (URT, 1969b, p. xxii).

While decentralisation was meant to cut across different sectors, the education and health sectors were largely affected by the decentralisation exercises, as all primary schools, district and regional hospitals, dispensaries and rural health centres were
transferred from the central government to the regions (URT, 1979c). Although the serious decentralisation reforms took place in 1972, the transfer of the responsibility from the central government to the lower levels began immediately after 1967. Consistent with 1967 Nyererean ideas of education for self-reliance, the government of Tanzania enacted the Educational Act 1969 “to repeal and replace the inherited Education Ordinance and to provide for the development of a system of education in conformity with the political, social and cultural ideals of the United Republic” (URT, 1969b, p. 3). In doing so, the Education Act 1969 could be seen as facilitating the implementation of the principles of the Arusha Declaration, which supported nationalisation policies. In particular, the Director of Education took over the management and administration of every assisted school from any former manager or managers of such schools (URT, 1969a). Nationalisation is reflected in the Education Act 1969:

The former manager or managers of every assisted school shall, upon the commencement of the Act, hand over the management and administration of the school to the Director, and shall do or join in doing all acts or things that it is necessary or convenient to do for or in relation to the assumption by the Director of the administration and management of the school (URT, 1969a, p. 8).

While this policy aligned with Nyererean ideas of nationalisation, handing over schools to director suggests the continuation of the inherited colonial centralisation tendencies. At the same time, other aspects of decentralisation policies were emphasised. Following the amendment of the Education Act 1969, the 1978 Education Act number 25 stated that “ every Local Authority shall be the Local Education Authority for regional schools within the area of its jurisdiction” (URT, 1978, p. 10). This indicates the co-existence of centralisation and decentralisation.

According to URT (1969a, p. 6), the functions of the Local Education Authority for primary schools included the following precepts:

To submit to the minister for his/her approval plans for the promotion and development of education and to carry out such plans as would be approved
by the Minister; (b) to prepare and submit to the proper officer for his/her approval estimates of revenue and expenditure; (c) to administer in accordance with approved estimates, subventions or grants-in-aid from the government or from the local authority; (d) to collect and receive school fees; (e) to make recommendations to the minister with respect to the ownership, management and registration of new schools; (f) to manage any school owned by the local authority; (g) to exercise such other functions as would be conferred upon it by this Act or any other written law (p.6).

Similar managerial or supervisory powers to be exercised by the school committee were stated in Education Act 1978 number 25, but with the addition of one function, which sought (g) to provide guidance to schools under its jurisdiction regarding the undertaking and execution by them of commercial or other projects as part of their self-reliance schemes” (URT, 1978, p. 11). While the devolution of the functions was largely consistent with the Nyererean decentralisation framework, using the Local Education Authority to collect fees was a practice that reversed the Nyererean egalitarian tendencies.

Another function of the Local Education Authority was to establish the school committee and to advise the authority on the performance of its functions. With a system of complete decentralisation, the schools would be staffed locally, giving them a chance to cooperate with their communities more than in pre-Arusha Declaration times (URT, 1969b). According to the decentralisation policy of 1972, all decision making and planning procedures were to begin at the ward or Ujamaa village level in what was known as the Ward Development Committee to which all the head teachers of primary schools belonged.

An Education Committee, as set forth in 1969 and amended in 1978, would consist of: (a) not more than ten members appointed by the Local Education Authority, of whom no fewer than half would be members of that authority; (b) not more than five members appointed by the minister after consultation with the Local Education Authority to represent such bodies or societies as would be concerned with the management of the schools for which the Local Education Authority was such an authority. An appointed member would hold an office for a period of three years from
the date of his/her appointment and would be eligible for re-appointment. The member would resign from the committee by a notice given in writing and addressed to the chairperson, and as from the date specified in the notice or, if no date was specified, from the date of the receipt of the notice by the chairperson; such member would then cease to be a member of the committee (URT, 1969a, p. 19).

Although the functions remained almost the same as those in the Education Act 1969, the Education Act 1978 changed the name of the Education Committee to the School Committee and stated that “each district council, or where no District Council is established, any other authority, shall establish a school committee in respect of every regional school for whose management and maintenance is responsible” (URT, 1978, p. 22). This Act required, among other things, that the District Development Council ensure that the community served by the school is highly represented. The establishment of the school committees was one way of delegating the functions and powers of the commissioner of education, as the Education Act 1978 required that “the commissioner may, with the consent of the Minister, by notice in the gazette, delegate any of his (sic) functions and powers under this act to any person or body of persons as he (sic) may think fit necessary” (URT, 1978, p. 31).

However, the delegation of those functions and powers by the minister would not preclude the minister from exercising those powers. This suggests a deconcentration type of decentralisation, which contradicts Nyererean thinking. For instance, the Minister of Education was given the mandate to determine: the number of members contained in the school committee; the tenure of office of the school committee; the co-option on the school committee of persons who would not be members; the procedure at meetings; and other matters relating to school committees (URT, 1978). The powers that the Education Act of 1978 number 25 devolved to the school committee included:

To consider and accept or reject applications for admission of pupils to the school; to conform or disallow the dismissal of pupils form the school and; to advice the head teacher or other head of the school and the local authority on matters relating to the management of the school (URT, 1978, p. 22).
However, this section of the Act contrasted with Nyererean egalitarian principles. On the one hand, the policy of *Ujamaa* supported education for all. On the other hand, the Education Act 1978 bestowed power to the school committee “to consider, accept or reject application for admission of pupil to school”. By granting such an excessive power to the school committee to reject admissions, it could be seen as reversing the Nyererean egalitarian ideals of equal education opportunity for all, if used improperly.

Furthermore, in the performance of its functions, a school committee was required to have regard for the following: a) the need to integrate the school into the life of the community which it served; (b) the promotion of the policy of self-reliance; (c) the welfare of the pupils and the teachers; and (d) the promotion and development of the school as a centre for the provision of national education to the community which it served (URT, 1978, p. 25). Self-reliance became one of the major functions of each school’s committee, and thus reflected Nyererean principles. Moreover, there was a close link between the school committee and the ruling political party, which suggests the prevalence of aspects of African socialism. In addition to, According to Maliyamkono (1980) the school committee included delegates from the National Parents Association. At the same time the Local Party (TANU) Chairperson chaired the school committee, from which issues would be passed to the District Development Committee and from there to the Regional Development Committee and the Regional Development Director. Such practices seem to imply that there were strong aspects of centralisation within the decentralisation system that intended to enhance socialism. While Tanzania’s decentralisation policy allowed for increased popular participation in the local planning and implementation of development policies (URT, 1979a), it enhanced socialist leadership through TANU (Buchert, 1991). The role of the party was not limited to the school committee. The power of the National Executive Committee to discuss and approve all major policies extended to the district and regional executive committees of TANU. The TANU committees were required to supervise the actions of government officials in their areas to ensure that government policies were implemented to accrue maximum benefits to the people as a whole. The Party’s committees were, therefore, in a central position to reinterpret or transmute government educational policy in the implementation process and to control its actual outcomes.
Despite the party’s close involvement with school affairs, Maliyamkono (1980) notes that the school committees were required to execute a number of important functions. First, they facilitated the full integration of the school with the community, in as much as the parents democratically elected them. Second, school committees assisted the teachers in addressing such issues as uniforms, attendance, land for farming and disciplinary matters. Third, they supervised the proper use of school farm produce. Fourth, they demonstrated to parents, through open day functions, the superior farming methods used on the school farms. The minutes of school committee meetings were sent to the District Education Officer for appropriate action.

However, Maro (1990) wrote that the education decentralisation policies of the 1970s created a new chain of command in the organisational structure, which resulted in a reversal of the Nyererean decentralisation approaches. For instance, the regional education officer was responsible to the Regional Development Director, while at the same time receiving instructions from the Ministry of National Education headquarters. In some cases, the directives from those two sources were contradictory. In some regions and districts, Maliyamkono (1980) states, decentralisation resulted in the creation of local bureaucratic machinery for control rather than allowing for popular participation in decision-making.

With decentralisation becoming effective in 1972/73, the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development was abolished and the second vice President and Prime Ministers Office took over the functions of the ministry (URT, 1979c). URT (1978) indicates some centralisation tendencies in which power continued to be placed at the Ministerial levels: “For the purposes of discharging his responsibility under this Act, the Minister may give to head teachers, headmasters, managers and other heads of schools directions of a general or specific character regarding the use of public funds by their schools” (URT, 1978, p. 25). Such a policy unquestioningly reversed the Nyererean decentralisation approach, which sought to give the people power over their own lives and development (Nyerere, 1972).

In addition, Therkildsen (2000) reveals that the traditional local government, which was replaced by the 1972 decentralisation policy, was then replaced by the deconcentration system of sub-national admiration in which regional development
directors headed presidentially appointed regional commissioners. According to Semboja and Therkildsen (1994), numerous ministerial civil servants were transferred to the regions to staff this new system. While local taxation and local democratic representation were abolished, district councils consisting mainly of appointed members were retained. The national building concerns also played a role in the decision to abolish local governments, because poorer regions and districts were lagging behind and redistribution, in the absence of strong central government, was thought to be unlikely (Therkildsen, 2000). Centralised decision making was, in this case, used as part of the socialist approach and as a strategy for nationalising the use of scarce resources, especially skilled personnel (Samoff, 1990a).

Although Maro and Mlay (1979) and Therkildsen (2000) criticise the 1970s decentralisation strategy on the grounds that it involved posting experts from the central government to regions and districts in various technical fields, URT (1979c) defends it on the grounds that the experts participated in the preparation of projects in line with the requirements of the particular regions/districts. Despite facing criticism, the decentralisation strategy necessitated the provision of various experts in various fields, with the aim of ensuring that there was proper planning and implementation of projects. While it is evident that experts came from central government to work in local authorities (Ambrose Kessy and McCourt (2010), they participated in the preparation of projects in harmony with the requirements of the regions/districts and in line with socialist objectives. Given the alignment between philosophical ideals and subsequent policies, it can be established that merging the educational activities with decentralisation was a strategy that achieved the overarching Ujamaa objectives.

The Ministry of National Education also amounted to a complete restructuring of the administrative system of education involving the functional operations at national, regional, district, division and Ujamaa village levels. According to Semboja and Therkildsen (1994), a slightly greater degree of specialisation of activities and a clear division of responsibilities was introduced at the national level. The primary, secondary and teacher education divisions were reorganised to affect closer co-ordination while still retaining and emphasising the different types of programmes. The secondary education directorate was reorganised into three programmes: technical, commercial and agricultural. In addition, Maliyamkono (1980, p. 344)
states that although primary education was decentralised, secondary and teacher education remained nationally controlled.

In 1984, the government reintroduced district and town authorities in an effort to consolidate its policy of decentralization. This decision had particular relevance to the provision of primary education. The government required that:

(a) Implementation of Primary education programs and activities will remain the responsibility of the Regions and District and Urban Councils; (b) The status of Regional Education Officers will continue to be at par with other functional managers in the regions but they will be given additional authority in their work (URT, 1984, p. 41).

Similarly, the presidential commission on education 1984 stated that “(a) Heads of schools and colleges will be given additional authority to make most administrative decisions and to provide essential services to teachers, pupils and other employees of the schools and colleges… (c) Heads of schools and colleges… will be authorized to deal with disciplinary matters concerning their pupils and students. In assuming this responsibility, school staff will be expected to be cautious not to misuse this additional responsibility and authority” (URT, 1984, p. 42).

In addition, in 1984 a local government system with elected councils was reintroduced together with local taxation. However, councils that remained highly dependent on meagre public grants, along with regional administrations, were left intact (Therkildsen, 2000). This, according to Therkildsen (2000), resulted in conflicting and confusing relations of power between central, regional and council levels of government. Primary education, for example, was ostensibly a local government responsibility, although all teachers continued to be paid by the central government and appointed by a central Teachers Service Commission. Moreover, educational grants were earmarked, so that councils, for that reason alone, had little influence on primary education development.

As reflected in the policy documents, decentralisation in this period had multiple aims. In addition to using popular participation as a mechanism for mobilising self-
help schemes, centralisation and decentralisation, each with its own aims, co-existed to achieve the broader objectives of *Ujamaa*.

### 5.5.1 Nyererean decentralisation: financial aspects 1967-1985

In addition to devolving authority and responsibility to lower levels for decision-making on matters that concerned people’s lives, the policy making in this period had much in common with those economic aspects of the Nyererean decentralisation philosophies that matched well with the tenet of self-reliance. TANU (1974) emphasised community contribution in the construction of school buildings. It was in fact very difficult to differentiate aspects of decentralisation, self-reliance and *Ujamaa*. Some texts from the policy documents can help to substantiate this argument: “We must not be hidebound by plan documents, but must recognize that if people are willing to make an extra effort and do not need to call upon national resources for success, then they must be encouraged” (URT, 1969 p. ii). This was a type of continuity and emphasis of decentralisation and self-help schemes, and both aligned with the Nyererean framework.

Such sentiments seem to have been issued to encourage the local communities to contribute to the development of schooling. Calling upon communities to build schools around their areas was consistent with the ideas of Zajda (2006) who argues that “in Tanzania education decentralisation was closely linked with Nyerere’s educational ideology of self-reliance” (p. 11). Locally formed development associations became a major force in education, but rural communities were generally more cohesive than urban ones (Bray, 1996). The self-help approach through decentralisation was common not only in primary school, but also in secondary schools. As Bray (1996) maintains, in the early 1980s the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union supported more than sixty self-help secondary schools, and the Bukoba Cooperative Union ran another five secondary schools. Funds were generated through a levy on each kilogram of coffee sold through the cooperative. Arrangements for voluntary levies on the licenses issued to merchants who were members of the communal associations resembled this model. However, Samoff (1990a) notes that the Chagga people (in the Kilimanjaro region), had a disproportionate number of educated people in the population because of their strong
tradition of self-help. In 1982 for example, the Chagga formed 3.7% of the national population, but provided 20.5% of form 5 students. While it was considered to be an ideal approach, community contribution might have led to an uneven distribution of education resources, because different communities had different financial capabilities and hence contrasted with the Nyererean egalitarian ideals.

Statements that encouraged community contribution were reflected in the policy paper, which noted that, “when we proclaimed the Arusha Declaration we made it clear that Tanzania’s development will be brought about by Tanzanians themselves. That is why we resolved to be a self-reliant society” (URT, 1979 vi p. ii). Similar sentiments were reflected in the introduction section of the third five-year plan, which notes:

In the 1971 Party guidelines, we stressed that "Tanzania will be built by the Tanzanians themselves, each Tanzanian and especially each Patriot and each Socialist". Therefore this plan will not succeed because it has been prepared well. It will succeed only if each citizen will respond whole heartedly to the Party's call upon every able bodied individual to work (URT, 1979c, p. iv).

Based on these philosophical underpinnings, the government issued a statement stating that “leaders will be expected to ensure that the implementation of most programmes is undertaken through self-help” by drawing as much as possible on the domestic human and-nonhuman resources (URT, 1979c, p. 7). It is therefore discernible that policies were made consistent with Nyererean philosophical ideas of achieving the broader Ujamaa project via the amalgamation of decentralisation and self-help.

5.5.2 Nyererean decentralisation via Ujamaa villages

Despite the debates among scholars over the issue of whether or not the Ujamaa village was meant to be on the decentralisation agenda, it manifested many of the Nyererean socialist features (Rondinelli et al., 1983). The Ujamaa villages approach was a unique type of decentralisation that devolved some authority from the central government to the lower levels to manage their affairs, including in this case primary
education. Being an essential aspect of decentralisation, the Ujamaa village was ideally a voluntary association of people who lived and worked together for their common good (URT, 1979c). The basis of the strategy was the creation of the communal village production units consisting of the communities of people who lived and worked together. The Ujamaa village provided popular participation in planning and implementing development projects at the lowest level, and enhanced the interaction of the three tiers in the planning hierarchy. In this way, local resources stood a good chance of being identified and utilised by the majority, as the Nyererean framework suggests (Maro, 1990, p. 690).

The second five-year plan stated that “rural development depends on the mobilization of the mass of the population in thousands of projects and requires spontaneous enthusiasm from below and decentralized leadership at the local level” (URT, 1969b, p. 11). The 1972 decentralization process was thus subsequently followed by the Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act, which established village level administrations for the management of development (URT, 1979c). Ujamaa villages were established in all parts of the country. In an effort to establish relatively small, decentralised units of smaller size (nodes) throughout the country, decentralisation in Tanzania in this period involved a three-tier structure which included Ujamaa villages (sub-ward) at the lowest level, the ward, the district headquarters, the regional headquarters at the intermediate level and the Ministries at the capital city level (Dar es Salaam and Dodoma) (Maro & Mlay, 1979).

Since decentralisation gave the village its own government and made it a node through which the central government provided essential social services to the rural population, the village was firmly established as a service centre and a unit for planning. The importance of the Ujamaa village as the service centre was proportionate to the number of villages established. As Maro (1990) puts it, “the more villages, the more widespread the distribution of services, and the greater the potential for interaction through planning” (p. 677). It was required that the Ujamaa village be represented in the school committee:

Where a regional school is situated in a village or an Ujamaa village registered under the Villages and Ujamaa Villages (Registration Designation
and Administration) Act, 1975, the members of the School Committee representing the community served by that school shall be in the majority and shall be appointed by the Village Council (URT, 1978, p. 22).

This helps to indicate how activities of the schools were merged in an Ujamaa village. According to the government Act of 1975, a Ujamaa village had to have at least 250 and no more than 600 families in order for it to be registered (URT, 1979c). The establishment of the Ujamaa villages drew on the philosophy that people could not be developed from above or outside, but rather could, under the right conditions, advance themselves (Nyerere, 1968b). These features would distinguish the Ujamaa villages:

In a socialist Tanzania then, our agricultural organization would be predominantly that of co-operative living and working for the good of all… most of our farming would be done by groups of people who live as a community and work as a community. They would live together in a village; they would farm together; market together; and undertake the provision of local services and small local requirements as a community…The land this community farmed would be called 'our land' by all the members; the crops they produced on that land would be 'our crops'; it would be 'our shop' which provided individual members with the day-to-day necessities from outside; 'our workshop' which made the bricks from which houses and other buildings were constructed, and so on (Nyerere, 1968c, pp. 124-125).

The systematic creation of Ujamaa villages nationwide in 1970s involved the movement of the population from scattered homesteads. This was vigorously pursued with the objective of bringing people together into nucleated settlements where, through cooperative endeavours, they would be able to utilise available resources more effectively and produce more, and were also where social services could be provided to the largest number of people at the least cost. This changed policy was fully reflected in the second five-year plan, which had a socialist rural development objective at its core. A large amount of mobilisation occurred in the Tanzanian countryside to get people to live together in villages and thus be in a position to undertake the productive activities collectively. In comparison to the traditional villages, as URT (1979c) noted, the new villages that were established in 1967 had
certain distinguishing key characteristics. Instead of depending on government assistance, the new villages under local administrations would rely heavily on the villagers' efforts, strength and morale (URT 1979c).

As part of the decentralisation process, the aim of the *Ujamaa* villages was presented in these words: “Our resources do not suddenly increase because of this policy. We can give priority to *Ujamaa* villages but we cannot help them if the resources are not available. The basis of *Ujamaa* village organization is, and must be, self-reliance” (URT, 1969b, p. xvii). The specific contribution which the government and organisations could make towards the development of the *Ujamaa* villages, included “education to explain as widely as possible, the underlying principles of *Ujamaa* villages” (URT, 1969b, p. 28). TANU (the then single political party) “will be the main source of ideological training from *Ujamaa* villages” (URT, 1969b, p. 28). The inputs required to make a success of an *Ujamaa* village included “good local leadership” (URT, 1969b, p. 26).

The importance of *Ujamaa* villages in terms of education was that they served as learning centres for both the young and adults through formal and many types of non-formal, semi-formal and informal education (URT, 1979c). It was hoped that the school would become a community educational centre, at which the provision of primary education would only be one function. A school so conceived would increasingly become a focal point for the total educational needs of the community, rather than serving as a somewhat detached institution for the education of children (URT, 1969b, p. 157). According to URT (1979c), there would be one Village Training Centre for every district. A total of 30 new such centres would be built and 9 others would be expanded. This, according to URT (1979c), would increase the number of such centres to 66 by 1981. These centres would provide three months training and short seminars on efficiency in production to villagers, village bookkeepers, division and district leaders. Another way of training villagers was for them to enrol in Adult Education classes after which they could join the Folk Development Colleges for further training.

More importantly, the decision to give priority to rural development did not only focus on political areas, but also had implications for the management of primary
education. The implementation of decentralisation policies in Tanzania in 1970s was connected to the plans of the village and schools. Incorporation of the masses of the population in education efforts at primary and adult levels furthered the expansion of education by removing the barriers to access to education (Buchert, 1994). URT (1969b) declared that the success of the expansion of primary education depended on the extent to which the *Ujamaa* villages participated in educational development projects. At the village level, primary education was the most important facility. According to Maro (1990), primary schools were the most widely distributed social services, as the consequences of the egalitarian policies of the Arusha Declaration and therefore large disparities in access to primary education were not expected. Most villages had their own primary schools, but in some cases two or more villages shared one big school between them (URT, 1979c).

While the villages were established as one of the key components of the *Ujamaa* project that aimed to manage the nation in governable units, and at the same time empower the local communities, they resulted in overcoming the problem of some of the children who failed to be enrolled in primary schools due to of living in remote or rather scattered areas. According to URT (1979c), *Ujamaa* villages were effectively involved in the preparation and implementation of primary education programmes. One important objective of decentralisation according to URT (1979c) was to facilitate the expansion of primary education to all the children in villages, and particularly to help achieving the wider socialist objectives. Decentralisation reform, however, never incorporated the villages or other local levels of administration in decision making concerning the curricula and thus made a point of departure with the Nyererean principles (Buchert, 1994).

According to TANU (1974), the *Ujamaa* villages would be able to accelerate the attainment of the declared objective of Universal Primary Education as quickly as possible, because many of the school age children would prefer to live together in planned rather than scattered villages. It was hoped that the disparity between boys and girls in primary schools would be reduced via the shifting of schooling from isolated homesteads to *Ujamaa* villages (URT (1979c). Accordingly, access to primary schools in Tanzania would improve by a combination of villagisation, decentralisation and the implementation of the policy of Universal Primary Education
(URT, 1984). According to TANU (1974), UPE was to be achieved by 1977. Ideally, each village would have a primary school. The provision of primary schools, as Maro (1990) argues, “appears to have greatly reduced regional inequalities in the allocation of resources, and seems to be one of the positive consequences of villagization and decentralisation” (p. 687). The data on primary education shows that increased government expenditure on primary education resulted in an increased provision of those services throughout the rural areas; and that there was a reduction of user distance to primary education, tending towards uniform access to primary education in almost all the Ujamaa villages, and therefore a reduction in inter-village disparity.

Auger and Haule (1977) confirm the realisation of these aspirations, namely that the Ujamaa villages in practice helped to accelerate the enrolment of children in primary schools in Tanzania in the 1970s. In 1975/1976 for example, the standard enrolment was 665,067 as compared with 473,067 in 1974/75, an increase of 192,554 or 40% in one year (URT, 1984). Most of the entrants came from Ujamaa villages.

There was a consistent relationship between the increase in Ujamaa villages and the distribution of social services such as education and health centres. Whereas there were 1,859 Ujamaa villages in 1970, by June 1976 more than 8000 had been established, of which 4869 had been registered (Maro & Mlay, 1979). 13,140,229 members of Ujamaa villages, which represented 85% of the entire population of 15 million, were registered and had settled in the villages by the end of 1976 (URT, 1979c). The expectation, expressed in URT (1979c), was that by 1977 over 95% of the rural population would live and work in an Ujamaa village. The most immediate impact of decentralisation, according (Mosha & Dachi, 2004), was the development of Ujamaa villages, not only in the large number of villages that were created all over the country, but also in the spread of basic services to a large number of people in most rural areas, including education, piped water and health services. While there were 8 regions and 20 districts in 1961, in 1969 these numbers had risen to 16 regions and 62 districts (URT, 1979c). By 1976, the number of administrative units had led to a corresponding increase in the number of towns and service centres. In a period of 6 years, the provision of primary education seemed to have changed dramatically. According to Maro and Mlay (1979), by 1976 all large villages (with an adult population of over 500) had a primary school within the village area, except for Mafia, and all other districts showed a minimum of 25% increase in primary schools.
per 1000 of the population between 1970 and 1976. This increase in primary schools was at its greatest in the districts where villagisation was widespread, such as Mtwara, Songea and Dodoma (URT, 1979c).

However, the delegation of authority from the central government to the local communities via *Ujamaa* villages had two major related consequences that reversed the Nyererean egalitarian ethos: the rate of expansion, as noted earlier, differed from one district to another and, as Samoff (1979b) notes, the more ‘advanced’ regions such as Kilimanjaro managed to excel, leading to on-going inequalities. While decentralisation was considered to bring quicker development to the people, as planned, URT (1979c) indicated that there was a variation in the number of children enrolled in standard I from 1969-1976, during the implementation of the second five-year plan from one region to another. Whereas Kilimanjaro, the most affluent region in Tanzania, reported 75% of children of school age, Singida (among the most impoverished regions) registered only 31% (URT, 1979c, p. 79). Alongside the economic context, enrolment numbers also differed depending on the extent to which the communities actively participated in educational development issues. Although the combination of self-help, UPE and decentralisation policies boosted the number of children in primary schools, an associated challenge was how to allocate resources equitably. While almost all classrooms were overcrowded, especially in urban areas, some classrooms had vacant places in rural areas. Similarly, Maro (1990) reports that most primary schools in the *Ujamaa* villages were understaffed and operated without essential supplies such as desks, books and chalk, and thus contradicted Nyererean equal education for all proposals.

### Conclusion

The policies of decentralisation in this period were characterised by the amalgamation of four key features: self-help, education, decentralisation and the overarching *Ujamaa* philosophies. Decentralisation was therefore presented as an essential condition for the fulfilment of the ideals of *Ujamaa*. In addition to spreading *Ujamaa* dispositions through the decentralised structures, the communities would manage and fund education in their localities. The implementation of decentralisation drew on Nyerere’s ideas; he believed that “when all the power remains at the centre,
therefore, local problems can remain, and fester, while local people who are aware of them are prevented from using their initiative in finding solutions” (Nyerere, 1972 p. 1). While decentralisation policies aimed at facilitating the growth of the Ujamaa project, the community contributions that went with it might have contributed to the inequality among regions, as different communities had different financial capabilities. Similarly, although policies such as the Education Act 1969 and 1978 were enacted to strengthen the Ujamaa project, some sections within the Acts stood in contrast with the Nyererean ideals. For instance, the Education Act 1978 gave powers to school committees to accept or reject the admission of pupils to schools. If such Acts were used to reject pupil’s admission to schools, they would contravene the Nyererean egalitarian philosophies of education for all. In addition, as Maliyamkono (1980) argues, decentralisation policies in this period resulted in the creation of bureaucratic machinery rather than allowing for participation in decision making, and thus also contradicted the ideals of the Nyererean decentralisation framework. For instance, the management of education, particularly secondary education, remained highly centralised. Despite some areas of nonalignment, the decentralisation policies in this period were mainly introduced to facilitate and strengthen the Ujamaa project by managing and spreading Ujamaa dispositions via the smallest governable units of Ujamaa.

6.1 An Overview

In the 1986-2015 years, Tanzania experienced some major changes, moving along different socio-economic and political development paths. The key feature of this period was the shift away from the Ujamaa and self-reliance (African socialism) towards globally dominant, neo-liberal policy prescriptions with Structural Adjustment Policies at its core. This was the major shift, which permeates almost all the policies from 1986 until the present time. The Structural Adjustment Policies were initially refuted in Tanzania, because they were contrary to the principles of Ujamaa or African socialism. However, the context of a growing economic crisis led to an intensification of the economic conditions as loans from many International Financial institutions, including the IMF and the World Bank and other development organizations, ceased. In the context of continued stress, Julius Nyerere, the then President of the United Republic of Tanzania, resigned from that post in 1985, because he could never deny his moral principles to embrace what he had constantly campaigned against. If he did so, Nyerere believed, he could ‘change from a human being into a stone’, signifying that it was inappropriate for him to swap the Ujamaa ethos with the neo-liberal prescriptions.

However, this significant shift toward a neo-liberal policy prescription involved the ongoing use of the language/rhetoric of Ujamaa, meaning that the break from the Nyererean philosophy and its elements (self-reliance, education expansion, 

14 According to UNESCO (2008), structural adjustment refers to macroeconomic policies devised to assist countries that have large outstanding debts in repaying their loans and balancing their budgets. Despite the differences throughout countries depending on their contexts, the policy generally includes privatisation of national industries and assets, devaluation of the currency, reduction of tariffs on imported goods, shrinkage of the size of the civil service, and reduction of government spending on social services such as education. The moment a country commits to such macroeconomic changes, it becomes eligible for loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to ease the economic problems that necessitated assistance from international financial institutions. These policies were developed during the debt crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s. They were not only implemented in Africa, but also in Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America.
decentralisation) was not complete or immediate. Vavrus and Moshi (2009) and Fouéré (2014) highlight that the language of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance is still a shared popular lexicon in many of the Tanzanian policy documents and constitutions. A few aspects of the Nyererean ethos that have remained since 1986 include: emphasis upon social justice, equity issues and the need for Africanising the content of the education system by investing in teacher education to help change and shape the new Tanzanian society (URT, 1995). However, these aspects are infused with the competitive spirit and technological skills that were facilitated by the assessments and increased educational expansion in which the local communities were called upon to offer their labour and finances (URT, 2008a).

Similarly, aspects of self-reliance are still emphasised. The policies contain themes that emphasise the need for vocational, technical and scientific education and training, including the development of entrepreneurial skills, with key managerial issues remaining for the Tanzanian education system as a whole. Particular key policy documents that reflected the Nyererean ideas included the Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy of URT (1993b) which emphasised that the overall purpose of all social, economic and political activity would continue to be man and women, that is, all the citizens of Tanzania irrespective of their colour, sex or other demographics. The 1993 Education and Training Policy indicated that Tanzania would continue to focus on developing improved and more efficient social services, such as the provision of clean and safe water, and health and education URT (1993b, p. 6). This is just one among many policy documents whose contents had a clear linkage with the Nyererean framework.

While some aspects reflected the policies of *Ujamaa*, many parts of the key policy documents since 1986 have contravened the Nyererean framework and highlighted a major shift from a particularly Tanzanian development path of African socialism, which the country consciously constructed and set about implementing immediately after independence, towards neo-liberal reforms that were adopted, ostensibly in response to severe economic difficulties. The shift from the public responsibility for education to emphasising the development of a market economy was a major and recurring theme that stood in sharp contrast with the Nyererean framework throughout 1986 to 2015 (Fouéré, 2015).
Other areas of divergences that accompanied the liberalisation processes included the reduction of subsidies in social services and the introduction of what was termed as partnership, cost recovery and cost-sharing measures, which coexisted with privatisation of social services and particularly educational institutions URT (1993b, p. 6). Thus, the policies in this period showed both continuity and change.

6.2 The National Context 1986-2015: Challenges and Recovery

As foreshadowed in the introduction section, the 1986-2015 period in Tanzania involved daunting problems, such as mounting debts, the threat of economic stagnation, rapid population growth and widening economic disparities within the country. The conditions from 1986 reversed the gains of the 1970s in which over 90% of Tanzanians had become functionally literate and numerate by the early 1980s (URT, 1998a), and about 98% of all school age children had access to primary education in 1978 (URT, 1987). These impressive gains were not only limited to education, but were found in other sectors, including the introduction of clean water and better health care to most of its rural populace (Sabates et al., 2012). In addition to establishing Universal Primary Education in 1974, and its cherished ‘basic needs first’ approach, which matched nicely and indeed closely with the Ujamaa and self-reliance project, Earth (1995) argues that Tanzania was, at that time, the darling of donors, charming both the socialist block and the left leaning (social democratic) Scandinavian countries. Even the World Bank supported the Ujamaa processes of transferring people from scattered to planned Ujamaa villages (Wabike, 2014).

However, the gains achieved in previous years, notably between the 1960s and the 1970s, were impacted by the economic downturn that Tanzania faced from the late

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15 The term access to education refers to the opportunities available to the target population to participate in that education, whereas equity refers to the fairness in the distribution and allocation of educational resources to various segments of the society (Vavrus and Moshi (2009). The examination of access and equity in Tanzanian education takes into account: issues of establishment and ownership of schools/colleges; enrolment and selection; the provision of educational resources; and the environment in which education is delivered.
The economic shocks included, first the collapse of commodity prices notably that of coffee and sisal, in the international market for exported goods; over a lengthy period of time this affected farmers’ income and the country’s foreign exchange earnings. According to URT (1998a), this weakened the central government’s ability to import basic requirements. Second, the increase in the oil shock of the 1973 adversely impinged on Tanzania’s balance of payments and thus compelled the country to depend more on foreign loans and grants. Third, the breakdown of the East African Community in 1977 (Kamuzora, 2010), whose members included Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, led to increased expenditure on establishing social services, such as tertiary education, that were formally provided by the community. Fourth, military conflict between Tanzania and Idi Amin of Uganda in 1978/89 involved unforeseen expenditures that, according to URT (1998b), fuelled inflation. Fifth, an extended drought period from 1973-1975 slowed down the production of various key agricultural products, exacerbating the impact on export income and contributing to hunger in some sectors of the domestic population (Kamuzora (2010).

It was this context that underpinned the substantive policy shift of the 1980s and 1990s, involving a reversal of the Nyererean philosophical Ujamaa ideals to the neoliber al prescriptions. Following the downturn and fluctuating international prices in traditional export commodities, Tanzania’s economy became weak; this largely contributed to the decline in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (URT, 1996c). After reoccurring economic crises, Tanzania was still heavily dependent on imports and had limited reserves of hard currency with which to purchase them. In this way, Tanzania deepened its debts.

Following the fall of the dollar, which precipitated a global recession in 1979 (Kamuzora, 2010), major donors, banks and multilateral institutions changed their economic policy thinking. Just as the debts were coming due, Tanzania suffered a number of all these setbacks. While abundant in some areas, goods such as food could not be distributed easily to other places where supply was short (Samoff & Sumra, 1994). In essence, the period denoted the deterioration of the overall social economic infrastructure.
The International Financial Institutions suggested that Tanzania’s planned and highly regulated economy was no longer healthy for its development. Rather, the main foci of the structural adjustment, as Vavrus (2005) sums up, was trade liberalisation, cost-sharing of social services, devaluation of the currency, the elimination of consumer and agricultural subsidies, the reduction of civil service employment and the promotion of the privatisation of programmes in many sectors, including education (URT, 1996c). This meant less government regulation and control of the national economy, and less provision of government goods and services, in favour of a market economy. The content of the Economic Recovery Programme (ERPi) and its successor ERPii (1989-1993), which were supported by the IMF, World Bank and bilateral assistance, were arguably aimed at nothing other than dismantling the Ujamaa philosophical inclination of the state controls and instead promoting the private sector (IMF & IDA, 1999).

However, given Tanzania’s long cherished Ujamaa and self-reliance principles, the conditions imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions were not simply acceded to outright and without objections. In contrast to the market orientation of the IMF, the Ujamaa ideology sought to improve conditions in the country by increasing state involvement in the economy, from nationalising many commercial institutions to regulating crop prices through state agricultural marketing boards. During 1980 to 1985, Tanzania resisted concurring with the IMF and the World Bank. This culminated in a severe lack of foreign exchange, an acute shortage of goods and severe levels of social services, concomitant with growing corruption (Fouéré, 2014). Earth (1995) notes that Tanzania relied on suppliers’ credit to finance imports and thus increased its debts. Despite Nyerere’s initiatives to reject these policies, neo-liberal frameworks later became what Moutsios (2010) refers to as the default lens through which to implement, understand and analyse the reforms of government and education practices in most of the underdeveloped world.

After years of Tanzania’s refusal to consent to the pressures of the International Monetary Fund (Kamuzora, 2010), when Scandinavian countries also tied their aid to the Structural Adjustment Program policies (Kamuzora, 2010), Tanzania changed course. Under the new leadership of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who replaced Nyerere on November 5, 1985, the country had seemingly little choice but to consent
to the terms of a set of policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other development organisations in August 1986 (URT, 1996c). In order to implement the trade liberalisation policy, Tanzania formulated the Investment Promotion and Protection Act 1990, which opened up a market economy (URT, 1996c). In 1991, Tanzania took more measures on parastatal reforms, which included revision of the public Cooperation Act, to facilitate the restructuring, privatisation and, where necessary, the closure of certain parastatal enterprises (Kamuzora, 2010).

In order to undertake the parastatal reform effectively, the parastatal reform commission was established. A number of sectors formulated sectoral policies, which the Ministry of Education also took into account, so as to harmonise an effective and efficient implementation strategy in 1985, which was drawn up by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs (URT, 1996d).

In the context of the Structural Adjustment economic reforms in sectoral policies, it was almost inevitable that the Nyererean education for self-reliance policy of 1967, the Musoma Resolution of 1974 and the Education Act No. 25 of 1978, which placed emphasis in the provision of social services to all, would be reviewed. As (URT, 1995) confirmed, “the new Government macro policy, which emphasized inter alia, increased role of the private sector, continued liberalization of the economy; ...and the introduction of cost sharing” (p. i) necessitated a review and restructuring of the education system.

The paradigm shift of Tanzania from Ujamaa and self-reliance to a different direction can be directly associated with the international change in political, economic landscape that occurred with the election of Prime Minster Thatcher in the United Kingdom and President Reagan in the United States (Edwards & DeMatthews, 2014). The Reagan and Thatcher governments reflected and embodied a neo-liberal perspective on education reform that had been gaining momentum for many years. Edwards and DeMatthews (2014) insist that the elections had the effect of shifting the dominant global discourse around the size and role of the state and the provision of public services. Neo-liberal prescriptions, such as ‘less government but more military spending’, and the cutting of social welfare programmes were emphasised.
Similarly, McGinn and Welsh (1999) argued that political and economic debates of the 1970s and 1980s resulted in the disintegration of the western ‘Keynesian consensus’ that had favoured strong centralised governments. The outcome of this was the formulation and reduction of the role of the central government and increasing role of the market. Additionally, economic and financial globalisation weakened central governments. Whereas supranational organisations reduced national sovereignty, shifts toward market decision-making strengthened local groups and thus made it more difficult to capture national funds for social programmes.

Another equally important feature of the historical context was the falling of the Soviet Union and the Communist Bloc from 1989 onwards as watershed events that impacted on Tanzania. As the value and political correctness of Ujamaa was weakened following the SAPs policies, and as the global geopolitical reconfiguration unfolded, Soviet related market, aid and resources were undercut and, in many ways, lost. Even before this, the normalisation of relations between the US Nixon Administration and China caused a shift in relations that truncated Chinese support to Tanzania (Napier, 2010). By 1990, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had imposed austerity measures on some 40 countries, including Tanzania, with far-reaching remodification in all sectors, including the education and health sectors. By 1990, many departments in Tanzania had attached themselves to the trend of neoliberalism. The result of this included adherence to economical driven neo-liberal policies that perpetuated elitism and undercut educational development budgets. As noted by Vavrus and Moshi (2009), Tanzania felt pressure to compete in the global arena while striving to meet internal needs.

According to the IMF and IDA (1999), the Tanzanian economy was successful in neo-liberal terms, but had with negative repercussions in terms of the provision of public services and equal opportunities. There was general improvement in the macro economic management in which the annual growth recovered to an average of 4% over 1986-1994 and the level of international reserves increased to about three months of imports of goods by June 1993; yet the inflation remained close to 30% per year (Kamuzora, 2010). The debt sustainability analysis indicated that Tanzania’s debt situation was unstable (IMF & IDA, 1999). The number of public sector jobs plunged during the second half of the 1980s as SAP encouraged the government to
sharply reduce the size of the labour (Vavrus, 2005). Between 1990 to 1991, for example, and 2000 to 2001, there was a 15% decline in public sector employment. This was followed by a concomitant rise in the number of house holds, from 28% to 33%, involved in the informal sector, that is, the non-state sector that included licit and illicit economic activities of the economy (Vavrus, 2005). At the same time, more than 50% of the population of Tanzania had incomes below the poverty line (URT, 1998a). Although the economy had been growing at an average annual rate of 4% since the mid 1980s, this rate of growth was insufficient to generate an income level considered adequate to meet basic needs (URT, 1998b).

Notwithstanding some progress in some sectors, the growth of per capita income of 0.5 in real terms during 1997, and a fall in inflation from 30% in 1990 to 12% in 1999 (URT, 2001a), Tanzania remained among the poorest countries in the world with an estimated per capita income of $240 in 1998. Poverty was more pronounced in rural areas where about 50% of the population were classified as being poor, compared to 39% of the urban population. Despite sustained efforts since the mid-1980s to address the country’s economic and social problems, one half of all Tanzanians in 2000 were considered to be basically poor, and approximately one-third lived in abject poverty (URT, 2000c). According to URT (2001a), the period between 1986-88 was accompanied by persistent long spells of drought which added more strain to the socio-economic capacities of household food security, resulting in increased malnutrition. URT (2001a) stated that diseases such as malaria, typhoid and HIV/AIDS threatened the health of an increasing population of Tanzanians. The HIV/AIDS pandemic in particular had begun to have a serious negative effect on the education sector, particularly on the demand for education, the enrolment of students, attendance, student retention and on teachers’ performance.

Buchert (1997) notes that in the 1990s, Tanzania experienced a major reversal of gains made in educational expansion and participation, which were key features of the Nyererean project. Samoff and Sumra (1994) claim that during this period, the number of pupils outweighed that of tables, chairs and books. In addition, many of the teachers had limited training and even less equipment. The quality of education was generally considered to be declining. According to URT (1998a), by 1996 the literacy level in Tanzania was estimated to be at 68%, down from 90% achieved in the
early 1980s. This might have reflected not only the inconsistency to the Nyererean philosophies but a reduction in the provision of other public services, in line with the general IMF SAP prescriptions, which impacted on educational participation and performance.

Among low-income families, the literacy rate was 59%, which was 9% lower than the national average. The Gross Enrolment Rate for primary school pupils was 77.8% in 1996, down from 90% in the 1980s while the overall Net Enrolment Rate was 57% (URT, 2000c). The girl child had comparatively limited opportunity to pursue education. Despite the rhetoric on there being a special focus on girls’ education, enrolment for them in primary schools was lower than that of male pupils. Only 27.3% of form V students and 24.3% of form VI students were women. This lower representation of women continued up to university level (URT, 1998a). The Tanzanian policy context, therefore, presents how the country was compelled by circumstances to accede to a set of frames, and assumptions fabricated elsewhere, but which until to date have proved to be incompatible with the Nyererean ethos.

6.3 The Ujamaa and Equality of Opportunities/People Centred

One of the dimensions inherent in the Nyererean framework for education was to embrace people-centred development strategies. According to (Kamuzora, 2010), the overall purpose of all social, economic and political activities was to focus on men and women, meaning all the citizens of Tanzania irrespective of their origin, and social backgrounds. The implication of this principle was the placement of emphasis on improved and more realistic equitable, sustainable and efficient social services, such as the provision of clean and safe water, health, and education to all people of different ages and different contexts.

The resignation of Nyerere and policy shifts presented above meant a shift away from the project of Ujamaa, but this was not complete or immediate, and the language of Ujamaa remained in many instances. Some of the contents of the policy documents since 1986 still reflect consistencies with the Nyererean framework, that is, equality of opportunity for all people. There were cases in which the content of the policies
seemingly made attempts to place people at the centre, such as “promoting equality of opportunity for men and women to lead a decent and productive life” (URT, 1998a, p. 20).

Despite a global context of the demise of historical socialism and the rise of neoliberal policy and governance, the tendency to embrace Nyererean ideas in Tanzania have survived until recent years. For instance, the current (2015) constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania states that building the nation is to be accomplished through “the pursuit of the policy of Socialism and Self Reliance which emphasizes the application of socialist principles while taking into account the conditions prevailing in the United Republic” (URT, 1977, p. 13). Thus the socialist constitution remains unchanged despite some recent amendments.

In addition, the same constitution demands that “activities of the Government are conducted in such a way as to ensure that the national wealth and heritage are harnessed, preserved and applied for the common good and also to prevent the exploitation of one person by another” (URT, 1977, p. 13). In economic terms, some of the policy texts still claim that “economic activities are not conducted in a manner that may result in the concentration of wealth or the major means of production in the hands of a few individuals” (URT, 1977, p. 13). That these texts still exist and are in use in formal government documents demonstrates that the influence of the IMF and World Bank and other international financial institutions have not succeeded in deleting or muting all aspects of Ujamaa and self-reliance.

Nevertheless, the ideas of Ujamaa and self-reliance were officially and openly challenged and reversed by President Mwinyi in 1991. While many policy documents tend to mute this, the open challenge to Ujamaa is reflected in the speech of the Chairman and Second President of the United Republic of Tanzania (who succeeded Nyerere in 1985) given to the people of Dar es Salaam on 25 February 1991 about the resolutions of the National Executive Committee (NEC) held in Zanzibar. The decision “had great importance to the Nation” (Mwinyi, 1991, p. 1). The first theme was “to go with time” (Mwinyi (1991, p. 1). However, according to Mwinyi (1991) this did not mean “a reverse/turn of Ujamaa and self-reliance” but “giving the clarifications/updating some components of Ujamaa to cope with the contemporary

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worldwide changes. “If we fail to go with time, our work will be chasing time - something we cannot manage” (Mwinyi, 1991, p. 1). Mwinyi further insisted:

Characteristics of time are like the ocean tides. The seawater rises and falls at the shore. Then it falls slowly and it reaches the time when there is no water at the shore. An intelligent fish moves with water. It comes when the sea rises and goes when it falls. A lazy fish is left struggling at the shore when the sea falls. That is the meaning of jumping according to the beats (Mwinyi, 1991, p. 1).

Mwinyi further noted that “to every age its book”, that is, although Ujamaa was a basic guide, it had to be changed according with the times. Then he concluded, “These resolutions never intend to demolish the Arusha Declaration, but to strengthen it” (Mwinyi, 1991, p. 7). For instance, in order to encourage self-reliance Mwinyi allowed individual accumulation for private gains, but this was in contrast to the Nyererean values.

6.3.2 National control of economy versus liberalisation

Whereas the idea of people centeredness was maintained perhaps in theory in most of the policy documents, after 1986 the policies that facilitated the implementation of the Structural Adjustment, as the URT (1995) notes, were mainly introduced as a reverse of Nyererean egalitarian ideas. In 1996, the Tanzania government thought that it was imperative to formulate what was referred to as a new and social development vision for Tanzania based on the outcome of the economic reforms. This is reflected in (URT, 1995): “but in a society, in need of development, set goals of education might not be easily achieved without a concomitant macro policy to give direction to all development plans and actions” (p. x). Such an assertion was put forward as a justification of the need of the vision, which would comply with the Structural Adjustment Policies so as to guide, adjust, and harmonise all structures, plans and practices, including those of management, administration and financing of education and at different levels of education.

The Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy was one of the most important policies that was introduced in 1993. This was an extensive document
covering the entire education system. In addition to its preamble which stated the overall aims of education in the development process, the document focused on the role of the government, the need for an education and training policy at that particular time, the aims and objectives of education, its system and structure, school curricula, assessment, access and equity in education, the management and administration of education, and the financing of education.

Following the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Policies in 1986, many other policies were introduced between 1995 and 2005. The introduction of many of these policies in this period can be associated with the ending of the cold war in 1989, the implementation of the agreements on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand 1990, and the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal 2000. As URT (1998a, p. 20) notes, most of the policies in this period, including the Tanzania Education and Training Policy of 1995 (URT, 1995), the Technical Education and Training Policy of 1996 (URT, 1996d) and the National Science and Technology Policy for Tanzania 1996 URT (1996c) were introduced in response to the global economy and in attempt to enable Tanzania to withstand the global economic competition. The introduction of all these policies in the 1990s means that despite the official signing of the Structural Adjustment Policies in 1986, Tanzania’s 1960s and 1970s Ujamaa educational policies were still in use until the mid 1990s, at least formally.

The socio-economic development policies were justified in terms of ‘resuscitating’ the Tanzanian economy (Kamuzora, 2010). The shift from the Nyererean philosophical ideals is reflected in several instances including a policy text, which

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16 These reforms include the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP), Public Financial Management Reform Programme (PFMRP), Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP), National Anti-Corruption Strategy, the Legal Reform Programme (LRP), Health Sector Reform Programme/ Health Sector Strategic Plan (2003 - 2008), Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP), Rural Development Policy, Rural Development Strategy, Agricultural Sector Development Strategy (ASDS) and its implementation framework, the Agricultural Sector Development Programme (ASDP), Cooperative Development Policy 2002, Land Reform Programme, the National Information and Technology Policy, the National ICT Strategy, the Small Enterprise Development Policy, the National Empowerment Policy, National Employment Policy, Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources Strategic Plan, the National Disabilities Policy, among others (URT, 1995, p. 17).
states that “the government now advocates liberalization of trade and other systems…[and] increased role of the private sector thereby broadening the participation base in the economy” (URT, 1995, p. xi). Different from the Nyererean egalitarian ethos of collectivisation that permeated the policies of the 1960s and 1970s, deregulation privatisation, entrepreneurship and the free market were major recurring themes in the Tanzanian policies from 1986 up to 2015. The contents of the policies were in opposition to the Nyererean egalitarian ideals, which endorsed state control of the major means of production and distribution. The catchwords and phrases in Tanzanian policies since 1986 have been the creation of a competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and providing an environment for private sector development through reforms of the financial sector and pricing and marketing sub-systems. Similarly, the main purpose of education changed from enabling individuals for the good of all, as the Nyererean framework required, to planting into the students’ mindset the competitive spirit as described by URT (1996d):

Tanzania envisages being a nation whose people are ingrained with a developmental mindset and competitive spirit. These attributes are driven by education and knowledge and are critical in enabling the nation to effectively utilize knowledge in mobilizing domestic resources for assuring the provision of people’s basic needs and for attaining competitiveness in the regional and global economy. Tanzania would brace itself to attain creativity; innovativeness and a high level of quality education in order to respond to development challenges and effectively compete regionally and internationally, cognisant of the reality that competitive leadership in the 21st century will hinge on the level and quality of education and knowledge (p. 5).

In this way, the emphasis was no longer collectivism for the good of all, as the Nyererean framework endorsed, but on competition inside and outside the boarders of Tanzania. Education was recast as a particular agent of the wider SAP/neo-liberal project; its role was to create a new Tanzanian society whose people would have a positive attitude and a culture cherishing human development through entrepreneurship and competitiveness. Unlike the Nyererean framework, which sought to infuse into learners an egalitarian ethos, the policies since 1986 aimed to
cultivate into the younger generation and the overall Tanzanian community the spirit of individual initiatives rather than that of collective efforts.

The shift away from Nyererean public provision of education toward privatisation (under the banner of liberalisation) of education is evidenced in the URT (1996d) policy reference to the “enhancement of the partnership in the provision of education through the deliberate efforts of encouraging private agencies to establish and run schools and institutions at all levels” (p. 6). Explicit in the policies since 1980s has been the argument that they were put in place as an alternative, following escalating demands and the declining resources of funding. This includes transferring public enterprise to private management and encouraging private initiatives in providing services in primary schools.

6.3.3 *Ujamaa* and promotion of Kiswahili as an African language

Another inherent and significant theme in the policies since 1986 has been African-ness and this is apparent in different ways. The principle was adopted as an appeal to build a new Tanzania on the foundations of the African traditional past. Consistent with the Nyererean framework which emphasised the need to embrace African-ness, there were policy themes, especially those from the 1990s, that continued to place emphasis on the role of the government in enabling students to understand, appreciate and acquire values that would enrich their common cultural background and moral values, social customs and traditions, as well as national unity, identity, ethic and pride (URT, 2014).

The particular area which reflected the consistency of Nyererean ideas in the Tanzanian policies was the reinterpretation of the African heritage, and an attempt to Africanise the content of the curriculum via the promotion of the Kiswahili language. Specifically, the Tanzania National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty paper states that the “Swahili language will be locally and internationally promoted” (URT, 2005, p. 54). The emphasis on promoting Kiswahili was first apparent in 1993 through the Tanzania Integrated Education and Training Policy, which insisted, “the medium of instructions in pre-school shall be Kiswahili” (URT, 1993b, p. 29). The
implementation of this policy required that all teachers in the pre-primary school level be competent in Kiswahili.

Moreover, this policy did not end at the pre-primary level, but was extended to include primary school by suggesting that “at primary school level, full development of language skills is vital for a fuller understanding and mastery of knowledge and skills implied in the primary school curriculum. Children at this level of education will continue to be taught in a language which is commonly used in Tanzania” (URT, 1993b, p. 35). In order to put these aspirations into practice, the policy further suggested, “the medium of instructions in primary schools shall be Kiswahili” (URT, 1993b, p. 35).

The strategy of putting the policy into practice required all owners and managers of school to employ teachers who were competent in Kiswahili. The teachers’ in-service programmes were also required to enhance competence in the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction. The implementation of this policy occurred in 1992 when the primary school curriculum was revised and the number of subjects was reduced from thirteen to seven, namely Kiswahili, English, mathematics, social studies, science, life skills and religious instruction (URT, 1995, p. 55). One of the main goals of the reforms was to ensure that the primary school curriculum reflected the policy emphasis on the teaching and use of Kiswahili.

Similarly, the medium of instruction for teacher education at certificate level would be Kiswahili, but at secondary and university level English would continue to be used, except for foreign languages, which would be in the relevant languages. In order to place more emphasis on teacher training, the Tanzania integrated education and training policy of 1993 demanded that a pass in communication skills be mandatory for qualifying to teach. The teacher’s in-service courses in Kiswahili were organised to maintain competence in the medium of instructions. Teachers’ in-service courses were given in Kiswahili to maintain their competence in the medium of instruction.

Other policy documents that indicate how the use of the Kiswahili language would be encouraged include the Culture and Sports Policies of 1995 and 1997, which required that “a special programme to enable the use of Kiswahili as the medium of
instruction in education and training at all levels shall be designed and implemented” (URT, 2001a, p. 5). The institutions responsible were accordingly required to develop, design and make available a new Kiswahili language syllabus and issue guidelines on the methods and equipment that would be used to teach Swahili.

There were various reasons put forward for encouraging Kiswahili. In addition to aligning to the Nyererean framework, Kiswahili was considered to be a language which was commonly used by many people in Tanzania. Another reason for emphasising Kiswahili was “to provide opportunity and enable every child to acquire, appreciate and effectively use Kiswahili and to respect the Language as a symbol of national unity, identity and pride (URT, 1993b, p. 12).

However, given the enormous pressures, which could be linked to the liberalisation and globalisation, a new policy was introduced in 1993 requiring that English Language be taught as a subject in primary schools earlier than hitherto the case. The policy stated that “English language shall be taught as a subject from standard/year one” (URT, 1993b, p. 57). The justification for these changes in the Tanzania education system was that English dominated international commerce and business (URT, 1993b). However, the use of a medium of instruction that many of the students did not master denied the students the chance to be active learners; instead they remained passive observers absorbing all that was said with no room to question (Brock-Utne, 2006). Clearly, such a situation contradicted the ‘education for liberation’, which (Nyerere, 1974b) had advocated.

6.3.4 Ujamaa and teacher education

“For we need more teachers, and we need better teachers – that is, new teachers in larger numbers, and more in-service training” (Nyerere, 1984, p. 155).

Another recurring theme in policy in this period was the weight that was given to teachers in implementing the new policies. Consistent with the Nyererean framework that underscored the potential role of teachers in shaping the Tanzanian society towards achieving the Ujamaa project, the policy themes in 1986-2015 indicate a
thread of continuity in terms of the importance of teachers in the production of citizens who would deliver national development, but from 1986, there was a revised conception of development and strategy for its realisation.

Given the importance attached to teachers in attaining the national goals that were linked with the desire to meet the social demand for expanded provision of secondary education, from the 1980s, several policies were put in place to improve the teaching profession. The Primary Education Development Plan that was introduced in 2001 sought to sensitise teachers and provide them opportunities to acquire and develop appropriate pedagogical skills that would be academically sound, child-friendly and gender-sensitive, together with individual life-skills which would also take into account the HIV/AIDS crisis. Various ‘cost-effective’ in-service programmes were introduced, which would not withdraw large numbers of teachers from schools. According to (URT, 2001c), more school-based teacher resource centres would be established. In 2001, about 33,200 (US $40) Tanzanian shillings per teacher per year would be made available for ten days of in-service training to provide them with appropriate qualifications and adequate pedagogical skills. In order to achieve this goal of in-service training, the curriculum, the duration and timing of teacher training courses, and the resources used in the teacher training colleges would be reviewed in line with the overarching social political and economic changes that had taken place since 1986 (URT, 2001c).

Given the global economic changes, the curriculum in Tanzania had to be reformed to suit the new policies: “teachers training curricula will be reviewed with the view to introducing flexibility and to adapt them to the teaching needs at the various respective levels” (URT, 1996c, p. 41). The aims of teacher education was not only limited to academic subjects, but was also extended to cover theories and principles of psychology, guidance and counselling; pedagogical principles and skills; and the promotion of teachers’ understanding of the foundations of the school curriculum. In addition, they sought to sharpen teacher trainees’ knowledge and mastery of selected subjects, skills and technologies, but most of these were directed towards attaining the objectives of the new era of liberalisation policies which by and large differed from the Nyererean philosophical ideals.
Given the policy emphasis on improving the teacher profession and the influence of the Jomtien conference about education for all, there was a great increase in enrolments in teacher education programmes from 28,783 in 1974 to 98,174 (125%) in 1992 (URT, 1995). The total enrolment of women in teacher colleges increased from 42% in 1988/1989 to 50% in 1992/1993 (URT, 1997). Despite having relatively good policies on the expansion of teacher education, the quality of teacher education program until early 1990s was a big challenge a factor that contrasted with the Nyerean principle of giving more weight to teacher profession in order to improve the lives of the majority in a developing nation. About 30% (29,830) of teachers were grade ‘A’, that is, they had completed form 4 (year 10) plus had 2 years of teacher education, and 70% (68,344) were grade ‘C/B’, meaning that they had completed grade 7 and had 2 years of teacher education (URT, 1995). However, URT (1993b) disclosed that most of the grade C/B teachers lacked both a satisfactory knowledge base in academic subjects and adequate professional training. Although in 1993 the commitment to teaching that was held by the grade C/B teachers, especially in the rural areas, was appreciated simply because of less turnover (mainly because this cadre had relatively lower chances to be accepted in other careers due to the lower level of education) as compared to other grades of teachers, the government thought it was imperative to raise the level of primary school education via the deployment of more academically and professionally qualified teachers.

Despite having various strategies for improving teaching profession and, therefore, aligning with the Nyerean ideals of having more and competent teachers, the recent Education and Training Policy of 2014 indicates that teacher shortages in Tanzanian primary schools have become a common phenomenon. It identifies a number of factors that have led to that shortage (URT, 2014): in addition to the expansion and increase of population that necessitated the expansion of primary education, the lack of morale among teachers has exacerbated the situation, leading to high turnover. In 2010 there was a shortage of teachers. The low teacher to pupil ratio was 24 in Shinyanga region, the highest was 103 in Dodoma region and the overall national average was 60 (BEST, 2010b, p. 11). In such a situation, it would be difficult to provide the emancipatory education, which Nyerere proposed. Moreover, the shortage of teachers was not limited to primary education, but also extended to secondary education (URT, 2014).
Despite the intention of some policies to raise both the number of trained teachers and their levels of qualifications, the need for teachers at various levels of education and training in the education sector in Tanzania has increased. Following the mushrooming of other employing sectors in the country (URT, 2014), some teachers left the teaching profession as they thought they would receive better pay and working environments.

Other threats to teacher education were associated with diseases. (URT, 2000b) estimated that by 2010 about 14,460 primary school teachers would die of HIV/AIDS and the number was expected to increase to 27,000 by the year 2020. Against this background, there has been a great need for teachers of certain profession teaching skills notably reading, writing and arithmetic (3Rs), science and languages. In 2010, the enrolment in government and non-government teacher colleges was 44.1% for science students, arts subjects constituted 55.1% and special education was 0.8% (BEST, 2010b, p. 87). As of December 2013, the demand for teachers in various fields of science and mathematics was as shown in table 9 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Required Number</th>
<th>Available Number</th>
<th>Shortage Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
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<td>300</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>66.9</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3748</td>
<td>6455</td>
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<td>Computer studies</td>
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<td>433</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>60.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electrical engineering</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>7582</td>
<td>56.3</td>
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<td>5654</td>
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<tr>
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<td>11,144</td>
<td>5561</td>
<td>5583</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering science</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical engineering</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and nutrition</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil engineering</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional mathematics</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48,407</td>
<td>21,409</td>
<td>26,998</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As the table 9 indicates, a shortage of teachers with science qualifications reached 55.8% in 2014. Out of 48,407 required, only 21,409 were available (URT, 2014).

### 6.3.5 Conclusion

The policy analysis given in this section has reflected both consistency and inconsistencies in relation to the Nyererean framework. This accorded high priority to all teachers, because “they have power which is second to none in relation to the future of our society (Nyerere, 1968d, p. 228). The power of teachers as discussed earlier is multifaceted. They are scattered in rural as well as in urban areas, and able to influence local community decisions. While many of the policies including URT (2001c) and URT (2006) intend to produce both more and better teachers as Nyerere (1984) proposed, they differ from the Nyererean framework in that they are directed towards ingraining into the learners a competitive spirit for individual advancement. Whereas the Nyererean framework accords greater priority to teaching profession to enable the building of an egalitarian society that provides equal opportunity for all the Tanzanian people, the aims of the policies in this period include increasing the number of teachers so that they can meet the Millennium Development goals and so meet the IMF and the World Bank’s commitment. That is to say, the push for improving teacher education that permeates most of the policy documents in this period does not exclusively arise from the Tanzanian society, but can be seen as being mostly externally oriented, intending to meet global educational goals and, therefore, qualify for more aids and loans. Similarly, the policies are irreconcilable with the Nyererean framework in that they promote the privatisation of teacher education and reduction of places in public teacher colleges; this might deny places in the colleges to some of the students who have the interest and qualifications, but do not have the money to pay the private teachers education college fees.
6.4 Education for Self-Reliance

6.4.1 Self-reliance and dependency
One of the central planks of the Nyererean framework was the need for Tanzania to be self-reliant in almost every aspect of life. Education was considered as one of the most important mechanisms to bring this social-economic goal into fruition. Notwithstanding the imposition and inception of the Structural Adjustment reforms in the mid 1980s, policies in the 1986-2015 period demonstrate continuity in the official guiding philosophy of self-reliance across almost all areas of governance (URT, 1995).

In 1990 the Government of Tanzania constituted a National Task Force on Education to review the existing education system, leading to a call for what URT (1995, p. vii) referred to as “a suitable Education System for the 21st Century”. The Terms of Reference (TOR) of the Task Force included “proposing, in terms of policy, planning and administration an appropriate education system which will facilitate increased efficiency and effectiveness… And propose implementation strategies” (URT, 1995, p. vii). The review report was completed in 1992 and influencing the Tanzania Integrated Education Policy and Tanzanian Education Policy.

The idea of education for self-reliance is evident in some policies in this period. For example, the Tanzania Education and Training policy of 1995 stated that “for Tanzania’s development, the people will continue to depend mainly on themselves and their own resources and efforts, that is, their land, energies and readiness to work hard” URT (1995, p. ix). In 1998 when the government of Tanzania launched the National Poverty Eradication Paper (NPRSP), it underlined the importance of self-reliance for economic growth and how education could help to promote Tanzania from poverty to prosperity, but through emphasising entrepreneurial skills and attitudes (URT, 1998b, p. 55).

While some Tanzanian policy documents in this period, such URT (1996a) and URT (1996d), continued to invoke education for economic self-reliance, the reality was that Tanzania had a long-standing dependence on international aid (Buchert, 1997). In the education sector in particular, international agencies such as DANIDA, SIDA, the
German Organisation for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) and more have been particularly influential, while the European Union and the World Bank gained importance in 1990s. Similarly, URT (1998a) highlighted that the dependency syndrome in Tanzania still pervades many of the projects, thus contrasting with the Nyererean ideals of self-reliance.

In 1998 for example, while introducing the Tanzanian Development Vision Paper 2025, Nassoro Malocho, the then Minister of State and the Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission noted:

> It is my hope that these and the other partners will continue to work with us during the implementation stage; particularly by giving us moral and ‘material support’ in implementing the priority areas nationally identified to lead us towards the attainment of the objectives of this Vision 2025 (URT, 1998b, p. xii).

Accordingly, international aid continued to play an important role in supporting policies to increase access, enhance equity and improve some aspects of education quality between 2001 and 2006 (URT, 2006). According to UNESCO (2008), aid supported a primary education sector strategy that has cut the number of out-of-school children by 3 million since 1999. Specifically, in 2003 the then Finance Minister Basil Mramba noted that Tanzania’s budget was still largely dependent on aid: “nearly 45% of this Budget depends on donor grants and foreign concessional loans. We will change this situation only when we raise domestic revenue to a higher level relative to GDP” (Mramba, 2003, p. 72). With respect to education funding, while the 2003 budget for primary education was almost four times that of 1996, Mramba (2003) disclosed that bilateral donors, the United Nations agencies, concessional loans from the World Bank, the African Development Bank and others, had funded this increase. In the financial year 2003/04 Tanzania received grants and concessional loans totalling 1,175.821 billion Tanzanian shillings from agencies in Canada, Norway, Denmark, Ireland, Finland, Germany, Sweden, Netherlands, UK and the EU, as well as the World Bank and the African Development Bank (Mramba, 2003).
According to UNESCO (2010), donors closely worked hand in hand with the Ministry of Education not only in designing, but also in implementing policies and in financing. While the Education Development Plan (2002-2006) might have brought about improvements in the primary education sector as UNESCO (2010a) suggests, the increased involvement of foreign donors directly in the content and implementation of education policy worked against the Nyererean philosophies. The URT (2008c), for example, noted that overstretched government employees responsible were for reporting, education ministerial officials felt that policy dialogue with donors was always intrusive, sometimes leading to additional aid conditions, and that donors did not respect the principles of the country ownership.

The government acknowledged the negative impact of this level of external dependency, and the aspiration that funds be used in ways that supported a transition toward independent self-reliance:

The Government on its part is determined to gradually phase out dependency, particularly in recurrent expenditure. For a poor country like ours, dependency on foreign assistance for financing development projects is justified, except that the assistance must be directed to projects that support our endeavours for building capacity for a self-sustaining economy (Mramba, 2003, p. 75).

Although the policy shows the will to overcome dependency, many plans including URT (2001a) are still written according to a reliance on international organizations and aid from abroad. The policy content in this period reflects continuity in depending on external funds, which altogether contradicts the Nyererean proposal of creating a self-reliant society that would be free of interference from abroad.

6.4.2 Merging work and study

A few of our people including your trainees, will receive an education, which will probably enable them to live and work anywhere in the world. But the majority of our people will live and work in Tanzania. We need to arm them with the attitudes and skills, which will help them to do so successfully (Nyerere, 1998, p. 163).
Another idea embedded in the Nyererean framework was the need to make primary education complete in itself rather than serving as a means towards higher levels of education. Despite some tensions among the contemporary education policies, the idea of merging work and study was maintained throughout 1986-2015 discourses. URT (1993b) emphasised the need to provide education for job creation and self-employment via increasing opportunities for vocational education and training by expanding the scope of acquisition, improvement and upgrading of mental, practical, productive and life skills to meet the changing needs of industry and the economy. This policy aligned with Nyerere (1998) modified central argument after the inception of the Structural Adjustment Policies in Tanzania:

So I beat my hobbyhorse again; we must educate our young people for the real life, which they are going to live in Tanzania. Even as we prepare our selves, as we must prepare our selves for competitive life in the Global Village, we must not forget that our corner in that Global Village is in Tanzania: and for most Tanzanians that corner is going to be in rural Tanzania or the informal sector of urban Tanzania (p. 163).

In line with Nyererean ideas, URT (1993b) called for school curricula to promote love and respect for work, self and wage employment, and improved performance in the production and service sectors. Similarly, the 1995 Education and Training Policy stated that one of the aims of primary education in Tanzania was “to prepare the child to enter the world of work” (URT, 1995, p. 5). One of the ways of making this happen was to change the curriculum and infuse it with work related topics. The 1995 Education and Training Policy insisted, “there is a need to prepare more young people to access to available job opportunities and to create work and employ themselves on a self-reliance basis” (URT, 1995, p. 8). Such policies aligned with URT (2006, p. 2), which emphasised that a good system of education must be effective if it is to ensure that the country produces the skills needed for rapid social economic development.

In order to attain such aspirations, Tanzania introduced policies that called for the need to promote “basic life skills”, sometimes referred to as ‘survival skills’, which included environmental skills, job creation and social/community skills. The curriculum that URT (1995) called for included such skills as carpentry, crop and
livestock husbandry, pottery making, smiting, masonry, painting, home economics and technical skills, among others. Such activities were not limited to primary education, but extended to other levels. In particular, the Education and Training Policy emphasised that “the curriculum at all levels of education and training shall emphasize and promote the merger of theory and practice and the general application of knowledge” (URT, 1995, p. 54). This indicates continuity.

However, this continuity was accompanied by instances of nonalignment with the Nyererean ideas. Whereas the Nyererean framework regarded primary education as complete in itself, with a focus on preparing the majority of primary school students for rural work in Ujamaa units, particularly with regards to agriculture and animal husbandry, URT (1996d) presented primary education as a basis for higher education, not for work in rural areas. URT (1997) suggested that it was vital to introduce a package of teaching technology in schools to prepare the majority of year seven students with necessary technical skills, to assist them find creative work that would lead them to self-employment; this de-emphasised the role of education as preparation for building Ujamaa.

The technical education and training policy was introduced in 1996 that aimed at the consolidation and expansion of primary education would go together, along with an effort “to strengthen the teaching of basic technical skills in the sense of preparing pupils for self-employment through understanding of basic needs and technical practices in their communities i.e. basic arts/crafts and agricultural skills” (URT, 1996d, p. 11). It was based on the same logic as the 1996 technical education and training policy that sought to “strengthen… the vocational education package in the primary school curriculum through renovation on the teaching of agriculture and reintroduction of appropriate and relevant art and craft subjects” (URT, 1996d, p. 15).

As a policy indicates, there was continuity in placing emphasis on education for self-reliance at the same time as it de-emphasised education for Ujamaa construction. The policy documents, therefore, reflect both images of alignment and nonalignment.

Consonant with the Nyererean framework, one of the aims of the URT (1995, p. 5) was “to provide the child with the foundations of self-initiative, self-advancement and self-confidence” (URT, 1995, p. 5). Clearly many of these policies reflect the legacy
of Nyererean ideas of merging work and study, despite some variations to accommodate other changes. In 1996, the Education Sector Development Programme also stated that “the curriculum will be revitalized to cater for technological advancement through establishment of polytechnic, computer literacy at all levels and establishment of special curriculum for specially talented or gifted” (URT, 1995, p. 117). As the policy document reflects, there was continuity in emphasising technical skills, as the Nyererean education for self-reliance did, but in a different time period, namely the computer age, which was not the case in 1967.

Overall, there were both consistencies and inconsistencies regarding the merging of theory and practice in relation to the Nyererean framework. In contrast to Nyerere (1968d) who emphasised primary education for the explicit purpose of rural development and Ujamaa construction, from the 1990s there has been a shift in emphasis within policies including (URT, 1993b). Rather than placing emphasis on the preparation of young people for rural development, education has been used as a fundamental tool for the strengthening of higher levels of education, laying strong foundations in science and capacity, and thus becoming a means to self-reliance and national development. This shift of emphasis has been maintained and extended, to the point that the recent Tanzania Education and Training policy of 2014, which was launched in February 2015, stated that in the current context primary education alone in Tanzania is no longer sufficient to prepare students for the competitive world of work (URT, 2014). Rather, higher education was put forward as a necessary tool to meet the challenges of globalisation. Such a reversal of position contradicts the Nyererean framework in two major ways. The stance opposes the notion of primary education being sufficient for the majority of children for rural work. Secondly, although the 2014 education policy placed an emphasis on higher education, the strategies by which the majority would access that education are questionable following the privatisation of primary education.

Another feature of the policy, which can be connected with the notion of merging work and study work, was an official entry age in primary school. The Nyererean approach to primary schooling called for increasing the entry age in primary school from 5 or 6 years to 8 years so that students who completed primary schooling would
be old enough and sufficiently mature to participate in income generating work (Nyerere, 1968d).

Following the unprecedented steps of expanding primary education so as to meet the international agreed goals of Universal Primary Education by 2015, new policies were introduced in Tanzania which changed the official entry age (URT, 2001c). In 2002 under the Primary Education Development Plan (2002-2006), Tanzania introduced a policy to enrol in year 1 all children aged between 7-13 years (URT, 2001b). Although this was a temporal policy aimed at clearing the backlog of children who were not enrolled at the ‘right time’, it worked for some years. According to URT (2001b), all children aged 7 and 8 would be enrolled in 2003, those children aged 7-10 would be enrolled in 2004 and those aged 7-12 would be enrolled in 2005. As it was a temporary policy, it ended in 2005 and in 2006 only children aged 7 would be enrolled. However, the aims here were not to enrol older children for the according to the Nyererean principles that sought to meet the goals of self-reliance and productive activities, but to attain Universal Primary Education by 2005.

However, a further shift away from the spirit of Nyerere (1968d) proposed starting age occurred in 2014 when the age to begin school was reduced from 7 to 6 years (URT, 2014). Although the age suggested by the 2014 educational policy conflicted with that of Nyerere (1968d), they both aimed at using education to enhance the economy. The Nyererean approach sought to increase the age so that children could be self-reliant as soon as they finished schooling. The 2014 education policy sought to shorten the schooling age so as to quickly produce people who could be employed. In defending the education and training policy, URT (2014) made a comparison with other countries such as South Africa, Mauritius, Malaysia and Finland in which a student was believed to complete university degree at the age of 20-22 years, while Tanzania produced a bachelor degree student of 23 years and above.

Accordingly, the entire education system in Tanzania from pre-school, primary, secondary to university would be transformed from the current 2 years for pre-school +7 primary +4 lower secondary +2 upper secondary +3 tertiary. According to the suggested changes, one year would be reduced from pre-school and one year from primary school from 2016. However, URT (1995) had asserted that changing from the
structure of 7-4-2-3+ to 6-3-2-3 or 8-4-4 would not necessarily strengthen the education system and would require substantial additional financial resources. Clearly, there seems to be an alignment in the current tinkering and the objectives of SAP regarding the state’s intents to reduce costs in education, regardless of the extent to which education quality could be affected. Clearly, this approach represents a capitalist approach of using less and producing more.

6.4.3 Assessment as part of education for self-Reliance

Nyerere (1968d) criticised formal examinations for their failure to adequately assess students’ power to reason and, above all, their character and willingness to serve the community. The policy analysis has revealed that Tanzanian educational policies from 1960s until the present still support using exams to select students for the next levels of education. This suggests that Nyerere’s plan to downgrade exams was never fully achieved. According to Rwiza (2014), the assessment at the primary level in Tanzania is based mainly on the students’ cognitive achievements, which is mainly measured by examination (pen/pencil and paper tests) results for selection and placement.

While the year four examination was abolished in 1973 following the implementation of the Education for Self-reliance policy (URT, 1979a), it returned in 1982 on grounds of improving quality, and the year 7 exam has been used since independence to select students for secondary education as it is reflected in this policy paper “there shall be centralized examinations at the end of Standard VII…. the results of these examinations shall be used for selection of students for further formal education and training, and also for certification” (URT, 1995, p. 108). However, these exams, which are affirmed by several policies including URT (1993b) - “examination shall mark the completion of primary cycle” (p. 61) - contradict Nyerere (1968d) who argued that “there is no reason why Tanzania should not combine an examination, which is based on the things we teach, with a teacher and pupil assessment of work done for the school and community” (p. 71). This approach would enhance self-reliance.
6.4.4 Conclusion

Despite the change of vision from *Ujamaa* and self-reliance to neo-liberal reforms, many of the policy documents, including URT (2000b), maintained some formal reference to education for self-reliance. This implies clashes among policies that were issued at different intervals. One of the tensions among the two policies is that one policy insists that primary education prepare student for world of work while another policy opposes the idea by arguing that primary education is a stepping stone to post-primary education. While policies such has URT (1995) sought to prepare primary school students to enter the world of work through infusing work related topics in the curriculum, and promoting basic life skills and values, others such as URT (2000b) regarded primary education not as sufficient but as a foundation for higher education. Even the few policies that still emphasise self-reliance do it in a modified version. They insist on the role of education to make students competitive in the global village as well as self-employment and no longer focus on the rural *Ujamaa* village’s employment. Similarly, the policy contents reflect visible evidence of high influence and dependency on people with a ‘good will’ who have been camouflaged from time to time under the banner of development partners or donors. However, such a trend contradicts the philosophy of Nyerere (1990) who cautioned that Africa will go no where as long as it continues to depend on aids and people with good will.

6.5 Nyerere and Expansion of Primary Education

One of the Nyererean key principles, as I indicated in chapter three, was to emphasise universal access to education and equity as among the most important elements in accomplishing his *Ujamaa* project. In order to avoid the problematic gap between material wealth in urban and rural regions, Nyerere (1968d) emphasised that all the people, and particularly those living in rural areas who had experienced inequitable access historically, must have priority in accessing quality education. Drawing on his philosophical underpinnings, the Nyererean philosophy insisted that public services such as education and health care be provided by the state.

The analysis of policies in this study indicated that there were policies that potentially worked against Nyererean philosophies on expanded access. The adverse economic
conditions meant that from the mid 1980s, educational growth stalled and the quality of education at all levels was widely regarded as having deteriorated and, therefore, conflicted with the aspirations of Nyerere on access and better education for all. Several scenarios from the policy texts exemplify this position. Throughout the 1980s to 1990s, primary education in Tanzania suffered major setbacks, notably under funding, leading to a large-scale deterioration of infrastructure and supplies, low teacher morale, declining quality and high dropout rates (Hartwig, 2013).

Following the donor immense pressure for structural adjustment, the government was instructed to reduce public expenditures, including a freeze on the recruitment of new teachers (Mamdani, Rajani, Leach, Tumbo-Masabo, & Omondi, 2009). That meant that the intense policy and political focus on education in the Arusha Declaration, the seminal Education for Self-Reliance policy spearheaded by Julius Nyerere in the late 1960s and the Universal Primary Education drive of the 1970s appeared to have been reversed.

Although URT (1993b) emphasised the role of the government in providing access to and equity education for all, there are multiple cases of inconsistencies following the context of the changed social and economic settings. While the Nyererean approaches underscored the role of the central government planning in guiding the provision of public social services including education, URT (1993b) emphasised the restriction or rather reduction of the role of the state on social services to that of ‘enabling’ environment to the private sector.

While Nyerere sought to replace privatised education with a universally accessible public system, URT (1993b) reversed this, with the expected impacts on access and equity in a privatised (and under funded public) system. Nonetheless, the reinvigorated ambition which also matched intimately with the Nyererean framework on education access was reflected in several policy documents, including the 1993 Tanzania Integrated Education Policy by maintaining that “Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children at the age of 7 years until they complete this cycle of education” (URT, 1993b, p. 3).
Yet, these proposals could hardly be attained in the context of privatised education (URT, 1995). Apart from supporting Nyererean ideas in the sense of insisting on universal primary education, the context and model of implementing Universal Primary Education was different. The introduction of educational policy on compulsory primary education at this particular time had connections or rather influence of the World Conference on Education for All, which was held on March 5-9, 1990, in Jomtien, Thailand (UNESCO, 1990). Although there was a match between Nyererean ideals and those of the World Bank and MDGs on the question whether to universalise primary education, there were differences in the strategy between these two groups on how to achieve this (unitary system of public education versus privatised provisions). While the Nyererean framework would insist on expanding primary education for creating the values towards attaining Ujamaa and self-reliance, URT (1993a) insisted on expanding education and, therefore, creating a new society by planting the seeds of a competitive spirit in the Tanzanian society, which matter conflicted with the Nyererean ideals.

However, relatively serious policies concerning the continuity of Nyererean ideas on universal access were introduced from 2001 in what was termed as the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) 2002-2006 (URT, 2001a). PEDP focused on four major areas: enrolment expansion, quality improvement, capacity building and institutional arrangement (URT, 2001c). PEDP was a five-year plan that, according to (URT, 2006), articulated the vision of Universal Primary Education, but within the broader Tanzanian policy frameworks of the Education and Training Policy (1995), the Education Sector Development Programme (2000), the Local Government Reform Programme (1998), and the overarching Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and Vision 2025 (2000).

However, to understand the current policies such as PEDP requires a little background on the role of the IMF and the World Bank on Tanzanian educational policies. The IMF and IDA (1999) note that, in 1999, the IMF reached the conclusion that Tanzania had an unstable debt burden and therefore recommended that debt relief be provided for the country under the terms of Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). The HIPC required Tanzania to prepare a poverty reduction strategy paper that described the policies which the country would implement in order to redirect money that would
have gone to debt services to cover some of the costs of basic social services, particularly education (IMF & IDA, 1999). In 2001, the IMF and the World Bank deemed Tanzania’s poverty reduction strategy satisfactory, and they both declared that 3 US billion dollars or roughly 54% of the Tanzania’s country’s external debt be eliminated (Vavrus & Moshi, 2009).

In 2000, through the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (URT, 2000c), the government of Tanzania put forward several objectives including: a) to raise the gross primary school enrolment from 78.5% in 2000 to 95% in 2005; b) increase the transition rate from primary to secondary school from 15% to 21% in 2003; c) reduce the drop-out rate in primary school from 6.6% to 3%; d) raise the net primary school enrolment from 59.5% to 70% in 2005; e) increase the number of students who passed the specified mark in year 7 examinations at a reasonably high standard, (URT, 2000a, 2000c).

Based on the inadequacies and success stories that I will detail later, the Primary Education Development Plan (2002-2006) was extended to the Primary Development Programme (PEDP II) (2006-2011) and the highest priority continued to be placed on the enrolment expansion, not to encompass only primary but also pre-primary schools. While the goals of the two different programmes were almost the same, the main thrust of PEDP II was to “ensure full identification and admission of all eligible children and their regular attendance” (URT, 2008b, p. 3). In addition, Primary Education Development Plan II (2007-2011) sought to create “a well-educated, knowledgeable and skilled Tanzanian able to competently and competitively cope with political, social, cultural, economical and technological development challenges at national and international levels” (URT, 1998b, p. v). These would be attained through education expansion.

Before the official winding up of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP I) in 2006, Tanzania introduced other policies, which emphasised the expansion of primary education. In May 2005 for example, the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction Paper was launched (URT, 2005). It sought to attain three key goals in relation to primary education and the Nyererean framework: a) Increased gross and net enrolment of boys and girls in primary schools from 90.5% in 2004 to 99% in
2010; b) increased proportion of children with disabilities enrolled; attending and completing schools from 0.1% in 2000 to 20% in 2010; c) “increased proportion of orphans and most vulnerable children enrolled, attending and completing primary education from 2% in 2000 to 30% in 2010” (URT, 2005, p. 14).

Other policies that reflected the continuity included the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP), which was revised in 2008, but was first inaugurated in 1997 and then revised in 2001. Its main aim was to improve education for poverty alleviation. Within its broader aim of poverty reduction via education provision, the Education Sector Development Program sought to “ensuring equitable access to quality education at all levels; ensuring skills development and universal literacy for all men and women” (URT, 2008c, p. 4).

Although there is a connection in all these plans and policies, the aim of expanding education from 1986, as URT (2008c) described it, was to “to have an internationally competitive labour force” (p. 12). Based on the Nyererean philosophies, the aim of education was to attain human inequality. Education no longer emphasised cooperation for the good of all, as Nyerere (1973) proposed, but competition and individual success via private accumulation.

In addition to differing in the goals of education between the policies and the Nyererean ideas, URT (2008c) noted that there was overcrowding of students in most schools, which discouraged good teacher-learner interaction and thus threatened the intention of education. As a remedy, the government of Tanzania put in place several policies aiming to:

- Continue to provide a capitation grant of Tanzanian shillings 10,000 ($5) per primary pupil nationwide and Tanzanian shillings 5,000 per out of school children (but that would be subject to review) and…. provide a capitation grant of Tshs. 20,000/= per primary school pupil with disability”…. “Improve the current average Book–Pupil Ratio (BPR) from 1:3 in 2007 to 1:1 in 2017 (URT, 2008c, p. 25).
The introduction of capitation grants into every primary school aimed to reduce parental contributions, which had historically been associated with the denial of education to some of the children, especially those from the poor families. Hence we see continuity here, given Nyerere’s focus on removing all the obstacles that might have hindered children from accessing the education they needed. However, Hedges et al. (2016) note that the amounts given to schools were very low. They were introduced in 2001 when 10,000 Tanzanian shillings was equal to $10 USD, but they continue to be the same, even when 10 Tanzanian shillings is currently equal to $5 USD. Anangisye (2011) notes that this small amount rarely arrives in time and in full.

Another aspect of continuity was reflected via the promotion of out-of-school children. The Nyererean approaches emphasised the role of adult education in the country’s development. Consistent with Nyererean approaches, URT (2001c) came up with a policy known as COBET, which stood for Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania. This was a programme meant for children aged 11-18 who either had never been enrolled in schools or they had once been enrolled in schools but had dropped out due to reasons such as pregnancy, poverty, illness and others. The programme was made up of two cohorts, 11-13 years and 14-18 years. Children would be required to sit year 4 or 7 primary school examinations and those who succeeded would be allowed to join the formal education system. In support of this trend, the 2008 Education Sector Development Programme sought to “ensure youths, adults, out of school, and vulnerable groups both men and women access knowledge and vocational skills” (URT, 2008c). It also maintained that “at least 30% of the cohort are enrolled in advanced level secondary by 2012” (URT, 2008c, p. 39). These policies intended to improve education access as the Nyererean ideas suggested.

While there have been numerous divergences in the policies since 1986, many government reports since 2000, including URT (1995), praised the policies and programme in 2000-2011 for what they generally regarded as impressive achievements in terms of quantity. Mramba (2003), the then Minister of Finance noted that the implementation of the poverty reduction strategy had started to register success stories, particularly in primary education. The Gross Enrolment Ratio and Net Enrolment Ratio improved from 84% and 65% in 2001 to 112.7% and 96.1% in 2006. The transition rate from primary school to secondary school increased from 22.4% in
2001 to 49.3% in 2005 (URT, 2006). According to Sumra (2003), the enrolment goal for 2002 exceeded the target of 1.5 million students. HakiElimu (2005), a non-governmental organisation, issued a report that acknowledged the significant intervention in the primary education sector following what it recognised as the impressive gains in enrolment, the provision of textbooks and in classroom construction that occurred between 2002 and 2006. Likewise, (UNESCO, 2008) noted that following the implementation of PEDP, Tanzania outperformed richer countries, such as Nigeria and Pakistan, in getting children into school. In the seven years, Tanzania reduced its out-of-school population from 3 million in 1999 to fewer than 150,000 in 2006, mainly through government intervention policy.

Based on the measure of educational quality, Vavrus and Moshi (2009) noted that the pass rate on the national Primary School Leaving Examination at the end of the seven-year primary cycle increased significantly during the years of PEDP, from 22% in 2000, to nearly 50% in 2004 to slightly more than 70% in 2006. According to URT (2013) in 2010 Tanzania received an award for attaining the United Nations Millennium Development Goals on Universal Primary education before the deadline of 2015.

Despite the introduction of relatively good plans that in some ways aligned with the Nyererean ideas on expanding primary education, (URT, 2001b) noted that the general standard of the education which the children were receiving in primary schools in 2000s was of very poor quality: “there is research evidence that the majority of children do not gain much academically by being in primary schools for seven years. They exit the system with very little knowledge and with weak skills of reading, writing and counting. This might explain the high drop-out rates” (URT, 2001a, p. 17). This reflects major divergence from the Nyererean concept of the nature and purpose of universal schooling and a failure even on the WB/MDG terms. In addition, the same report showed that the overall performances of both girls and boys were very poor, with that of girls being worse. Whereas 26.4% and 25% of boys and girls passed the exam in 1997 and 1999 respectively, the respective percentages for girls were 14% and 12% (URT, 2001c).
Indicators of inconsistencies between the policy aims and the Nyererean framework included repetition rates, dropout and failure rates at tests for basic literacy skills. According to Rwiza (2014b), in 2011 22% of the primary school pupils in Tanzania were older than the minimum starting age and in 2012, there were 218,120 repeaters. Other divergences in relation to Nyererean philosophies included a shortage of 33,336 primary school teachers in 2011 and in teaching and learning materials, and a decline in the pass rates (Rwiza, 2014). Similarly, while Tanzania set a new goal of attaining an enrolment target of 99% at the primary school level, URT (2013) noted that the country was also facing the challenge of raising educational standards, especially in the light of poor pupil teacher ratios (52:1 in 2006 and 54:1 in 2009) and the decreasing percentage of primary school leaving examination (70.5% in 2006 and 53.5% in 2010).

Moreover, URT (2013) was concerned that Tanzania faced several challenges in realising affordable education and this contrasted unfavourably with the Nyererean vision of education: the policies in its education system focused more on quantitative than quality education; there was a less inclusive environment for disadvantaged groups and children with special learning needs in many schools; in rural areas there were poor physical infrastructure and limited resources incentives for teachers; there were significant qualitative differences between public and private schools; and discriminating laws and practices that inhibited girls’ access to education, including the minimum age of marriage established by the Marriage Act, early pregnancy and domestic labour.

Although this programme aligned with Nyererean ideals in many aspects in that it followed its ‘impressive gains’ of providing access to education, URT (2005) noted that unequal attention was paid to capacity buildings and institutional arrangements, and that the allotted time of 5 years was too short to meet the Education for All goals and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In addition, URT (2008a) argued that the successes exerted enormous pressure on the capacity of the primary education institutions to absorb the ever-increasing demand.
6.5.1 Education expansion through gender balance

Some texts aligned with the Nyererean framework in terms of expanding the education of girls so as to address this area of historical inequity. Nyerere (1998) stated that “if primary school education is not universal, those who will miss out will be mostly the Girls” (p. 161). This issue was addressed in the policies. In 1993 for example, the government of Tanzania proposed a list of changes to expand primary education, stating that “education and school systems shall eliminate gender stereotyping through the curricula, textbooks and classroom practices” (URT, 1993b, p. 20). The 1993 education policy included reviewing the curriculum in order to strengthen and encourage the participation and achievement of girls in mathematics and science subjects.

In order to raise the participation rates for girls, URT (1993b) worked to redress the inequitable participation of girls. For instance, Philemon Sarungi, the then Minister of Education and Culture, in the Foreword of the Tanzania Education and Training Policy of 1995, noted that the key aims of the policy were to:

Promote access and equity through making access to basic education available to all citizens as a basic right; encouraging equitable distribution of educational institutions and resources; expanding and improving girls' education; screening for talented, gifted and disabled children so that they are given appropriate education and training, and developing programmes to ensure access to education to disadvantaged groups” (URT, 1995, p. i).

In addition to this, the policy on education expansion was restated in 1998 in the National Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of 1998 (URT, 1998a). Some of these policies directly reflected the Nyererean philosophies that underscored the need to make girls’ education accessible, but without undermining the boys’ right to education.

However, the answer to the question of why URT (1995) addressed the question of inequity more seriously in 1990s could be attributed to external influences on Tanzania’s policies. The timing suggests that it was the influence of the 1995 fourth
World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, which aimed at achieving greater equality and opportunity for women and the education for girls. From 1998, Tanzania sought to “raise the number of people who can read and write to 90% of all Tanzanians taking into account gender considerations” (URT, 1998a, p. 21). The policy further affirmed the aspiration that “there will be equality of opportunity between men and women in school enrolment at all levels” (URT, 1998a, p. 38). Although there is a close match between Nyererean policies on girls’ education and the Beijing meeting, Tanzania is still far from attaining the idea of self-reliance on policy making, as proposed by Nyerere.

6.5.2 Expansion of education via fee abolition

Another aspect that linked with the Nyererean framework concerned with the question of school fees. The Nyererean philosophies supported the expansion of primary education in order to inculcate egalitarian values and attitudes, improve rural life and agriculture, and close the gap between rural and urban communities. To make these targets attainable, the Nyererean framework suggested the abolition of school fees, because their continuation posed a potential threat to the attainment of the broader objectives of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance. However, one of the key themes in the analysed policies was the reintroduction of school fees (from 1986).

Following the implementation of the Structural Adjustment reforms in 1980s, user fees was not only reimposed on the education system, but also in other sectors such as health. The reintroduction of school fees and other mandatory parental contributions was part and parcel of the structural adjustment, and was justified based on the reason that the government of Tanzania did not have enough resources to continue financing free primary education. This policy shift contrasted sharply with the Nyererean approach toward removing fees in order to achieve universal access and address inequities based on wealth. The Tanzania Basic Education Master Plan exemplified this shift of policy when it noted:

The commitment by the Government soon after independence to provide free social services at all levels was a move towards enabling every member of society to get access to education. It has been realised that because of
increasing demand, the Government could not sustain the policy. With the adoption of a liberalisation policy and cost sharing, parents are now required to contribute towards the education of their children including cost of supplies such as uniforms, stationery, meals and fare. A Tanzanian shillings 2000/= contribution is now officially being charged. The Government pays teacher’s salaries and other institutional charges. NGOs, and private investors have been allowed to build and manage schools. Communities and individuals pay contribution for the development and improvement of school (URT, 2001c, p. 66).

Inability of the state to cover costs related to education for school age children in this period was singled out by this policy. However, this was not the only point for the reimposition of the school fees policy and was not the first policy to reintroduce school fees. There was a larger paradigm shift from the policies that supported the Nyererean framework of free social services to all the people to those that embraced liberalisation and cost sharing that emanated from the Structural Adjustment Programme. Although several circulars and policies on reintroducing primary school fees were issued since 1980s, it proved to be difficult to implement, particularly in the rural areas due to low level of income.

According to URT (2001a, p. 66), the inequality of educational opportunities increased from the mid 1980s to 2000 and was exacerbated by the introduction of school fees and other mandatory parental contributions. There was a growing gap between those who could afford user fees and other related expenses and those who could not. As an intervention strategy, the government of Tanzania, together with donors or what is sometimes referred to as development partners, implemented large projects in selected districts, most notably the District-Based Support to Primary Education (DBSPE) sponsored by Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands, the World Bank’s community education fund (CEF), and several teacher-strengthening projects supported by Sweden (URT, 2008a). Some of these projects were aimed at helping communities, which faced difficulties in implementing the policy of cost sharing. However, their initiatives proved to be difficult to be mainstreamed into government operations, facilitate innovation and expand to scale, or be sustained beyond the external project-funding period.
Mamdani et al. (2009) argue that although the family contribution for schooling grew considerably in 1980s, the gross value of parental income as a proportion of the overall school funding declined. The policy of fees and contributions in Tanzania resulted in large numbers of dropouts from the school system. For instance, Gross primary school Enrolment Rates declined from around 90% in the early 1980s to somewhere between 66% and 75% a decade later (Mamdani et al., 2009). Notwithstanding the evidence of the small amount that was collected as compared to the input (human resource), and the heavy burden the process of fees collection represented to poor parents, the Government of Tanzania seemed reluctant to concede to the calls to abolish school fees and the related contributions.

In contrast with the overall Nyererean framework, which advocated zero health and school user fees for all the people, the Tanzania Education and Training Policy of 1995 stated ambivalently that “school and tuition fees, in both Government and non-government education and training institutions, shall be based on the actual unit cost of providing education and training at each level…. school and tuition fees shall be collected and retained for use by the relevant education and training institutions themselves (URT, 2001a, p. 18). Such sentiments were prerequisites for being considered for more loans and aids from the International Financial Institutions. It was part of the structural adjustment programme agreement to introduce cost sharing, including school fees.

Similarly, in 1996, the government of Tanzania launched the poverty reduction strategy paper and one of its objectives was that “the government will strategically support cost-sharing, co-financing, and other initiatives aimed at catalysing deeper involvement by communities and other shareholders in well-conceived poverty reduction programmes” (URT, 1995, pp. 91-92). The ideas of co-financing and cost sharing had no place in the Nyererean framework, but the larger community regardless of who had a child or not would be asked to take part in the communal development.

Moreover, URT (1995) not only disclosed divergences, but also some tensions within policies. While URT (1995) contrasted with the Nyererean framework for reimposing
the school fees, the same policy documents called for government interventions to bolster primary school enrolment and retention rates; raise the quality and relevance of education; and facilitate access to primary school education, including a review of the cost-sharing arrangements. Cost sharing in primary education in Tanzania was encouraged by the 1995 education policy on education.

In 2001, after a period of almost 14 years of the charging of school fees, URT (2001a) summarised problems that were associated with fees and which made the schools collect below the expected amounts. First, not all parents were able to pay school fees. Second, some of the schools did not keep school accounts of receipts and expenditure. Third, some of the parents did not pay even if they were considered capable of doing so. Fourth, some of the local government authorities such as districts and municipalities ignored the directive of the central government to allow schools to spend the money themselves and instead fees were collected, but not spent for educational purposes. Despite the hassles and evidence of the small amount that was collected and the heavy burden that school fees represented, particularly for the economically poor parents, the Government of Tanzania was reluctant to accede to calls to abolish the policy on school fees and other contributions; this is evidenced in several major educational policies of the 1990s such as the Education and Training Policy URT (1995) and the Basic Education Master Plan (URT, 2001a), which continued to emphasise the need for parents to pay school fees.

However, following the need to attain the Jomtien and Dakar goals on education for all, and the donors’ conditions that coincidentally aligned with the Nyererean framework, the policy of school fees in Tanzania was officially reversed in 2000 following the release of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which noted that “the government will… abolish primary school fees in order to ensure that children, especially from poor families, will have access to primary school education”(URT, 2000c). The policies to abolish school fees were introduced in the financial year 2001/2002 budget at an estimated cost of 10 – 12 billion Tanzanian shillings, or one percent of recurrent expenditure.

A joint statement issued by the IMF and the International Development Association [IDA] in Dar es Salaam in September 2001 strongly endorsed the report of the
Tanzania’s Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and its subsequent action of the abolition of fees, and it highlighted more support for other changes in primary schooling that would appear the same year. The Progress Report documented the implementation of a wide-ranging reform program in education:

The government, along with several donor partners, articulated a comprehensive basic education strategy that addresses most of the systemic issues needed to improve service delivery and quality over the medium term. During 2000/01 it has also abolished school fees at the primary level, increased significantly the budget allocation for education, introduced capitation grants and an investment fund to directly support schools at the local level, and established an education fund to support children from very poor families (IMF & IDA, 2001, p. 3).

Despite putting in place a policy that supported the expansion of education, there were a lot of inconsistencies in regards to the Nyererean framework about the elimination of schools fees and other mandatory contributions. On the one hand, the increase in the enrolment of students in schools in Tanzania meant the increase in Pupils Teacher Ratio (TPR) as opposed to other countries such as Cuba and North America (IMF & IDA, 2001, p. 2). On the other hand, the policy meant more children having access to education.

However, whereas the policy stated that the government would abolish school fees and all other mandatory parental contributions from January 2002 so that no child would be denied schooling, taken as a whole, it could be imagined that after 2002, school fees and other mandatory contributions from parents would be ceased. Nevertheless, URT (2006) that showed contradictions via its intention to maintain the parental contributions after the take off of the Primary Education Development Plan.

Similarly, (URT, 2005) identified other costs apart from schools fees that would continue to be a burden to the parents and therefore contradict with the philosophies of Nyerere on education for all the children. Other costs included porridge or tea fees, exam fees, uniforms and sports clothes, books and supplies, transportation, tuition classes, pocket money and other expenses.
However, Tanzania’s initiatives to expand primary education entered a new arena in the late 2015. Notwithstanding the repercussions that would follow, the year 2015 continued to prove to many that the Nyererean ethos, which he propagated mostly in the 1960s and 1970s, had scarcely completely disappeared, despite his death in October 1999. In October 2015, Tanzania held the fifth general elections since the restoration of multiparty system in 1992, which involved voting for the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, the members of parliament and local government councillors. Following the historic and most competitive and unpredictable elections campaigns between the incumbent part CCM (the part of revolution) and the alliance of the opposition parties led by CHADEMA (the party for democracy and progress), many new promises and policies were put forward. The campaigns began on 22 August, 2015 and ceased one day before polling day, that is 25 October, 2015. Eventually, CCM won by 58% against 40% of the opposition party and John Magufuli was announced as the new Tanzanian president (2015-2020) ahead of Edward Lowasa of CHADEMA.

Following the election campaigns and the fulfilment of the CCM electoral manifestos of 2015, on 21 November, 2015, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, through its Commissioner for Education Professor Eustella Bhalalusesa, issued education circular number 5 of 2015 concerning the cancellation of secondary education fees from form 1 to form 4 public schools and all contributions in primary education including fees. Circular number 5 of 2015 was about providing education without charge from pre-primary education up to form 4 and the implementation would begin from the academic year of 2016. In addition to the election manifestos, the circular was issued as a promise of the government in implementing education and training policy 2014, which aimed to ensure that all children in Tanzania had access to education without any obstacles, including fees or any other charges. The issuing of this policy meant that all fees that were paid previously for the education of secondary forms 1 to 4, and some contributions in primary schools had been abolished. Similarly, the introduction of circular number 5 of 2015 meant that circular number 8 of 2011, which allowed schools, particularly secondary schools, to collect fees and other contributions, had been nullified (URT, 2015).
In addition to facilitating the 2014 Education and Training Policy on the need to provide basic education without restrictions/barriers, and the CCM 2015 election manifesto, which inter alia abolished school fees (CCM, 2015), the new circular was special, not because it largely aligned with the Nyererean framework on giving people the education they need and deserve, but it also included pre-primary, and secondary education, which had not been part of the free education in Tanzania since the re-introduction of free primary education in 2001. Even the policy of 2001, which abolished primary school fees, was not able to do away with all kinds of contributions. While school fees per se were abolished in 2001, other parental mandatory contributions remained as burdens to the parents. Although there could be challenges to implement this policy, which prohibits fees and other mandatory contributions from pre-primary, primary and the first four years of secondary, if is implemented successfully, that will be a revolution in basic education in Tanzania and will mean maintaining and perhaps surpassing the requirements of the Nyererean philosophy of giving the populace free quality education.

The 2015 policy on fees in Tanzania was not only limited to public schools, but also the regulation of private school fees. Notwithstanding the challenges which were likely to arise following the implementation of the policy as private schools differed in the context in which each was offering its education, the private school fees would be regulated by the central government from January 2016 (URT, 2015). On December 5, 2015, the Permanent Secretary of the Minister of Education and Vocational Training issued another circular that forbade any raising of school fees in any private school without consultation or permission from the commissioner of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. Although the circular seemed to be too political as it sought to fulfil the 2015 CCM electron manifesto, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training issued the new circular to facilitate the previous circular number 4 of 2008, which ordered that the private school fees for day schools not exceed 150,000 Tanzanian shillings (US $70) and boarding schools not exceed 380,000 Tanzanian shillings (US $175) per student per year.

Any increase from the previously stated amount would need permission from the Commissioner of Education. According to the announcement of the Commissioner of
the Education in December 2015, the statement was issued following the trend in which private schools tended to increase school fees at the beginning of each academic term/year without the approval of the Commissioner of Education, thus making it difficult for some of the parents to afford the school fees. While most of the polices in this period resulted from the 2015 political campaigns and some revealed that it could be difficult to regulate private school fees, the approach matched with the Nyererean approach of giving the mass education free of charge or at least at affordable prices.

6.5.3 Conclusion

The overall picture shows the achievement of the MDGs, but under a very different model, and motivated by a different set of political, social and economic circumstances. While some policies on education expansion in the period of 1986-2015 showed continuity in relation to the Nyererean Ujamaa ethos, there were several areas of divergences. The broader Nyererean philosophies endorse the expansion of education in order to create a literate community who would apply and spread the Ujamaa dispositions but policies such as URT (1993a) and URT (1995) seem to emphasise poverty reduction and sowing competitive spirits, as well as liberalisation ideologies via education expansion. Despite these differences, the World Banks, UNESCO, IMF and Nyererean philosophies seem to share similar commitments on education expansion via increasing the gross and net enrolment ratio, and increasing the completion rate and gender parity, but the approaches to attaining the same goal are different. Among the possible reasons of this is that the recent emphasis on education expansion in Tanzania is connected to the debt relief in 2000 under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries scheme and as a requirement by the donor countries. Due to the major influence of external forces, the sustainability of contemporary policies on education expansion may be questionable and could jeopardise the philosophy of self-reliance that Nyerere (1968d) propounded. As noted earlier, the period from 1986 to 2000 was permeated by the policies that encouraged user fees in almost every sector of social services, but this came into existence as one of the preconditions imposed by the IMF via the Structural Adjustment Programme. The Nyererean philosophies discouraged the idea of user fees and instead stated that if there was any need to generate more income for the school, the entire community who
lived in a particular area would contribute through the self-help schemes. The reason for tasking the entire community to incur expenses of education was rooted in the belief of Nyerere (1968d) that education does not benefit the recipient alone, but the larger society.

6.6 Nyererean Education Decentralisation: Setting and Historical Trends

This section analyses policy to focus on two major dimensions of the process of decentralisation: firstly, the content of what has been decentralised (political, financial and efficient/effective motives); and secondly, the nature or degree to which decision making has been devolved from the central government to the lower levels. This characterisation of decentralisation policies in this period is analysed in terms of the particular Nyererean conceptualisation of educational decentralisation used, which involved a transfer of authority and power from the centre to the lower level at the same time as spreading *Ujamaa* dispositions.

In order to highlight areas and extents of continuity between the Nyererean framework and Tanzanian educational policies, it is perhaps imperative to allude to at least succinct key areas of the external influences. This nonalignment between the policies and the Nyererean decentralisation framework can be traced right from the introduction of the 1995 education policy. First, according to the IMF and IDA (2001) the 1990s decentralisation policies were introduced in the context of the Highly Independent Poor Countries (HIPC) debt initiatives, which was signed by Tanzania in 1996 and subsequently deepened and accelerated in 1999. In 1999, the IMF determined that Tanzania had an unstable debt burden and recommended that debt relief be provided under the terms of the HIPC. Second, the Tanzanian government renewed the version of decentralisation that was introduced in the context of the renewed impetus to Education for All (EFA), in which Tanzania had made the commitment to achieve Universal Primary Education in Jomtien, Thailand, by the year 2000. As the goal of Education for All was not met by 2000, Tanzania renewed its commitment to the Education Forum in 2000 and this became serious when the country committed to the eight Millennium Goals, which were aimed at eradicating extreme poverty and improving the welfare of Tanzanians IMF and IDA (2001). Therefore, decentralisation policies in the 1990s were reinvigorated to inspire the
larger community to contribute morally and materially towards the attainment of education for all targets.

Similarly, examining the relationship between the Nyererean decentralisation framework and the subsequent Tanzanian policies on education decentralisation necessitates establishing a clear link to local government reforms, as they lie within the same management structures where primary education is being decentralised. According to the IMF and IDA (1999), the local government we see today in Tanzania is part of the three major phases, and connects closely to the influences of the external forces, which, however, do not align closely with the Nyererean decentralisation framework. In the period from 1961-1972, Tanzania elected local organs (district and town councils). However, in the years after independence, local government lost both influence and capacity following the reduction in tax revenues and declining motivation at the local level (URT, 2008c). Although local government bodies were abolished in the second phase (1972-1982), as I noted in chapter five, the regional administrative level was strengthened. Following the deep economic crisis in 1980s and the early conditions of the Structural Adjustment Programme, local government was reinstituted from 1982/83 to 1995, and was presented as being more efficient, democratic, accountable, transparent and responsible to the needs of the populace.

In order to align with the World Bank and the IMF to involve the local communities, in 1996 the Tanzanian Prime Minister announced a restructure and downsize of the regional administration in order to make local government more efficient (URT, 1996b). In October 1998, the government policy on Local Government Reform was published. The Structural Adjustment programme was expanded to include what URT URT (1996b) referred to as an ambitious public sector reform programme consisting of three areas: 1) civil service reform; 2) parastatal sector reform; and 3) financial and planning sector reforms. According to DAC (1997) the Civil Service Reform Programme consisted of six major elements: ministerial organisations and efficiency reviews; pay reform; personnel control and management; administrative capacity building; retrenchment and redeployment of staff; and local government reform. The main goal of the Local Government Reform was to bring public service under the control of people through their local government (DAC, 1997). An important point to
emphasise in this section was that the 1990s policies on education decentralisation occurred in the context of elected local governments, but with a small amount of revenue over which they had absolute control. It was therefore believed that decentralisation primary education would enhance the collection of more financial resources from the communities and thus fund education in their jurisdictions.

The fourth factor was the difficult social economic conditions from the mid 1980s, which led to the deterioration of education standards in both quality and quantity due to the government being overloaded by responsibilities (URT, 1993b). The state’s incapacity to provide social services compelled people to be more self-reliant and thus recourse to the alternative model. This means that the 1990s was more of what LGRP (1998) refers to as de facto decentralisation, because the policies hardly emanated from the enthusiasm of Tanzania’s populace, but rather occurred as the consequence of government failure to deliver the most basic services. The fact that policies were put in place requiring people to finance and manage schools in their jurisdiction implies the community’s response to inequitable distribution and the lack of access to schooling for its children. Of most importance is that each of these factors had important implications for the Nyererean education decentralisation model.

Also, important to note though not directly related to the theme of this section, was the decentralisation of secondary education. While primary education has been decentralised since the late 1960s, it was only recently that the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, through the Government Notice No. 5 (1) of 13 February, 2008, transferred the administration of secondary education from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to the Prime Minister’s Office Regional Administration and Local Government (URT, 2008c). From 2008 until today (2015), the management of secondary education in Tanzania has devolved to the lower levels of the local government. That is to say, both primary and secondary education have been decentralised to local government authorities. Key important day-to-day management decisions of these levels are no longer directly made by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, nor the Prime Minister’s Office, regional administrations or local governments, but at the district/municipal or school levels. For instance, the transfer and promotion of teachers, and the demotion or appointment of school principals are all made at the district/municipal levels. However, the current
approaches to decentralisation in secondary and primary schools are not exactly the same as what the Nyererean framework suggested. There are themes of continuity as well as divergences, such as compelling the community to pay for school facilities.

6.6.1 Nyererean decentralisation and the community involvement

The Nyererean principles accorded high priority to community involvement to realise the overarching educational objectives. While there were significant differences, the analysis showed that several policy texts, including URT (1996b) and URT (1995), aligned with the Nyererean general approaches by insisting on the importance of having local governments with some sort of local power and decision making authority. According to URT (1998a), “local governments have the responsibility for social development and public service provision within their jurisdiction, the facilitation of maintenance of law and order and issues of national importance such as education, health, water, roads and agriculture” (URT, 1998a, p. 52). In education, the emphasis on local government meant the creation of school committees to encourage an increased involvement of parents in the education of their children. The 1993 Education and Training Policy, for example, demonstrated continuity with the Nyererean approaches by indicating how power and decision making in the management and administration of education and training remained concentrated at the ministerial level (URT, 1996b). Instead, (URT, 1995) suggested promoting the involvement of the regions, districts and communities in the management and administration of educational institutions. That is to say, decentralisation policies, in the case of Tanzania, continued to be an ideological principle associated with objectives of self-reliance (which was part of the Nyererean legacy), democratic decision-making, popular participation in government and the accountability of public officials to citizens.

One of the features of Nyererean decentralisation was its emphasis on participation and involvement by the community in attaining the development of an entire society. Complying with the Nyererean decentralisation framework, the renewed overall impetus for decentralisation in Tanzania began in mid 1984 after the reinstitution of the local government, along with a major shift in the political and economic context of that time. As noted in chapter five, in 1972 local councils in Tanzania were
removed under Nyerere administration, because they were increasingly considered problematic, both administratively and politically (Samoff, 1990b, p. 217). In addition to being unable to meet their responsibilities due to bankruptcy (Nyerere, 1972), other local councils had become rallying points for the resistance of the socialist development project. The key decision was to eliminate councils at district level. Administration was deconcentrated through regional a development committee whose aims included popular participation through self-help schemes and ensuring that the policy of socialism replaced the councils in 1972 (Ambrose Kessy & McCourt, 2010, p. 691).

The underlying argument in favour of decentralisation in various policy documents in the 1990s was that “powers and decision-making in the management and administration of education and training have remained heavily concentrated at the ministerial level” (URT, 1995, p. 25). The primary education system, in particular in Tanzania, was deemed to be too centralised as it did not “empower educational managers at the lower levels to exercise autonomy in decision making” (URT, 1993b, p. 114). Hence, the remedy was as follows: “ministries responsible for education and training shall devolve their responsibilities of management and administration of education and training to lower organs and communities”. Following the Tanzanian decentralisation reform of 1994, all public primary schools would be decentralised to Local Government Authorities by 1995. In addition, Tanzania adopted the Local Government Reform Policy in 1998, which sought to promote an ambitious decentralisation process (URT, 1995, p. 26). The Local Government Reform was conceived as an integral part of the wider public sector reform, the primary mechanism for the decentralisation and devolution of power to local levels and a main feature in the delivery of primary education. The aims of the reforms were to increase the power of local government over primary education (URT, 1995). Changes in the roles of parents were planned to begin in 2000, when larger user payments would be emphasised (LGRP, 1998). The general view, according to the mid 1990s policy documents, was moreover that parents would be empowered to play a more active role in the running of schools (URT, 1995).

Congruent with the Nyererean education decentralisation framework, LGRP (1998) opposed the system in which the management and administration of schools would
rest entirely on the hands of school principals. Instead, community participation and
involvement in the management of schools was called for, as the policy mandated that
“all education and training institutions shall have school or college committees/boards” (URT, 1995, p 28). The Education and Training Policy of 1995, in certain aspects, aligned with the Nyererean education decentralisation framework as it promoted decentralisation and devolution of certain responsibilities to the local authorities and communities or schools in these ways: “Attempts to involve regions, districts and communities in the management and administration of educational institutions in their areas of jurisdiction are wanting, yet effective management of education and training necessitates community involvement” (URT, 1995, pp. 25-26).

This involved a call to empower parents to play a more active role in the running of schools. The overt aim of the education and training policy 1995 was the “streamlining of the management structure of education, by placing more authority and responsibility on schools, local communities, districts and regions” (URT, 1995, p. xii). In this way, more authority and responsibility would be placed on schools, local communities, districts, municipalities and regions. The implementation of this policy at the school level required that “Education and Training Boards shall be established for every region, district, town, municipal and city council and shall be responsible for the management of all levels of education and training in their areas of jurisdiction” (URT, 1995, p. 28). The establishment of school boards was meant to transfer power from the school principals to the parents, as is reflected in this quote:

Management and administration at education and training institutions including primary schools has to a large extent rested in the hands of the heads of those institutions. This system has excluded community participation and involvement in the management of schools. It is necessary to rectify this system by strengthening institutional Boards/Committees so that institutional heads become directly answerable to their Boards/Committees. In addition, parents are invaluable allies to the teachers. Where there is a good teacher-parent relationship, the development of the pupils is enhanced. The success of such educational institutions is as much the concern of parents and communities as the teachers (URT, 1993b, p. 117).
In addition to enhancing community participation through promoting teacher-parent relationships, the school boards/committee “shall be responsible for management, development planning, discipline and financing of institutions under their jurisdiction” (URT, 1993b, p. 117). Almost similar to the Nyererean approaches that promoted decentralisation to enhance the *Ujamaa* project, the aim of decentralisation in this period was to strengthen local democratic institutions, enhance participation and bring control to the populace. In an attempt to realise this objective, a school management committee was established in every education institution.

In addition to the informal functions of the school committee, such helping as new teachers to find houses (where the school had none), URT (2001c) listed some of the formal responsibilities of school committees:

1) To sensitize and involve all pupils, parents and school staff in respect of the roles they can play in maximizing the benefits of primary school.

2) To oversee the day-to-day affairs of the school.

3) To work together with the Head Teacher and other teachers to prepare a Whole School Development Plan.

4) To approve Whole School Development Plans and budgets and submit them to the *mtaa* (street) committee, or village council and subsequently to the ward development committee and eventually to the LGAs (Local Government Authorities) for scrutiny coordination and consolidation, and submission to RSs (Regional Secretariat).

5) To facilitate planning, budgeting and implementation of the PEDP-funded activities.

6) To open bank accounts and to efficiently and effectively manage funds received for implementation, while guaranteeing maximum accountability and transparency in the processes used, including making incomes and expenditures publicly available.

7) To ensure safe custody of property acquired using the PEDP funds.

8) To prepare and submit accurate and timely progress and financial reports to the village council, mtaa committee, and LGAs.
9) To effectively communicate educational information to all parents, pupils, community stakeholders, and to the village, ward/mtaa, and LGAs (URT, 2001c, p. 16).

As the quote suggests, there were a number of activities that aligned with the Nyererean decentralisation model, such as the devolution of managerial and financial responsibility to the school committee. While URT (2001c) called for the enhancement of democratic participation, it did not indicate how the school committees would strengthen the *Ujamaa* dispositions/values in their respective localities, as the Nyererean decentralisation suggested. In addition, although the activities of the school committee have been outlined in relation to planning, and managing school funds, the ways in which parents, teachers and students would work together to generate income for the school are not spelt out as clearly as the Nyererean self-reliant model would have put it. In relation to this, the Nyererean model of decentralisation suggests “The pupils must remain an integral part of the family (or community) economic unit. The children must be made part of the community by having responsibilities to the community, and having the community involved in school activities” (Nyerere, 1968d, p. 69). While URT (2001c) has spelt out the responsibilities of the school committee to the school, it does not state the responsibilities of the students to the community as the Nyererean model suggests.

Similarly, the policy on education decentralisation, which sought to transfer managerial responsibility from the central government to communities, did not explicitly specify whether that empowerment would be concerned with the formal influence of the administrative running of schools, hiring, firing, promoting or disciplining teachers. Rather, the aim of devolving authority was transformed into a simple and appealing message: “devolving responsibilities to local schools would increase their performance, technical capacity might be retrieved, and corruption would be reduced (or disappear)” (URT, 1995, p. 28). Therefore, the idea of decentralisation was presented as having these benefits in 1995, but with little specification of the nature and extent of power and control that would be devolved.

Despite this recent rhetoric of decentralisation, (Therkildsen, 2000) has argued that local government, and indeed school management committees in Tanzania, had little
real influence on educational issues proper: curriculum, examinations, the relative weight placed on academic and practical activities in schools and the duration of classroom instructions and other activities.

The Nyererean model of decentralisation gave the school committees power to adjust school terms to fit the agricultural seasons according to their particular geographical area. The lack of a component that would empower local government to adjust school terms in the recent models (1990s-2015) of decentralisation gives an indication that it is not meant to transfer real power to the community as the Nyererean education framework required.

However the fact that school management committees are excluded in arranging school terms and influencing school curricular should not be construed as meaning that they completely lack the power to control schools in their jurisdiction. Since the beginning of the implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan in 2001, which among other things abolished school fees in all primary schools, the central government made a commitment to disburse capitation grants to school committees, via municipal and district councils, of approximately $10 US per student per year to cover expenses related to textbooks, teaching and learning materials, teacher training and other school projects. Since then, school committees have had a great influence on the management of school funds received from the Central Government (Boex, 2007). While the government of Tanzania was praised for this financial commitment, and its ability to devolve that responsibility to lower levels, URT (2001c) noted that this capitation allowance has not kept up with inflation, as it remained at the same amount from 2001 until 2015. The result has been a decline in the real income and budget of schools over time.

Nevertheless, as much as the Nyererean education decentralisation framework requires that the lower levels be given an opportunity to participate in the affairs of the schools around them, the themes in this period related to the Nyererean framework, in the sense that the school management committees were given the responsibilities to manage the funds and would develop an annual school development plan, which would include mobilising additional contributions in cash and in kind from the larger community (URT, 2006). While the total number of
members is not clearly spelt out (ranges between 9-13), the composition of the school committee includes representatives from the community, teachers, students, parents and village governments (URT, 2011).

While there is a difference in the functions and responsibilities of the school committees, some policy texts in this section have revealed an alignment between the Nyererean framework in the sense that they highlight the intention of the central government to take the responsibilities and powers to the lower communities as an aspect of the involvement, which was part of the Nyererean decentralisation framework. However, the recent policies do not put any emphasis on spreading the *Ujamaa* ideals throughout the community via school committees, as the Nyererean model would have suggested.

### 6.6.2 Nyererean framework and decentralising financial responsibilities

While the Nyererean model of decentralisation sought to give people power over their own lives and development, the themes in this section have indicated that decentralisation was not solely aimed at transferring power to the people, but was mainly associated with shifting the financial responsibilities to the lower levels from the central government, as it can be revealed from (LGRP, 1998):

Larger recurrent and development revenues will only come about if councils themselves—helped through reform measures - generate more revenues, reduce costs and operate more efficiently with very scarce resources. This will also improve their democratic legitimacy. The future magnitudes of grants to local government from central government will depend on how well local governments carry out these reform measures; on the state of the economy; and on the financial consequences of reducing the role of ministries in implementation through decentralisation and privatisation. The ability of councils to attract additional donor funds to improve service delivery is also directly linked to their ability to improve their performance significantly (LGRP, 1998, p. vi).

This shift of responsibilities therefore pertained to how the central government would
rely on local government financing of services, such as education and health. The major reason for decentralisation in the 1990s was, therefore, not community participation leading to the attainment of the socialist goals of the Nyererean education decentralisation framework, but the shifting of financial responsibilities to the local communities. This not only reflects the shift from Ujamaa, but also points to a very particular, neo-liberal type of decentralisation. In particular, the focus of Education and Training Policy was, as LGRP (1998) puts it, to “broaden the base for the financing of education and training through cost sharing measures involving individuals, communities, NGOs, parents and end users, and through the inclusion of education in the Investment Promotion Act” (p. xii). In other words, decentralisation was used as a strategy to call upon local authorities, individuals, NGOs and donor agencies to collaborate with the central government in realising the objectives of the policy. In contrast to the Nyererean model which called for the integration of the students and the communities for the good of all, the 1990s decentralisation model shows that the government was running away from its core responsibilities of service provision.

In addition, the powers which most of the policy documents such as URT (1993b) and URT (2006) delegated to the communities or school management committees were focused on fund mobilisation and cost reduction, but rarely on the question of giving more local freedom to make decisions and take actions of local import, as was advocated by Nyerere (Nyerere, 1972). The policies were relatively silent on this issue.

Decentralisation in this period was directly linked to a restricted national budget, and so a devolution of financial responsibility from the centre to the local level. Some of the text from policy documents can help to explain the rationale of decentralisation in Tanzania at that particular time, as (URT, 2001c) states:

With the liberalization policy now in place, and with the realization of the budgetary limits of government funding, the government is committed to mobilize funds from other sources for financing basic education… The other sources will include contribution from parents, communities, civil society
through District Trust Funds, the Education Levy and Credit Schemes/Revolving Loan Funds” (p. 9).

Moreover, such a response, in the words of Edwards and DeMatthews (2014), did not necessarily spring from the Tanzanian community, as the Nyererean education decentralisation framework suggested, but reflected inspirations from many decentralised countries in 1980s and 1990s. Such a reaction could also be linked with the pragmatic view of limited central government capacity, which informed the Tanzanian 1990s Civil Service Reforms and Local Government Reforms (LGRP, 1998).

Moreover, decentralisation policies in Tanzania went beyond participation and involvement, which the Nyererean framework suggested. The implementation of decentralisation policies reached the point where the parents and the communities in Tanzania were required to increase their contributions. For instance, in 2008 the Education Sector Development Programme required communities to contribute at least 20% to construction costs over the 10 year period (URT, 2008c). In addition, the same document added:

> It is further estimated that community contributions to the construction of classrooms and teachers’ houses presently account for 20% of total costs. In order to increase this level of support, typically delivered in terms of local labour and sometimes land, and to raise commitment, each school committee will develop a plan for the provision of sufficient classrooms and teacher housing over a set period. Consultation with Government will occur regarding the provision of materials. Alongside this approach, action will be taken to eliminate wastage (URT, 2008c, p. 44).

In order to shift the responsibility for the funding of services away from the central government, many more strategies were put in place to make sure that communities provided labour and land, and increased their percentage of contribution.

According to URT (2008c), parents were required to contribute the largest share of basic education, the folk and vocational education recurrent expenditure. For instance,
in 2001 while the government contributed 20,000 Tanzanian Shillings and 85,000 Tanzanian Shillings per primary and secondary pupil respectively, parents spent 30,000 Tanzanian Shillings per primary and 93,000 Tanzanian shillings per secondary pupil. In Folk Development Colleges, communities would contribute to the tune of one third of the total tuition fee (p. 44). Moreover, this contribution of the parents and communities in general, was underestimated as it left out important expenses such as school uniforms, transport, food/snacks, teaching learning materials and equipment and medical expenses.

The notion of devolution in this period was, therefore, opposed to the Nyererean philosophies as they were presented as a justification for cost sharing. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper helps to clarify this point:

The government will strategically support cost-sharing, co-financing, and other initiatives aimed at catalysing deeper involvement by communities and other shareholders in well-conceived poverty reduction programmes… the government is envisaging that there will be significant changes in the financing modalities for the poverty reduction program, following the planned devolution of responsibilities to the local government authorities, and the attendant decentralisation of public finances. The financial consequences of these prospective institutional changes will be kept under review, and incorporated more explicitly in the budget for FY 2001/2002 (URT, 2000c).

Whereas the Nyererean framework sought to draw on the ideas of local people to fulfil the requirements of the _Ujamaa_ projects, the main aim of the policies in this period was to support cost sharing by using different techniques. Even in the overall processes of financing poverty reduction in different areas, the government would strategically support cost-sharing, co-financing and other initiatives aimed at catalysing deeper involvement by communities and other stakeholders in a poverty reduction programme. As the policy documents stressed: “Local communities at the village, ward, and district levels will continue to play a major role in poverty reduction through self-help schemes to construct classrooms, teachers’ houses, health centres, dispensaries, water facilities, and rural roads” (URT, 2000c, p. 26). Moreover, extra-budgetary interventions by international and other development
partners would continue to provide complementary support for poverty reduction.

Similarly, (URT, 2000c) noted that this kind of community involvement in Tanzania had been characterised by induced contributions from families, either in cash or kind, such as by donating time, labour, and materials to carry out administrative duties, including the construction of school houses and the performance of maintenance, and thereby reducing the burden on the government. While Nyerere similarly supported some of these ideas, in terms of building a sense of local ownership and control over schooling, the decentralisation of the 1990s was externally influenced by donors under the Poverty Reduction Strategy.

The findings in Tanzania are congruous with the policy and practice of other developing countries. It was broadly understood in many developing countries that decentralisation was advocated mostly as a means of encouraging (and forcing) local communities to absorb more of the cost of local schools. In practice, government efforts towards education decentralisation tended to devolve financial responsibility without a concomitant devolution of authority (Sasaoka & Nishuma, 2010).

In addition, one of the major purposes of the Nyererean decentralisation approaches was to ensure that future economic planning stemmed from the people and served the populace directly (Nyerere, 1972). Besides giving the people at the lower levels the power of decision making in matters that related to their day-to-day activities, the main characteristic of Nyererean education decentralisation was decentralisation as a form of local democratic participation, in line with the Ujamaa philosophy.

Having seen different sections of the policy documents that largely support community involvement and co-financing, the analysis of policy documents in this section indicate that the Tanzanian policies from 1986 to 2015 could be largely associated with a financial motive in which community financing is used as a strategy to offload the central government burden for primary education. Although the policy documents, such as the URT (1993b) and LGRP (1998), have reconcilably promoted decentralisation policies, this underlying force emanated from international organisations such the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund for the reasons that decentralisation would lead to the facilitation of more accountable,
efficient and effective production and provision of public goods and services, so as to establish public market oriented economies in which public sectors such as education could be privatised. Such a focus indicates the inconsistencies between the two. The ultimate goal for decentralisation, which the Nyererean framework stressed, was the construction of the *Ujamaa* society, not privatisation, as the recent policies seem to prefer.

The recent character of decentralisation in Tanzania has, therefore, largely been a reflection of the broader worldwide trend since 1986. Given that economically powerful countries such as the United States, and Britain were promoting one form or another of a downward shift of activity in late 1970s and early 1980s, it is not surprising that Tanzania’s policies showed an increase in the prevalence of this phenomenon in almost the same years. However, given the presence of these powerful global actors influencing the current decentralisation processes in Tanzania, Edwards and DeMatthews (2014) warn that it could be a reflection of re-colonisation.

In 1997, the focus of decentralisation in Tanzania was given added impetus by conditionality in the new World Bank Structural Adjustment Credit to the Social Sectors. According to Hedges et al. (2016), the first condition stated that the previously earmarked recurrent grants to the local authorities for primary education be given as block grants, thereby giving councils greater room for manoeuvre including decisions about primary education. The second condition required that the employment of teachers previously managed by the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) should be shifted to the councils. Both of these changes were to be implemented in 2000, starting with the 35 districts, and accordingly would be introduced countrywide over a consecutive three-year period. In May 1997, the government of Tanzania declared a renewed conviction and commitment to the process of local-level decentralisation and agreed with the World Bank to introduce block grants and decentralised management of staff in at least 20 councils on a pilot basis in the sectors of education and health, but as a condition for obtaining bank support for those two sectors. Unlike the Nyererean education decentralisation framework, which suggested the utilisation of local people’s ideas and suggestions in order to solve the problems that they were likely to face their communities, the motivation to pursue the recent decentralisation in this period stemmed from the
increased pressure in the 1990s to meet Educational For All goals, which in turn placed additional pressure on the Tanzanian government to increase educational access, but in the context of a limited or rather decreasing budget for education.

In sum, this policy analysis revealed that, unlike the Nyererean education decentralisation model which insisted on tapping local people’s ideas and suggestions towards attaining and spreading Ujamaa dispositions, the policies in this period focused on financial motives, rather than constructing the Ujamaa and self-reliant community that the Nyererean framework proposed.

### 6.6.3 Education privatisation under the banner of decentralisation

Privatisation is perhaps one of the factors that did not have a place in the Nyererean education decentralisation framework. However, education privatisation has been presented under the banner of decentralisation since 1993 and appeared to be one of the major foci in providing education in Tanzania. While the Nyererean approaches supported the idea of social services, particularly education to be provided by the state machineries, the policies, including (URT, 1993a) and URT (1996b), stressed privatisation processes and were introduced with the strategy of economic recovery programmes as the result of institutional changes, but were justified on the rationale of resuscitating the Tanzanian economy.

The Education and Training Policy justified privatisation on the basis that the public systems, such as education and health sectors in 1980s, were broadly inefficient (URT, 1995). The curative measure was to decentralise via privatising the management of primary education and facilitate competition among institutions so as to achieve high quality and efficiency (URT, 1996d).

Based on the justification of a limited resources base in Tanzania at that time, and particularly the external forces that were in play, the government advocated what it characterised as “the increased role of the private sector, thereby broadening the participation base in the economy” (LGRP, 1998, p. 7). The Local Government Reform Programme of 1998 emphasised inter alia an increased role of the private
sectors and continued liberalisation of economy. Consequently, deliberate efforts and policies were made, particularly from 1990s, by the government of Tanzania to encourage individuals, non governmental organisations and private organisations to participate fully in the provision of education through establishing and managing schools and other educational institutions at different levels, from pre-primary up to university. However, these aspirations were contrary to the Nyererean approach to decentralisation.

The recent Education and Training Policy 2014 has maintained that the aim of the state is to support private sectors. Some of the objectives of the 2014 Education and Training Policy were to enable the participation of the private sector in providing primary education by encouraging them to establish non-governmental schools and non governmental institutions. Notwithstanding other major reasons for education privatisation, such as those related to the conditions of the IMF and the World Bank, the URT (2014) insisted that privatisation in the context of Tanzania was done in recognition of the limited sources in public resources and that is why private institutions were given an enabling environment to enable them invest in education sector.

Since the 1990s, the role of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training has been that of “facilitating and encouraging private sector and Non Governmental Organisation’s participation in the promotion of education” (URT, 1993b, p. 5). Several policy documents, particularly URT (1995, p. xi) and URT (1993b), encouraged and attempted to provide a favourable environment for the private investors to participate effectively in the provision and management of education. As more functions would be carried out by the private sector, the major role of the state was to provide a “conducive and attractive environment for private sectors” (URT, 1995, p. i), which included setting out rules regarding registration of non governmental schools and the establishment of the mechanisms to monitor the quality and standards of primary schools, particularly those run by non governmental institutions.

Providing a favourable environment was not confined to setting up rules and regulations, but included making available human resources for the private sector to
be ready to use. For instance, URT (2001b) noted that until early 1998 almost all the teacher training colleges in Tanzania were owned by the government. Since education standards for teachers were set by the central government, it was the task of the Ministry of Education to make sure that the country had enough teachers readily available to be employed by the private sector whenever they needed them. The Ministry of Education and Vocational Training would control private schools in many respects, including by requiring them to abide by the laws of the land in the process of providing education. Private schools would also be controlled by way of asking them to submit their plans to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to enable the Ministry report about their development. Finally the Commissioner of Education was empowered to approve fees for private schools (URT, 1993b). While there were a number of strategies to control private sectors, their existence enhanced the social gap (have and have nots), which Nyerere had not discouraged in his decentralisation model.

Moreover, the move to privatise schooling was not limited to primary schools; it expanded to include other levels including secondary education. For instance, the National Poverty Eradication Paper of 1998 sought to “expand secondary education by strengthening existing Government secondary schools and construct new schools. Local authorities, NGOs, individuals and other institutions will be encouraged to establish private secondary schools. The target is to have at least one Secondary school at each ward” (URT, 1998a, p. 21). Poverty reduction, with privatisation and an increase in non-state provisions were simply presented as the most efficient way of achieving expansion.

Like the Nyererean framework, which insisted on community participation and involvement, the education policies from 1986 intended, among other things, to broaden the scope of participation and eliminate inefficiency in the public school system, but by adopting a business model that stressed the value of competition in the provision of social services. Based on the business model, it was assumed that schools would respond to clients' needs.

Nevertheless, URT (1998b) noted that establishing or privatising primary education was not a panacea for the Tanzanian educational problems. What appears to be the
main divergence between the Nyererean perspectives and the policies on privatising education was that the cost of primary education presented a barrier to most of the needy people and therefore discriminated against some of the groups in the Tanzanian society. The fee for most of the private and English medium schools, or what may sometimes be referred to as the schools for the privileged few, was too high for some to afford. In 2013-2014 for example, the annual tuition fee only, excluding other fees, was US $19,200 for grade 6-8, and $24,600 for grades 11 and 12 at the International School of Tanganyika. The other fees, including the capital fee, building, alumni and application fees totalled $9,100 in the same school. The high cost of primary education and its necessity for higher education in Tanzania, and for job replacement and social advancement, precluded many Tanzanians from accessing quality primary education. According to Hedges et al. (2016), the minimum gross wage for a Tanzanian civil servant is around $1080 per year. This means private schools belong to the elite few, and this contrasts with Nyererean egalitarian ideals.

6.6.4 Conclusion

The policy analysis indicated both continuity and divergence in relation to the Nyererean ideas on education decentralisation. The Nyererean model promoted community involvement and ownership of educational institutions. The Nyererean model also encouraged integration of the community and the school while using the decentralised structures to spread the Ujamaa disposition down to the lower levels such as villages. Some policy texts, particularly URT (1993a) and URT (1995), reflected the alignment with the Nyererean philosophies in the sense that they have shown that the intention of the central government was to take the responsibilities and powers to the lower communities as an aspect of their involvement, which is part of the Nyererean decentralisation framework. However, the analysis suggests that the major goals of the recent decentralisation policies were not to devolve meaningful power to the lower level, as the Nyererean framework required, but to task parents and communities under the banner of decentralisation to handle financial issues which would have been performed by the central government. One of the key features of the recent policies has been education privatisation, but presented under the banner of decentralisation. However, Nyerere (1973) warned that education privatisation might result in the denial of the right to basic education, because it operates not on the basis of who needs the services, but mainly on who is able to pay. Given the low income of
most of the Tanzanian populace, the policy of privatisation of education via decentralisation benefits the elite few and thus contrasts with the Nyererean model of decentralisation, which seeks to tap on local people’s ideas and suggestions towards development, attaining development and spreading *Ujamaa* dispositions for the good of all.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Overview
This study set out to examine and assess Tanzanian educational reforms, policies and structures between 1961 and 2015 through a Nyererean framework. The Nyererean framework developed for this study is comprised of four interlocking tenets: *Ujamaa* (African socialism), Education for Self-reliance, education expansion (Universal Primary Education) and decentralisation. The overarching question this research set out to examine is how Tanzanian educational policy from 1961 to 2015, aligned with the Nyererean framework. The analysis of policy in this period reflects a coexistence of capitalism and *Ujamaa*, even if the dominance has tended to alternate. The period of 1961-1966 is referred to as the pre-*Ujamaa* era, such that it was unlikely to see major advances with respect to *Ujamaa* principles. The period of 1967-1985 was dominated by the *Ujamaa* policies, and the post-*Ujamaa* period of 1986-2015 had more influence from the neo-liberal prescriptions. As the dominance alternated, so did the roles of teachers and education in general changing overtime. The role of education and teachers was to enhance capitalism during the pre-*Ujamaa* period. Teachers were instrumental in helping to spread the appropriate dispositions during the *Ujamaa* and self-reliance era, and they have recently been useful in strengthening neo-liberal prescriptions during the post *Ujamaa* period. Despite historically different polities, the analysis reflected a dominant feature of overt politicisation of schooling being considered as the preparation for work linked to the national economic development. Although this reflected the Nyererean idea of self-reliance in regards to having adequate levels of locally trained workforces as were required across social economic sectors, it could be interpreted as emphasising national economic development to overcome underdevelopment via the preparation of human capital and thus contrasting with an alternative model.

7.2 Educational Policies though *Ujamaa* Lens
The policy analysis reflected the coexistence of capitalist and *Ujamaa* policies as a dominant feature throughout the period. One of the main aims of Nyerere (1968) was
the construction of a society which would live according to Ujamaa principles. Philosophically, these would involve working cooperatively for the common good, rather than individual private advancement. Evidence from policy documents from 1961 to 1966, examined through the Nyererean framework, reflected mixed trends in relation to Ujamaa philosophy. In the economic sector for example, the inherited capitalist ethos continued to guide the newly independent country’s policies and practices. These policies were mostly characterised by reliance upon, and encouragement of, private investment and the strengthening of the capitalist mode of production. This included ongoing privatisation, evident in agriculture, manufacturing and transport. Until 1964, the government clearly showed a willingness to provide as much land as the private investors required. This period was marked by what Tanganyika-Goverment (1964b) characterised as the ‘free-economy’. As Buchert (1994) noted, the pre-Ujamaa era reflected the pre-independence pattern in which the economy was controlled by western industrial forces. Therefore, despite gaining independence, a capitalist ethos continued.

Despite the continuation, and arguably the dominance (URT, 1964), of these inherited capitalist tendencies during the early years of independence, the ideas and actions that aligned with Ujamaa principles were not completely absent. The analysis of the pre-Ujamaa period (Chapter 4) argued that it contained some co-existence of capitalist and Ujamaa characteristics, even if capitalism remained a dominant force. Radical ideas of brotherhood, such as “I believe in human brotherhood and the unity of Africa,” began to be publicly advanced in this period, and there were preliminary plans regarding how these principles could be applied throughout Africa (Tanganyika-Goverment, 1964a, p. i). Other features that foreshadowed Ujamaa included an articulation of the foreign policy of non-alignment, largely as a way to avoid the dominance of any one group (East or West), and the formation of the one party state system in 1965, under the Tanganyika African Union. Increasingly, private sector investment was encouraged, but on the basis of joint ventures/partnerships with the Tanzanian State.

A focus on economic growth was evident in plans to expand teacher education via increasing the number of teacher colleges. This effort to expand education during the early years was not driven by a desire to spread Ujamaa principles, but rather to lay a
firm foundation for future capitalist economic growth. At the same time, policies such as the abolition of discrimination in teacher training and common terms and conditions of employment were introduced in these years. Despite these policies to expand teacher education, primary education would continue to suffer teacher shortages, as it was not the highest priority in comparison to post-primary education, which was deemed important to yield the quickest economic returns. Another important policy that aligned with Nyererean ideas was ‘Africanisation’. Although the government introduced the Africanisation policy to enable Tanzanians to replace expatriates in the newly independent state, it was difficult to implement this policy, as there were simply not enough trained Tanzanian teachers to meet the demand. As a result, Tanzania continued to recruit expatriate teachers, particularly from Commonwealth countries and the USA.

Nevertheless, radical policies that largely reflected Ujamaa principles began in 1967 after the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration. The Declaration officially announced African socialist project and policies – Ujamaa. This declaration was accompanied by the nationalisation of the major means of production across the financial, manufacturing, trade and industrial sectors, and educational institutions. Tanzania’s previously open economy (1961-1966) changed direction, with restrictions on imports, the control of foreign exchange, measures to prevent individual accumulation of capital, as well as the prohibition of leaders in the government and party from accumulating private wealth.

The Ujamaa philosophy of African socialism saw the government introduce an income policy to narrow the economic gap among the population, reducing the salary levels of high-ranking officials. The stated aims of these policies were to place the economy in the hands of peasants and workers, and thereby avoid exploitation and inequality, particularly via the economy. However, the gap between workers could not be immediately overcome within the context of the Cold War and drought in the early 1970s. Similarly, the single party system was maintained throughout the 1970s and up to early 1992 for the reason that a country struggling against colonial domination did not need to embrace unnecessary differences. Based on these sentiments, most of the government’s activities merged with those of the party.
Having a single party system meant the principles of *Ujamaa* could be reflected across government policy.

Of particular importance is the fact that it is clear from the analysis of policy texts that the place of education in all this restructuring was enormous. Education was presented as an essential tool to achieve the broader *Ujamaa* goals, and was charged with the task of educating citizens with the knowledge, skills and disposition required to construct *Ujamaa* society. Thus in 1967, the curriculum was changed to embrace African-ness, cherish collectivisation, and at the same time downgrade individualism for private gains. The official motive for curricular changes was to instil revolutionary thinking, and socialise both children and adults with what Nyerere (1973) considered to be the right dispositions and attitudes to become useful members of the Tanzanian (socialist) community. The learning content and texts were made more Tanzanian, were culturally specific to the history of Africa, and were to be analysed from an African perspective, measures which were central to the broader *Ujamaa* project. Books such as *Education for Liberation* were introduced in this period to elaborate upon the envisaged model and new purposes of Tanzanian education (Nyerere, 1974b).

Similarly, the implementation of *Ujamaa* principles required that the right content be taught in an appropriate language. In accordance with the self-reliant aspect of *Ujamaa* see (see 7.3 below), Kiswahili was promoted as the desired language of instruction from primary to university level. The policy of elevation of the Kiswahili language had one key consequence of eliminating expatriate teachers from schools, and protecting the employment opportunities of native speakers. In the early 1980s, following the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Policies, a revised policy was introduced whereby both English and Kiswahili were to be used as the language of instruction.

In the spirit of *Ujamaa*, and in contrast to the early years of independence, since 1967 the government considered teachers to be important agents of social change in Tanzanian society. The importance of teachers lay in two main areas. Firstly, they would help to expand primary education; secondly, and perhaps most importantly, they would help to educate students in the true meaning of Ujamaa and so to work
and study in ways that contribute to the realisation of this project. URT (1984) categorically stated that a primary task for teachers was “to develop in the children an appreciation and acceptance of socialism” (URT, 1984, p. 5). It was therefore the role of teachers to acquire, assimilate and pass on to others the national cultural ethos of *Ujamaa*. All other pragmatic strategies, such as introducing distance education, building more teachers’ colleges, refresher courses and introducing teaching pedagogies in all secondary school education, can be connected to this primary goal of *Ujamaa*.

Nevertheless, the period from 1986 experienced a major shift away from the *Ujamaa* ethos and towards neo-liberal policy prescriptions. This shift was related to the economic downturn in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and linked to the oil shock of the 1970s and the military conflict between Tanzania and Uganda in 1978/79. Tanzania turned in this period to the IMF and the World Bank for loans provided under their Structural Adjustment Programs. The policy emphasis for Tanzania shifted from collectivisation for the good of all, as Nyerere (1966) had long promoted, toward an emphasis on competition within and outside Tanzania. The new Tanzanian ethos cherished and exalted individual human development via entrepreneurship and competition. The shift away from Nyererean public provision of education, towards privatisation under the banner of liberalisation, is evidenced in URT (1996b), which identified the “enhancement of partnership in the provision of education by encouraging private entities to establish schools (p. 7). This reflects the swapping of free education for the majority with private schooling for the few.

Education privatisation was therefore another dominant feature that veered away from the *Ujamaa* ethos. This distinction of schools into public and private marked a clear line between poor and rich people: Public schooling was for poor and private for the rich. While the two groups learned in different contexts, they were both given the same examination content but in different languages. The second major feature of education privatisation was the use of English as the medium of instruction. In contrast to the mid 1960s policies, when Kiswahili was promoted for primary to university level, the privatisation of education went hand-in-hand with promoting English on the basis that “it is the language which dominates international commerce and business”, and thus the language required for effective competition within the
global economy. The new dividing line between poor and rich clearly contrasted with the Nyererean ideas about education. As *Ujamaa* dispositions were spread through the Kiswahili language (1967-1970s), since the 1980s so was neo-liberalism disseminated through English in Tanzania. Similarly, despite the rhetoric of expansion of teacher education since the 1990s, URT (1995) suggests that teacher shortages and lack of morale contributed to high turnover particularly in public schools. Since that time, this pattern has become normalised, and thus contrasts with Nyererean egalitarian principles.

### 7.3 Policy and Education for Self-reliance

Despite the major gains that Tanzania made during the *Ujamaa* era, the country is still not fully self-reliant. The initial Nyererean idea of self-reliance required Tanzania to free itself from all aspects of economic, cultural and political dependence. The philosophy considered education to be an important factor in bringing these ideas to fruition. However, this analysis of policies from 1961 to 2015 indicates that dependence and over reliance on international aid to fund educational programmes has dominated Tanzanian policies. During the pre-*Ujamaa* period (1961-1966) for example, external influence in policy formulation and implementation continued, despite being a newly independent state. The influence of international institutions, such as DANIDA and the World Bank, was manifested in different scenarios. Almost all policies, including the three-year plan in the early period of independence, referred to the World Bank to justify ‘correct’ decisions for the country. This influence was not only on policy content, but the amount which the country would be allowed to borrow. Likewise, as noted above, the pre-*Ujamaa* period was characterised by a reliance on the non-Tanzanians to carry out many of the skilled/professional jobs, including teaching.

As a newly independent nation, aspects that aligned with the Nyererean principles of self-reliance were evident in some policy documents. For instance, in relation to the issue of relying on non-Tanzanians to fill professional posts, the government put in place a policy which aimed at self-sufficiency in the workforce by 1980 (Tanganyika-Government, 1961). Yet, this policy of self-sufficiency can be interpreted in multiple
ways. On the one hand, it clearly reflected Nyererean idea of self-reliance, in the sense of having sufficient levels of locally trained and qualified labour as required across social and economic sectors. On the other hand, the policy of self-sufficiency could be interpreted as an indication of the emphasis on national economic development by seeking to overcome historical ‘underdevelopment’ through the preparation of local human capital, and could thus be seen as contrasting with an alternative emphasis on a liberal/comprehensive education for all as a human right, facilitating full social and cultural development of human potential. That was perhaps the reason the policy emphasis was on self-sufficiency in the workforce, and placed more emphasis on increasing science rather than art students. Yet, even within science subjects, some specialisations (the higher professionals) were deemed to be more important than others. Such factors had more capitalist features and contrasted with the Nyererean egalitarian ethos.

The Africanisation of high-level jobs, as indicated in chapter four, was one of the major policy commitments, defined, but with occasional exceptions implemented in terms of citizens rather than race. This in part aligned with the Nyererean principles that embraced African-ness and were a manifestation of self-reliance. However, the policy analysis indicated that there was no comparable Africanisation policy for schooling. The analysis showed that schools in Tanzania did not maintain records of social strata. Whereas region (ethnicity) was considered to be an important and appropriate focus, and organising unit of public policy and political activity, religion, race and perhaps gender were not. To put it the other way round, while ethnic differences were highly politicised, other social cleavages were deemed to be politically less significant.

After the Arusha Declaration of 1967, the policy of self-reliance in Tanzania became a top priority, and indeed a defining characteristic of Tanzanian policy. In the Cold War and Tanzania’s expressed policy of non-alignment, the promulgation of the philosophies of Ujamaa were accompanied by a loss of international aid on the part of Tanzania, the policy of self-reliance was introduced as an alternative to support the economy. The policy called for Tanzania to satisfy its local basic needs under those difficult conditions without depending on external donors.
To make the policy of self-reliance successful, education was seen as perhaps the most important agent by which students would be taught to merge study and work, and establish income-generating activities. Participation in education was seen as helping to enhance this philosophy by shaping learners’ social and political formation skills. Merging study and work would not only give students necessary skills, but in the process would help to contribute to the national income through income generating school activities. In 1976 for example, the revenue earned from income generating activities in schools went as high as 25% (URT, 1979a). In this way the schools would almost be able to fund themselves, reduce dependence and promote the ideas and philosophy of Ujamaa.

Another reason as to why self-reliance became important at this time was that, given the philosophy of Ujamaa in which education was to be free and universal, the number of pupils in primary schools increased. This increase however faced a lag – expanded enrolments - involving a delay in preparing the required number of teachers and building new schools/classrooms, to meet demand. In 1967 for example, only 13.8% of primary school leavers could get places in secondary schools (URT, 1987). The policies show how the government responded by trying to link subjects in schools with agricultural production, not only as a strategy that aligned with Nyererean principles but also to provide employment opportunities and hence reduce the number of school leavers who were flocking into towns in search for jobs. In this sense, policy can be interpreted here as both a reflection of Nyererean principles of self-reliance, under the philosophy of Ujamaa, and a pragmatic response to immediate problems of unemployment, and of school and teacher shortages.

On the basis of its importance, the overall education system was restructured in line with the policy of self-reliance to bring together mental and manual skills, and in the process, to raise the social status of manual skills and work, particularly agricultural work. This occurred from primary school to university. All secondary schools depending on the geographical locations engaged in income generating activities. Universities too were required to run income-generating activities in order to supplement their running costs. Students at the university level were required to work for at least two years prior to entering university. However, this led to a strike by university students and they were sent back home. While this policy gave more
opportunities for mature age entry, it limited the chances of women to continue with tertiary education after a two-year waiting period after form 6 (advanced secondary education), as many of them became engaged with family commitments and eventually failed to resume their studies. In 1976, the two-year waiting period was waived to allow female students to continue their studies in a straightforward manner. In this way, the policy could be seen as enhancing self-reliance via merging mental and manual skills, but at the same time contrasting with the Nyererean ideals of equal opportunities particularly for female students.

Another major turning point concerned the continuity of reliance on external bodies. As argued in chapter six, since 1986 many changes occurred in Tanzanian educational policies and other sectors of the government in line with the demands of the Structural Adjustment Policies and the associated poverty reduction strategy paper of 1992. The economic downturn in the late 1970s and early 1980s saw Tanzania turning to the IMF loans provided under the Structural Adjustment Program. This situation intensified and marked a shift away from the Nyererean self-reliant ideals to dependence in various aspects from policies to loans. International Organisations like DANIDA, SIDA and GTZ have had enormous influence on Tanzania’s economic policies since 1986. In 2003 for example, the then minister of Finance, Pesambili Mramba, reported that Tanzania’s annul budget depended to the extent of nearly 45% upon donor grants and foreign concessional loans (Mramba, 2003). Donors’ influence has not only been reflected in funding the national annual budget, but also in the content of the Tanzanian educational policies and how they should be implemented. While loans and aid from International Financial Institutions could help to expand education, the conditions that came with them reversed the Nyererean ideas of constructing a self-reliant society that would be free to run its own affairs.

In the context of Tanzania’s dependence, it can be seen that the meaning of self-reliance as Nyerere (1973) propounded it had changed significantly over time. Instead of emphasising self-reliance for the creation of an African socialist society, as initially advanced, the new version of self-reliance in the post-Ujamaa period presented education as a strategic agent to transform the mindset of the community toward individual, entrepreneurial, neo-liberal reforms. For instance, entrepreneurial skills
were encouraged in schools, but not collectivisation, as was the case in the Nyererean principles.

Despite this major reversal, the policy analysis indicated that there are some areas of continuity with respect to the Nyererean conception of self-reliance. For instance, URT (1995) emphasised that people would continue to depend on themselves and their own resources (not international aid or central government). While self-reliance was an important aspect in the Nyererean framework, as noted in chapter three, given the current context in which privatisation loans and aid are glorified, the initial self-reliant Nyererean ideas have been altered towards attaining neo-liberal objectives.

7.4 Nyererean Ideas and Education Expansion

Chapter four outlined the early explicit politicisation of primary education by the newly independent Tanzanian government both prior to and after its public commitment to the construction of the *Ujamaa* project. The ultimate goal of the Nyererean philosophy was the construction of a society that would live according to the principles of *Ujamaa*, as highlighted in chapter three. Nyerere (1973) considered education to be an important mechanism through which the *Ujamaa* dispositions and attitudes could be spread. The analysis of policy documents shows the presence of some aspects of the Nyererean framework. For instance, the early years of independence saw the introduction of the single system of education policy in January 1961, in which all children of all races were allowed to receive education in the same schools. School education in Tanzania moved from a system in which many in the African population were denied access to school education based on socioeconomic status, to one in which access to school education was extended to the whole Tanzanian populace. Similarly, a school fee for secondary schools was waived in the period from 1961-1966.

Despite strategies to expand education, the analysis identified policy themes indicating that the commitment to universal education was conditioned by the perceived economic development imperatives of the newly independent state. An inherited education system as pointed out in chapter four, provided education, which the newly independent government considered to be both inappropriate and
inadequate (Tanganyika-Government, 1964b). Education was provided for the few (only 50% in 1961) and with the intention of meeting capitalist economic demands not those advanced by Nyerere with his *Ujamaa* project. Secondary, technical and teacher education received high priority as they were considered to yield the quickest results and boost the national economy. Other sectors that received more attention included agriculture and communication. However, primary education was excluded because it was argued that primary school children had no immediate impact on the economy as compared to adults. For the same capitalist economic reasons, the new government reduced the duration of the full primary education course from eight to seven years to ostensibly resolve the problem of double shift. Despite this, it was claimed that the content would not be affected under the new system, but it was obvious that this was a capitalist rationale based on cost-cutting measures rather than the quality of education. While the newly independent country advanced these proposals, they were based on the dominant logic of achieving national economic development through competition in the capitalist world economy, as it emanated from the UNESCO (1961) and the World Bank.

In spite of the continued orthodox thinking, the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration in 1967 marked a shift away from these inherited colonial and capitalist policies which directed educational investments according to the envisaged return on those investments to the national economy. The analysis identified policy initiatives and reforms corresponding to the radical political rhetoric including: mobilisation of the Tanzanian populace to overcome illiteracy in 1973, the nationalisation of almost all educational institutions by the state and the massive expansion of the system of school education. As noted in chapter five, it was during the *Ujamaa* era that ideas of Universal Primary Education, based on alternative criteria, were first articulated at Musoma in 1974. Educational expansion in this period was based on the argument that ‘Tanzania had decided to follow the philosophy of ‘socialism and self-reliance’ (URT, 1979c). Under this philosophy, free social services were the state’s primary responsibility. A number of policies were introduced guaranteeing the right of every person, and of groups of people, to education. These measures included the nationalisation of private primary schools as a sine qua non to achieving the *Ujamaa* project.
Along these lines, the government abolished almost all primary school fees in 1973 to remove this financial barrier to many children’s participation in education, and thus reduce regional inequities (URT, 1979a). The state argued that in an egalitarian society, it would be inappropriate to charge fees for access to public services. Despite this, the extent to which public education was free remained contentious, as all parents continued to pay a 20 Tanzanian shillings nominal contribution. As a flat rate, this did not take into account parents’ different levels of income, and hence could be characterised as a regressive measure and an obstacle to Nyererean principles.

The policy record shows us that, despite all these efforts, until 1969 only 47% of students had access to primary education. In 1971, only 52% of the school age population were in school (URT, 1979b). Continuing to provide education at such a low level was seen as being incompatible with the ideals of Ujamaa. The government therefore decided to bring forward the target date to achieve UPE from 1989 to 1977, stating that a government committed to the construction of Ujamaa must provide basic education for all. As the target date was ambitious, the government put in place revolutionary measures including community mobilisation and the expansion of the national budget for education. The government also enacted laws and by-laws to make primary education compulsory for every child of seven years; and parents were tasked to make sure their children attended schools. Other international organisations led by the Swedish International Development Authority, funded associated programmes in the 1970s. Despite the cherished policies of self-reliance, Tanzania remained the recipient of loans from the World Bank and these helped to boost this project.

Based on URT (1984), Tanzania achieved a 95% Gross Enrolment Ratio. Yet these initiatives contrasted with the Nyererean ideal of better education for all children, as argued in chapter three. This quantitative measure did not reflect an equivalent degree of quality (URT, 1984). There were inadequate teachers, in terms of professional competency, as well as a lack of resources such as textbooks and pencils. Despite areas of inconsistency, more children received primary education in the period of 1967-1985, and education became free for all.
Despite these advances, a policy analysis in the period of 1986-2000 revealed that the
1970s and early 1980s successes for education for all were reversed following the
adoption of Structural Adjustment Policies. In response to donor pressure, the
government of Tanzania was instructed to reduce expenditure on education, and thus
the role of the state in public education was generally reduced. Education was
characterised by: under funding, policy neglect, declining quality, deterioration of
infrastructure, low teacher morale and high dropout rates. User fees were imposed,
not only in education, but also in other sectors such as health. Parents were required to
pay fees of 2000 Tanzanian shillings in addition to meeting costs, such as school
uniforms, stationary, meals and fares. At the same time, the national per capita
income was deteriorating (Mbilinyi, 2003). School fees were therefore the main point
of departure between Nyererean principles and post-Ujamaa policies. While the fees
were reintroduced in 1986 to align with the Structural Adjustment objectives, the aim
of Nyerere was to abolish fees to achieve universal access and thus address
inequalities in the Tanzanian society.

While clearly using different models, and following the need to achieve the MDGs of
Education for All and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper of 2000, since 2001
Tanzania again abolished primary school fees via the Primary Education development
Plan 2002-2006. Nevertheless, other mandatory and sometimes informal contributions
remained an obstacle to many parents. Contributions for services, such as porridge for
breakfast, school construction and examination fees, continued and thus became an
obstacle to attaining Universal Primary Education, particularly for the rural populace
whose financial income were arguably lower than their urban counterparts. Despite
the state’s rhetoric on free education being in line with the Jomtien goals, not all
children were able to access this service. A more significant policy was issued in
December via circular number 5 of 2015 announcing the cancellation of fees and all
forms of parental contributions from primary to the first four years of secondary
education. This circular nullified circular number 8 of 2011, which allowed secondary
schools to charge fees. Therefore, the Tanzanian policy on fees reflects a zigzag trend.
They were charged in pre-Ujamaa period, they were abolished during the Ujamaa era
except for the 20 Tanzanian shillings that was maintained to help schools afford
recurrent expenditure, they were reimposed in 1986 with a big impact on enrolment,
and they have, since December 2015, been abolished together with all other
mandatory contributions under neo-liberalism. While the whole question of fees has been politicised, the recent fee abolition indicates a continuity of the Nyererean egalitarian ethos, but within the context of neo-liberal prescriptions.

7.5 Education Decentralisation and Nyererean Perspectives

The analysis of policy in this period indicates that the Nyererean decentralisation was characterised by the combination of education, *Ujamaa* and decentralisation policies. It was particularly the *Ujamaa* component that made it distinctive from all other forms of decentralisation in different countries. Despite debates among scholars over the issue of whether or not *Ujamaa* was intended to be a decentralisation programme, it manifested many of the features of a deconcentration type of decentralisation (Rondinelli et al., 1983). At the same time, as argued in chapter three, Nyererean decentralisation was characterised by granting the local community power regarding the education of children in specific localities while helping to spread the *Ujamaa* disposition across all parts of the country. This strategy could be considered to be part of the overarching policies and philosophies of *Ujamaa* and self-reliance. Despite the objectives of the Nyererean decentralisation, the analysis of policies in chapter three pointed to a different picture. Although decentralisation was firstly inherited from the colonial governments, the approach differed from that advocated by Nyerere (1968d). After the introduction of the single system of education in 1962, the central government continued to exercise the direct management of both primary and secondary schools.

In contrast with the Nyererean framework, which insists on increasing people’s participation in decision making, the main feature of the pre-*Ujamaa* period was the offloading of financial responsibilities from their central government to local government, parents and private sectors under the banner of community participation. This offloading persisted despite the meagre financial resources of the local governments at that time. This occurred not only in education, but also other sectors such as health and local road construction. Two forces facilitated this decentralisation. First, financial responsibilities were devolved as part of the umbrella of the nation-building project. Second, there were sanctions that followed for those local communities that did not act accordingly. This meant that local participation was not
forthcoming from the enthusiasm of local people, but was instigated in fear of the sanctions that would follow. Thus, the pre-Ujamaa period presented an example of the top down approaches that did not square with Nyererean principles.

After the Arusha declaration, as detailed in chapter five, the practice of decentralisation changed in line with the overarching objectives of Ujamaa. These were mainly characterised by African socialist principles in the management of, and decision-making power, over education. In this period, the aim of decentralisation was to transfer power from the capitalists to the peasants and workers. The aim was not only to grant local freedom, but also make sure that the policies of Ujamaa penetrated through all the decentralised structures of Tanzania as a whole. This was perhaps seen as the best channel to the masses, and therefore as a potential strategy in which the Ujamaa dispositions could flow freely from the centre to the local levels. According to policy of the early Ujamaa period, if trust was not bestowed to people Tanzania had no claim to be a socialist state (URT, 1969b). Everyone at the local level, as well as party and government officials, were encouraged to encourage socialist development as a duty.

Accordingly, the preceding policies had an influence on the Arusha Declaration. For instance, the introduction of the Education for Self-reliance policy in 1967 called for a radical change in which schools were to be reconstituted as integral parts of their broader school community. The second five-year plan placed emphasis on achieving the objectives of socialism and self-reliance. It insisted that there ought to be autonomous organisational and institutional structures to generate and implement planning at the sub-national level. The Education Act of 1969 was put in place to provide a system that conformed to the ideals of socialism. The management of primary education was no longer seen as being better handled from Dar es Salaam, rather it was best run via local coordination, local initiatives, local plans and local democratic control. The aim was to give schools a chance to cooperate with communities to a greater extent than was the case during the pre-Ujamaa period. This idea of local cooperation and participation in and through schooling can therefore be seen as part of the political and social formation of students, teachers and the community for Ujamaa.
Some powers that were bestowed to the school management committees were contradictory. On the one hand, the Nyererean principles required that primary education be available for all. On the other, school committees were given the decentralised power to dismiss, accept or reject the admission of some children. Similarly, the implementation of decentralisation policies was characterised by the merging of educational and political party activities. For instance, the local party chairperson chaired all the meetings of the school committees in their area of jurisdiction. Such practices arguably involved political centralisation within a policy of decentralisation, as schools were seen to be a tool for spreading the *Ujamaa* policies. Similarly, the 1970s decentralisation resulted in conflicting and confusing power relations between the central government and local levels. Whereas primary education was said to be centralised, all primary school teachers continued to be paid by the central government (Therkildsen, 2000). The regional education officer was under the control of the Regional Development Director, but at the same time received instructions from the Ministry of National Education headquarters (URT, 1984). Samoff (1979b) notes that the self-help initiatives in this period might have led to the present unequal distribution of educational resources, and hence contrasted with the Nyererean egalitarian model. In 1982 for example, Kilimanjaro as an affluent region formed 3.7% of the national population, but provided 20.5% of form 5 students. That means decentralisation allowed some areas to grow stronger and further develop their education infrastructures than others. Despite these challenges, this period was characterised by the merging of the decentralisation, education and *Ujamaa* policies as a strategy to achieve broader objectives.

As noted in chapter six, the post *Ujamaa* decentralisation represented a very particular neo-liberal type of decentralisation, which stood in sharp contrast to the Nyererean ideals. Following the deep economic crisis of the early 1980s, local government was reinstituted in 1982/83, and was presented as being more efficient, democratic, accountable and responsible to the populace. In spite of these justifications, the driving force behind the reintroduction of decentralisation was the need to align with World Bank requirements. Given the economic difficulties, decentralisation policies in the mid 1980s were introduced for the reason that they could enhance the mobilisation and collection of more financial resources from the communities, and
therefore help to fund education from local sources. These post-Ujamaa decentralisation policies therefore, were not established to involve people in advancing Ujamaa ideals, as the Nyererean framework required, but rather to offload the financial responsibilities to lower levels. The post-Ujamaa decentralisation can thus be characterised as the de facto decentralisation, as it did not arise from or emerge out of people’s enthusiasm and voices, but was more due to the state’s failure to deliver better education services to the populace.

Nonetheless, some policy documents such as URT (1995) seemed to align with Nyererean principles. This opposed the powers and decision making in the management and administration of education to heavily remain concentrated at the ministerial levels. The policy continued to define decentralisation to be an ideological principal associated with self-reliance, democratic decision-making, popular participation and the accountability of public officials. The shift of capitation grants, as noted in chapter six, can be interpreted to be at least partially in line with the local participatory decentralised approach that the Nyerere model of decentralisation emphasised.

Whatever the language used, by and large the post Ujamaa decentralisation was not intended to transfer real power to the community, as the Nyererean framework required, but instead to transfer financial responsibility in the context of economic hardship and to align with the conditions put in place by the International Financial Institutions. The 1998 local government policy, for example, that devolved education responsibility could be seen as being motivated by the restricted budget, and thus opting for devolving financial responsibility from the centre to the local level. Similarly, the 1995 education and training policy placed more burdens on parents in addition to other expenses such as uniforms, transports, snacks and medications. This post-Ujamaa decentralisation reversed Nyererean ideas as it was presented as a strategy to support co-financing and cost sharing by involving the local communities and other stakeholders. It stemmed from an increased pressure to widen educational access, and thus meet Education for All goals, but in the context of limited resources.
7.6 Final comments

Overall, three major conclusions can be articulated from the analysis of policy through a Nyererean lens. Firstly, the policy themes identified show the co-existence of capitalist and *Ujamaa* inspired policies throughout the 1961-2015 period. While the emphasis between capitalism and *Ujamaa* shifted across this period, the pre-*Ujamaa* period 1961-1966 was clearly most strongly influenced by capitalist policies and thus contrasted most sharply with the Nyererean ethos. After the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration, *Ujamaa* policies were advanced to the point that they were arguably the dominant force in Tanzanian education policies and practices (1967-1985). Following economic downturn, and the influence of the International Financial Institutions, the post-*Ujamaa* era (1986-2015) saw a resurgence of capitalist inspired policies, characterised by neo-liberal prescriptions, which again contrasted sharply with, and arguably undermined, Nyererean inspired egalitarian policies. The visual image that springs to mind is that of relay runners passing a baton to and fro. Despite shifts in the relative influence of these oppositional economic and political ideologies and systems, I argue that both capitalism and *Ujamaa* were present in educational policy and practice throughout the period.

During the pre-*Ujamaa* period, for example, the influence of capitalism was apparent in the privatisation of education, and the emphasis on post-primary and technical education, which were deemed to yield the quickest economic returns on investment. A reduction in the duration of primary schooling from 8 to 7 years in 1964, and from 7 to 6 years in 2014, can be interpreted as aspects of capitalist and neoliberal thinking based on cost cutting, rather than driven by alternative concerns for the quality of education being offered. At the same time, nationalisation of education institutions, mass campaigns for universal access to primary and adult education since 1967, accompanied by the abolition of school fees in early 1970s, provide strong evidence of an alternative approach, viewing education not as a universal human right, and as a channel to spread *Ujamaa* values and dispositions throughout Tanzanian society. Since 1986 when the Tanzanian government began to embrace the Structural Adjustment Programme, we see education policy beginning to be characterised by the replacement of quality education with neo-liberal prescriptions reflected in terms of
private schooling and emphasis on user fees as well as co-financing. All of these new neoliberal policies represent a complete break from the Nyererean equity principles.

Secondly, while Nyererean principles underscored the importance of self-reliance in almost every aspect of Tanzanian social, political and cultural life, policy analysis indicated that external dependence and influence were major factors in Tanzanian education policymaking and practices for over half a century. During the period 1961-2015, although loans and aid from International Financial Institutions may have helped Tanzania to expand primary education, particularly during the post-Ujamaa period, the conditions attached to them often worked against, or even directly reversed, Nyererean egalitarian ideals. While self-reliance has continued to be a common phenomenon in Tanzanian educational policy, its presence could be interpreted in a myriad of ways. On the one hand it may reflect continuity or the remnants of Nyererean policies of African socialism, persisting in the dominant contemporary context of neoliberalism. On the other hand, the notion of self-sufficiency has been applied to promote human capital, which remains one of the key aspects of the capitalist model of national development. This is an example of a common or shared idea across differing political systems / ideologies. But under Ujamaa it takes on a different character. During the Ujamaa era, I argue that the policy of self-reliance in Tanzania was promoted to support the Ujamaa project and also applied as a pragmatic strategy to overcome Tanzania’s economic difficulties particularly within the Cold War context.

The argument, then, is not about whether self-reliance is capitalist or socialist, but about the interesting way this concept, as a central tenet of Nyerere, persisted across the period, but leading to and justifying varying policies, and taking on different characteristics, or carrying with it different meanings, at different points of time. This facilitated, an explicit attempt to socialise citizens through work-study that was simultaneously a pragmatic attempt to self-finance schools, which in turn can be read as a distinctive characteristic of Nyererean self-reliance. This strategy was considered effective in reducing the unemployment crisis for school leavers who were flocking into towns. From this we can see that the
philosophy of self-reliance was used in multiple ways, including spreading of socialist ideals, and as pragmatic measures to overcome Tanzania’s economic challenges.

Thirdly, the analysis identified that Tanzania’s decentralisation was characterised by the combination of *Ujamaa*, education and decentralisation policies. However, it was particularly the *Ujamaa* component that differentiated Tanzania from most of the countries in the world. Apart from involving local communities in the management of their schools, decentralised structures were useful not only to mobilise community labour to construct schools for all the children but also to spread *Ujamaa* dispositions and values throughout the education system, and in turn the broader society. In turn, these ideas permeated the whole country by making schools an integral part of the community. Nevertheless, some powers devolved to the lower levels in some cases, inadvertently, worked directly against the egalitarian policy being advanced by the centre. For example, while Nyererean principles required that education be universally accessible, local school committees were given power to accept, dismiss or reject a child’s admission. Such significant powers could risk access to education if used inappropriately, and therefore contrasted with fundamental objectives of *Ujamaa*.

More specifically, Tanzania’s decentralisation processes changed depending on which political and economic system was dominating the country during a particular period. The *Ujamaa* period emphasised an increase in participatory decision-making via the spread of *Ujamaa* dispositions. However, during the pre-*Ujamaa* and post-*Ujamaa* eras, decentralisation was reconfigured to support the offloading of financial responsibilities from the central government to local levels. This was done under the banner of nation building, community participation, community ownership and enhancement of accountability and efficiency, ideas which carried across from the Nyererean conception of decentralisation for *Ujamaa* self-reliance. The driving force behind post-*Ujamaa* decentralisation was clearly to align with International Financial Institutions’ requirements: to mobilise financial resources from the communities as a way of shifting financial responsibilities to the lower levels, and to populations, and privatising educational institutions. It can thus be characterised as a type of decentralisation, which had been instigated by the state’s failure to deliver better education services to the Tanzanian populace. It was an example of how the label can
have very different meanings in policy and practice and a way to fulfil promises of Jomtien on Education for all through squeezing from meagre financial community’s resources. This helps to explain how the post *Ujamaa* decentralisation differed from the Nyererean type of decentralisation.

### 7.7 Implication of this Study

This research can potentially contribute to the explanation of a historical development of Tanzania’s primary education and decentralisation in the period between 1961-2015. It offers an historical perspective to understanding the past and contemporary development of education policies. It can enlighten the processes of social innovation, by offering a perspective on current policy preferences, and thus help to identify the need for further empirical and theoretical clarification. Besides highlighting the contradictory outcomes that Tanzania has experienced, primarily due to amalgamation of two different major political and economic systems (capitalism/neoliberalism versus *Ujamaa*), and how they have influenced Tanzanian education policy and processes, this study articulates how analysing policies through the comprehensive Nyererean framework provides a different reading of policy. It is particularly the development and application of the Nyererean perspective that makes this study distinctive and therefore adding a deeper understanding of the Tanzania educational policies and trajectories.

The four interrelated strands (*Ujamaa*, self-reliance, education expansion and decentralisation) help to identify patterns of continuity alongside those of change, and the various ways in which capitalism, neoliberalism and *Ujamaa* impacted on Tanzanian education policy over a long period as well as, policy contradictions, weaknesses and failures. These contradictions suggest the need for further research to analyse how Nyererean ideas can be applied in other contexts.

In addition, the study expands on the existing body of knowledge about the historical development of Tanzanian primary education and decentralisation by using the Nyererean lens, with some potential to explain the continuity or change. While this study does not claim to settle all argument pertaining to education and decentralisation, it can offer significant contributions to some of fundamental
questions, by highlighting the relationship of Tanzanian between education policy and the Nyererean principles. In particular, the study can make meaningful contribution to the limited literature on Nyererean ideas, decentralisation and how they can be used to understand the trajectory of education policy during pre-Ujamaa, Ujamaa and post Ujamaa period. The findings of the study can help to explain how policies derived from Nyererean principles were built on and connected to the pre-Ujamaa legacy, redefined some key concepts like decentralisation and self-reliance in particular ways, but frequently in ways that were in tension due to internal and external conditions, and influences. The study can also provide the basis for further research in different contexts to confirm, modify or even challenge the approach used. The outcome of the study can be used to identify new areas of empirical and theoretical investigation and enlighten an arena of policy making in current Tanzania.
8.0 References


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